

Help for sick & wounded / by Mm. Moynier and Appia ; translated by John Furley ; ; together with other writings on the subject by officers of Her Majesty's Service.

Contributors

Moynier, Gustave, 1826-1910.

Appia, P. L. 1818-1898.

Furley, John

Publication/Creation

London : John Camden Hotten, 1870 (London : Wodfall and Kinder.)

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/e2cwkw8a>

License and attribution

This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.



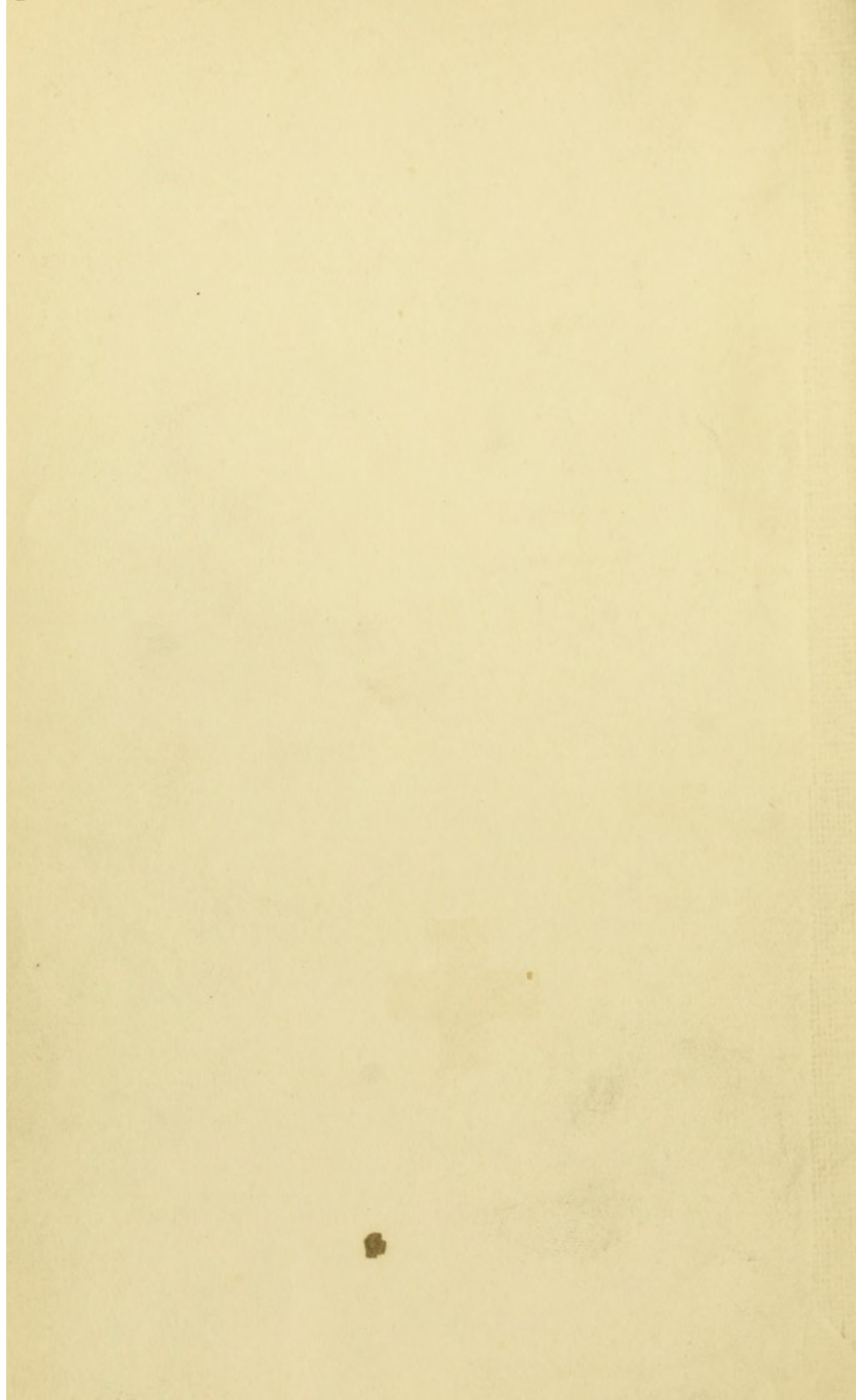
Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>





22102373597





Presented to the Library
by
British National Society for Aid to
Sick & Wounded in War
HELP FOR SICK & WOUNDED

BEING A TRANSLATION OF

“LA GUERRE ET LA CHARITÉ”

*Ouvrage Couronné par le Comité Central Prussien de Secours pour les
Militaires blessés*

BY

MM. MOYNIER AND APPIA

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN FURLEY

TOGETHER WITH

OTHER WRITINGS ON THE SUBJECT

BY OFFICERS OF HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE



LONDON

JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN, 74 & 75, PICCADILLY

1870



LONDON:
PRINTED BY WOODFALL AND KINDER,
MILFORD LANE, STRAND, W.C.

21287517

M15012

WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY	
Coll.	welM2mec
Call	
No.	M:
	WB100
	1866
	M93g3E

PREFACE.

DURING the last few years a great work has been going on, in which almost every civilized nation has taken an important though unostentatious part, but from which, strange to say, England has kept aloof.

The object of this work—the Relief of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war—is such as to command at once, and without preparation, the sympathies of the English nation ; and it is with this thought, and in the belief that it is only necessary to describe the movement made on the Continent and its progress, in order to secure the co-operation of English philanthropy, that the following pages, containing the opinions of various authorities on the subject, are now, by the permission of the authors, offered to the public.

Even if it be granted that our army medical and sanitary service is fully equal to any pressure which may be put upon it, are we right in refusing to join in a work which should be common to humanity, or to take the right hand of fellowship which other nations, through their representatives at International Conferences, have so eagerly extended towards us ?

Those who will not bestow a moment's consideration

on war and its consequences—thinking, perhaps, that “sufficient for the day is the evil thereof”—may yet give attention to the idea embodied in the following words :—“The Relief Societies ought, during peace, to be employed in works of humanity analogous to their duties in time of war, namely, in the care of the sick, and in affording assistance in those public calamities which require, as in time of war, prompt and systematic relief.”

Such was one of the Resolutions passed at the International Conference held at Berlin, in April, 1869, by the delegates of the Governments which signed the Geneva Convention, and of the societies for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers.

From whatever point of view the subject may be regarded, there it is—a vast field of labour, worthy of the aspirations of the nineteenth century, and one which has not only already assisted in diminishing the evils of war, but which, from its very nature, tends to diminish the probability of the occurrence of war itself.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
"La Guerre et la Charité." By MM. Moynier and Appia, translated by John Furley (by permission)	
I. Introduction	ix
II. Bibliography	xiii
III. "La Guerre et la Charité"	1
 A Lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution, London, by Deputy-Inspector-General Longmore, C.B., Professor of Military Surgery at the Army Medical School. Reprinted, with the sanction of the Council of the R. U. S. Institution and of Professor Longmore	 361
 Extract from a Report by Professor Longmore on the Proceedings of the International Conference held in Paris, 1867. Published here by permission of the Secretary of State for War	 401
 "Help for the Sick and Wounded." Two Articles by Captain Henry Brackenbury, R.A., F.S.A., Professor of Military History at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Reprinted, by permission, from the <i>Standard</i> , of Jan. 7, 27, 1868	 423
 Results of the International Conference held at Berlin, 1869. Translated in accordance with the final resolution of the Conference	 451



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

<https://archive.org/details/b20419880>

LA GUERRE ET LA CHARITÉ:

A THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL TREATISE

ON

PHILANTHROPY APPLIED TO ARMIES IN THE FIELD.

BY


G. MOYNIER AND L. APPIA.

*(Prize Treatise of the Comité Central Prussien de Secours pour les
Militaires blessés.)*

TRANSLATED, WITH PERMISSION, BY

JOHN FURLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

HE Central Prussian Committee for the relief of wounded soldiers, by means of a literary prize competition, has suggested discussion as to the position which private charity ought to occupy in relation to armies in the field.

When taking the pen to respond to this invitation, we did not anticipate for our work that development to which we have been gradually led by the extent of our subject. We will, however, admit that, as a compensation for its difficulties, the task has afforded us a powerful attraction in the prospect of being able to contribute towards the diminution of the horrors of war, by aiding philanthropists to discover the best means to lessen them. Let us hope that we have succeeded! The knowledge of the indescribable sufferings which might be avoided by the adoption of a good system of voluntary assistance for soldiers, made us very desirous to place our stone on the edifice which the enlightened charity of our contemporaries has determined to bequeath to posterity.

The question which we have undertaken to elucidate has never before awakened the serious attention of writers; at least, not one of them has endeavoured to treat it in a complete and methodical manner. Left to supply this want, believing, also, that a service might thus be rendered to humanity, we have not hesitated to enter the lists, and attempt, to the best of our knowledge, to compile a kind of manual for the use of practical men.

We are about, then, to submit to the consideration of the jury the result of our studies and meditations.

Let us first indicate, in a few words, the direction which we have given our thoughts, and the chain of ideas by which we propose to conduct the reader through the following pages.

We have been anxious to establish, before everything else, that the theme proposed to the competitors is worthy of consideration, and for this purpose we have had to prove a double truth: 1stly, that the medical service in the field has been very frequently insufficient (Chap. I.); 2ndly, that it is the right and the duty of private individuals to remedy this insufficiency (Chap. II.). The Berlin programme did not render it obligatory on us to carry back our consideration of the subject so far; nevertheless, as these theses form the foundation of our dissertation, they are properly placed there. Yet we could not give them as axioms, and we have therefore been compelled to demonstrate their justice.

It was, for this reason, very essential to collect the

historical evidence afforded by the experience of our predecessors. Having to mark out for earnest men a line of future conduct, we could not dispense with the lessons offered by the past, and for this reason we have sought for the examples to be found in modern wars. Unfortunately, many acts of devotion have only received a very limited publicity, and their traces have been very difficult to discover; on this account, the picture which we have sketched of them (Chap. III.) remains very incomplete.

Lastly, we have called to mind the history, already extensively known, of the Conference of Geneva, in order to explain the origin of the numerous associations which have been recently formed, and which even now, in a time of peace, still exist.

Here the statement of the principles and general facts which forms the first part of the book, terminates.

In the second part we have taken, one by one, the Resolutions of the Conference of Geneva, in order to compare them with the results of former trials, to place them beside the opinions of different writers, and to complete them by our own observations.

For this work of criticism, different methods offered themselves to us. We might have followed the text of the Resolutions, in order to develop them, Article by Article; or we might have adopted, in the first place, the hypothesis of peace, and then that of war; or we might have done still better, in separately examining the varied wants to which the Committees propose to respond, and the work which they have to do in each

particular case. Without despising the advantages of such classifications, we have, nevertheless, discarded them all, because they would have obliged us to make numerous repetitions. We have preferred, in the first place, to determine how Societies, desirous to fulfil the object of their institution, ought to be constituted (Chap. V.). It is evidently necessary that they must be organized before they can act, and there were many useful hints to be given as to their formation, internal administration, finances, and relations with the State. Having dealt with these points, we have entered into the detail of the work which devolves on Committees, presenting it under its three principal heads : namely, to remedy the insufficiency of the official staff by sending volunteer assistants (Chap. VI.) ; to complete the hospital stores of armies by gifts (Chap. VII.) ; and to provide moral and intellectual aid for the soldiers (Chap. VIII.).

Finally, in the last Chapter, we have considered the work from an international point of view, and shown how it may become the expression of a sentiment of universal fraternity (Chap. IX.).

GENEVA, *May*, 1866.

NOTE.—The notes chiefly refer to the bibliographical list of works consulted which follows.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.

List of Publications consulted and referred to in the foot-notes to the following work.

Abeni.—*Degli ospitali militari di Brescia istituti durante la guerra del 1859.*—Rapporto contabile statistico alla giunta municipale di quella città di *Giovanni Battista Abeni.*—Milano, 1860. In-4°; 80 pages.

Achard.—*La réforme des hôpitaux par la ventilation renversée, et la charité organisée au point de vue de la guerre par le corps médical,* par *Félix Achard*, Dr en méd. à la Faculté de Paris.—Paris, 1865; gr. in-8°; 56 pages et planche.

American Association (The) for the Relief of the Misery of Battle Fields. Its constitution—New York, 1866. In-4°; 16 p.

Appia (a).—*Le chirurgien à l'ambulance, ou quelques études pratiques sur les plaies par armes à feu, suivies de lettres à un collègue sur les blessés de Palestro, Magenta, Marignan et Solferino,* par *L. Appia*, Dr en méd.—Genève, 1859. In-12; 240 p.

Appia (b).—*Rapport adressé au Comité international par M. le D Appia, sur sa mission auprès de l'armée alliée dans le Schleswig.*—Genève, 1864. (Inserted in the publication of the *Comité international*; see below.)

Appia (c).—*Aforismi sul trasporto de' feriti, del cavalier Luigi Appia.*—Napoli, 1862. In-12. (In the *Manuale di chirurgia militare.*)

Appia (d).—*Les blessés de la bataille de Bezzecca, dans la vallée de Tiarno (Tyrol),* par le Dr *L. Appia.*—Genève, 1866. In-12; 66 p.

Armand.—*Histoire medico-chirurgicale de la guerre de Crimée,* par le Dr *Adolphe Armand*, de l'ambulance de la garde impériale.—Paris, 1858. In-8°; 464 p.

Army Scripture Reader's and Soldier's Friend Society. Report.—London, 1865. In-8°; 58 p.

Arrault.—*Notice sur le perfectionnement du matériel des ambulances volantes,* par *Henri Arrault*, fournisseur de l'armée française.—Paris, 1861. In-8°; 42 p. avec planches.—Appendice; Paris, 1862. In-8°; 6 p.

Aumôniers.—*Résumé historique de la mission des aumôniers chrétiens protestants à l'armée d'Orient en 1853, 1854 et 1855.* Compte rendu aux donateurs.—Paris, 1858. In-8°; 60 p.

Badischer Frauenverein (a).—*Association des dames du pays de Bade, en qualité de Section de l'Association internationale de secours pour les militaires blessés.*—1866. Gr. in-8°; 12 p.

Badischer Frauenverein (b).—*Berichte an den Badischen Frauenverein, von Vertrauensmännern über ihre Reisen zu den badischen Truppen im Felde und zu den Verwundeten in Kriegsspitälern, im Juli und August 1866.*—Karlsruhe, 1866. In-8°; 126 p.

- Badischer Frauenverein (c).**—Hauptbericht des Badischen Frauenvereins über die Thätigkeit während des Krieges in Sommer 1866 und bis zum Schlusse des Jahres.—Karlsruhe, 1867. In-4°; 50 p.
- Banchero.**—Relazione intorno l'operato dal Comitato genovese durante la guerra del 1866, da *Giuseppe Banchero*.—Genova, 1866. In-8°; 38 p.
- Bardin.**—Dictionnaire de l'armée de terre, ou recherches historiques sur l'art et les usages militaires des anciens et des modernes, par le général *Bardin*.—Paris, 1851; 4 vol. in-8°.
- Baroffio.**—Il Congresso et la seconda Conferenza internazionale di Ginevra del Dottore *F. Baroffio*.—Torino, 1866. In-8°; 30 p.
- Basting.**—Eine Roepstem tot mijn Vaderland. De hulpmaatschappijen tot verzorging van Zieken en Gekwetsten, aanbevolen door Dr *J.-H.-C. Basting*, Chirurgijn-majoor bij het Regiment Grenadiers en Jagers.—s'Gravenhage, 1864. In-12; 16 p.
- Baudens.**—La guerre de Crimée. Les campements, les abris, les ambulances, les hôpitaux, etc., par *L. Baudens*, inspecteur, membre du Conseil de santé des armées, etc.—Paris, 1858. In-8°; 412 p.
- Bazancourt (de).**—La campagne d'Italie de 1859. Chroniques de la guerre, par le Baron *de Bazancourt*.—Paris, 1860; 2 vol. in-8°.
- Bégin (a).**—Quels sont les moyens de rendre, en temps de paix, les loisirs du soldat français plus utiles à lui-même, à l'Etat et à l'armée, par *L.-J. Bégin*, membre du Conseil de santé des armées, etc.—Couronné, en 1822, par l'Académie de Châlons-sur-Marne.—Paris, 1843. In-8°; 46 p.
- Bégin (b).**—Etudes sur le service de santé militaire en France. Son passé, son présent, son avenir, par *L.-J. Bégin*, chirurgien-inspecteur, etc.—Paris, 1849. In-8°; 376 p.
- Belgique.**—Institution en Belgique d'une Société internationale et permanente, pour concourir, en temps de guerre, au service de santé des armées.—Bruxelles, 1864. In-8°; 26 p.
- Berlin.**—Die Conferenz der Hilfs-Vereine für die gegen Dänemark im Felde stehende alliirte Armee, zu Berlin am 10. Juli 1864. — Berlin. In-4°; 28 p.
- Bertherand.**—Campagne d'Italie de 1859. Lettres médico-chirurgicales écrites du grand quartier-général de l'armée, par le Dr *A. Bertherand*.—Paris, 1860. In-12; 200 p.
- Berthoud.**—Pacifique causerie à propos de batailles, par *Fritz Berthoud*. (Bibliothèque universelle et Revue suisse du 20 Juillet 1864.)
- Bréda (de).**—Projet d'organisation d'hospitaliers militaires, par le Comte *F. de B.*—Paris, 1863. In-8°; 16 p.
- Brescia.**—Associazione italiana di soccorso pei feriti e malati militari in tempo di guerra.—Comitato Bresciano, Campagna del 1866.—Brescia, 1866. In-8°; 26 p.
- Brière.**—Rapport au Conseil fédéral sur une visite faite aux hôpitaux des armées en Italie, en août 1859, par le Dr *Brière*, médecin de division de l'armée fédérale.—Lausanne, 1860. In-8°; 34 p.
- Brüder (die) des Rauhen-Hauses unter den Soldaten in Schleswig.** (Beiblatt der Fliegenden Blätter aus dem Rauhen-Hause; März, April und Mai 1864.)
- Bulletin de la Société de secours aux militaires blessés.** Publié sous la direction du Comité central français, dès le mois d'août 1865. In-fol.
- Capefigue.**—Saint-Vincent-de-Paul et les Sœurs de charité, par *Capefigue*.—Paris, 1865. In-12; 108 p.
- Castiglioni.**—Rendiconto morale ed economico del Comitato milanese di soccorso ai militari feriti o malati in tempo di guerra, del Dottore Presidente *Cesare Castiglioni*.—Milano, 1867. In-8°; 260 p., with plates.
- Cazenove (de).**—Rapport à l'Assemblée générale du Comité lyonnais, le 22 novembre 1866, par *Léonce de Cazenove*.—Paris, 1867. In-8°; 80 p.

- Charité (la)** sur les champs de bataille. Moniteur de l'œuvre internationale de secours aux blessés et aux malades militaires ; publié sous le patronage du Comité central belge, et paraissant tous les mois.—Dès les mois de mai 1865. In-fol.
- Charité internationale (la)** sur les champs de bataille. Associations permanentes et universelles de secours aux militaires blessés.—Paris, 1865 ; 5^{me} édit. In-12 ; 218 p.
- Chenu.**—Rapport au Conseil de santé des armées sur les résultats du service médico-chirurgical aux ambulances de Crimée et aux hôpitaux militaires français en Turquie, pendant la campagne d'Orient, en 1854, 1855 et 1856, par *J.-C. Chenu*, médecin principal.—Paris, 1865. In-4° ; 732 p.
- Clausewitz (de).**—De la guerre, par le général *Charles de Clausewitz* ; traduit de l'allemand, par le major d'artillerie *Nuens*.—Paris, 1851 ; 3 vol. in-8°.
- Clever de Mالدigny.**—Nécessité de l'organisation complète d'un corps sanitaire de l'armée, par le Dr *Clever de Mالدigny*, médecin-major.—Paris, 1854 ; In-8° ; 86 p.
- Comité français.**—Société de secours aux militaires blessés. Comité central français.—Paris, 1865. In-8° ; 56 p.
- Comité international.**—Secours aux blessés. Communication du Comité international, faisant suite au Compte rendu de la Conférence internationale de Genève.—Genève, 1864. In-8° ; 220 p., with map and a plate.
- Conférence.**—Compte rendu de la Conférence internationale, réunie à Genève du 26 au 29 octobre 1863, pour étudier les moyens de pourvoir à l'insuffisance du service sanitaire dans les armées en campagne.—Genève, 1863. In-8° ; 152 p.
- Conseils d'un militaire à son fils**, par le Baron *d'A****, colonel d'infanterie.—Paris, 1781. Un vol. In-12.
- Darmstadt.**—Aufruf zum Eintritt in den Verein zur Pflege verwundeter und erkrankter Krieger.—Darmstadt, 2. Januar 1865. In-12 ; 12 p.
- Dedenroth.**—Der Winterfeldzug in Schleswig-Holstein von *v. Dedenroth*.—Berlin, 1864. In-8° ; 340 p.
- Desmartis et Carrance.**—Quelques idées présentées aux Comités établis en Europe pour concourir au soulagement des blessés, par MM. *Desmartis* et *Carrance*.—Bordeaux, 1866. In-8° ; 16 p.
- Duisburg.**—Bericht der Rheinisch-Westphälischen Pastoral-gehülphen-Anstalt zu Duisburg über das Jahr 1862.—In-8° ; 32 p.
- Dunant.**—Un souvenir de Solferino, par *Henry Dunant*.—Genève, 1862. Gr. in-8° ; 116 p.
- E. de C.**—Souvenir de Bohême. Deux mois dans les hôpitaux militaires prussiens, par M^{lle} *E. de C.*—(See "la Bibliothèque universelle," Octobre 1866.
- Erismann.**—Armee und Militär-Sanitätswesen der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein, von *Erismann*.—Bern, 1851. In-12.
- Evans.**—La Commission sanitaire des Etats-Unis, son origine, son organisation et ses résultats, avec une notice sur les hôpitaux militaires aux Etats-Unis, et sur la réforme sanitaire dans les armées européennes, par *Thomas W. Evans*, Dr en méd.—Paris, 1865. In-8° ; 178 p. et pl.
- Feigneaux.**—Des secours volontaires en temps de guerre, par le Dr *Feigneaux*.—Bruxelles, 1865. In-8° ; 20 p.
- Firenze.**—Comitato fiorentino di soccorso per i feriti in guerra. Rendiconto dal 13 maggio al 31 dicembre 1866.—Firenze, 1867. In-8° ; 38 p.
- Fischer.**—Militärärztliche Skizzen aus Süddeutschland und Böhmen. Ein Bericht an das eidgenössische Militärdepartement, von *K. Fischer*, schweizerischer Ambulance-Arzt.—Aarau, 1867. In-8° ; 124 p.
- Flügel.**—Relation über den Gesundheitsdienst bei der eidgenössischen Armee während dem Sonderbundsfeldzuge, u. s. w. von Dr *Flügel*, eidg. Oberfeldarzt.—Bern, 1849. In-8° ; 148 p.

- Frankfurt.**—Bericht des Vorstandes des Hilfsvereins für kranke und verwundete Krieger in Frankfurt am Main; 1. October 1866.—Frankfurt, 1866. In-4°; 20 p.
- Frauen-Verein (a).**—Einige Worte über den Frauen-Verein und dessen Wirken, von Dr. *Schmidt-Holzmann*.—Frankfurt a. M., 1851. In-12; 16 p.
- Frauen-Verein (b).**—Gedächtnissfeier der Gründung und des 50jährigen Bestehens des Frankfurter Frauen-Vereins, am 2. Februar 1864.—In-12; 24 p.
- Frégier.**—Le droit du sang, ou de l'organisation d'une Société internationale d'hospitaliers volontaires pour le secours des blessés militaires, par *C. Frégier*, président du Tribunal de Sétif.—Constantine, 1864. In-8°; XIV, 46 p.
- Friedrich.**—Militärärztliche Skizzen aus dem preussischdänischen Feldzuge in Schleswig, 1864, von Regimentsarzt Dr. *E. Friedrich*.—München, 1864. In-4°; 20 p.
- Frossard.**—Lettres écrites d'Orient, par *Emilien Frossard*, l'un des aumôniers protestants de l'armée française.—2^{me} édition.—Toulouse, 1856. In-12; 264 p.
- Gama.**—Esquisse historique du service de santé militaire en général, et spécialement du service chirurgical, depuis l'établissement des hôpitaux militaires en France, par *J.-P. Gama*, ex-chirurgien en chef d'armée, etc.—Paris, 1841. In-8°; 718 p.
- Garaude.**—La guerre considérée au point de vue philosophique, social et religieux, par l'abbé *Garaude*.—Paris, 1864. In-8°; 332 p.
- Genfer Congress (der) und seine Ergebnisse.**—Darmstadt und Leipzig, 1865. In-12; 24 p.
- Gualla.**—Brevo cenno sugli ospitali militari provvisori di Brescia. Lettera del Dr. *Bartolomeo Gualla*.—Brescia, 1859. In-4°; 80 p.
- Gurlt.**—Denkschrift zur Beantwortung derjenigen Fragen, welche in der unter dem 12. März 1864 von dem Central-Comité für die Pflege verwundeter Krieger zu Berlin dem Prof. Dr. *Gurlt* bei seiner Absendung nach dem Kriegsschauplatze in Schleswig-Holstein ertheilten Instruction aufgestellt worden sind.—Autogr., 42 p.; 17. Mai 1864.
- Hahn (a).**—Aufruf zur Bildung von internationalen Gesellschaften zur Verpflegung der im Kriege verwundeten Soldaten, von Dr. *E. U. Hahn*.—Stuttgart, 1863. In-12; 16 p.
- Hahn (b).**—Rechenschafts-Bericht des Württembergischen Sanitätsvereins pro 1864-1866, von Dr. *Hahn*.—Stuttgart, 1867. In-8°; 44 p.
- Hamburg (a).**—Statut des Vereins zur Pflege im Felde verwundeter und erkrankter Krieger, auf Grund der im October 1863 in Genf gefassten Beschlüsse.—Hamburg. In-8°; 8 p.
- Hamburg (b).**—Rechenschafts-Bericht des Comité's zur Pflege von Verwundeten und Kranken in Hamburg an die Spender der seiner Vermittlung anvertrauten Gaben.—Hamburg, 1864. In-4°; 16 p.
- Hamburg (c).**—Rechenschafts-Bericht des Vorstandes.—10. December 1866; in-fol.; 2 p.
- Jomini (de).**—Précis de l'art de la guerre, par le Baron *de Jomini*, général en chef.—Paris, 1855; 2 vol. in-8°.
- Kiel.**—Kurze Darstellung der Wirksamkeit des Central-Hilfsvereins für Lazarethe zu Kiel, vom 2. Februar 1864 bis zum 1. April 1865.—Kiel, 1865. In-8°; 10 p.
- Klüber.**—Droit des gens moderne de l'Europe, par *J.-L. Klüber*.—Nouvelle édition, revue, annotée et complétée par *M.-A. Ott*.—Paris, 1861. In-18; 516 p.
- Knoop.**—Het Congres van Genève in October 1863, door *W. J. Knoop*, Generaal-Majoor bij het nederlandsche leger.—Schiedam, 1864. In-8°; 44 p.
- Kriegsrheil.**—Organ des preussischen Central-Comité's zur Pflege im Felde verwundeter und erkrankter Krieger.—Berlin. In-8°. (Mensuel.)

- Kriegsrecht** (das) des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, mit Beziehung auf den Genfer Congress.—In-8°; 48 p.
- Larrey**.—Mémoires de chirurgie militaire et campagnes, de *D.-J. Larrey*.—Paris, 1812-1817; 4 vol. in-8°.
- Larroque**.—De la guerre et des armées permanentes, par *Patrice Larroque*.—2^{me} édit. Ouvrage couronné par le Comité du Congrès de la paix de Londres.—Paris, 1864. In-12; 408 p.
- Lasius**.—Die Vereine zur Pflege verwundeter Krieger. Ein Vortrag über den Genfer Congress von 1863-64 und die Erfahrungen aus dem schleswig'schen und dem nord-amerikanischen Kriege, gehalten von *Otto Lasius*, grossherzogl.-oldenburgischer Ober-Baudirector.—Oldenburg, 1865. In-8°; 46 p.
- Laurent**.—Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de P.-F. Percy, par *Laurent*.—Versailles, 1827. In-8°; 548 p.
- Löffler**.—Zweck und Bedeutung dauernder Hilfsvereine für verwundete und kranke Krieger. Vortrag des General-Arztes *D^r Löffler*, in der Sitzung des "leitenden Comité's für verwundete und kranke Krieger in der Provinz Sachsen," am. 5. April 1864.—Magdeburg. In-8°; 16 p.
- Mackenzie**.—America and her Army, by *Robert Mackenzie*.—London, 1865. In-12; 60 p.
- Magdeburg**.—Jahres-Bericht des Hülfsvereins für verwundete und kranke Krieger in der Provinz Sachsen pro 1864.—Magdeburg. In-8°; 30 p.
- Marmont**.—Esprit des Institutions militaires, par le maréchal *Marmont*, duc de Raguse.—Paris, 1845. In-8°; 228 p.
- Maunoir**.—Note sur l'œuvre des Comités de secours aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, par le *D^r Th. Maunoir*.—Genève, 1864. (Inserted in the publication of the *Comité international*, which see.)
- Morin**.—Le camp de Châlons en 1858, au point de vue hygiénique et médical. Hygiène des camps en général, par le *D^r Morin*, médecin aide-major au 26^e régiment de ligne.—Paris, 1858. In-8°; 134 p.
- Moynier (a)**.—Le Congrès de Genève. Rapport au Conseil fédéral, par MM. *Dufour, Moynier et Lehmann*, plénipotentiaires de la Suisse.—Genève, 1864. In-8°; 16 p.
- Moynier (b)**.—La neutralité des militaires blessés et du service de santé des armées, par *Gustave Moynier*, président du Comité international, etc.—Paris, 1867; 1 vol. In-12.
- Naval and Military Bible Society**, instituted 1780. Report.—London, 1865. In-8°; 44 p.
- Neudörfer**.—Aus dem feldärztlichen Berichte über die Verwundeten in Schleswig, von *D^r J. Neudörfer*.—Berlin, 1864. In-8°; 64 p.
- Nightingale**.—Army sanitary administration, and its reform under the late Lord Herbert, by *Florence Nightingale*.—London, 1862. In-8°; 12 p.
- Ochswadt**.—Kriegschirurgische Erfahrungen auf dem administrativen und technischen Gebiete während des Krieges gegen Dänemark, 1864, von *D^r Alex. Ochswadt*, Chefund Oberstaabsarzt.—Berlin, 1865. In-8°; 382 p.
- Œuvre (l') d'un grand peuple**, par *J. N. P.*—Paris, 1864. In-8°; 64 p.
- Palasciano (a)**.—La neutralità dei feriti in tempo di guerra. Discorso letto all' Accademia Pontaniana di Napoli, dal cav. *Palasciano*, addì 28 aprile 1861.—In-8°; 16 p.
- Palasciano (b)**.—La neutralità dei feriti in tempo di guerra. Il Congresso e l'Italia, 1863, dal *D^r Palasciano*.—In-8°; 24 p.
- Palasciano (c)**.—La neutralità dei feriti e la Conferenza internazionale di Ginevra, dal cav. *Palasciano*.—1864. In-8°; 20 p.
- Palasciano (d)**.—De la neutralisation des blessés en temps de guerre, et de ses conséquences thérapeutiques, par le *D^r Palasciano*, de Naples.—Lyon, 1864. In-8°; 16 p.

- Pecqueur.**—Des armées dans leurs rapports avec l'industrie, la morale et la liberté, ou des devoirs civiques des militaires, par *Pecqueur*.—Ouvrage couronné par la Société de la morale chrétienne.—Paris, 1842. In-8°; 284 p.
- Pflug.**—Souvenirs de la campagne de Crimée. Journal d'un médecin allemand au service de l'armée russe, par le Dr. *Pflug*; traduit de l'allemand par *Jules Baissac*.—Paris, 1862. In-8°; 296 p.
- Poplimont.**—Lettres sur la campagne d'Italie en 1859, par *Ch. Poplimont*.—Paris, 1860. In-8°; 504 p.
- Prisoners.**—Narrative of privations and sufferings of United States officers and soldiers while prisoners of war in the hands of the rebel authorities.—Philadelphia, 1864. In-8°; 284 p.
- Protocoles** de la Conférence internationale pour la neutralisation du service de santé militaire en campagne, à Genève, août 1864.—Autogr. in-4°; 58 p.
- Quesnoy.**—Souvenirs historiques, militaires et médicaux de l'armée d'Orient, par *M.-F. Quesnoy*, médecin-major.—Paris, 1858. In-8°; 256 p.
- Reclus.**—La Commission sanitaire de la guerre aux Etats-Unis, par *Elsée Reclus*. (In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1^{er} mai 1864.)
- Richter.**—Die Pflege der im Kriege Verwundeten und die Genfer Conferenzen, von *H. M. R.*—Darmstadt und Leipzig, 1865. In-8°; 72 p.
- Sanitary Commission (the) of the United States Army:** a succinct narrative of its Works and Purposes.—New York, 1864. In-8°; 318 p. (See below: *United States*.)
- Savaresi.**—Histoire médicale de l'armée de Naples, par *M. Savaresi*, médecin en chef; publiée par *M. Des Genettes*.—Paris, 1807. In-8°; 52 p.
- Schaff.**—Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nord-Amerika. Vorträge von *Philippe Schaff*, Dr und Prof. der Theologie.—Dritte Auflage. Berlin, 1866. In-8°; 72 p.
- Schwerin.**—Rechenschafts-Bericht des Vorstandes des Mecklenburg'schen Central-Vereins zur Pflege im Felde verwundeter und erkrankter Krieger, umfassend den Zeitabschnitt von der Gründung des Vereins bis zum 30. Juni 1865.—Schwerin, 1865. In-8°; 46 p.
- Scrive.**—Relation médico-chirurgicale de la campagne d'Orient, du 31 mars 1854 au 6 juillet 1856, par le Dr *Scrive*, ex-médecin en chef de l'armée d'Orient.—Paris, 1857. In-8°; 488 p.
- Shrimpton.**—La guerre d'Orient. L'armée anglaise et Miss Nightingale, par *C. Shrimpton*, D. M. P., ex-chirurgien-major.—Paris, 1864. In-8°; 68 p.
- Simonot.**—Un mot sur la création des infirmiers volontaires en temps de guerre à propos des délibérations de la Conférence internationale de Genève, octobre 1863, par le Dr *Simonot*.—Rapport fait à la Société médico-pratique de Paris, séance du 9 mai 1864.—Paris. In-8°; 8 p.
- Smith.**—Medical and Surgical History of the Crimean War, by Dr *Smith*.
- United States (the) (a).**—Sanitary Commission. A sketch of its purposes and its work.—Boston, 1863. In-12°; 300 p. (See above, *Sanitary Commission*.)
- United States (b).**—Documents of the United States Sanitary Commission.—New York, 1866; 2 large vols. in-8°, containing 95 treatises.
- United States (c).**—Sanitary Commission. Bulletin.—New York, 1866. In-8°; 1284 p.
- Uytterhoeven (a).**—Sur les moyens de porter immédiatement secours aux blessés sur les champs de bataille, par le Dr *A. Uytterhoeven*, chirurgien en chef de l'hôpital de St-Jean.—Bruxelles, 1855. In-8°; 14 p.
- Uytterhoeven (b).**—Encore un mot sur les moyens de porter immédiatement secours aux blessés sur les champs de bataille, par le Dr *A. Uytterhoeven*.—Bruxelles, 1855. In-8°; 24 p.
- Uytterhoeven (c).**—Lettre sur la question des hôpitaux, adressée au Conseil d'administration de l'Association internationale pour le progrès des sciences sociales, par *André Uytterhoeven*, Dr en méd., chirurgien en chef honoraire des hôpitaux de Bruxelles.—Bruxelles, 1863. In-8°; 36 p.

- Uytterhoeven (d).**—Des secours aux blessés de la guerre, par le Dr *André Uytterhoeven*, chirurgien en chef honoraire des hôpitaux de Bruxelles.—Bruxelles, 1864. In-8°; 10 p.
- Valcourt (de).**—Conditions sanitaires des armées pendant les grandes guerres contemporaines, par le Dr *de Valcourt*.—Paris, 1865. In-8°; 32 p.
- Van de Velde.**—Rapport adressé au Comité international, par le Capitaine *Van de Velde*, sur sa mission auprès de l'armée danoise.—Genève, 1864. (Inserted in the publication of the *Comité international*, which see.)
- Van Esschen.**—La charité en campagne et les ambulances de guerre, par le Dr *Van Esschen*.—Bruxelles, 1865. In-8°; 40 p.
- Wichern (a).**—Das Rauhe-Haus, seine Kinder und Brüder. Mittheilungen von Dr *Wichern*.—Hamburg, 1861. In-8°; 136 p.
- Wichern b).**—Aufforderung zur Unterstützung der Aufnahme von hilflosen Kindern gefallener und vertümmelter preussischer Krieger aus dem Schleswig'schen Kriege von 1864, in das evangelische Johannesstift zu Berlin. Vortrag von Dr *Wichern*.—Berlin, 1864. In-8°; 32 p.
- Wien.**—Rechenschafts-Bericht des patriotischen Hilfsvereines während der Kriegsdauer.—Wien, 1860. In-4°; 18 p.
- Wochenblatt der Johanniter-Ordens-Balley Brandenburg.**—Berlin.
- Zurich.**—Oeffentlicher Bericht des Vereins der Stadt Zürich zum Transport von schwer verwundeten Militärs im Jahr 1847.—Zürich, 1848. In-4°; 8 p. with plates.
-

11



PART I.

PRIVATE BENEFICENCE IN RELATION TO THE WANTS OF ARMIES ON ACTIVE SERVICE.

CHAPTER I.

INADEQUACY OF OFFICIAL MEANS.

SUMMARY.—Historical proofs of the inadequacy of official means—
Wars of Napoleon I.—The Sonderbund War—Crimean
War—Italian War—International Conference of Geneva—
Schleswig-Holstein War—The American War—Conclusion
—Hygienic precautions.

AT the beginning of every philanthropic study, the first necessity is to ascertain by observation the nature and extent of the evil for which it is proposed to seek a remedy, for if an exact knowledge of this be not obtained, there will be great danger of reasoning on false premises.

We cannot, nor do we wish to, avoid this obligation when about to approach the serious subject of the claims which the victims of war have upon us; yet, in order to abridge these preliminaries, we shall limit our examination to the special point on which the Berlin Committee seeks for information, and which we propose to treat in this work. The sufferings and the miseries

which war engenders being granted, we intend to discover if the military medical department has always provided for the unfortunate men under its charge in a complete, or even sufficient manner, and if its organization is such that each one of them can be well and quickly attended to.

Here is a question of fact, which can only be settled by historical witnesses, and therefore let us ask from them that information which they alone can give us. It would, however, be superfluous to carry our retrospective investigations too far into the past, and the wars which the present century has witnessed are those which we ought first to examine. Is it not indeed notorious that the sanitary service is better organized in these days than it used to be, and, if some imperfections are still apparent, may we not conclude that formerly these faults were still greater? It is true that improvements in this respect have kept on a par with those in artillery, and in the art of mutual destruction; but this only forms an additional reason why, the conditions of war having changed, we must not go too far back for our starting-point.

It is easy to establish the insufficiency of official means during the wars of Napoleon I., for the surgeons engaged in those campaigns have recorded their experiences in writings which are indisputable. "Materials for dressing wounds were nearly always wanting, and, to meet the scarcity of linen caused by the distance from the waggons, and the want of hospital orderlies, it was necessary to direct every surgeon to

supply himself with lint and linen, and to employ soldiers who ought to have been on the field of battle.”¹

Percy wrote as follows, to Marshal Duroc :—“ During the siege of Dantsic, where we had sixteen hundred wounded and two thousand sick, we had not a single straw mattress, no basins, no nurses, in fact, there was nothing.”²

“ One day, seeing more than eighty carriages full of sick and wounded soldiers arriving at a hospital in which there were neither nurses nor attendants, Percy, who was about to leave, delayed his departure, in order that he might attend to them. For five days the greater part of them had not left the cart which had served for bed and transport.” (Here follows a detailed description of the state to which this journey had reduced them.) “ With shame be it written, there was nothing for these poor people to lie upon, not a mattress, nor even straw. No linen, no candles, no food. There were no means to change the dressing of a wound, nor even to warm these unfortunate wretches. We waited,” says Percy, “ until nine o’clock at night, hoping that assistance would arrive ; but we saw nobody, except a person who came to count the victims of this most culpable improvidence, this most barbarous carelessness.”³

“ Six days after the battle of Eylau, the wounded, who had betaken themselves or had been carried to Thorn, a distance of five leagues, were in as deplorable a state as they were during the first hour after the

¹ Laurent, 206. ² Ibid., 216. ³ Ibid., 191-193.

battle. Nearly eight hundred of these were allotted to me as *chef de service*," says Gama; "and I found them in a large house, lying on what may more properly be called dung than straw, pressed one against another, uttering piercing shrieks, complaining, with many tears, of the way in which they had been forsaken, praying for death, for, when suffering from horrible tortures, existence is no longer a benefit. No system scarcely any nurses no proper place where one could make broth for more than twenty-five persons; and there were no cooking utensils in which it could be boiled in the open air; no jugs from which to give drink to men agonized by insatiable thirst, arising from the burning fever which their wounds provoked. In want of means and assistance; meeting no one with whom I could consult as to the best way to overcome the difficulty; obliged to prepare dressings with the bad and insufficient remnants taken from the field-hospital equipment waggons: so little was the proper treatment of the soldiers of Napoleon then understood! Five thousand wounded men were lodged in several other houses, which were called hospitals; they there received similar treatment, the negligence being only a question of degree. Yet Thorn is a commercial town, advantageously placed on the Vistula, in the midst of a fertile country!"¹

"In Spain," says General Foy, "the wounded were often abandoned for want of means of transport; conquerors or conquered, we have lost four times more

¹ Gama, 434.

men through the disorder inseparable from our system of war, than by the sword and fire of the enemy.”¹

The memoirs of Larrey abound in episodes that show how great were the shortcomings of the service in his time. At the taking of Spire, in 1792, he recognized the inconvenience of the ambulance system employed in the French army. “The Military Regulations state,” said he, “that they should constantly be in readiness at one league from the army. The wounded were left on the field until after the battle, when they were gathered together in a convenient place, and as soon as it was possible, the ambulance was taken there for them; but the number of equipages which interposed between it and the army, and many other difficulties, delayed it so long that it never arrived in *less than twenty-four hours*, sometimes even *thirty-six hours, and more*, so that *the greater part of the wounded perished for want of help.*”² Again, “in 1812, at Smolensk,” says Larrey, “we were destitute of all sorts of material for the dressing of wounds. I was compelled, *as in a great many other circumstances*, to invent means to supply those which were wanting. So, in place of linen for bandages, our stock of which, besides that which belonged to the wounded soldiers, had been entirely exhausted, I made use of the paper which we found amongst the archives stored in a building which had been converted into a hospital; the parchment was employed for splints and slings, the

¹ “Histoire de la guerre de la Péninsule,” i. 145.

² Larrey, i. 57.

tow and other things served instead of lint, and the paper was also very serviceable as a bed for the sick.”¹

One of the actors in the grand drama which was then being played in Europe, Marshal Marmont, has likewise confessed to the imperfections in the system. “Nothing can be sadder,” said he, “than the spectacle which the military hospitals often present to the army, attentions *almost always unsatisfactory* are given to a class of men which for many reasons is entitled to almost universal solicitude.”² After Waterloo, for example, the places appropriated to the wounded at Antwerp “did not even contain a truss of straw on which to place the poor fellows, who were crowded together in boats along the Arsenal Quay, and who spread far and wide a noxious odour mattresses, pillows, sheets, blankets, counterpanes, linen bandages, lint, everything was wanting.”³

It was also in allusion to the wars of this period that Dr. Mayor said, “After great battles, one finds the army surgeons in their bulletins deploring this fatal destitution, and sighing over the large number of poor sufferers whom they are obliged to leave for *several days* on the field of battle. This unfortunate necessity is always attributed to the disproportionate number of surgeons and intelligent assistants, and to the want of lint, bandages, compresses, and all needful apparatus; and every one exclaims that it is therefore impossible to render proper assistance.”⁴

¹ Larrey, iv. 31.

² Marmont, 101.

³ Uytterhoeven (c), 20.

⁴ Uytterhoeven (b), 22.

In the Sonderbund campaign, in 1847, a similar scarcity of men and material was experienced. This was attributed to the fact that all the time was required to place the army on a war footing, and that, owing to this, there were victims before the necessary arrangements could be made for their relief.¹ At the battle of Schüpfheim, for instance, the ambulance was quite at fault;² there were many complaints of the service of the Federal Hospital of Aarau;³ and after the capitulation of Fribourg the military surgeons were obliged to summon to their aid the civil surgeons of the locality, although the number of wounded was but small.⁴ The publication of these and other analogous facts gave rise to urgent remonstrances in favour of a revision of the sanitary regulations.⁵

Would our readers know what occurred more recently, during the Crimean war? Let us take the statements made by the medical men who have written the history of this memorable campaign.

In his report to Marshal Pelissier, dated the 15th of March, 1856, *l'Inspecteur* Baudens wrote: — “It has not been possible to place our ambulances⁶ upon a good system. . . . Blankets are numerous, but nearly all of them are contaminated; sheets are wanting, as well as the means for washing

¹ Flügel, 2, 82.

² *Ibid.*, 22.

³ Erismann, 52.

⁴ Flügel, 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶ Throughout this book the word “ambulances” includes everything pertaining to hospitals moving with an army in the field, while the term “hospitals” signifies hospitals of a more fixed description.—*Translator.*

them. Many of the patients are obliged to sleep in their trousers. Our field hospitals are in need of cots, utensils, jugs, spittoons, &c. . . . Still more so of slippers and hospital clothing.”¹ Surgical necessities were also but very indifferently provided.² “Tents, the only form of shelter afforded us,” said Dr. Scrive, *Médecin en chef* of the French army, “did not suffice to protect the unfortunate patients from the intense cold, and their toes were in consequence frost-bitten, almost without their being aware of it, and sometimes mortification of the whole foot ensued. It was a sad sight, but, *in the absence of everything*, what preventive remedy was it possible to find for these evils? We could only offer moral aid.”³

The convalescent transport service was in no better condition. The resources of the navy were not equal to the proper conveyance of men rendered unfit for service, and whom it was necessary to take to Sebastopol, Constantinople, Gallipoli, or to France. “The urgent need to embark sick and wounded on ships not fitted out for such a purpose, certainly had a fatal effect on a large number of invalids, who frequently died during the voyage, or arrived at Constantinople in a deplorable state.”⁴ “On board the ship it was often impossible to move freely; and if the vessel happened to be provided with a surgeon, there were no bandages, lint, or linen, nor was it provisioned in a suitable manner.”⁵ It must have been a heartrending spec-

¹ Baudens, 372 ; see also Scrive, 363.

² Scrive, 449.

³ Scrive, 433.

⁴ Ibid., 378.

⁵ Chenu, 732.

tacle to witness the disembarkation of the poor fellows thus forwarded from the Crimea to the hospitals in Turkey. "The fresh arrivals, wounded, suffering from diarrhœa, dysentery, and cholera, who are brought to fill up the vacant beds, are landed at one of the points in the Bosphorus, and thence they are brought up on stretchers. They come from Kamiesch; they have had a voyage of three, four, or five days; they are in a pitiable state, covered with vermin, and suffering in every conceivable manner. Some are almost unable to speak, and to tell that their clothes contain their emissions since the day of their embarkation. The wounded are in a still worse state. They have not had their wounds dressed since their departure from the Crimea; the bandages are out of place, and do more harm than good; the swollen parts have been irritated by the hardened linen; mortification, and even vermin, have attacked the wounds; the odour which they diffuse is horrible, and would infect the wards if they were not kept in the open air, on the threshold of the hospital, in order that the infected clothes might be removed, and the wounds washed and temporarily dressed before placing the poor wretches on the bed which the same morning was occupied by a comrade sent off to Gallipoli or France, or who, perhaps, had died during the night." ¹

The hospital staff of the army was quite on an equality with its supply of material. "In the inadequate and crowded state of our hospitals," said Dr.

¹ Chenu, 731.

Scrive, "the number of men suffering from typhus exceeded all limits, and *we were completely over-taxed.*"¹ Again, on the 25th of August, 1855, he wrote, "The want of more medical assistance is severely felt. Eighty surgeons are *not sufficient* in the midst of a campaign to attend to the wants of sixteen ambulances; and this is the total number of the staff at my disposal. One would readily die at one's post: but what advantage would this be? forty additional surgeons (not one less) are necessary to place me in a position to meet all eventualities."² According to Dr. Baudens, "it is almost needless to say, that at times the medical staff had so much work, that human strength and the most eager activity were entirely unequal to it. However numerous it may be, it is inadequate in the moment of battle, or at the outbreak of an epidemic."³ For instance, at the battle of Tractir, it was found necessary to request the assistance of twelve naval surgeons,⁴ and to have recourse to the civil surgeons attached to the merchant ships to attend on the convalescents, "the *ordinary* want of strength in the army medical corps rendering it almost impossible to detach one or more surgeons to accompany them."⁵ Let us also take note of the desire uttered by the Sanitary Council itself, which, on the 15th of March, 1856, that is to say, at the end of the campaign, "expressed a wish that the numerical strength of the medical staff might *no longer* prevent

¹ Scrive, 275.² Ibid., 221.³ Baudens, 101.⁴ Scrive, 220.⁵ Ibid., 378.

the sick and wounded from receiving that constant care which was so necessary for them.”¹

But it was not only on account of the scarcity of surgeons that complaints were raised; orderlies and nurses were quite as much needed. Notwithstanding the establishment of a corps of soldier-dressers (*soldatspanseurs*) improvised from amongst the convalescents, “the Crimean war proved the impossibility of insuring the exact execution of the accessory directions of the medical body, such as keeping the medical records and changing simple dressings.”² “The constant insufficiency of the medical staff compelled each surgeon-in-charge to visit more than one hundred men suffering from wounds or fever; and frequently, as there was no one near to assist, he was obliged at the same time to enter his own prescriptions, and to proceed at once to the strict application of them.”³ “The hospital staff could be doubled, or even tripled, to the great advantage of the army.”⁴

Here, then, you have the French army, one of those on which lessons of experience had been least spared, taken by surprise. The administration succeeded no better in the Crimea than it had done in Algeria, where, notwithstanding the long continuance of hostilities, the inadequacy of the sanitary service remained the same. “There,” says a military surgeon, “proper precautions were almost absolutely wanting.”⁵ “I have often questioned,” says the Count de Bréda,

¹ Baudens, 282.

² Scrive, 478.

³ Ibid., 475.

⁴ Chenu, 723.

⁵ Clever de Maldigny, 25.

“surgeons, officers, and soldiers who have lived a long time in Africa, and who were engaged in the last wars, and their unanimous opinion is, that these results are due to the defects of the present system.”¹

Most of the preceding quotations, which we have inserted without comment, for it is impossible to add to their eloquence, are taken from Dr. Scrive's work; but it is a singular thing that we should be able entirely to contradict these by statements taken from the same source. It seems as if the author could not allow himself freely to confess the faults of a system in many respects admirable, and of which he himself is one of the most eminent representatives, for he constantly eulogizes the administration, as if to counterbalance those admissions which the evidence has extorted from him. “Our hospital arrangements,” he says, “are as perfect as possible, because, *for every eventuality* they embrace the elements of *sure and sufficient* relief for the sick and wounded.”² “*There was nothing absolutely wanting* in the Crimean hospitals, even during the severest periods of the war: and *they were always provided*, as far as material was concerned, if not with luxury, at least with everything necessary; . . . the only complaints raised were on account of the frequent delays in the equipment of certain ambulances, the want of fresh meat, and because the soup was sometimes made with salt pork, but more especially on account of the apathy and incompetence of the auxiliary nurses.”³ “No

¹ De Bréda, 7.

² Scrive, 355.

³ Ibid., 364.

indispensable requisite was ever found wanting, either in medicine or surgery.”¹ “While the requirements have been immense and imperative, the supply has always been sufficient for the most difficult circumstances.”² “It may be asserted, that if the Medical Corps, though often reduced in numbers by sickness, *was never completely overwhelmed* by constant toil, it was because its strength and courage were doubled by devotion to the relief of the unfortunate sufferers.”³ “The army medical officers, often insufficient in number, and decimated by epidemic diseases, so nobly multiplied their efforts, that *no suffering soldier* was ever long without medical treatment or moral consolation.”⁴

These contradictions betray embarrassment on the part of the learned *Médecin en chef* of the army in the East, which plainly reveals the real truth. We are far, very far, from wishing to withhold from the medical authorities all the praise to which they are justly entitled; besides, we have no desire to arrogate to ourselves the position of judges or critics; yet we could not fail to remark the inconsistencies which we have just shown, as they proceed from the same pen, and militate in favour of our argument, and this so much the more forcibly, as they emanate from the highest and most respectable source.

Facts analogous to those which occurred in the French army can be recorded of its allies. For

¹ Scrive, 365.

² Ibid., 7.

³ Ibid., 476.

⁴ Ibid., 7.

example, the Sardinian organization, copied in a great measure from that of France, presented the same deficiencies. The Government, in order to complete the medical staff, applied to civil surgeons: but its appeal was so little heeded, that it was obliged to accept students who had not passed their examinations, and even those who then undertook the work were almost all compelled to it by necessity.¹

As to the English army, so much has been said of its trials, that it is quite unnecessary to refer to them at any great length. It is well known what disastrous consequences were engendered by the absence of administrative centralization and the insufficiency of the medical staff. These results were apparent on the arrival of the first detachments from Malta; at Gallipoli there were no mattresses or blankets, no medicines or victuals; left on the beach at Eupatoria, the soldiers bivouacked without shelter and without fire, exposed through the whole night to a deluge of rain, so that it was immediately necessary to re-embark fifteen hundred men who were sick.² At the battle of the Alma, the means of transport for the English army were very insufficient. "Thus, the wounded passed two nights on the field of battle, and the greater part only received medical attention when they reached the ships which were to convey them to Constantinople."³ At Scutari, the hospitals were overcrowded, the mattresses touched each other, and two

¹ *Gazette Médicale de Turin*, July 16, 1855.

² Shrimpton, 5-20.

³ Quesnoy, 74.

persons could hardly pass in the same passage ; it was considered dangerous to open the windows ; everything was dirty ; vermin swarmed ; large buckets supplied the place of chamber utensils, and the approaches to the buildings were poisonous with filth.¹

But if, during the first period of the campaign, the French had a marked superiority over the English, the positions were very soon reversed. Impressed by her misfortunes, England speedily changed matters, and introduced radical reforms into her sanitary administration : she was soon rewarded for her efforts, and was able to point with pride to her hospitals and her hygienic arrangements. Unfortunately, France “ had not the same splendid opportunities, as the fundamental rules of war which she had adopted were entirely opposed to them.”² She was therefore obliged to bear the sad effects to the end.

The Russian army also suffered the penalty for the imperfection of its sanitary arrangements. “ At the battle which occurred on the 7th of June, 1855,” says Dr. Pflug, “ the number of surgeons was so small, that it was not possible to attend to everybody at once. The greater part of the poor wounded men remained hour after hour in the open air, exposed to an incessant hail of shot and shell, without any other relief than the kindness of sympathizing comrades ; and, even when the fire ceased on both sides, and the physicians and surgeons who had come out of the city, and all those attached to the divisions which were present,

¹ Shrimpton, 41.

² Scriver, 375.

had united their efforts with ours, matters only changed in one respect, namely, the wounded no longer lost blood; for, in consequence of the absence of convenient means of transport, it was only towards evening that shelter was found for all in the principal lazaretti situated on the other side of the bay.”¹ But previously, “even before this terrible day, our field hospitals with difficulty sufficed to contain the crowd of wounded; and, if a few of these were still in a state to supply the exigencies of the moment, hundreds of men who had not had their wounds dressed were every day obliged to be brought to the city, because *we were in want of everything*, and a point had been reached when the available strength could no longer cope with labour which was daily growing upon us.”² Dr. Evans, who visited the hospitals of Moscow and the Northern provinces immediately after the conclusion of peace, there witnessed the numerous cases of suffering, which were principally caused by the want of prompt medical treatment. “My heart,” said he, “was profoundly saddened when I saw the absolute impossibility to remedy evils which had been occasioned by simple neglect.”³

“Not to profit by such teaching,” says Dr. Scrive, “would be a crime of high treason against humanity!”⁴ Three years pass away, and, nevertheless, the Italian campaign, in 1859, exhibits the French army in the same embarrassment as in the Crimea. It is true that

¹ Pflug, 182.

² Ibid., 181.

³ Evans, v.

⁴ Scrive, 376.

material aid was better assured, but it is doubtful whether this would have been so without the assistance of the Lombard population, who received the French as their liberators, and testified their gratitude by the most eager attentions. Left to its own resources in the midst of a hostile people, it is not clear to us that the army could have gone on without increased aid. One historical fact gives an insight to the difficulties of the medical service. Dr. Bertherand states that certain operations were rendered impossible by the absence of special instruments, and the cases of resection instruments did not arrive at headquarters, at Valeggio, before the 2nd of July, *one week after* the terrible day of Solferino.¹ As for the personnel, its insufficiency was notorious; and this, in a great degree, helped to make the campaign more disastrous. Figures prove that its numerical strength was only half of that prescribed by regulation.² The work which was suddenly imposed on the surgeons and their assistants, by the series of battles which terminated with Solferino, so far exceeded their resources, that on all sides, and under a thousand palpitating forms, the eye beheld an agonizing spectacle which there was no power at hand to alleviate.³ This assertion of an ocular witness is confirmed by others. Dr. Chenu, in particular, states that there was as great want of hands for the medical service in Italy as in the Crimea.⁴ The army was obliged to have recourse

¹ Bertherand, 163. ² Van Esschen, 27. ³ Evans, vi.

⁴ Chenu, 705, 723, 732; *see also* Evans, ix., and Bertherand, 170.

to the kindness of members of the Italian medical profession. At Milan alone, 280 of these found occupation, and it would have been quite impossible to detach a similar number from the field hospitals, which had been already reduced to a third or fourth of their normal strength.¹ Dr. Evans was surprised at the scarcity of women to attend to the sick; there were a few sisters of mercy worthy of the highest praise, but their number was not nearly sufficient.²—According to the statement of the Baron de Bazancourt, the official historian of this campaign, “at Magenta, and even at Solferino, one could visit, during a single night, the whole extent of the field of battle; and the day after the sanguinary conflict of the 24th of June, there was not a single wounded man who had not been taken away and put under shelter.”³ But we must receive this assertion with some hesitation, especially when we hear from the other side that a multitude remained at Castiglione for hours, and some even for days, without having their wounds dressed;⁴ and that “during the first eight days after the battle, those poor wretches, of whom the doctors said, in an undertone, when passing their beds, and shaking their heads, ‘there is nothing more to be done for them!’ received scarcely any attention, and died neglected and abandoned.”⁵

Then, again, we have the evidence given by an ocular witness on the 25th of June, 1859, the day after

¹ Bertherand, 171.

² Evans, ix.

³ De Bazancourt, ii. 291; *see also* Brière, 26.

⁴ Appia (*a*), 202.

⁵ Dunant, 88.

the battle of Solferino. "The wounded who surround me at Montechiari have not yet been attended to, and they have received no relief in nourishment, or otherwise, since the night before the battle. It often happens so, even in the best organized armies."¹

"There was one surgeon," he adds, "who, after a short absence, had rejoined his regiment, but he had neither instruments, medicines, nor linen, and not even a pair of scissors."²

"Some priests and women were serving out broth, but means to assuage thirst were principally needed, and there were not hands enough. There were four of us, and we delayed our departure for two hours, in order to distribute water with a little red wine in it."³

"At Castiglione, as at Montechiari, there were no surgeons. The only person who did what he could in dressing wounds was a prisoner, an Austrian medical officer. He had no other instrument than a pair of scissors. There was but one responsible officer there. To relieve so much misery he was obliged to have recourse to the prisoners; and to be able to describe the assistance they gave, one must have seen the unbounded attentions these poor captives lavished on the wounded."⁴

On the 26th of June, the third day after the battle, the author whom we have just cited adds: "All the wounded are not yet removed from the field of battle,

¹ Poplimont, 340.

² Ibid., 343.

³ Ibid., 346.

⁴ Ibid., 348.

where the poor wretches were exposed during the whole of yesterday to the fierce rays of a tropical sun, to the agony of their wounds, to privation of all attention, and to the horrors of thirst, from which wounded men suffer so much. No one is in fault; it was *an absolute impossibility*; there were too many evils to be remedied at the same time.”¹

“Can one conceive that an army, even on an exceptional day, could have to submit to so much misery for want of men to do the indispensable work, and that the wounded should be reduced to the worst condition because there was nobody to help them?”²

“As to the Italian army, reliable witnesses certify that, in the battles of 1859, the scarcity of surgeons was so great, that those who had been very severely wounded were necessarily abandoned on the field of battle.” And Dr. Palasciano adds, “I am acquainted with distinguished surgeons in our country, who vainly placed themselves at the disposal of the Sardinian Government during the war of Italian independence: their request was in opposition to regulations.”³

The frequency and magnitude of the wars in which the French army is engaged, added to the comparative facility with which we have been enabled to gather information on all points connected with it, has encouraged us to dwell upon this subject at greater length than we had intended; but it is needless for us to treat of every other military power in the same manner. Besides, it would be a useless task to enter

¹ Poplimont, 345.

² Ibid., 349.

³ Palasciano (*a*), 6.

upon a very minute examination, when we are fortunately able to find, in a single volume, the most convincing proofs relative to the matters which now occupy us. After having read the report of the International Conference, which was held at Geneva in 1863, we may be perfectly satisfied of the truth which we have endeavoured to show, as it was then fully brought to light by incontestably competent judges.

General Dufour, Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Federal Army, in his inaugural address, first spoke of the insufficiency of the sanitary service as an universally admitted axiom. "You know, gentlemen," said he, "that the state of the ambulance service in regular armies can only afford very imperfect aid to the unfortunate men who are left upon the field of battle. In this respect there is a very great need, which is the more prominently exhibited on those occasions when promptitude and extensive relief are most required. *This incapacity has astonished every one.*"¹

The delegate of the French Government, Dr. Boudier, *Médecin principal*, confirmed this view, in the following manner:—"I hasten to acknowledge that it is urgently and indispensably necessary to seek to alleviate the sufferings which are inseparable from the battle-field, and the evils which are no less evident in our hospital and sanitary arrangements. The field hospital service, though greatly ameliorated, still leaves much to be desired, both in personnel and *matériel*. *Such a state of things should no longer be allowed to*

¹ Conférence, 4.

exist; humanity, and civilization, demand numerous and immediate improvements.”¹

Dr. Lœffler, *Médecin en chef* of the 4th Corps of the Prussian army, and the delegate of his Government, appealed in his turn to the history of all the great battles of this century to prove that, “when war is about to break out, it is *impossible* for the authorities to execute their precautionary measures with such rapidity and completeness as are commensurate with all possible contingencies.”² “Without accusing anyone, the truth of this must unfortunately be admitted,” added Dr. Landa, *Chirurgien-major*, and delegate of the Spanish Government;³ and Dr. Günther, *Médecin en chef* of the Saxon army, likewise confirmed these words, declaring that sanitary arrangements, as organized for a time of peace, are quite inadequate to meet the demands of war and the field of battle.⁴

If some of the speakers abstained from making similar declarations, it was because the matter was self-evident; and, as Dr. Lœffler well observed, the various Governments, in sending official representatives to Geneva, there to discuss the inadequacy of the sanitary service, admitted by that very act the reality of this insufficiency.

The last Danish war, in 1864, but too well proved this state of things, for at the bloody battle of Æversée, there was a most lamentable want of medical aid; and if it be true that the same need was not felt before

¹ Conférence, 60, 67.

² Ibid., 33.

³ Ibid., 42.

⁴ Ibid., 59.

⁵ Ibid., 101.

Düppel,¹ it was only for this reason, that the war, not having extended beyond limited proportions, it was possible to concentrate nearly the whole of the medical staff on the single point that was menaced.²

“In the war now going on in Paraguay, the Argentine army has no organized sanitary or ambulance service; the sick and wounded are left almost entirely to the care provided by private benevolence, and collections for this purpose have been made at Buenos-Ayres.”³

Notwithstanding its importance, we have not yet said anything about the war in the United States, because the example it affords seems scarcely conclusive. It is not that the American armies were better prepared in their sanitary arrangements than all the other armies which we have mentioned—quite the contrary;⁴ but the haste with which the whole military organization was obliged to be improvised ought justly to be taken into consideration as an extenuating circumstance, capable, in some measure, to explain its imperfections.

Let us, then, conclude with Dr. Friedrich, “that, in the case of great battles, or disastrous epidemics, *no army* can completely respond to its own sanitary necessities. The extent of such disasters cannot be calculated beforehand.”⁵ Let us even go further, and say, with Dr. Evans, “that the accounts of *all* great

¹ Neudœrfer, 7.

² Appia (*b*), 88, 90.

³ Duchesne de Bellecourt: *La guerre du Paraguay*. *Revue des deux mondes*, September 15, 1866, p. 279.

⁴ Evans, 40, 97.

⁵ Friedrich, 8.

battles prove that, during strategical evolutions, and especially after an engagement which has cost many lives, more men and a greater quantity of material are required, for the immediate assistance of the wounded, than any Government has yet been able to place at the disposal of its army hospital corps.”¹ Let us borrow from M. Frégier a passage in which our theory is set forth in the most precise and complete manner:—
“ At every period, and amongst all nations, from Cyrus down to Napoleon III., the personnel and *matériel* of the army medical departments, or the corps analogous to these, charged with the care and transport of the victims of war, *have been insufficient*. This is an *undisputed* and *incontestable* fact, written on every page of the world’s military annals.”²

When we consider all that remains to be done in order that sick and wounded soldiers may receive that attention which is so indispensable, we can imagine that up to the present time, the prophylactic art has left much to be desired; for, when it is found impossible to attend to all, the most urgent cases, that is to say, those in which suffering may be alleviated, are first taken, and preventive measures are indefinitely postponed. This is, in fact, the way things happen; and when we think of the ravages caused by sickness in the ranks of armies,³ and which, though of a different character, are quite as terrible as those of battle, we can but deplore the carelessness with regard to the health of the troops which military administra-

¹ Evans, 113. ² Frégier, 21. ³ (Boudier) Conférence, 63.

tions too frequently exhibit. The hygienic conditions of military life are generally inferior to those of civil life, and the consequence of this is a greater proportion of maladies and deaths, although the soldiers may be picked men, and, at the time of their enrolment, physically, very superior to the generality of the population.¹ “In the ten weeks between the 5th of May and the 14th of July, 1855, ninety-six per cent. of deaths arising from sickness in the English army in the Crimea, were occasioned by zymotic diseases; that is to say, that, while admitting it would not have been possible to save four per cent. of all these losses, it was not the less certain that ninety-six per cent. of them might have been prevented, because they were caused by maladies of such a nature as might have been anticipated and avoided.”²

Experience has proved that a very considerable diminution of mortality may be obtained by attending to the welfare of the soldier, and by carefully looking after the way in which he is nourished, lodged, clothed, and occupied. For example, the reforms introduced by Miss Nightingale in the hospitals and barracks of the army in the Crimea, reduced the losses by one-half.³ “If the English army was saved from typhus, such immunity is explained by the precautions which the English had leisure to take, in sparing unnecessary fatigue to their soldiers, in making their

¹ Evans, 23.

² Miss Nightingale, quoted by Shrimpton, 50; *see also* Evans, 37. Nightingale, 5.

lives happy, and their encampments healthy.”¹ This fact was a revelation, and it inaugurated a new era. During subsequent years, councils of health, in various countries, have devoted their most serious attention to this phase of the sanitary question. The respective Governments, on their part, have encouraged the tendency, fully aware that their interest in the matter perfectly coincides with the wishes of charity. The English often remark that “the soldier represents so much capital;” a sentiment which, far from excluding amongst them the sentiments of humanity, only associates with these the idea that there is a certain economical value to be preserved.² “All the circumstances which contribute to the well-being of the soldier, and in any way influence his health, deserve serious attention; they embrace a question of life or death. More especially with regard to the health of troops, it may be truly said, that the greater the cost, the greater also the economy.”³

In presence of the enormous losses sustained by the French army during the winter campaign in 1855–1856, Dr. Scrive remarks, “I am painfully impressed, and may well be astonished, that in the nineteenth century sure means have not been adopted to prevent the increase of such losses, or, at least, to reduce them to ordinary proportions. We may be quite persuaded of this truth, that the loss produced by the most deadly battles does not equal one quarter of the total loss which an army generally sustains. If there were any

¹ Scrive, 374.

² Baudens, 295.

³ Shrimpton, 50.

doubt on the point, the duration and severity of the Crimean campaign would furnish convincing proof of it. This, then, namely, to diminish the numerous causes of sickness that end by destroying our armies, is the principal aim towards which all generous efforts ought to be directed, and I have no doubt that a satisfactory result might be obtained if wise hygienic regulations, bearing the force of law, instead of being, as formerly, subject to the arbitrary discretion of individuals, were introduced into the conditions of military organization, whether in peace or war.”¹—“It may be said that in France everything is taught except hygiene. The physician who demands more room is always met by the same answer, that before everything else the service must be rendered easy, and in order to economize space, the most simple, and yet the most important, sanitary laws are violated.”² The late war in America leads us also to remark, that the military authorities there were constantly busy with the maladies of their soldiers, but they never troubled themselves about the prevention of disease. This is more or less true of every country, so that “a veracious history of all wars would be a history of disease, death, and suffering, which might easily have been avoided.”³

There is, then, a great reform to be accomplished; but “reforms are not always easy. If we remember that the good King Louis XVI., when visiting the Hotel Dieu, one day, saw four persons lying in one bed,

¹ Scrive, 281.

Baudens, 12, 59.

³ Evans, 79.

all of them suffering from different and very serious diseases, and that he tried in vain to put a stop to such a proceeding by an immediate decree, but that, notwithstanding the expressed desire of the sovereign, it was still continued, and was only changed long afterwards by violent revolutionary hands, it is, unfortunately, only too easy to appreciate the difficulties which the most simple, as well as the most urgent and necessary reforms must encounter even in these days.”¹

¹ Shrimpton, 39.

CHAPTER II.

NECESSITY OF AUXILIARY AID.

SUMMARY.—What can be done to meet the inadequacy of the official service?—I. It is the duty of the State to provide relief for the victims of war, and it faithfully fulfils this obligation, but it cannot do enough. Nothing, therefore, justifies this monopoly.—II. Supplementary aid is needed. It is required by humanity, and should be inspired by religious sentiment.—III. Origin of the introduction of private assistance. The official service had long been a bed of idleness. Work commenced when (*a*) the wars of Napoleon I. had excited a philanthropic reaction; (*b*) the composition of armies was changed; (*c*) communication with the theatre of hostilities had become more rapid; (*d*) the horrors of war were exposed through the agency of the press; (*e*) and the spirit of association had supplied the means to act.



WE have shown in the preceding chapter that the sanitary service of armies in the field was very frequently quite inadequate, although its actual organization testifies to the great progress which has been made in this branch of military administration. No person, considering all the concurrent testimony we have cited to establish this, would seriously venture to dispute it.

In presence of this lamentable position, against which the conscience protests, the question arises:

What can be done to establish an order of things which will not offer the same defects?

Before we reply to this, we must first ascertain upon whom the care of sick and wounded soldiers properly devolves; although the State alone has, in fact, assumed that responsibility, and our pretension to discuss the extent of its right to do so may appear somewhat presumptuous.

I. Let us first acknowledge that the State not only has the right to assist the victims of war, but it is its positive duty to do so. It is sad to think, whatever may be said to the contrary,¹ that this obligation, which is self-evident, was long unrecognized,² and that the formation of a regular medical service in armies only dates from the end of the sixteenth century, that is to say, from the period when Sully, in 1597, during the siege of Amiens, established the first military hospital worthy of the name. "Formerly the sick and wounded were generally abandoned in the towns and villages, and even on the road-side, or on the field of battle, there being no alternative but such as was offered in the convents, or in a few hospitals, which were very soon closed or crowded, or perhaps by the compassion of charitable persons, always a small number when compared with the mass of sufferers who need assistance."³

In former times the army medical service was quite a rudimentary experiment, and yet "military hospitals are not only the places where charity fulfils her most sacred mission, but they are also the arsenals in which

¹ De Chamousset, ii. 2. ² Miss Nightingale, 3. ³ Bégin (b), 2.

the most necessary and the most valuable weapons of a nation are repaired.”¹

In the armies of Alexander the Great, and the first Roman Emperors, however, there were always men provided for the relief of the wounded. Ambroise Paré, in the sixteenth century, predicted the utility of field hospitals before their introduction by Sully.² In the last century we find Frederick the Great taking an active interest in the sick and wounded, whom he recommended to the special care of his officers, and for whose relief he assigned large sums of money.³ The wars of the French Republic and of the Empire at length brought the sanitary service into prominence, and gave it that organization which it had never before possessed.⁴

The right of soldiers to be relieved is altogether analogous to that of civil prisoners to be maintained, and for this reason, that in both cases they are dependent on the State, which makes it impossible for them to provide for themselves. It is therefore evident that the power which created this situation is morally responsible for its consequences. “If the honour and defence of a State,” says Dr. Chenu, “require of every family, from the most noble to the most humble, the separation from, and often the sacrifice of, a son, a brother, or a father,⁵ it is only on the positive under-

¹ De Chamousset, ii. 2.

² Feigneaux, 4.

³ Wochenblatt, 10th of May, 1865.

⁴ Feigneaux, 5.

⁵ This, of course, only relates to countries in which the law of conscription prevails.—*Translator*.

standing that the State shall take the place of the absent family, and shall assure to its defenders prompt and efficacious assistance. It is on the express condition that the State shall take upon itself those duties which the family would at any cost fulfil in order to soothe the pain, save the life, or lessen the agony of one of its members.”¹

This is so much the more imperatively demanded at a time like the present, when means to injure the enemy² are being incessantly multiplied and brought to perfection, and “when it is incumbent upon us to raise the science which consoles and heals to a level with the science that destroys.”³ Truly, it would be a disgrace to humanity if its imagination were less fertile for good than for evil. Murderous refinements of war should have correlative refinements of mercy.

Here, there is a duty of conscience and humanity, which, by a happy coincidence, harmonizes with the acknowledged interest of belligerents. The general who had no care for the preservation of the health of his soldiers would soon see his army weakened by ravages which, pursuing their rapid course without meeting any resistance, would cause such a consumption of men as must, short as the war might be, soon exhaust the population. Besides, recruits are always expensive, and are not as valuable as disciplined soldiers, so that, for every reason, it is better to save a veteran than to replace him.⁴

¹ Chenu, 711. ² (Basting) Conférence, 71. ³ Achard, 17.

⁴ Marmont, 101.

We must, then, acknowledge that it is the duty as well as the interest of Governments to lavish care and attention on the victims of war; but shall we venture to say that this sacred duty of those at the head of affairs has not been, as far as possible, fulfilled? Let us be just, and admit that this State responsibility has been recognized, and that the truth of what we have just affirmed is now accepted by all civilized nations, by whom the most laudable endeavours are being made to realize schemes to afford prompt and efficacious assistance. Almost everywhere, legally constituted Corps have received authority to engraft on the sanitary service all the improvements which may be dictated by science or experience. The late wars, indeed, have been turned to advantage, and several Great Powers have seized the opportunity to introduce important changes in this service; and if war were to break out to-morrow, there is no doubt that medical aid would be better administered than it has before been. Let us also do justice to the servants of this official philanthropy, who well deserve it, and who acquit themselves of their noble mission with zeal and devotion, aye, and we may add, with heroism. The history of army doctors is full of touching episodes and sublime acts which command our respect and admiration, and which, assuredly, no person would attempt to deny or underestimate. Let us boldly assert that, if the sanitary administration still leaves something to be desired, the fault is not due to the men in whom it is per-

sonified, for well we know that they have done all that it was possible for them to do.

If, notwithstanding so many energetic and generous efforts, there is still much suffering for which there is no sufficient relief, must we not admit that the medical staff has found itself in the presence of obstacles which its own powers have been quite unable to surmount, and that the very nature of human affairs imposes limits to the beneficent activity of constituted authority? Everybody will not confess, yet no person will deny, that which authorizes us to conclude the affirmative, and to accept the opinion of those who think that a State, even the most vigilant, is incapable of satisfying all its exigencies.

Several reasons induce us to think that, in a great war, no army sanitary service can ever suffice to accomplish its most imperative duties. There are financial and practical reasons which fix an exact limit to the liberality of the *intendance* of an army.¹ Its forced submission to administrative forms would alone always deprive it of that flexibility, which is nevertheless indispensable, in order to provide against all contingencies. A more intimate knowledge of the interests of the soldier will perhaps tend to allow a greater latitude to the initiative of surgeons; but they can never—unless, indeed, they are taken off the roll of the army—be freed from their present obligations, and a prejudicial discipline, “the fixed rules of the service being incompatible with that elasticity and promptitude

¹ Lœffler, 6.

of action which the special and unforeseen requirements of war render necessary.”¹

But there is another and a more serious danger which affects the very foundation of the military institution.

To conquer, should be the first thought of the commander-in-chief of an army, as it is for this purpose he enters upon a campaign, and every other consideration is put in the background. The object which he pursues is always before his eyes, and to this he sacrifices everything that embarrasses him. The care of the sick and wounded, for instance, great as its urgency may be, is necessarily of secondary importance to him, animated though he be by feelings of the deepest humanity. Should he neglect it, undoubtedly it will be in self-defence, because military interests have placed him in this cruel position, and because, in allowing himself to be diverted from the essential object of his mission, he would expose his troops to misfortunes still greater than those which he could have wished to remedy. After an engagement, for instance, the medical staff is compelled to accompany the army if it advances; and what becomes, in such a case, of the sick and wounded, deserted in a hostile country? No administration could completely remedy this evil, which is one of the necessities of war.² It must not be a matter of surprise, then, if disabled men are sometimes sacrificed, since it is the very nature of war that it should be so. In fact, it happens constantly.

¹ Evans, 111.

² *Charité Internationale*, 5.

Larrey, for example, tells us that, at the time of Bonaparte's expedition to Syria, he had ready fifty camels, each provided with two panniers for the carriage of the wounded, but he had not calculated on the wants of the rest of the army, for whose use the transport agents took possession of all this material, to the loss of the unfortunate people who ought to have profited by it.¹ M. Hutin, *Chirurgien principal*, and medical inspector in Algeria, wrote to the Minister of War, on the 17th of September, 1844, to complain that the hospital cases and ambulance mules were frequently diverted from their purpose. "The commanders of corps and battalions," said he, "seize upon them, in order to carry their food or their effects, exercising an authority which it is useless for the medical staff to attempt to resist. Sometimes, perhaps, one of the lockers is left at the disposal of the surgeons, while the other is taken away; but it generally happens that both are taken away. Should they urgently protest, in the hope to obtain that which ought to be always under their control, they only receive harsh words and abusive refusals."²

In the Crimea, on the admission of the *Médecin en chef* of the French army, "the imperative necessities of war compelled them to crowd thousands of sick and wounded into small barracks;"³ and when, during the second winter, which proved so deadly in its results, the medical authorities demanded 8,000 places, as being indispensable for the sick, they were told that this was

¹ Larrey, i. 278.

² Clever de Maldigny, 79.

³ Scriver, 280.

quite incompatible with the *exigencies and necessities of war*.¹ "The surgical wants of the hospitals had to be neglected for *the exigencies of war, which were still more imperative*."² Lastly, for the transport of convalescents, twenty ships, converted into hospitals, were required; but, "could the navy, whose resources were barely adequate to supply the war service, make such a sacrifice without compromising *the more serious interests* of the general service?"³

Dr. Baudens complained that his hands were tied. He wished to take away his invalids, but was told that the minister would not permit him to establish hospitals beyond the Crimea. "I wished," said he, "to go away with some waggons, and my sick, as for a march, and to establish a large bivouac in the unoccupied camps. The administration, being solely responsible, cannot, I suppose, move so fast; besides, it meets with great difficulties, even in recruiting auxiliary nurses."⁴ "Of the 5,000 places I asked for, I have obtained 1,000."⁵ "I beg only to be supplied with ambulances. This measure also appears to have great difficulties in the way of its execution."⁶

Do not these quotations, which it would be easy to multiply, since analogous facts are more or less furnished by every war, prove beyond a doubt the theory which we maintain? That, moreover, which gives confidence to our opinion, is the knowledge that it is one very generally entertained, and that it has

¹ Scriver, 273.

² Ibid., 449.

³ Ibid., 377.

⁴ Baudens, 267.

⁵ Ibid., 271.

⁶ Ibid., 273.

already been expressed by several writers.¹ "It is in the very nature of war," says Dr. Neudœrfer, amongst others, "to brave all humane precautions, and to render it impossible, even with an excellent sanitary organization, to carry with sufficient rapidity all the men seriously wounded from the line of battle to the field hospitals. Notwithstanding the most careful preparations, there will always be, after great battles, some wounded who must be left for a long time lying on the ground, and abandoned without aid."²

There is no doubt that the insufficiency of the official sanitary service is an incurable evil; and that governments, notwithstanding the great resources at their disposal, will never be able properly to meet the situation which a great battle creates, or the varied, terrible, and unforeseen vicissitudes of war.

This being so, are we to accept the present state of things, with the hope of such limited progress it may allow, as the *ne plus ultra* of that which can be accorded to the generous and insatiable desires of charity? Must we always resign ourselves to events, and, following the advice of Dr. van Esschen, "not to attempt to foresee things which must be of themselves unforeseen?"³ This opinion has its partisans, and in it there is nothing surprising, for although "there is no shame in failure when all has been done that could be done,"⁴ an admission of inability is repugnant to the human mind, and professional

¹ Uytterhoeven (*a*), 3; Evans, 161. ² Neudœrfer, 8.

³ Van Esschen, 20. ⁴ (Maunoir), Conférence, 79.

jealousies are of all times and of all places. It was, then, natural, that at the time of the Civil War in the United States, when the delegates of the Central Association of New York went to offer their services, the purveyor-in-chief of the army, animated by *esprit de corps*, declined them, under the pretext that the Government could furnish all that was necessary, and had no need to be supported.¹ Elsewhere, we were not surprised to hear Dr. Merchie claim everything that treats of the alleviation of the evils of war, as well as the most efficacious means of relief for those who are wounded, as belonging to the special domain of the great military medical family.² General de Clausewitz thought the same; for, according to him, "everything that relates to the combatants belongs to the military department, as well as all that concerns the placing of men in the field, and the maintenance and employment of the troops."³ It is evidently the belief of the adepts of this system, that more than any other it secures proper care for the victims of war; otherwise they would repudiate it without hesitation. Where, indeed, could we at present find, in Christian and civilized countries, a single officer in whom the man does not prevail over the soldier, and who would not be ready to sacrifice the strictness of military rules to the demands of humanity?

But it is not sufficient to assert that private individuals are not qualified to occupy themselves with the

¹ Evans, 48.

² Uytterhoeven (*a*), 2.

³ de Clausewitz, i. 52.

wants of an army; this remains to be proved. In fact, every monopoly which derogates from general right should be supported by a good reason, and is only justifiable so long as social interests derive advantage from it. But it is asserted that the one of which we are now treating attains its object very imperfectly, and, in consequence, we may be allowed to suppose, until the contrary is proved, that soldiers could only be gainers from a change in the present system. Everybody versed in the application of sanitary science to armies on active service, will admit that it still offers for study a great number of problems on which it is absolutely necessary more light should be thrown.¹

The exclusive privilege of the State in this matter is one of those things which demands discussion. It appears to us that it is one of those customs which enjoys the prestige of antiquity, but which the present age, whose mission seems to be to unmask long-sanctioned errors and to evoke truth in all things, should not scruple to touch.

II. Let us not fear, then, to proclaim that which we believe we have established by convincing proofs; 1stly, that the State is under an obligation to relieve the victims of war as much and as well as it is able; 2ndly, that it is its duty to allow others to do that which it is not able to do by itself, and that there is plenty of room for supplementary work.

On this point we are with but few exceptions, in entire accord with all the world; and of this the reso-

¹ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 4.

lutions passed at the Conference of Geneva by the highly competent members who were present, delegates, for the most part, of their respective governments, are sufficient proof. "It is to the charitable co-operation of the public we must look," said Dr. Loeffler, of Berlin, "in order to surround the victims of war with all the comforts to which they have such a well-merited right, and which the heart of the true philanthropist ought to give for his unfortunate fellow-creatures."¹

How many would gladly press forward to enter this field of labour, if it were once opened to the friends of humanity! "The alleviation of the sufferings caused by war is in these days an universal obligation imposed by Christian civilization on all nations, at the same time that the extinction of national hatred is extending from individuals to institutions."² "Humanity and civilization imperatively demand a work like this; it seems as if it were a solemn duty, to the accomplishment of which every man of influence ought to lend his co-operation, and every honest man, at least, a thought."³ Wherever there is suffering to be relieved, their place is marked out; whether it be that a natural feeling of compassion leads them thither, and they admit that men owe reciprocal assistance in misfortune, or that this instinct rises to the level of religious sentiment, and their conduct is an act of obedience to divine precepts.

Would it be necessary, in order to stimulate the activity of persons disposed to make themselves useful,

¹ Conférence, 33.

² Comité Français, 40.

³ Dunant, 113.

that they should look even for an instant upon the scenes of carnage and sorrow which a field of battle presents? "To tell the truth, a battle consists only of sacrifices, mutilations, holocausts, and of tortures; and the most obscure, the most useless of these, are not the less agonizing."¹ Even the boldest general would not dare to boast that he had been an unmoved spectator of such a scene.

The hour for the general attack is settled, and on the eve of battle all are preparing themselves; some by serious thoughts, others by exciting a factitious gaiety, which badly dissimulates their emotion. Suddenly, at the appointed hour, the bugles sound, and sonorous vibrations send a solemn thrill through the ranks. But the soldier stays not a moment to yield himself to his impressions, and, in less time than we can describe them, they have already become facts; the battle is raging, volleys of musketry succeed one another, and after each a fresh rank of these courageous fellows is seen to fall, strewing the ground and filling the trenches. But how can we describe the field of dead and wounded, when the furious discharges of heavy shot begin to plough broad and bloody furrows through the compact mass of friends and foes? Again and again each assailant is hurled back before he can reach the position so valiantly defended. Time after time he passes and repasses the same place, strewn with his wounded comrades, over whom he involuntarily treads, until, perhaps, a bullet, or the

¹ Berthoud, 452.

splinter of a shell, lays him half-dead by the side of one who is already writhing in agony. But the attack continues, and perhaps it still lasts half an hour, or even an hour. Happy, indeed, is the storming party if it has nothing to fear except from the defence in its front; if no iron-clad ship, as at Düppel, comes rapidly round to the flank to rain fire and iron upon its ranks.

The stretcher-bearers (of the field hospital Corps) have bravely taken away wounded men from under the very guns of the enemy, and have removed them to a less-exposed place; the surgeons are at their posts to apply the first dressings; but the battle continues, the bearers have to pass a distance of a quarter or even half a league, between the thickest of the fight and the first field hospital station, carrying a burthen of from 150lbs. to 200lbs. weight. How many of these fatiguing journeys can each bearer make? Eight to ten, at the most; his arms begin to grow weak, and perhaps the day is already declining; the night approaches, 100, it may be 200, wounded men are likely to remain, during a long night, without assistance, on frozen or damp ground which will become their grave! Hospital orderlies, surgeons, everybody has performed prodigies of valour, devotion, and energy; but, alas! human strength has limits; it is dangerous to remain there, and, in proportion as one labours, the work seems mercilessly to increase.

But, look! young men, strong, vigorous, and unassuming, are running forward, led on by a generous enthusiasm, and by a few noble chiefs animated by

chivalrous valour. These are neither soldiers nor employés of the medical corps. They are come to relieve for a time the wearied arms of the bearers. "It is for us now to help you," they cry; "you have done what seemed impossible, let us also do something to exercise a little of the strength and courage such as you employ every day! For mercy's sake, let there be no distinction here between the official and the unofficial; nevertheless, if you demand our titles and our rights, we are the official delegates of Humanity, who regard you with eyes full of emotion and sympathy, and who wish to supply your momentary insufficiency, and afterwards to retire into the shade. We are volunteers; officers, surgeons, pray let us pass."

What man, indeed, deserves more public sympathy than the soldier, removed by law¹ from the comforts of home, in order to expose his life, very frequently without knowing the reason why, and only because he has received the order to do so?² "Ought we not, as much as possible, to economize the lives of such men, who, as far as they themselves are concerned, economize nothing in the service of their country; and are they not entitled to count on all our sympathy, and on all our help? After they have won our victories, and perhaps saved their country, what a heart-rending sight it is to see them wounded and dying, scattered in confusion, and abandoned without help amongst the dead, for want of sufficient means of transport to bear them from the field of battle!"³

¹ The law of Conscription.—*Translator*.

² Simonet, 4.

³ Shrimpton, 43.

But it is not absolutely necessary to have been choked with the odour of blood, and saddened by the despairing looks of the wounded, in order to form an idea of the night after a battle.¹ The recitals and descriptions of ocular witnesses have sufficiently informed us. "When, for example, one considers," with the author of *Un Souvenir de Solferino*, "how the unfortunate victims of war suffer from hunger, thirst, destitution, and every kind of pain, both physical and moral, there is no man so hard-hearted, so insensible, in a word, so inhuman, who would not eagerly hasten to assist, individually or collectively, and to the full extent of his power, in the alleviation of so much suffering."² "Let us not forget," says Dr. Landa, in his chivalrous style, "that the aid demanded by the soldier who falls beneath his flag is something more obligatory than an act of simple private charity: it is a sacred debt which he claims, a debt which all of us owe, whether we are rich or poor, humble or great, because the holy treasure of national honour, whose defence is entrusted to the men who compose our armies, concerns and belongs to us all, more than property, more than family, more than life itself. No, it is not charity for which the soldier asks when he requests a little lint; it is the payment of a debt of honour; and, happily, I know no Government and no people who could be capable of arguing this while exposing the generous blood of the defenders of independence, order, or of liberty."³

¹ de Bréda, 6.² Frégier, 43.³ Conférence, 47.

Noble as these leaders are, it is doubtful whether they would have possessed, in themselves alone, the power to work upon men's hearts, and to force them into action. Without Christianity, which has made the commandment that we should love our neighbour one of the most imperative of those that God has given to man,¹ they would have probably remained unproductive. If, by means of this divine revelation, civilization, in the human sense of the word, had not advanced beyond infancy, and had barbarism not, at the same time, received a blow that was gradually to compel it to disappear, we should still be, according to all appearances, at the same point where our forefathers were in matters of charity, that is to say, at a degree of indifference and insensibility for the sufferings of our fellow-creatures, which in these days would put to the blush the most incredulous of Christians. It is undoubtedly true, that it is especially at periods of religious awakening that solicitude for soldiers has shown itself. To express sentiments of humanity is to yield, unconsciously perhaps, to the influence of Christianity; before its introduction they were hardly held in honour. Religious orders were the first to turn their activity in this direction, and their example taught others that it would be by raising the standard of the Cross they would rally the greatest number of workers to assist in the sanitary service of armies.

Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, constantly thinking over everything that this service left to be

¹ St. Matthew, xxii. 39.

desired, and of the means of providing for its insufficiency, expressed the following opinion:—"That it would, perhaps, be desirable to try to change the spirit of hospital administration; to seek a means of recompense more noble than pecuniary interest; and to develop worthier and more elevated thoughts, in order the better to sustain courage and devotion." And he added, "If the functions of those who minister to the sick and wounded were raised and ennobled in character, and rewarded with the opinion and the joys which the exercise of charity and the sentiment of piety bestow, there is no doubt that the most beneficial effects would result in favour of those who suffer."¹

III. The introduction of civil aid to armies on active service dates back to the time of the Crusades; but its apparition was ephemeral, and it was speedily forgotten in the Middle Ages. Besides, in this phase of its history it assumed a form that prevented it from becoming general, as it was not possible for every person to enrol himself under the banner of the Hospitaller Knights. Centuries thus passed away, during which nothing was heard of it, and the chain of tradition seemed so effectually broken, that the very subject has lately been looked upon as a real novelty.

We are far from denying, that in all ages there have been compassionate individuals, who, at the sight of the horrors of a battle-field, have felt themselves urged on to the relief of the wounded.² We readily

¹ Marmont, 102.

² (Landa) Conférence, 40.

admit this, although no record of it has been preserved; for, we can well believe, that each one, acting separately and on his own account, put into practice the Evangelical precept, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."¹ But as long as the work of voluntary assistance for the victims of war was only represented by the efforts of certain private individuals, acting independently of each other, it cannot be considered as then established, but as existing in a rudimentary state. Later progress could add nothing to the moral value of acts of charity already performed, but it could increase their efficacy. They were like unconnected particles, which only needed cohesion to transform them into a powerful lever. The day when individual labour became collective is that in which the work really had birth.

We have already seen that those who led soldiers to battle did not always endeavour to lessen the hardships of war, and that nothing less than the slow action of civilization on manners was required, in order to bring the State itself to comprehend the grave responsibility which devolved upon it. The creation, then, of an official sanitary service was, about two centuries and a half ago, a measure which apparently satisfied the wishes of soldiers, as well as the charitable instinct of peoples. The Governments having taken the initiative, it was naturally left to them to do all that was needful. Besides, the sanitary service developed itself progressively, and the improvements

¹ St. Matthew, vi. 3.

thus introduced were of a nature to inspire confidence. If, sometimes, it was discovered that it had not been found adequate to its task, some insuperable obstacle was recognized, and resignation to it was looked upon as a necessity.

The public thus became habituated to consider itself incompetent to deal with charitable questions relating to war; and this explains how it is that modern generations have so long remained careless and inactive, in spite of the evident necessity for auxiliary help, and the strict duty which this imposed upon them. Percy grieved about it, and said on this subject, when speaking of the transport of the wounded, "The passage of these poor wretches, who have not had their wounds dressed for some days, leaves for a long time a cadaverous smell behind it; every one looks at them, but no person offers them any assistance or consolation; they only appear to be sorry for them."¹ This state of things might have continued if, by a happy concurrence of circumstances, the car of Charity had not been lifted out of the ruts in which its wheels were sunk.

The period of peace which, in 1815, followed a time of war, favoured this movement, and prepared the way to a reform. Minds long preoccupied with warlike thoughts, partially released themselves, and, by a natural reaction, turned themselves to pacific employments, especially directing their solicitude to human misery. Respect for life, which until then

¹ Laurent, 194.

had been so little regarded, became one of the articles of their creed, and one of the best titles by which modern civilization could do honour to itself.¹

The ideas of fraternity and solidarity amongst men, which a short time before had sprung up, also seconded the spirit of charity, which became much more general than it formerly had been. Charitable institutions were multiplied in aid of suffering humanity under every form, and the art of doing good was even raised into a sort of special science, under the name of *charitable economy*, in order that as much effect as possible might be obtained from the enthusiasm which had been excited. When, therefore, the torch of Discord was rekindled in Europe, the awakened attention of philanthropists soon discovered a new field of labour in war, and they immediately set themselves to work.

If the condition of the soldier is in these days more zealously attended to than it formerly was, and if there is more earnestness in the endeavour to ameliorate it, it is also true that modern armies differ very much in their composition from those of former days. These, for the greater part, were recruited from amongst the vagabonds, whose bad habits unfitted them for a quiet laborious life,² and who excited but little interest in their fellow-countrymen; whilst the custom of conscription, generally employed in these days, or that of the Landwehr in use amongst the Prussians and the Swiss, have given rise to armies which are really national, and the misfortunes of which strike home to

¹ Comité Français, 16, 31.

² Marmont, 192.

the bosom of every family in the country. The army has struck its roots so deeply into the midst of the population, that it is impossible that people can remain passive spectators of its sufferings ; only let the occasion to testify its sympathy be offered, and it will hasten to respond to the appeal addressed to it.

The increasing rapidity, the very instantaneousness of communications, has favoured this awakening, for by this means we live much more in the intimacy of the army than we formerly did. Those who remain at their own hearths follow, step by step, so to speak, those who are fighting against the enemy ; day by day they receive intelligence of them, and when blood has been flowing, they learn the news almost before it has been stanchèd, or has had time to become cold. From this fact alone, the impressions produced are more vivid, for present events affect the mind more forcibly than distant ones. We feel almost within reach of the sufferers ; it seems as if we had only to wish, in order to be with them, and this immediate knowledge of what our brothers are suffering influences us and excites us to act.¹

This transformation of the public mind is reflected in the writings of historians. Whether it be that this is the result of their own feeling, or that they have endeavoured to respond to the thought of their readers, those of our contemporaries who have undertaken to describe military events have made a concession to humanity, and, while celebrating exploits, have

¹ *Comite Français*, 30.

not hesitated to admit that the glory of arms is purchased at the price of many tears and much blood.

“The historian,” says Prescott, “ought not to fear to paint, in the most vivid colours, atrocities which we are too much accustomed to cover with a false halo of glory.”¹

In this respect, modern works on the subject present a striking contrast with those of former writers. These thought they had accomplished their task when they had described the movements of the troops, and the catastrophes of battle.² Disasters were narrated by them without emotion, “as if, in human life, such things were as natural and ordinary as the fall of leaves in a forest.”³

“We ignore,” says the Duke de Fezensac, “at the price of how much suffering the most brilliant successes are often bought.”⁴

It is the *periodical press* which more particularly has added weight to the balance of public opinion. This power, of which preceding generations had hardly any knowledge, can work prodigies, and when it will place itself in the service of good causes, it has the power to make them triumphant. It has such publicity at command, that it is sufficient for it to touch the chord of human sympathy, to make it vibrate from one end of Europe, or of the world, to the other. That which occurred with regard to the very question which now

¹ History of the Conquest of Mexico, iii. 160.

² Shrimpton, 2.

³ Larroque, 282.

⁴ Souvenirs militaires, 66.

occupies us, is a proof of this. When journalists undertook to make themselves the echo of public opinion, and to obtain additional assistance for sick and wounded soldiers, on all sides there appeared to be an outbreak of suppressed feelings; there was but one voice to proclaim the legitimacy of their complaints, and to demand for those whom it concerned the realization of their wishes. "Too long," it was said, "the *fanfares* of victory had smothered the agonized cries of those who had purchased conquest with their blood; the roar of the cannon, which announced the triumph, covered the plaintive voices of those who only asked a bier as their recompense for having conquered; and the joyous sounds of bells, wildly ringing, extinguished the funeral knell of heroes."¹

It was a singular circumstance, that the English Government, to whom the first complaints were made, did not even know the full extent of the evil. The descriptions placed before it were revelations, and, in proportion as its ignorance was dispelled by these, the best means were taken to repair its former negligence. We must, however, think that the Government would not so eagerly have received the advice of the public journals, had it not guessed that they were the organs of the whole nation, which demanded immediate action.

"The English press," said Dr. Shrimpton, "has taken the initiative in a philanthropic proceeding which is without example, and of which we hope for a return

¹ (Landa), Conférence, 39.

in all analogous circumstances. In sending correspondents to the Crimea with the army of Great Britain, the press was placed in a position to know, and to inform us with accuracy, of the dreadful disorder which reigned in the army, from the commencement of the expedition, and thus to forewarn us, in good time, of all the misfortunes which would happen—misfortunes which would have been greater still without these salutary warnings. . . . The English Government only acquired with great difficulty a knowledge of the evils that existed in the army. . . . How did the truth at length reach it? . . . By means of the Press. Yes, thanks to the fidelity and the perseverance with which the newspaper writers (especially the correspondent of the *Times*) set themselves to the task of enlightening the public, the Government fully understood that the sufferings of the soldier were, alas! but too real, and it applied itself to remedy them.”¹

We are not aware that this example has found any imitators up to the present time; nevertheless, in consequence of the emulation which arose among the military powers, in order to obtain a better organization for their sanitary service, the English army has not been the only one to benefit by the experiences which it so dearly purchased in the Crimea.

These were the signs, the precursors of unofficial intervention; for the tendency of men's minds, joined to an exact knowledge of the facts, infallibly led to it.

¹ Shrimpton, 3, 19.

Consciences, once awakened and enlightened, were not contented with a sterile pity; the time had come when they could no longer remain idle spectators of the horrors of war. Whole populations felt themselves moved by a desire to pay their tribute of devotion, to dress wounds, to quench burning thirst, to console and strengthen hearts bowed down and overwhelmed with pain.

Willing men, however, would have seen their intentions rendered powerless, if they had not possessed other means to make themselves useful, besides those of which every one separately could dispose. In order not to remain unequal to their task, they were compelled to concert amongst themselves, and to unite their efforts. Association, alone, could procure for them resources equal to so vast an undertaking, and the great things which it had already accomplished, and of which our contemporaries had been witnesses, naturally suggested the thought of making a new application of it to the necessities of war; so that, thanks to co-operative aid, "an almost entirely new career for the practice of Christian charity has been opened to the world."¹

The principle of Association had long been known, but its whole import had not been suspected; it was well known that *union is strength*, but this pregnant maxim had not yet fallen upon earth sufficiently well prepared to bear all the fruits which it contained in the germ. Men hardly thought of applying it, and charity,


¹ Evans, ii.

like all other branches of human activity, was confined within narrow limits until the day, still not very remote, when, imbibing fresh vigour, it broke through all restraints. Success crowned this economical revolution, which, opening out new horizons to the vigilant eye of philanthropists, removed for them the limits of the possible, and gave to everything an energetic impulse. The work of relief to the wounded, though the last to benefit by it, will not be the one to draw the least amount of profit; and, though it has scarcely yet come to light, we believe the future has a great destiny in store for it.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF VOLUNTEER AID.

SUMMARY.—Purpose of this Chapter—Wars of Napoleon I.—The *Frauenverein* of Frankfort—Campaign of the Sonderbund—Helpers from Zurich—Crimean War—Miss Nightingale—French Work—Protestant Almoners—Russian Work—Italian Campaign—American War—The Sanitary Commission—Schleswig-Holstein War—Central Committee of Berlin—Other German Committees—Hamburg Committee—The Chevaliers of St. John and Volunteers from the Rauhe-Haus—Danish Work.

E only intend, in this place, to give a short sketch, and not a complete historical account. The subjects treated in subsequent chapters will necessarily lead us to cite, often with details, the different forms which charitable work has assumed in different countries and in recent wars. If we were now to give a very detailed description of these, we should be led, farther on, to numerous repetitions. Nevertheless, we have thought that a simple outline would here find its logical place, and would also have its utility; as, before treating of the improvements to be introduced into an undertaking, it is natural

that we should first give some account of what has been done up to the present time.

Man is by instinct led to the assistance of his neighbour, when he sees him suffering. Whenever this suffering takes the character of a public calamity, manifestations of sympathy become contagious and praiseworthy : soon, every one desires to help, and feels himself, as it were, induced to hasten to relieve. In such a sense, the work of which this book treats is as old as humanity. The aim which we have in view, however, does not necessitate investigations which would lead us back to a remote epoch. It is quite sufficient for us to circumscribe our inquiry by the wars of modern times, which are the most interesting to us, and the most valuable in precise data on the subject in question. It is exactly what we have done in our chapter on the insufficiency of the sanitary service. There, as here, we have not thought it needful to go back beyond our own century.

We have little to say of the wars of Napoleon I. In order to make a complete study of them, it would be necessary to examine the accounts in the journals of the period, and to glean from the souvenirs of the few survivors who remain, as there are not many contemporary documents in existence which relate to the point that now interests us. The reason for this is, that no auxiliary relief for the wounded had then been organized. Each gave what assistance he could, and acted according to the impulse created by the requirements of the moment. A relentless war

did not allow men, so to speak, more than time to breathe : the purchase of munitions of war, and the levying of new troops absorbed all their attention.

However, Committees of Relief, chiefly composed of devoted women, were formed in several parts of Germany. In the year 1813, some ladies of Frankfort united together and founded the *Frauenverein* of that city, of which an historical notice speaks in the following terms :—“ The origin of the *Frauenverein* dates from the war commenced in 1813, for the defence of the country and of liberty. Its object was, to alleviate the sufferings which were the consequence of this war, as far as such work might be included in the sphere of woman’s usefulness ; and it wished especially to be employed wherever there was need of instantaneous relief. It is easy to understand that this society was received with joy, and that it soon acquired general esteem ; the more so, when we remember that it was the duty of its members personally to ascertain the nature of every requirement, a duty which was fulfilled conscientiously and with ready devotion.” Again, let us mark how a second pamphlet, published on the occasion of the semi-centenary Jubilee of its foundation, expresses itself on the origin and object of this philanthropic society :—“ The *Frauenverein* of Frankfort wished, at the moment when the Volunteers and the Landwehr of this town were arming themselves, to play its part in the philanthropic work by the offer of female co-operation, especially to insure more complete arrangements for the care of the sick and wounded of the war ; it

proposed, besides, to provide, as far as might be possible, for the wants of the military hospitals at Frankfort, without distinction of friends or foes; and finally, it vowed itself to an energetic and sustained interest in the families of those who bore arms."

The smallest monthly contribution was fixed at one florin. The appeal for help was issued by three ladies: Mesdames Antonie Brentano, Sophie de Neufville, and Rosette Stædel. The society was constituted on the 2nd of February, 1814. Gifts were abundant; in the report, issued in the month of April, 1814, the receipt of 7,000 florins and of a large quantity of female work, was acknowledged. Relief was indiscriminately afforded to the volunteer soldiers of Frankfort, to Spaniards who were returning from captivity, and to French prisoners and sick who had been received into the hospitals of the city. After the tide of war had passed into France, the members occupied themselves with an epidemic of typhus which it had left behind, and the exertions of the society had no longer a military character. The expenses during the war amounted to about 20,800 florins; and, besides this, 1,900 shirts, 2,200 pairs of stockings, 200 sheets, and 700 ells of linen, &c., were distributed.

In 1815, when Napoleon returned from the Isle of Elba, the *Frauenverein* resumed its martial life, and made an appeal for fresh contributions, which arrived in abundance. Many gifts of money and linen for the sick and wounded were sent from the sister societies located at Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Deutz, Dusseldorf,

as well as in Holland. But this episode was of short duration.¹

Since 1815, the *Frauenverein* has been transformed into a society for general relief, and it has displayed, up to our own times, a most useful and persevering activity in the free city of Frankfort. It is probable, that if, after a peace of fifty years, a new war were to break out in Germany, the *Frauenverein* of Frankfort, and other similar societies of the German Fatherland, would remember their old origin, and again form themselves into independent committees for the relief of soldiers on active service.²

We might cite examples of other isolated efforts made at the same period; but all these generous endeavours, however useful within the bounds of their sphere of application, were very insufficient. They had, besides, the fault of never having been regularly organized, and from that circumstance they wanted that solidarity which would have considerably augmented their power.

More recently there has been a war, very limited, and of short duration, but the character of which was essentially national; and this we cannot pass over in silence.

¹ *Frauenverein* (a and b).

² Since these pages were written, a sanguinary war has overspread the whole of Germany. The free city of Frankfort, like many others, established a new Committee for the relief of the wounded. Within fifteen days it formed several independent sanitary companies, constituting a total of 180 men. Up to the 1st of October, 1866, it expended 25,000 florins in giving help to the wounded. Our anticipations, as is thus proved, have been amply realized.

We mean that of the Sonderbund, in Switzerland. It is a remarkable thing, however, that this campaign, comparatively bloodless, offers us one of the most interesting examples of the intelligent and devoted intervention of independent charity. The rapid march of events left no time to the medical staff of the army for complete organization; it remained, therefore, to the end very defective. The *Médecin en chef*, Dr. Flügel, bitterly complains of it; but, happily, there were few victims.

After the opening of this campaign, we find a little *Société de Secours* forming itself at Zurich. It selects its medical men, and its volunteers, it directs ambulance waggons to be constructed for its own use; in a word, and probably for the first time in history, it realizes, even in its details, the work which later was to become of such great importance in the civilized world. All honour to these first and modest originators! Small independent hospitals were also established in several places during the war of the Sonderbund. The historical importance of this manifestation of unofficial aid, devoted to the transport of the wounded, encourages us to add some particulars on the subject which are but little known.

When, at the commencement of November, 1847, Switzerland was compelled to abandon a pacific solution of its political dissensions, and the federal troops were placed under arms, a party of friends at Zurich conceived the wish to construct comfortable carriages for the wounded, and to facilitate, as far as it might be

in their power, the proper employment of these vehicles, for the removal of the wounded from the field of battle to the ambulance or to the hospital. It was unnecessary to spend much time in the discussion of this project, which evoked a great amount of sympathy; and, on the following day, namely, the 5th November, fourteen men, influenced by the same thought, met together in order to form a *Society for the transport of soldiers seriously wounded*.¹ This society did not hide from itself the difficulties it would probably have to encounter from the military and civil authorities; but the conviction that good only was intended, and that this could be perseveringly and conscientiously worked out, so impressed every one of the party, they immediately set to work to accomplish it.

The committee was divided into three sub-committees, for the following purposes:—the first, for correspondence with the authorities; the second, to superintend the construction of means of transport; and the third was responsible for the financial department. The Zurich Government, and the chiefs of the fifth army division, gave their most complete assent, and these last granted full powers to the committee, which enabled it to arrange with the military staff for the supplies and the necessary requisitions.

The society was assisted by medical men, in the establishment of invalid carriages. The members paid an entrance fee of four francs, and in order to furnish these carriages, they made amongst themselves

¹ Zurich.

a collection of bedding and linen ; and one of them offered his house as a depôt for such things. They agreed among themselves not to inform the public of this work until the society should have commenced operations ; but in order to hasten its development, they constituted themselves a permanent body. Each member was told off in his turn to accompany one of the transport carriages, and personally to take charge of the wounded, under the advice of an assistant surgeon. A member, himself a surgeon, gave his colleagues instruction as to the treatment of the wounded during removal.

On the 8th of November, the two first carriages were tried, one drawn by two horses, for four wounded men stretched at full length, and one drawn by a single horse, for two men lying down. Afterwards, six carriages of the first model, and twelve of the second, were ordered. Service regulations were drawn up, printed, and circulated amongst those interested. One large and two small carriages formed a convoy, and these were accompanied by a *conducteur de convoi*, a surgeon, a few members of the society, and some volunteers of the University of Zurich, serving as medical assistants. At the first notice of battle, they left Zurich, without, however, exactly knowing where the fighting was going on. The people of the city, who were grouped around the vehicles, gave evidence of their lively interest, and this afforded an opportunity to describe the work, and to apply to them for help, through the medium of the journals. The public

eagerly responded to this appeal; soon the sympathy became general, and it was decided to obtain two new carriages, which brought the total to twenty-two. After the battle of Gislíkon, several gentlemen joined the society, and sent their own private carriages, well provided with necessaries. They were joyfully received; but, as may easily be imagined, the activity of the society was as limited as the war itself.

The official service had not sufficient money at its disposal to enable it to provide everything that was needed; and to meet all requirements, a display of patriotism, both on the part of the governments as well as on that of the citizens, was needed.¹ The population of Aarau, among others, contributed largely;² they prepared beds and furniture, also material for dressing wounds; and, in several hospitals, societies of ladies performed the work.³ The Hospital of Halden, for example, was voluntarily served by a committee of ladies, during the whole of the campaign, in a manner which won the warmest acknowledgments.⁴

We have hastened to reach more recent wars, which occupy a large place in politics, on account of their importance and duration, and, in the history of philanthropy, by the immense service rendered by volunteer auxiliary helpers.

Let us first speak of the Crimean war. The volunteer work of relief for the wounded, in this memorable struggle, is almost entirely comprised, as far as con-

¹ Flügel, 2. ² Ibid., 29. ³ Ibid., v. ⁴ Ibid., 32.

cerned the allied army, in the mission of Miss Nightingale and her faithful companions. This mission, it must be acknowledged, may be indifferently classed amongst undertakings of a free and national character, or amongst the official measures of Government. It was one of the cases, and they will be frequent during war, where the official and the unofficial element, giving each other the hand, are mingled in one and the same generous impulse.

We remarked, in Chapter I., that nothing could equal the unprepared state of the English administration at the time of the departure of the army for the East, and during the first part of the siege of Sebastopol. The journals having raised on this subject a cry of alarm, and awakened general uneasiness, a light was seen on the horizon shining like a ray of hope, and all eyes were turned towards the heroic woman whom we have just named. The Secretary of State for War, Mr. Sidney Herbert, then wrote to beg her to place herself at the head of a work of reform. By an interesting coincidence, she was at the same time writing to the Minister, to place herself at his disposal; the letters crossed, both the one and the other inspired by the same sentiment—that of charity and patriotism. The Minister, writing to Miss Nightingale to beg her assistance, told her that “nurses were greatly needed in the hospital at Scutari. The English army had never had women in its hospitals, and it was desired that their employment might be tried.” “The ordinary assistants,” he

added, "must have had little experience in such service."¹

In less than a fortnight after she had received the Ministerial letter (24th October, 1854), Miss Nightingale left the coast of England, accompanied by about forty assistants, and by an excellent lady, Mrs. Bracebridge, who acted to some extent as her guardian.

Her head-quarters were Barrack-Hospital, Scutari, a place well known for hospital confusion and disorder. One can understand how delicate was her position, in spite of full, we may say, unlimited powers, and the high protection of which the Secretary of State for War had assured her. She herself felt that the first thing to be done was to make her own powers of usefulness apparent to the eyes of everybody by incontestible results. She immediately occupied herself in the preparation of hygienic nourishment, in changing personal and bed-linen: and this work was done in a kitchen and a laundry appropriated to herself. Her considerate tact, and the absence of all thought of self, rapidly gained for her general sympathy.

Precious gifts, which she knew how to put out to profit, were soon forwarded to her from England. Besides, with her help, a more useful employment was given to the immense resources lavished by the State, and the large sums of money furnished by public subscriptions were in good time more advantageously utilized.² She also occupied herself with the indis-

¹ Shrimpton, 23.

² Ibid., 33.

pensable sanitary improvement of Barrack-Hospital. Its crowded state was the most difficult obstacle to overcome. She was very efficiently seconded in the work by her companions, and by the Sisters of Charity of different societies. Let us, here, pay a just tribute to the sanitary administration of the French army, which rendered to its allies very great and earnest services. What would have become at certain times of the sick and wounded English, without the assistance from their brothers in arms?

The beneficent activity of Miss Nightingale was not limited to Barrack-Hospital, it embraced the whole English army. Soon, under her influence, which might truly be called magic, the whole sanitary and hygienic service was completely changed; it was a real metamorphosis. To the same extent as the army, at the commencement of the war, had been destitute of everything, and forced in a great degree under the protection of the French army, so, in the winter of 1856, did it serve, in many respects, as a model to its ally, especially in matters of comfort, cleanliness, and sanitary attention. In particular, the whole English army was provided by its Government with excellent and well-constructed barracks, thoroughly ventilated and supplied, whilst the French and Sardinian barracks left much to be desired, especially in ventilation; typhus, cholera, and scurvy, which had decimated the English army, almost completely disappeared, though they still raged amongst the French and Sardinian troops.

Miss Nightingale's work continued to exercise a salutary influence, even after the war ; and, with the zealous and intelligent concurrence of the Minister, Mr. Sidney Herbert, it led to important reforms in the sanitary administration of the army.

The French volunteer work for the army in the Crimea has left few traces, at least in the publications which we have been able to obtain. Two reasons seem to explain this fact. The first is, the custom of centralization adopted in France, especially for everything that concerns the organization of the army. The wheels of this immense machine move with great regularity under the exclusive control of the official authorities, and the patriotic and charitable impulse of the people with difficulty finds a place in it. The second reason is, the superiority of the sanitary institutions. The official organization being more perfect, did not give rise to the reproaches incurred by the English administration, and did not exhibit, especially in the first year, such immense defects as those to which we have alluded.

The only combined French work of any importance, that is known to us, is that of the almoners successively sent out, to the number of ten, by the Protestant Church of France. This interesting mission had a character that was religious rather than sanitary ; nevertheless, on many occasions, it associated benefits to the body with consolations for the soul.

At the annual pastoral Conference, held at Paris, in April and May, 1854, measures were adopted in order

to obtain Protestant army chaplains, but they failed. However, "it was necessary immediately to bear the consolations of the Gospel to those who, in a hostile land, found themselves deprived of all religious aid, and this at a time when every day, and at every moment, they were meeting danger, suffering, and death."¹

It was on the 9th of December, 1854, that the Committee, after several interviews with the Minister of War, received an answer which secured protection and satisfactory guarantees for its envoys; and it was agreed that, being fed and paid by the Church, they should be recognized by the Government and furnished with the necessary passports to secure respect for their persons and their work. An appeal was then addressed to all the Protestant Churches of France. The first encouraging answer to this request was a sum of 20,000 francs given by MM. Ernest and Edouard André. The gross receipts in Paris were 27,000 francs, and in the Departments 45,000—total, 72,000. The expenses of the mission were 56,000 francs. The balance was, at a later period, devoted to an analogous work amongst Protestant soldiers in Algeria. The ecclesiastics, to the number of ten, were successively sent out as they were wanted, and, generally, four at a time. They were freely admitted into the hospitals, and had a gratuitous passage by sea. They had, in fact, entire liberty of action as far as it was legitimate and possible. We leave for the chapter

¹ Aumôniers, 6.

which treats of the moral aid given to soldiers, many details relative to this interesting mission.

The work itself was divided into two branches—1stly. That which included Constantinople, but more especially the eight military hospitals established in the city itself or in the suburbs; 2ndly. That of the Camp before Sebastopol. The work of the delegates chiefly consisted in visiting the sick and wounded, in divine worship, and in privately exhorting those who were in good health. They received, also, from France, gifts of useful objects as well as of money, the distribution of which was confided to them.

It is easy to understand that this mission could not have obtained such satisfactory results had it not been for the activity and wisdom evinced by its directors in France, and for the very great devotion of its delegates. Two of the latter, Messrs. Chardon and Babut, died before Sebastopol, courageous victims of their zeal, attacked one after the other by typhus fever. “On reviewing the annals of this memorable war, the Protestants throughout the whole of France will repeat with gratitude the names of the ten faithful servants who went to carry words of life and of love to their brethren who were fighting and dying; they will also repeat the two names which remain inscribed on two tombstones before Sebastopol.”¹

The work, to which we have just briefly alluded, occupies in the history of volunteer succour during the Crimean war, a position of too much interest to permit

¹ Aumôniers, 18.

us to hesitate to give it its proper place in this historical sketch. Although incorporated in the general and official mechanism of the army, it provided its own expenses, it was of independent unofficial origin, and preserved entire autonomy through the whole course of its development; it well deserves, then, under all these titles, to be ranked amongst the volunteer works for the benefit of soldiers in time of war.

We can gather but few details as to the part which the Russian people took in the relief of the great number of victims (600,000)¹ of the Crimean war. There is no doubt that many isolated acts of devotion displayed by the peasants and the nobles would deserve honourable mention in this place. It is told, for example, that the landed proprietors were of great assistance to the army, by means of generous gifts of waggons of corn. The immense distances to be traversed, and the difficulty of communication, were insurmountable obstacles, and even prevented, it was said, consignments of preparations and means for dressing wounds from reaching their destination. These detached efforts could not, it appears, be sufficiently organized and arranged. At Sebastopol, "on all sides might be seen, in the distribution of the objects collected by the liberal hands of the ladies of St. Petersburg and other towns, a want of necessary unity of action and of practical direction. Numbers of bales, filled with lint prepared by the Russian

¹ Chenu, 617.

ladies, having been despatched from the capital towards the Crimea, were lost on the road, and found a destination in the vats of paper manufacturers.”¹

As an undertaking on a larger and more compact scale, we cannot omit to mention that of Prince Demidoff, of which there is a detailed account in the report of the International Conference of Geneva.² Prince Demidoff established a sort of charitable agency, destined to visit the Russian prisoners in France and in England, and to offer to them material and moral comfort. The same philanthropic work was afterwards extended by the Prince to prisoners belonging to the nations hostile to Russia, dispersed over different parts of the empire; and for this a centre for general correspondence was established at Constantinople.

The Grand Duchess Helena Paulowna, for her part, organized a religious order, that of the *Sœurs de l'Exaltation de la Croix*, to attend to the soldiers. “More than 200 members of this community were attached to the Russian army as nurses. An almoner and six surgeons in the service of the institution accompanied them. Many of these devoted women succumbed to the fatigue and disease which they had to encounter.”³

In the short but sanguinary campaign in Italy in 1859, Italian patriotism accomplished much. This stimulant dominated all others, and it was also united with a sentiment of well-deserved gratitude towards the French army, whose aid had so decidedly helped to gain

¹ Evans, iv.

² Conférence, 27-29.

³ Ibid., 141.

the victory; and the wounded French soldiers, therefore, received on all sides the most attentive care. But, in this great popular enthusiasm to afford relief to the wounded, it would be wrong not to recognize a more disinterested sentiment of philanthropy, which explains why the unfortunate enemy generally received the same care as the victorious friend. Thus, at Milan, there was a large hospital devoted entirely to the use of wounded Austrians, who were faithfully attended to by Italian civil surgeons.

Immediately after the battles of Magenta and Solferino, the whole of Northern Italy was covered with improvised hospitals, placed chiefly under civil direction, and attended to, in a great measure, by civil surgeons. The placing of French soldiers in Piedmontese and Lombard hospitals, which were under the direction of a staff that was entirely Italian, and independent of the army, proves that such services can be accepted. Dr. Bertherand adds, that the French were very happy to find these resources.¹ At Brescia alone, thirty-nine hospitals sprang into existence in a few days, and rendered the most eminent services to 17,000 French, 15,000 Sardinians, and 1,500 Austrians, during five months and a half (from the 14th of July to the 31st of December, 1859). The expenses of this long maintenance amounted to 1,096,000 francs. It is true that 258,000 francs were reimbursed by the French, and 526,000 by the Sardinians.²

¹ Bertherand, 170.

² Abeni.

The city of Milan, immediately after the great battles, presented an almost similar spectacle. At the commencement of the war, a Committee was formed there, under the presidency of the Countess Verri-Borromeo. It supplied the wants of the wounded, and each one carried to it the produce of his work.¹ Milan contained, on the 1st of July, 7,297 wounded : 3,652 French, 1,331 Italians, and 2,314 Austrians, distributed among fifteen large hospitals, of which many had hardly been in existence a fortnight.

Turin, which was more distant from the places where bloody battles had been fought, did not contain so many wounded, and the hospitals of the city were able to receive the sick and wounded. There was, however, not far from the railway-station, a large and newly-established French hospital, under the direction of the military administration. A committee of ladies, over whom presided the Marchioness Pallavicini, collected resources and afterwards divided them amongst the hospitals ; and it was to this committee that the greater part of the gifts of linen, bandages, &c., which at this period were sent away from Geneva, was addressed.²

The Italian campaign was the occasion, as far as concerns the allied army, of a great and generous display of unofficial activity, which was in many respects judiciously organized ; and yet Dr. Evans complains that the patriotic and philanthropic outburst was too quickly over. “ The enthusiasm of the commence-

¹ Appia (a).

² Ibid. (a), 211.

ment," says he, "sincere as it was, was not sustained with perseverance, for want of a well-ordered organization to control its efforts and constantly to keep it on a level with the demands made upon it. Not being followed up, the first excitement died away beneath the weight of difficulties which the general inexperience had accumulated." ¹

The Austrian army, on its side, was not behindhand in respect to the subsidies furnished to the hospitals by private charity. On the 5th of May, 1859, a large relief committee constituted itself at Vienna, under the title of *Patriotischer Hilfsverein während der Kriegsdauer*, with the entire approbation of the Emperor, and the support of the principal civil and municipal authorities. Its revenues consisted of considerable gifts, either in kind, for the numerous military hospitals of the empire, or in money. The total sum collected, amounting to 367,328 florins, was almost entirely distributed in specie to the soldiers, according to their military rank, their wounds, and their necessities. The committee was even able to establish some hospitals in and around Vienna.²

The Austrian committee was also assisted in its work by the gifts of a large number of auxiliary committees, which were formed in the different independent States of Germany; for instance, at Freiburg, Hamburg, Hanover, Celle, Heidelberg, Leipsic, Paffendorf, Ratisbon, Stuttgard, Munich, and Berlin; and there was even one at Bucharest. "Numerous patriotic

¹ Evans, vii.

² Wien.

gifts for the wounded, including presents of excellent wine, were sent to Verona, and a number of rich proprietors in the German provinces also placed their castles and their villas at the disposal of the Government for convalescent officers and soldiers. We cannot doubt the good effects which those invalids must have experienced who were enabled to profit by the benevolence of these generous individuals.”¹

It is evident, the Vienna committee rendered incontestable services, and, although its development may appear to have been under the direct influence of the Government, no one can refuse to it the character of a fine national and unofficial work. Unfortunately, the committee was dissolved one year after its formation. Later, there was occasion to regret this too hurried measure, which had, however, been imposed by the statutes; for we find Baron Tinti, one of the old members of the committee of Vienna, warmly pleading at the Berlin Conference in favour of permanent institutions.²

Having given some details of the work which independent charity performed during the Crimean and Italian campaigns, let us pass on to the war which, from its extent, its duration, and the social question which was the cause of it, occupies the largest space in the history of modern times, we mean the American War. This must, at the same time, be considered as an event which was an occasion for the display of unofficial relief, the most vast, the most energetic, and

¹ Brière, 29.

² Berlin.

the most persevering that has ever been seen. It is this opinion which Dr. Evans confirmed, when he said, "The institution of a Sanitary Commission in the United States marks a new era in the world's history. It is the greatest act of philanthropy which humanity has ever meditated and accomplished. Through its influence, the whole social system of the United States was modified."¹ No one, therefore, will be surprised to find throughout the pages of this book, that the authors have drawn largely from this rich source of experiences and practical lessons. The American Sanitary Commission will be found mentioned on nearly every page. It will be sufficient to give here a short summary of the general features of that gigantic work, a complete description of which would far exceed the proper limits of this volume.

It was on the 29th of April, 1861, immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter (15th of April), that some ladies met at New York, at the Ladies' Dispensary of that city, in order to found a society under the title of "The Ladies' Central Association for Medical Relief." According to its statutes, it was to ascertain the wants of the army,—to establish relations with the sanitary service,—to place itself in correspondence with local associations,—to examine and register male and female nurses,—and to procure assistant nurses for the army.²

It was not exactly known, at that time, under what numerous and varied forms this work would be deve-

¹ Evans, xi.

² Ibid., 43.

loped, still one could foresee that it would be greatly extended. Before everything, it was necessary that it should be acknowledged by the administrative and military authorities. This preliminary act met with many difficulties. The Government at first looked upon a volunteer undertaking as idle and pernicious, "as a fifth wheel to the military coach," and it could only obtain a license of sufferance; but, at length, it was permitted, and it moved forward with a rapidity which soon surpassed everything that had been hoped. When the Central Association of New York, whence issued the Sanitary Commission, commenced work, it addressed itself to the highest medical authority in the regular army, putting to him a great number of questions:—1stly. As to the functions of the official medical corps, and the possibility of an understanding between this body and the Association; 2ndly. As to the importance and nature of the help that might be needed. The purveyor-in-chief answered that the official service was sufficient, that the Government could furnish all that was necessary, and that the Association was useless. However, to soften this refusal, he permitted the society to furnish certain articles. They then had recourse to the Secretary of State for War, and to the chief of the medical staff. The ambassadors of the committee found the administration plunged in the most inextricable confusion; there was not one-tenth of the necessary number of clerks, and over all hovered "the bureaucratic genius of signs-manual and stamped paper." The Govern-

ment was incapable of answering the questions the delegates put to it. They then established a permanent Sanitary Commission at Washington, intended to be chiefly occupied with military hygiene, which had been very much neglected, especially in the Corps of Volunteers. But it was necessary that it should be a body constituted and fortified with regular powers, for "the only order respected by an army is that given by the man who has power to command." The Government refused this proposition, but accepted the services of a Sanitary Commission, to which it allowed but a moral authority, with permission to visit the camps and to penetrate everywhere. The surgeon-general, Dr. Finley, was determined not to permit anything, even the most insignificant matter, to pass except through his office.¹

The Association, originally founded by the ladies of New York, had felt the expediency, in order to secure the success of the work, to confide the supreme direction to a committee of men. Twenty-one gentlemen, known for their military, medical, and administrative capacity, were thus appointed on the 13th of June, 1861, taking, conformably with the authorization that had been received, the character of a commission of inquiry, which was to charge itself with an examination into the wants of the army, and to bring these to the knowledge of the authorities. The first official document of the Government gave, in fact, to the new institution which it sanctioned, the name of

¹ Evans, 44-56.

“Sanitary Commission of inquiry and advice on the hygienic interests of the troops of the United States.”

But in this sanction to the investigation, was implicitly comprehended, as we shall soon see, that of providing, as far as might be possible, for the means to obviate the deficiencies, and supply the different wants, revealed by the examination, when the official administration itself could not do so.

Numerous wants were not slow to manifest themselves, for the war took a rapid and unexpected extension. It was necessary to improvise an army, but there was hardly time to equip it properly, and good sanitary administration was wanting, as this can never be improvised. The facts successively disclosed by the inquiry proved how opportune was the task which had been undertaken, to complete the very defective work of the official administration. From that time the Commission understood that it had also a share in the work of relief to be given to the army. “In churches and in schools, in drawing-rooms and boudoirs, nimble hands were occupied in making lint, bandages, and hospital clothing. The most distinguished members of the medical profession delivered courses of lectures every evening, in which they gave the most minute directions for the preparation of these indispensable objects.” Every one asked for guidance and instruction.¹

A multitude of local relief associations were formed in the Northern States; they reached a total of 32,000.

¹ Evans, 41.

All, one after another, finished by rallying round the Central Committee of New York, acknowledging that individual susceptibilities must be sacrificed for the good of the whole. Dépôts were appointed in the principal cities. Four thousand journals, furnishing an annual circulation of 900,900,000 copies, popularized the work, and made known its necessities in the same proportion. Immense sales or fairs were organized. The total value of the gifts in kind, of every production, which were received by the Commission, from the time of its origin until the commencement of the year 1864, amounted to 50,450,000 francs, besides the numerous contributions in specie, which reached the sum of 18,330,000 francs. Several trade-societies offered their share in work. California sent an ingot of gold worth 3,000 dollars. The rural proprietors distinguished themselves by the richness of their consignments of agricultural produce, for the use of the hospitals and of the army.

Such were the material resources of which the Commission was able gradually to dispose. But, besides these, the work called upon a large number of persons qualified to be sent to the theatre of events in order to make the above-mentioned inquiries, and to devote themselves to the care of the sick and wounded, as well as to the proper distribution of the gifts collected together in the store-houses. During certain periods of the war, the Commission was able to send 2,000 male delegates and 200 women to the army. The various forms under which this

colossal work developed itself are so numerous that it is difficult to explain them in order. We will, however, endeavour to enumerate them.

Twenty of the delegates, medical men by profession, were appointed sanitary inspectors, and were employed to make inquiries and to send reports, in the form of answers to categorical questions arranged beforehand. This sort of volunteer control required much tact on the part of those engaged in it, and a strict attention to the rules of the military hierarchy.

The statistical department was charged with the duty of analyzing and arranging the reports of the inspectors, in order to clear the way for the Committee. Medical monographs of a practical character were printed in the form of pamphlets, and distributed amongst the surgeons of the army. We will cite some of the titles :—1stly, “On Amputations;” 2ndly, “On the Nature and Treatment of Yellow Fever;” 3rdly, “On the Treatment of Fractures from a Military-Surgical Point of View;” 4thly, “Of Infectious Diseases in Camps, Hospitals, and during Transport;” 5thly, “Of Syphilitic Diseases,” &c.

The Commission, either by its influence or by material aid, contributed to the construction of hospitals on a skilfully calculated plan. It occupied itself with the wants of soldiers, who, though weak in health, were not ill enough to be placed in a hospital; it assisted soldiers on furlough, either in their personal necessities, or towards the expenses of travelling;

it provided food for the sick who went away from the army in great numbers ; it watched over the convalescents, in order to prevent desertion ; and it also gave relief to the prisoners.

The Commission established asylums intended to offer hospitality to soldiers on the march.

It took care that the dead received decent and honourable burial.

It made appeals to the American public to send relief, and arranged the different gifts in depôts. It kept strict account of the distributions, which constituted, as one may imagine, an important branch of the work of the committees. The Commission commenced its labours at the very first on the field of battle, which ordinarily baffles all foresight. The history of the campaign is full of touching recitals which testify to the services rendered by the delegates of the Commission in the numerous and sanguinary conflicts which succeeded each other almost without interruption. Read, for example, what the employés of the Sanitary Commission said of the battle of Antietam : “ We have preceded everybody ; we are two days in advance of the medical department, and we owe this advantage to the fact that we possess our own means of transport.” In the west, at the battles in and around Corinth, the Sanitary Commission rendered important services ; even *five days after the battle*, soldiers were found whose wounds had not been dressed. During the terrible days of Gettysburg, the agents of the Commission went under fire

to succour the wounded. On one of them coming towards a house full of wounded men, a surgeon raised his hands and cried, "Here, at last, is the Sanitary Commission! We shall now be able to do something!"¹

A little fleet of nine ships was placed at the disposal of the Committee for the carriage of men and goods, and for the purpose of floating hospitals; and, in these latter, there were some 900 cases of typhus confided to the care of female hands.

Ambulance-waggon's were constructed for the transport of the wounded, with a particular system of suspended beds which at the time of disembarkation could be transformed into litters.

Lastly, let us add, that immense personal and material help was afforded in the hospitals.

We shall leave, for a subsequent chapter (Chapter VIII.), the details relative to the moral work which was realized by a sister society of the Sanitary Commission, known by the name of the Christian Commission, which understood how to associate judiciously with spiritual succour, the distribution of considerable material comfort. Besides the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, there were many other associations: for example, that called the Western Sanitary Commission, founded by General Fremont, for the armies of the Western States.²

The Southern army was equally an object of the sympathizing solicitude of the civil population; but

¹ Evans, 119-123.

² Ibid., 167.

this activity was much less centralized, and, for a history of charitable work, it has not the same importance as that of the North; at least, it is much less known to us. Dr. Evans¹ furnishes some details relative to what was done in the State of Carolina, as the type of that which was accomplished in the South. There were, 1stly, great magazines in Columbia; 2ndly, messengers, aged or invalided men, charged to keep themselves in correspondence with the military authorities, and to make the distributions; 3rdly, a large hotel established at Richmond for the gratuitous reception of soldiers coming and going; 4thly, agents, also at Richmond, to watch over the interests of the soldiers; 5thly, several asylums at the principal railway-stations, under the care of the ladies of the neighbourhood. In the South, as in the North, during the whole of the war, woman placed herself at the head of every work of charity; 6thly, ambulance committees, to relieve soldiers on the field of battle and in the camp hospitals.

The last war of which we have to speak is that of Schleswig-Holstein, which was fortunately of extent and duration relatively limited, but which cannot fail to be a subject of interest, on account of the instructive lessons it affords on the participation of volunteer help in the relief of the victims of war.

The events and experiences of this campaign are so recent that many of them are still in the memory of everybody.² As may be imagined, the

¹ Evans, 170.

² Appia (*b*), Van de Velde.

most varied facts were presented on the side of the allies. Having the sympathies of the whole of Germany, it is natural that the Austrian and Prussian troops were the objects of numerous institutions for their relief.

During the campaign, different committees, quite independent of each other, successively entered upon a course of activity. It might have been thought that, in a war of such very limited extent, to which were applied the official resources of two great States, volunteer aid would have found few opportunities for exercise; yet it was not so. We read, for instance, in the *Cologne Gazette* of January, 1864:—"It is desirable that volunteer associations should be formed without delay, in order to furnish warm clothes, fit for the season, to the German troops who are marching against Denmark, for their own resources are quite insufficient to protect them against the severity of the weather." The Halle Committee, which proposed to send some clothing, addressed itself to the Minister of War, to know if its co-operation would be useful. His Excellency replied:—"It is true that it is the duty of our department to give to the troops clothing fit for the winter, but it is also true that, in consequence of the instantaneousness with which we have entered on the campaign, it will be difficult to furnish our men with a sufficient supply of clothes; at least, if we are not seconded by the patriotism of all good citizens. This is the reason why I accept with gratitude from your association the prompt and abundant gifts of woollen

socks, gloves, jackets, drawers, and different articles useful in hospitals.”¹

Then, again, we find a Royal Prussian Commissioner expressing himself as follows, in an official letter:—
“Our columns are now moving towards Lubeck, in order to be ready to enter Holstein. In consequence of the excessive cold, our men suffer extremely from the want of warm clothes. Many soldiers, having no woollen socks, put straw and rags inside their boots, and are in great danger of having their toes frost-bitten. Very few of them have any change of linen, or clothes enough to protect them from the cold, and I propose to make a collection of garments, or of money to purchase some, as quickly as possible. I therefore make an appeal to all those who call themselves friends of our soldiers.”² After such declarations, one is not astonished to learn that, even in this war, volunteer help found employment.

The Central Committee of Berlin, assisted by the provincial committees scattered over the kingdom (Magdeburg, Halle, Wittemberg, &c.), went to work at the opening of the campaign, 17th February, 1864,³ and sent two highly qualified delegates to the theatre of war, Professor Gurlt, whom later we shall often have occasion to mention, and Colonel Malakowski. The former was commissioned to collect information on different points relative to the work of the committees; while the latter was to prepare an inventory of the generous gifts which flowed in from all parts of

¹ Sanitary Commission, 295.

² *Ibid.*, 296.

³ Lœffler, 10.

Germany, and to regulate their distribution in an equitable manner. The same Committee also sent various gifts of clothes, food, drink, and materials for dressing wounds. The donations received by it, in specie, amounted to the sum of 1,931 thalers. If its activity was not so great as that of several other committees, it was only because it had not originally determined to administer material relief. The missions which the two above-named delegates undertook, in the name of the Berlin Committee, were of very real utility. After the campaign, Professor Gurlt drew up a detailed and instructive report in accordance with the principles which ought to guide such committees. The work of Colonel Malakowski was very well timed; for, as the report of the delegate from Geneva¹ informs us, the patriotic contributions accumulated in great numbers at Kiel, and at Rendsburg ran great risk of being wasted, in consequence of the confusion and want of organization.

Many other committees throughout the kingdom also displayed a generous energy. A committee was formed at Berlin, specially charged to give relief to the sick and wounded when travelling. There was another committee at Berlin in the Thirty-fourth Circumscription of the city, under the presidency of Captain Hollbein. Beyond the capital we find a committee at Wittemberg for the assistance of the sick and wounded who might be travelling; and an important relief committee at Magdeburg. We could

¹ Appia (b).

give the names of forty-six Prussian localities where provincial Sections sprang up and co-operated, more or less, in the same work. In Austria, societies were created at Vienna, Grätz, Linz, and Prague. Even in Schleswig itself, we find them at Altona, Kiel, and Flensburg. At Hamburg there were the great Committee of the city and that of the Rauhe-Haus. Lastly, we will name the Committees of Carlsruhe and Stuttgart.

After the campaign, the Committee of Berlin, which we have mentioned above, held a sale of a quantity of souvenirs from the theatre of war. This kind of bazaar was one of the resources utilized by the Committee for the benefit of the wounded, and for the widows and orphans. The total receipts from it amounted to 11,179 thalers, of which 9,000 were expended. Another Berlin society, known by the name of *Preussischer Volksverein* (the Prussian Popular Society), the object of which was essentially political, also undertook to make a collection of money and of a great number of articles in kind, and the total of this amounted to 12,329 thalers.

The Vienna Committee, founded on the 6th of February, 1864, collected, before the 1st of July, 133,222 florins, besides a considerable quantity of gifts in kind. We regret to be obliged to add of this, as of the Committee formed during the Italian campaign, that the statutes of the society would not allow it to continue for more than three months after the conclusion of peace. The Committee of Grätz was the

same that was created during the war of 1859; it was recalled to life, and the residue of the collections made at its first existence was entrusted to it. The grants made by this Committee were exclusively destined for soldiers who were natives of Styria: the collection amounted to 53,218 florins, without counting some gifts in kind.

At Flensburg, the ladies united in committee were expected to visit the hospitals every day, and there to ascertain the wants of the moment, and to write them on a bulletin (*Wunschzettel*), which was submitted to a doctor for approbation; they then went to the dépôts in order to execute their various commissions.¹

The Wurtemberg committees sent into Schleswig such things as were required of them,—linen, wine, tobacco, dried prunes, &c. Almost every week expeditions were made. Amongst other stories, they tell of a small and very remote village, all the inhabitants of which, even the poorest, wished to contribute something, and it sent 68 florins to the committee. Altogether the gifts were so numerous, that perfect stores of them were left for the future.

There were also many contributions sent from the Duchy of Baden by the committee of ladies which was formed there during the war in Italy.

While speaking of distant committees, we may also mention the institution of the deacons of Duisburg, which sent several delegates into Schleswig, with

¹ Ochwaldt, 42.

directions to employ themselves especially as volunteer helpers.¹

The city of Hamburg, owing to its geographical position, its great resources, but more especially to the self-devotion of its inhabitants, was placed so as to be able to render the most expeditious and continuous services. We extract from its report² the following data:—The Committee was appointed the day after the commencement of the campaign. Its first employment was to collect money, in order afterwards to make purchases of useful objects, especially for the sick and wounded. In the interval between the 8th of February and the 12th of October, the total receipts were 156,355 B^{co}, and the total disbursements were 135,752 B^{co}. The Committee had taken the necessary steps to obtain freedom from custom-house dues for all its consignments; it also maintained commissioners on the very theatre of war, whose duty it was to organize the depôts, and to superintend the distributions. These brief indications suffice to show that the Hamburg Committee occupies an important rank in the history of volunteer relief during the campaign in Schleswig.

We might give some details connected with the Committee of Kiel, which was also constituted on the day of the entry of the troops into Schleswig (1st of February, 1864).³ It had the same object as the Association of Hamburg; it not only devoted itself to the

¹ Appia (*b*), 61.

² Hamburg (*b*).

³ Kiel.

six hospitals established in the town of Kiel itself, but it attended to every serious demand supported by a medical or administrative authority. Its total expenditure was 20,030 C^{rt}.

We have no precise figures to show the relative work done by the committees of the towns of Schleswig and Flensburg, as well as by many others, which, dispersed far and near, had all eyes turned with sympathy to the sufferings of the army.

We should, however, be guilty of real injustice, and of historical negligence, were we not, in conclusion, to make honourable mention of a volunteer undertaking which, during the campaign, attracted the attention and sympathy of the public, perhaps more than any other. We allude to the volunteers of the Rauhe-Haus of Hamburg, and to their noble directors, the Knights of St. John. At the opening of the campaign, this Order sent delegates into Schleswig, under the leadership of Commander the Count zu Stolberg Wernigerode. He established hospitals, created a dépôt for supplies at Flensburg; and, on the invitation of Dr. Wichern, director of the great philanthropic establishment of the Rauhe-Haus, he took into his service and under his patronage, sixteen young men, brought up at that fine institution, and employed them either in hospital work, or in the transport of the wounded on the field of battle. This was one of the most remarkable and most encouraging examples for the succour of the wounded in general,—an example that

history will register on the same page with that of the United States Sanitary Commission.

Neither was Denmark behindhand during the war ; and we learn from M. Van de Velde, a delegate from Geneva, "that he was struck with admiration of Danish charity, of which the war gave so many proofs. The Danish nation set itself to the work in the most complete and general manner. A large central Committee was formed at Copenhagen to receive gifts of money, clothes, provisions, medicines, &c. This Committee, according to its several functions, was divided into three sections, and each of them was subdivided into several sub-committees, with special departments, namely, for clothes, provisions, tobacco, bedding, &c. The objects for the attention of the central Relief Committee were, as the title which it bore indicates, not only the sick and wounded soldiers in the field, but also invalids, widows, friends more or less closely related, and the children of those who died, and its solicitude extended to civilians as well as to soldiers." ¹

There have been many other similar works in this century, which we shall not mention here, for want of precise information ; such as those connected with the campaigns in Morocco, Syria, Algeria, &c. ; and, in conclusion, we repeat that, although this historical sketch necessarily presents some gaps, our aim is accomplished if we have succeeded in showing, on the one

¹ Van de Velde, 148.

side, what a fruitful stream of blessings flows from patriotic impulse and charity opportunely awakened; and, on the other side, how much more useful and efficacious these benefits would be, if the work of spontaneous devotion were more regularly organized, and rendered more general by preparatory labour in time of peace.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

SUMMARY.—I. History of the Conference—The Geneva Society of Public Utility—Meeting of the Conference—Difficulties of its Task.—II. Resolutions—The purport of them—Their characteristic—(a) Permanence of the Committee—(b) Volunteer Helpers—(c) Universal Charity.—III. Objections—Difficulties of Execution—Encouragement to War—Embarrassment for the Army—Demoralization of the Soldiers.—IV. Conclusion.

IN the year 1864, Europe was covered, as if by enchantment, with a network of committees for the relief of wounded soldiers; and this phenomenon would have led the least discerning persons to suspect that this special work was entering on a new phase. Several of these committees had already begun to exercise their functions in the Schleswig-Holstein war, yet all unanimously proclaimed that they would constitute themselves as permanent institutions, and, in a great measure, they seemed to obey one watch-word. All, in fact, declared in their charter of establishment, that they would conform to the resolutions of the Geneva Conference.

What, then, was this Conference, whose magic wand had, so to speak, electrified all nations? It seems too important an historical fact to be passed over in silence, because we feel certain that an inquiry into its nature, and how it arose, will prove highly interesting.

I. It originated with the *Société Genevoise d'utilité publique*, which had undertaken to contribute towards the progress of philanthropy. At its sitting of the 9th of February, 1863, it discussed the question, in accordance with the proposition of one of its members, M. Henry Dunant, whether means might not be found "to form, during a time of peace and tranquillity, relief societies, whose aim should be to help the wounded in time of war, by means of volunteers, zealous, devoted, and well qualified for such a work."¹

Although it had no very clear idea of what should be done, in order to obtain the result which seemed desirable, the Society took the matter under its patronage, and entrusted the examination of it to a special Commission,² with full power to act.

The course to be pursued was long debated in this little committee, the members of which finally agreed to submit the question to more competent judges. It was, in fact, necessary, before encouraging the formation of societies of volunteers, to know

¹ Dunant, 102.

² The Members of the Commission were MM. Moynier, Président de la Société d'utilité publique, Dufour, Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army, Dr. Maunoir, Dr. Appia, and Henry Dunant.

whether any need for them had been felt, and whether they would not be regarded with a jealous eye by the administrative or military authorities. It was also necessary to determine what should be the nature of their action under various social and political forms of government. In order not to venture recklessly on a road bristling with obstacles, it was therefore evident that they ought to take as guides experienced men, versed in the practice of war, and belonging to different nationalities. An International Conference appeared to be indispensable to the work, as a basis or starting-point. If, after this ordeal, the first idea, upon which the most divergent opinions were even then professed, should be recognized as impracticable, its partisans would at least possess the consolation of having done their best. "We shall have," said one of them, "the approval of our consciences, and the feeling that we have done that which it is right men should do who love their neighbour."¹ If, on the contrary, the thing were pronounced to be good, useful, and acceptable, what encouragement such a decision would afford them to launch out upon their course! What moral force they who should first put themselves in the breach would receive! It was not a time to hesitate. The circular convoking the meeting was issued on the 1st of September, 1863.²

Nothing was neglected that could give the greatest publicity to this appeal. It was brought specially to the notice of the International Statistical Congress,

¹ (General Dufour) Conférence, 6.

² Conférence, 1.

sitting at Berlin, in the month of September, 1863, which expressed an opinion entirely favourable to the project.

At length the day fixed for the opening of the Conference arrived. On the morning of the 26th of October, in the rooms of the Athenæum at Geneva, might be seen an assembly composed of eighteen official delegates, representing fourteen governments, six delegates of different associations, seven unaccredited visitors, with five members of the Geneva Committee. It was sufficient to glance over the list of the thirty-six members of the Conference,¹ to understand that the expectation of its promoters was attained, and even surpassed, and that their initiative had already found its reward in the meeting of such a body. It was impossible that a deliberation among men so eminently qualified should not throw the fullest light on the question submitted to them. The Committee tells us that "the eagerness with which the invitation was responded to soon justified the propriety of the step it had taken. It became convinced that, in drawing public attention to the insufficiency of the official sanitary service, it had touched a sensitive chord, and had responded to a universal wish. It was also convinced that it was not pursuing a chimerical object. If, for a moment, it had feared that its project would only attract mere dreamers and utopians, it was reassured on seeing that it had to deal with men in earnest, with medical and military mag-

¹ Conférence, 16.

nates.”¹ It also received much encouragement from persons who were prevented from taking part in the debates, but who testified to the lively interest they took in them.²

It was then, with the most happy auspices that General Dufour opened the Conference, which lasted four days, under the presidency of M. Moynier, *Président de la Société Genevoise d'utilité publique*, and the vice-presidency of His Highness Prince Henry XIII. of Reuss, the delegate of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Every one seemed animated by the best motives, and desirous not to lose so good an opportunity to open a new arena for the cause of charity. It was interesting to witness the general unanimity, as new as it was spontaneous, “on a question of humanity instantaneously developed into one of philanthropic urgency.”³ Dr. Landa, delegate of the Spanish Government, well expressed the sentiment of the assembly when he exclaimed, “Oh, that we may be so happy as to discover the basis which shall render the useful institution we aspire to found durable and effectual! The magnitude of the result which may be obtained, and the tears which may be wiped away, demand that we should devote all our efforts to attain it; and if this work be realized, it will be an event which all friends of humanity will be able to hail with the greatest joy.”⁴ “We feel,” said the president of the Conference, “that a great duty is imposed upon us,

¹ Comité International, 6.

³ Comité Français, 15.

² Conférence, 20.

⁴ Conférence, 48.

and we shall not rest until we have found means to lessen for our fellow-creatures the privations, the sufferings, and the evils of all kinds which are the inevitable consequences of an armed contest.”¹

So much good-will was not superfluous, in order to accomplish the arduous task of the Conference. For what, indeed, was it labouring? For nothing less than to reconcile two opposites—Charity and War. The propriety of voluntary aid being admitted, it was necessary to leave it sufficiently free, in order that zeal might not be cooled by unseasonable conditions; yet, at the same time, to subject it to a certain discipline, so that it might have access to the army without being an incumbrance to it. Here was the real problem to be solved. Here was a link to be established between the civil and the military, which, though opposed, are not necessarily incompatible, and should be encouraged to live fraternally side by side. The experience of modern wars seemed to justify this inquiry, for it was averred that here the administration of voluntary offerings had been defective. Besides, the question presented itself in a new character, owing to the fact that a staff of volunteers occupied an important place in it. If this view of the case was to take precedence of all others, nothing less than a complete revolution was intended, and its importance being acknowledged, it would have been wrong to engage in it otherwise than earnestly. It was for discussion to reveal the opinion that was entertained of it.

¹ Conférence, 7.

Independently of all that was difficult in the very nature of the subject with which the Conference was to occupy itself, it met with another obstacle, in the consideration which it was obliged to give to the different forms of government under which civilized nations dwell. It is certain that a Relief Committee would be bound to modify its conduct, and its hands would be more or less free, according to the political or social circle in which it would have its existence. For example, where individual initiative is highly developed, as in Switzerland and America, there will be found liberty for the efforts of free societies which would not be tolerated to the same degree in France or in Austria. The consequence of this situation was, that, called to draw up a code of military philanthropy for the use of all nations, the Conference could only advocate general principles, so that its decisions might be everywhere acceptable.¹

Here it took its stand, and following the advice of its president,² it left to each society the duty of regulating minute details as it might judge expedient.

It wisely confined its ambition to the construction of a solid foundation for the monument which it wished to erect, and which was perhaps destined to become one of the glories of our century.

II. Let us now give heed to the voice of the Conference, and let us cast our eyes over the Resolutions, placed side by side with the propositions presented by the Geneva Committee, under the title of *Projet de*

¹ Van de Velde, 173.

² Conférence, 10.

Concordat. It is evident, indeed, from a comparison of these two documents, that the first ideas were true, since they have only been slightly modified. The authors of this project, however, offer it as the eminently perfectible fruit of their first meditations, and as a basis which they deemed it right to furnish to the Conference, in order to guide it in its labours.

SCHEME OF ASSOCIATION.

Document No. 1.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Art. 1.—There shall be, in each of the contracting countries, a National Committee, whose duty shall consist in remedying, by all the means in its power, the inadequacy of the official sanitary service of armies on active service.

This Committee shall organize itself in the manner which may appear to it the most useful and expedient.

Art. 2.—Sections, unlimited in number, shall be founded, in order to second the National Committee. These shall be necessarily subordinate to the Committee, to which alone shall belong the supreme direction.

Art. 3.—Every National Committee shall place itself in communication with the Government of its own country, and shall ascertain that its offers of service will be accepted in case of war.

Art. 4.—In time of peace, the Committees and their Sections shall occupy themselves with improvements to be introduced in the military sanitary service, in the establishment of ambulances and hospitals, in the means of transport for the wounded, &c., and in pursuing the realization of these objects.

Art. 5.—The Committees and Sections of the different countries shall re-assemble in International Congresses, in order to

communicate the result of their experience, and to concert together on the measures to be taken in the interests of the work.

Art. 6.—In the month of January every year, the National Committees shall present a report on their labours during the past year, adding to it such communications as they may consider useful to be brought to the knowledge of the Committees of other countries. The exchange of these communications and reports shall be managed through the medium of the Geneva Committee, to whom they shall be addressed.

Document No. 2.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS IN CASE OF WAR.

Art. 7.—In case of war, the Committees of the belligerent nations shall furnish the necessary aid to their respective armies, and, in particular, shall provide for the formation and organization of corps of volunteer nurses.

They shall solicit the support of the Committees belonging to neutral nations.

Art. 8.—The volunteer nurses shall bind themselves to serve during a limited time, and not in any way to meddle in the operations of the war.

They shall be employed, according to their wish, in field-service or in that of the hospitals. Females will necessarily be assigned to the latter.

Art. 9.—The volunteer nurses shall wear a uniform in all countries, or an identical distinctive badge. Their person shall be sacred, and military chiefs shall afford them protection.

At the commencement of a campaign, the soldiers of both armies shall be informed of the existence of these corps, and of their exclusively benevolent character.

Art. 10.—The corps of nurses or volunteer helpers shall march in the rear of the armies, to which they shall not cause any embarrassment, nor occasion any expense. They shall have their own means of carriage, victuals, and medical stores of all kinds.

They shall be placed at the disposal of the commanders-in-chief of armies, who shall not make use of them except when they shall feel the need of their assistance. During the continuance of active service, they shall be under military authority, and subject to the same discipline as the ordinary nurses.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

The International Conference, desirous to give aid to wounded soldiers in all cases where the military medical service shall be inadequate, has adopted the following Resolutions :—

Art. 1.—There shall be in every country, a Committee whose duty it will be to co-operate in time of war by all the means in its power, with the sanitary service of the army.

This Committee shall organize itself in the manner which may appear to it as the most useful and expedient.

Art. 2.—Sections, unlimited in number, shall be formed, in order to second the Committee, to which the general direction will belong.

Art. 3.—Every Committee shall place itself in communication with the Government of its own country, in order that its offers of assistance, in case of need, may be accepted.

Art. 4.—In time of peace, the Committees and Sections shall be occupied with the means to make themselves really useful in time of war, especially in preparing material aid of every kind, and in endeavouring to train and instruct the volunteer nurses.

Art. 5.—In the event of war, the Committees of the belligerent nations shall furnish relief to their respective armies in proportion to their resources; in particular, they shall organize and place the volunteer nurses on an active footing, and, in conjunction with the military authority, they shall arrange places for the reception of the wounded.

They shall solicit the assistance of the Committees belonging to neutral nations.

Art. 6.—On the demand, or with the concurrence, of the military authority, the Committees shall send volunteer nurses to the field of battle. They shall there place them under the direction of military chiefs.

Art. 7.—The volunteer nurses employed with armies shall be provided, by their respective Committees, with everything necessary for their maintenance.

Art. 8.—They shall wear, in all countries, a white band round the arm with a red cross upon it, as a distinctive and uniform badge.

Art. 9.—The Committees and Sections of the different countries shall meet in International Conference, in order to communicate to each other the results of their experience, and to decide on the measures to be adopted for the advancement of the work.

Art. 10.—The exchange of communications between the Committees of the different nations shall be made provisionally through the medium of the Committee of Geneva.

Independently of the above Resolutions, the Conference expressed the following wishes:—

A.—That the Governments should grant protection to the Relief Committees which may be formed, and should, as far as possible, facilitate the accomplishment of their task.

B.—That, in time of war, neutrality should be proclaimed by the belligerent nations for the field and stationary hospitals, and that it may also be accorded, in the most complete manner, to all officials employed in sanitary work, to volunteer nurses, to the inhabitants of the country who shall assist the wounded, and to the wounded themselves.

C.—That an identical "distinctive sign be adopted for the medical corps of all armies, or, at least, for all persons attached to this service in the same army.

That an identical flag be also adopted for the field and stationary hospitals of all armies.

The innovation which is most striking, in reading these documents, is the pre-existence of the committees for war, and their creation and maintenance in times of peace.

If those societies which have hitherto laboured had

only conformed to this arrangement, they would have been spared much trouble, and would have been able to give to their resources a more judicious direction. If each of them had been enlightened by the experience of its predecessors; if each had known beforehand that which it would have to do in such and such an emergency; if it had anticipated obstacles in order to remove them; and if it had been provided with money and material, it would have been able to render much greater services, and would not, to the same extent, have been a victim either to its inexperience or to its precipitation. The preliminary study of ways and means would have left traces of something more systematic, and would have prevented much waste and many false calculations. "Voluntary action will be so much more efficacious when it shall have been pre-organized."¹ At a meeting of the different German Relief Committees held at Berlin, on the 10th of July, 1864, Baron Tinti, of Vienna, strongly insisted on this truth,² and the Committee of Schwerin did the same in its report of 1865.³ When our generosity shall be less ignorant, "it will know where and in what way it can be useful; we shall economize our means; we shall multiply our gifts by the good employment that we shall make of them, and by the direction that will be given to the public desire. *Bis dat, qui cito dat.* He who gives opportunely gives twice over."⁴

¹ Friedrich, 8.

² Berlin, 6.

³ Schwerin, 6.

⁴ Van Esschen, 11.

The most elementary foresight recommends us to act in this manner, if we desire to approach perfection. Even during the last century it was said that "all things which are necessary for field hospitals should be prepared in the military hospitals at home during peace; and it is in these same hospitals, when war is over, that all those things should be kept which to-day are given away for nothing, but which are so dearly purchased at the commencement of a campaign. Even magazines of stores, which are totally superfluous for ordinary use during peace, might be placed in some of the hospitals on the frontiers."¹ "It is necessary," said Dr. Friedrich, "to come to some decision on this subject, for the very simple reason that, until the present time, no army, in time of peace, has ever thought of taking measures, even approximatively adequate, for the relief of the sick and wounded in war."² On entering upon a campaign, the sanitary service always suffers, from the haste with which it has been placed on a war footing; so much the more necessary therefore is it, for private associations, which have not at their disposal such powerful means of action as the governments, to adopt precautions, and not to wait until the last moment, to do that which can perhaps be done beforehand. There is not one of the duties of the committees of relief which does not form a part of preparatory work, as we shall see in the Second Part of this book. "We are apt to accuse war," says Dr. Landa, "of not allowing the arts of

¹ de Chamousset, *Cœuvres*, ii. 13.

² Friedrich, 7.

peace to flourish ; but peace, also, when it is of long duration, makes the arts of war to fall into forgetfulness ; and it is strange that this same forgetfulness is much greater for all that concerns the arts intended to preserve the army, than for those destined to destroy the enemy.”¹ Then, “at the decisive moment, we ask for a miracle ; and, as this is not forthcoming, we exclaim against deception instead of crying out against improvidence.”² It is thus, for example, that the military department of the United States army was weakened during the long years of peace which preceded the revolt of the South.³ In speaking of the lamentable situation in which the French surgeons often found themselves in the Crimea, Dr. Armand says : “It is in this respect, as in many others, that in time of peace one should prepare for the eventualities of war. *In pace para bellum.*”⁴—“If the ambulances of the English army were deficient at the opening of the Crimean war, it arose from the fact that, during long years of peace, the service of the military train had been gradually reduced, and, at the commencement of the war, it no longer existed ; and because the medical staff also had been considerably diminished, and had become so inadequate that it was compelled, at great expense, to engage civil surgeons for the hospitals of the army in the East.”⁵ Now, would not the presence of an association, continually

¹ Conférence, 41.

² Chenu, 685.

³ Œuvre d'un grand peuple, 25.

⁴ Armand, 324.

⁵ Quesnoy, 119.

attentive to the progress of the sanitary administration of armies, react on the official medical corps, and keep it in exercise by the very natural emulation which such an order of things would excite? "Let us not forget that, when an administration has been improvident, it is not at the moment when war bursts forth, and soldiers are slaughtering one another, that it is possible to remedy the defects of the sanitary service and oppose a barrier to a current of calamities which for the time is irresistible; it is during peace that preparations for succour should be made."¹ Besides, what is more logical? Is not the maintenance of a permanent army a recognition that the State is menaced by war more or less near; and would it not be a culpable inconsistency to neglect to prepare for the relief of its victims, since such assistance cannot be improvised? And here let us not fail to observe that this care equally concerns the neutral nations as the others, from the moment that they possess an army.²

The point on which the scheme of association has been chiefly modified by the Conference, is that which relates to the volunteer helpers. It is right to remark that the important part which was assigned to them in the Project is diminished by the Resolutions. The idea of a legion of auxiliaries organized but not incorporated with the army, and the intention to take them to the very battle-field, gave offence to the medical staff, to military men, and even to governments, and created very strong objections, which it

¹ (Uytterhoeven) *La Charité*, No. 5.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1.

was right should be taken into serious consideration. Although Dr. Simonot may have considered the fact of the Geneva Conference as a proof that "the intervention of a staff of volunteers had obtained all governmental sympathies,"¹ it was here that many people found a stumbling-block, which the Conference prudently reduced to such modest proportions as not to give offence to any one. Nor did this prevent Dr. Chenu from declaring, at a later period, that "armies will undoubtedly prohibit non-military volunteers from accompanying them."² The Conference made an allusion to this point in Art. 5, yet, without appearing to attach to it more importance than to any other mode of relief, and only as a simple indication to those who should find themselves placed in favourable conditions to exercise it; and it also surrounded it with precautions and reservations capable of reassuring even the most easily alarmed.

If this concession has succeeded in calming official fears and susceptibilities, the relations between the committees and the authorities have in every respect been regulated in the most equitable manner. We shall, however, have occasion to return to this subject in detail.

Another reflection suggested by the declarations of the Conference refers to international relations. We see (Art. 5) that the committees will furnish relief to their respective armies, and no other principle could be laid down; for men, as long as they are men, will

¹ Simonot, 4.

² Chenu, 744.

be little disposed to despoil themselves for the sake of their enemies, especially when great sacrifices are required. Obligated to seek general co-operation, it was necessary that the committees should appeal to patriotism, a sentiment which is everywhere more lasting and powerful than that of universal charity. But it is right to distinguish the principle from its application. In the same manner as one of the belligerents who remains master of the field of battle succours and takes care both of friends and enemies without distinction, so ought the same generous sentiments to inspire the committees in the distribution of their relief. Their charity—their philanthropy—ought to be universal. Besides, such noble conduct will find its recompense in an eager reciprocity which will calm all apprehensions with regard to the fate of friends who may have fallen into the hands of the enemy.¹ If this feeling is not expressed in the letter of the Resolutions, it was not the less evident in the spirit which presided when they were being drawn up. When Frederick the Great, after a victory, displayed the same solicitude towards the unfortunate wounded soldiers whom the lot of war had placed in his power, as he evinced towards his own soldiers,² he was in advance of the public feeling of his day; but in our time, “the laws of war among civilized nations impose obligations which it is gratifying to fulfil, and, amongst

¹ (Manifesto of the Magdeburg Committee) Comité International, 208.

² *Wochenblatt*, 10th of May, 1865.

others, that of giving help to wounded enemies.”¹ We also remember the declaration of the committee of Lyons, that, “although the French committees were established for an entirely national purpose, they would nevertheless act in a spirit of international charity.”²

But, although this should be the line of conduct to be pursued by the committees in international wars, their *rôle* during civil war is much more delicate, the animosities, in such a case, being more bitter and personal. If, as a general thesis, it may be said “that war is not an affair between man and man, but between State and State, in which private individuals are but accidental enemies,”³ it ceases to be the case in intestine wars. It would be superfluous to surround human nature with illusions, and to suppose that it possesses an almost impossible impartiality. We do not, however, wish to discourage the committees who may find themselves in such circumstances, for it might so happen that the course of events would enable them to act. We remember, for example, to have seen the nurses of the hospitals of Paris circulating indiscriminately in the midst of the struggle during the terrible days of June, 1848. That which runs the greatest chance of compromising the action of the committees, is the probability that members divided by their political opinions would be unable to act together, and therefore their best inclinations would be paralyzed. This is so much the more to be dreaded,

¹ Quesnoy, 71.

² *Charité Internationale*, 165.

³ (de Talleyrand) *Moniteur*, December 6th, 1806.

from the fact that there ought to be found amongst them representatives of all the political or religious shades of opinion which exist in the country. The committees ought to move in a sphere superior to that of party, and they should serve as a rallying-point for the united action of all. But, that very thing which is an element of success when humanity or patriotism causes all hearts to beat in unison, becomes a snare when home politics are at stake.

III. As long as private charity only timidly interposed, it met with few opponents, but the moment it felt the full extent of its mission, and endeavoured to fulfil it, it was the butt for numerous attacks. We have already said¹ that those who contest the right of volunteer intervention ought not to be listened to. Beaten on the question of principle, they have entrenched themselves behind a second line of defence, and have attacked their adversary on the ground of practice. Unable to find fault with anything under this head in the past, they have directed criticism against the opinions expressed at the Conference, the wisdom of which has not as yet been confirmed by experience. These complaints, which we now propose to examine, may be classed under four heads: 1st, Difficulties in the way of execution; 2nd, Encouragement to war; 3rd, Embarrassment to the army; 4th, Demoralization of the soldiers. We shall only treat here of the general objections which have been raised to the Resolutions taken as a whole, reserving the

¹ Chapter ii.

discussion of those which bear on particular points to the special chapters which we intend to devote to them.

On the first announcement of the Conference, the word *Utopia* circulated from mouth to mouth; faith in its success counted very few disciples; and the immense difficulties to be overcome before the programme could be realized were fully set forth. Amongst others, M. Comissetti, *Médecin en chef* of the Italian Army, said, "The way in which the wounded would be scattered, the absence of railroads or direct communications with the ambulance depôts, the insufficiency of the means of transport, shelter, and beds (without taking into consideration nourishment, surgical appliances, and dressings for wounds), are obstacles enough to discourage the most provident doctor or administrator. Add to all this the strategical exigencies, and the necessity to avoid obstructing roads already crowded—I may even say confiscated—by parks of artillery, munitions of war, commissariat stores, army ambulances, &c., &c."¹ At a meeting of Prussian military doctors, held at Westerschnabeck, during the Schleswig-Holstein war, the Resolutions of the Conference of Geneva were discussed, and the objections on behalf of military discipline predominated over all others which were then raised. "The independent movement of philanthropic action was declared to be difficult, and even impracticable, in the centre of a vast military mechanism."²—"Endeavours have been

¹ Conférence, 25.

² Appia (*b*), 59.

made to dissuade us from our project," said the President of the Conference, "in pretending that we are pursuing a chimera, that we are dwelling in a perfect Utopia, and that, after we have wasted our time in dissertations as to the necessity to remedy the actual state of things, we shall end by dashing ourselves against insurmountable obstacles. Gentlemen, the committee which has called you together has never deceived itself as to the difficulties which will attend the undertaking, but the conviction that the design is not a mere dream will not allow us to abandon it without submitting it to a decisive trial."¹ "The word 'impossible,' which is but little used in our nineteenth century, is almost entirely omitted in all matters which concern the lives of men. At all events, it is worth while to try whether some means cannot be found to remove the difficulties, and to overcome the obstacles."² Such, in effect, was the thought of the Conference; and, thanks to the ability which it brought to bear on the original project, we may boldly assert that there is nothing impracticable in what it resolved upon, for its members were certainly competent to determine on the limits of the possible. They were not so presumptuous as to believe that they would be able to remedy all the imperfections of the sanitary service, but they had confidence in the success of their efforts to diminish its insufficiency. "International, and national organization," says the French Committee, "are things which must be drawn from

¹ Conférence, 9.

² (Bastings) Conférence, 71.

the borders of Utopia, in order to show that they are capable of realization, and we shall succeed in accomplishing this task.”¹

Not being able to frighten the promoters of the work by this bugbear, an attempt was made to persuade them that they would incur a serious responsibility, and only end at last in encouraging those bellicose propensities which they condemned. We find this accusation put forward by Dr. Diday in the following terms:—“Is it logical, is it prudent, is it truly philanthropical, to accept as a necessary evil a calamity which one ought to, and which one could, avoid? . . . We must leave to war all its horrors, if this be the only way to open the eyes of those who order it, and those who submit to it. . . . Let us not encourage the scourge by an organization, every offering to which would be a vote against the return of a general peace.”² After having read these lines, we asked ourselves, with the President of the Conference, who refuted them,³ if such criticism were serious. If it had any foundation, it would tend to nothing less than the suppression of the whole sanitary service, upon which the same blame might, with equal justice, be directed. Everybody, in the present day, certainly desires to see war disappear for ever; and we are strongly disposed to believe, with Dr. Diday, that “the public mind is not far from divining to what extremes it is led by

¹ Comité Français, 17.

² *Gazette Médicale de Lyon*, Sept. 1, 1865.

³ Conférence, 8.

the great words, glory and nationalities ;”¹ but we do not admit that the end justifies the means, nor that charity can conform itself to systematic inaction. Besides, if the horrors of war ought to disgust us with it, are they not already, even in the actual state of affairs, sufficiently terrible to bring about this result? If they have not yet succeeded in so doing, it is because they are not enough known ; and, consequently, what should be desired is, that no person shall be able to ignore them. It is, then, precisely to this that the organization of Relief Committees tends. Henceforth, until war shall be abolished, these committees “ will have statistics, unanswerable in their exactness and their veracity ; and, when the partisans of war shall see those long lists of dead and wounded, of amputations, mutilations, and disfigurements, perhaps they will begin to reflect on, and to recognize, their cruel folly.”² Napoleon I., when contemplating the battle-field of Eylau, could not avoid remarking that such a spectacle was well fitted to inspire princes with the love of peace. It is known how profound was the impression produced on the mind of the Duke of Cambridge by the butchery at Inkermann ; and the Emperor of Russia, Alexander II., when visiting the hospitals in the Crimea, during the winter of 1854–5, was so deeply moved, that, it is said, the sight determined him to

¹ *Gazette Médicale de Lyon*, September 1st, 1865.

² (de Cazenove) *Gazette Médicale de Lyon*, October 1st, 1865.

decide on peace.¹ “I am persuaded,” said M. Moynier, at the Conference, “that, in organizing succour for the wounded, in addressing fervent appeals in their favour to the various nations, in exciting pity by the relation of their miseries, and in laying bare, with a view to help our cause, the lamentable spectacle of a field of battle, in unveiling the terrible realities of war, and in proclaiming, in the name of charity, that which policy has often an interest to keep concealed, we shall do more for the disarmament of nations than those who have recourse to economical arguments, or to the declamations of a sterile sentimentalism.”² Dr. Simonot, taking the same ground, observed that the sending out of volunteer helpers “would be the surest way to make war unpopular; for each one might possibly find amongst its victims a father, a son, a brother, or a husband, whose suffering would leave a lasting, an indelible, impression on the memory, that would have, in proper time and place, a salutary influence.”³ This is, in fact, the hope expressed in the following words of Miss Nightingale:—“Who can tell if the systematic efforts made by all nations to diminish the horrors of that great scourge, war, will not open the way for its complete disappearance from the surface of the earth?”⁴ “Our work,” says the French Committee, in its manifesto, “is one of the most prominent landmarks on the road which leads to the reconciliation of nations, and the extinction of

¹ *Charité Internationale*, 7.

³ Simonot, 4.

² *Conférence*, 8.

⁴ Nightingale, 3.

hereditary hatred and prejudices.”¹ Unfortunately, “it is doubtful whether the desired era of cordial understanding and mutual affection between nations can be anything else than a dream and a Utopia, as long as the passions of men and the antagonism of their interests shall remain as they are now.”² If the era of universal peace is retarded by obstacles of this nature, we do not see what would be gained by resisting the instincts of pity, and by deliberately abstaining from the relief of those who suffer. As the evil is inevitable, until we arrive at a new order of things, and perhaps for a still longer time, let us at least try to make it more bearable. “Let us loudly express our sincere regret, our grief, that we are unable to do more,” said a representative of the Geneva Committee; “let us protest against that great collective iniquity, called war, an iniquity which is only one of the forms of evil in the world; but, after we have openly condemned it, taking war for just what it is, let us unite our efforts to alleviate the miseries that are caused by it, let us boldly and energetically demand that over the flag of victory the white banner and the red cross of Charity shall be privileged to float.”³

The most specious argument that can be advanced against the employment of volunteer helpers is the dread lest they should be found more inconvenient than useful; it is feared that the eagerness of volunteers would be an impediment to the chiefs, might

¹ Comité Français, 22.

² Evans, ii.

³ Appia (b), 144.

hinder the movements of the army,¹ and introduce into its midst an element incompatible with the strict discipline which ought to reign there.² "America alone," says Dr. Chenu, "can allow such eccentricities."³ Assuredly, if such would be the fatal consequence of annexing an independent civil service to the official military service, we should hesitate to demand it; but it is not so: the reason put forward against it is only the exaggeration of a thing undoubtedly good in itself. If free beneficence should prove injurious to the regular war administration, it will only be because it has gone too far, and there will have been an abuse which will not in any respect detract from the excellence of the principle. Everything here resolves itself into an affair of tact and discretion. It would be rash to assert that it is impossible to bring war and charity more closely together under a new administrative order: as well might one protest against the principle of their juxtaposition. For our own part, we think that, in seeking to find a formula which may reconcile the exigencies of the one with the aspirations of the other, we need not be afraid to entangle ourselves in a road without an issue. It even seems to us that the military authorities ought highly to approve of such endeavours, for the effect of a solution of the problem would be, on the one side, to ameliorate the condition of men rendered unfit

¹ Chenu, 711 (Opinion of Dr. Rørbye, *Médecin en chef* of the Danish Army), Van de Velde, 153.

² *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 9.

³ Chenu, 721.

for service by wounds or disease; and, on the other, partly to relieve the chiefs of these non-effectives, who are much more embarrassing to them than a serviceable auxiliary staff ever could be. What general, for example, when about to follow in pursuit of an enemy, would not consider himself fortunate if he could leave to qualified persons the care of the victims, friends as well as enemies, whom he sows along his path, rather than find himself under the cruel alternative to abandon them without help, or to give up in their favour a part of his force, of which he is in the most pressing need! "What officer, what general, if he considers his soldiers, so to speak, as his children, would not be anxious to facilitate the task of such nurses? What *intendant militaire*, what surgeon-major, would not gratefully accept the assistance of a cohort of intelligent persons, called upon to give judicious aid under experienced direction?"¹

On looking more closely, we find another objection to the Resolutions of the Conference, which seems as chimerical as the preceding ones. It has been pretended that, in supplying the deficiencies of the official service, the confidence of the soldier in the foresight and solicitude of his chiefs would be taken away,² and that this would react in a grievous manner on the *morale* of the soldier, and on the respect which he owes to his superiors. We ourselves very much doubt whether this fear has any foundation. On the contrary, it appears to us that the predominant impression

¹ Dunant, 114.

² Van Esschen, 11.

on the mind of the soldier will be a greater confidence in the care which will be bestowed on him in case of misfortune, and the assurance that his wounds will be less injurious than formerly, from the fact of more prompt and complete assistance. Hence, will not the natural consequence of this feeling of security be to increase his courage, and to make him a more devoted instrument?

“It must not be forgotten that, in the valour of the soldier, one should take into account the assurance that, if he is wounded, he will immediately find there is a friendly hand to bring him help, a devoted heart to lavish care and consolation upon him, an asylum where, sheltered from all eventualities, he will meet with the comfort to which he is so well entitled.”¹

“It is easy to understand how the evidence of constant anxiety for the wants and sufferings of the soldier would have a salutary influence upon him, and would double his energy by the confidence with which it would inspire him.”² “The establishment of flying ambulances,” says Larrey, “made a great sensation amongst our soldiers; they were all persuaded that they would be relieved the moment they might be wounded. . . . From that time I have always looked with calmness on the battles and skirmishes in which I have been engaged.”³ It is feared that by an avowal of weakness the official administration might lose its prestige; but would it not be totally condemned in the eyes of the army if it were known that it had

¹ Chenu, 722.

² de Bazancourt, ii. 291.

³ Larrey, i. 64.

proudly refused co-operation tending to diminish the horrors of war? In such a case, the affection of commanders for their men might well be open to suspicion.

IV. Having exposed the ideas of the Conference, and refuted the opinions of its opponents, it remains for us to conclude. Let us admit that, in spite of the official character of the greater part of its members, a character of a nature to bestow weight and authority upon its deliberations, no great thing was expected of it;¹ or rather, let us join in the words of the President of this assembly, who, at the moment of bidding farewell to its members, said to them, "You came to support with your authority the aims of the Committee, and under your auspices they will make the round of the world."² Bold as this last prediction may have appeared, subsequent events have proved its truth.

The movement which had birth at Geneva promptly radiated in all directions. The members of the Conference, in dispersing, transplanted the germ amongst their compatriots, and in a short time committees sprang up on all sides. The Geneva Committee, then taking the name of "*Comité International*," actively assisted them, and the whole of Europe followed the impulse which this society had endeavoured to communicate to it. England, Holland, and Russia are now almost the only nations of the Old World where the work has not yet been organized; but even in these it

¹ Œuvre d'un grand peuple, 9.

² Conférence, 145.

numbers numerous adherents, and we may be sure that they will rally to it at no very distant period.

A certain degree of hesitation, however, still manifests itself in the centre of the most strongly constituted committees. They do not all possess a perfect knowledge, or a tolerably clear perception of what they have to do, either in peace or in war. This want of a precise direction is much to be regretted, although there is nothing surprising in it. A noble task has been proposed and accepted without hesitation ; but the first decisive step once taken, the committees have to inquire, before they go any further, as to the shortest and best road to follow, in order to reach their destination. Sentiment appeals to Science for help. It is this which the Berlin Committee thoroughly understood, when it attracted light towards this obscure part of its work by means of a literary competition. The desire then expressed, to see all that has been written on this subject during late years arranged in a methodical manner, and to place in the hands of the public a guide to assist in the study of the different questions which are connected with it, has met with our approval, and the following chapters will show in what manner we think that these questions ought to be solved.

PART II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

CONFERENCE OF GENEVA.

CHAPTER V.

CONSTITUTION OF THE RELIEF COMMITTEES.

SUMMARY.—I. Objects of the Committees.—II. Staff: Numerous associations needed; women not excluded; composition of the Committees; obligations of associates.—III. Organization: Formation of Sections. Respective duties of Committees and Sections. Number of Sections. Provincial correspondents. War footing of Committees.—IV. Finances: The Committees have need of money. They should collect it in time of peace. State subsidies. Annual subscriptions. Exceptional gifts. Hospitaller penny. Collections in time of war. Bazaars. Administration of the funds.—V. Connection with the State: The relations between the Committees and the State form the difficult part of this undertaking. Governments must be won over to the cause. Success will be attained without difficulty. They must be conciliated in time of peace: (*a*) in obtaining the support of Sovereigns and high functionaries for the Committees; (*b*) in maintaining amicable relations with the chiefs of the

medical service. In case of war: (a) steps must be taken with the chief authorities; (b) to arrange with them as to means of subsistence; (c) to address frequent reports to them.

I. "*There shall be in every country, a Committee whose duty it will be to co-operate in time of war, by all the means in its power, with the sanitary service of the army.*" (Resolutions—Art. 1.) This was decided by "*the International Conference, desirous,*" as it states in the preamble of its Resolution, "*to give aid to wounded soldiers in all cases where the military medical service shall be inadequate.*" This affirmation was anticipated in 1863, but it is now perfectly established, for there are few countries, at least in Europe, which have not their Relief Committee.

The object of this institution is so clearly defined in the text we have just cited, that it is unnecessary to dwell on it. It is true that a slight controversy was raised on the subject, yet, if we rightly remember, it was quickly over, and it in no way touched the foundation of the question that now occupies us.

The journal of the work, which is published at Brussels, has, on several occasions,¹ drawn the attention of its readers to the expediency of not limiting the activity of the Committees to the victims of war, but to extend it to those of peace in the case of serious accidents, epidemics, inundations, &c. The International Association for the Progress of Social Science was occupied with this subject at Berne, in its session of 1865,

¹ *La Charité*, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 13; and No. 7, p. 31.

but the proposition was not received with favour.¹ We, for our part, shall not enter into the debate, not wishing to discuss here the propriety of giving aid to people afflicted in a variety of ways, nor to lay down in this respect an inflexible rule of conduct. The work proposed is, in fact, very different to that for the assistance of soldiers, and the committees which have zeal and leisure enough to undertake it, ought to remain perfectly free to do so. We will only ask one thing of them; and this is attentively to watch that the accessory may not insensibly become the principal, and always to make the interests of the army their chief, if not exclusive, occupation.

Before we examine in detail the labours of the relief committees, we must make the acquaintance of the committees themselves, for it is natural, if we wish to make a judicious programme, to commence by inquiring how they are composed, and what are the resources and means of action of which they can dispose.

II. Let us first remark that the words *Committees* and *Sections*, which the Conference employed to designate the institution which it called to life, suppose a restricted staff, whilst it was wished, as we also wish, that the work should draw every one towards it, and should penetrate the masses. It would, then, have been better to declare that it was desired to raise vast associations, whose committees should represent the executive power. The consequence of this omission has been, that some of the committees which sub-

¹ Bulletin, No. 3, p. 10.

scribed to the Resolutions have interpreted them according to the strict letter, without creating between themselves and the public any permanent bond of union. This is the case, we believe, with the Committees of Vienna and Copenhagen. Yet, everywhere else, it has been understood that "the appeal of the Conference addressed itself to women as much as to men, to the princess seated on a throne, as to the devoted servant and the humble orphan, or to the poor widow isolated in the world who desires to devote her remaining strength to the good of her neighbour. It addresses itself to the general as well as to the philanthropist, and to the author who, in the recesses of his cabinet, can develop, by means of his writings, a question which embraces the whole of mankind, and, speaking in a more special sense, to every people, every country, even every family, since none can with certainty say that they will for ever remain sheltered from the chances of war."¹

The Conference has been blamed for excluding women from this movement,² but the accusation rests on a gratuitous and perfectly unjustifiable hypothesis. Had the assembly suspected that its silence would have been thus interpreted, it would have explained itself more clearly. Besides, subsequent facts entirely disprove the assertion, and at the present time we see ladies acting on committees in Belgium and in Italy. At Stuttgart, a committee of ladies exists side by side with that of the men. The Magdeburg Committee

¹ Dunant, 112.

² *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 9.

and the French Central Committee declare that ladies may take part in the work. The Provincial Committee of Lyons has resolved to form an auxiliary corps of women. More than this, the Baden Committee is at the head of an association essentially feminine, presided over by Her Serene Highness the Grand Duchess Louise. Nowhere, indeed, do we find any exclusive arrangements; and the prominent idea on all sides is the same as that which first animated the promoters of the institution.

Although women have an incontestible right to share in the associations for the relief of the wounded, ought we to say that they should also have a clearly defined place in the directing committees? We are not convinced that such a step would be right. They will be infinitely valuable at the moment of action, when there are unfortunate victims to comfort, and a great and noble part should then be assigned to them; but, for purely administrative functions, they appear to be generally but little qualified. We consider, then, that the direction should be confined to men.

While we are on the subject of the formation of committees, let us add, that those who undertake the initiative and responsibility ought not to do so inconsiderately; for it is necessary that the choice of their staff should satisfy many conditions. "To carry out the work properly, it has been said, a large and ostentatious staff is quite unnecessary. With an extended administration, a few intelligent men, inspired by sincere love of their work, can accomplish miracles,

which at first sight might appear incredible."¹ Were we inclined to be slightly malicious, we might perhaps discover in this remark a criticism intended for some committee which has greatly spread its ranks; but, for our own part, we cannot find much fault with this manner of proceeding, which, without having any very serious inconvenience in it, may possess some advantages, and is sometimes, perhaps, recommended by circumstances.

We must, however, especially take care that the composition of the committee properly reflects and includes all the elements of the physiognomy of the association; that is to say, that it numbers representatives in the various categories of political opinion, the different forms of worship, different professions, and different social ranks. It is right to exclude all persons whose presence would injure the committee in the eyes of official administrators. It will also be necessary for the government to be represented in it by some of its most influential functionaries, or even to appoint commissioners, as in Prussia; but the number of these should be relatively small. If attention is not paid to this point, the volunteer element will insensibly become a simple branch of the official work; this danger, then, ought to be avoided, at any price; for, in allowing liberty to become cramped, charity loses its virtue and its efficacy.

The committees ought also to recruit themselves from amongst such persons of independent position as

¹ Evans, 150.

can best represent them in their relations with the chief of the army. Military men whose time of service is over, medical civilians, wealthy persons accustomed to administrative work, would be very valuable mediums, whom it is expedient eventually to attach to the cause. For example, what advantages the Berlin Committee derived during the Schleswig-Holstein war from the assistance of a Prince de Reuss, of a Count d'Arnim-Boytzenburg, of a Count zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, of a Dr. Langenbeck, &c.

It is interesting, in this respect, to know how the Sanitary Commission of the United States, which met and surmounted more prejudice than any committee will probably meet with in the future, was composed. "The well-known character of the twenty-two members who composed the Commission, was a sufficient pledge of the success which attended it. The president and principal executive agent was the Rev. Henry M. Bellows, D.D., a learned theologian, who could speak with authority in the name of the philanthropists of the country. The secretary-general was Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, a man of great experience, endowed with a remarkable talent for organization, and with a very practical mind. Amongst the military members, one was chief of the staff of General Scott, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army; a second was one of the active functionaries of the Medical Bureau; a third was at the head of the commissariat; two others had previously been employed in the office of the Secretary for War; a sixth had been in foreign service;

a seventh enjoyed a certain scientific reputation; an eighth, then employed at the War Department, was a skilful physician of special experience; and the other members were civilians, not less eminent and distinguished, each in his own sphere."¹

We will say nothing of the different denominations which were adopted to distinguish the *honorary members* or the *life members* from the *ordinary members*, or, again, the *founders* from the *subscribers*, or the *effectives* from the *honorary members*. These things are very unimportant in themselves, and only correspond to honorary distinction or to financial measures.

It is much more important to know how the persons who enter the association are to engage themselves. A rather deeply-rooted prejudice, and one which it is needful to destroy, considers them as individuals ready, on the first sound of battle, to set out for the relief of the wounded, and assimilates them all to volunteer nurses. Dr. Diday is of the number of those who partake this opinion; he thinks that "the members of a society which recruits itself from representatives of the magistracy, commerce, and science," ought to feel that "their presence in the midst of litters and ambulances would run the risk of being much more obstructive than useful."² This error exists only in the minds of those who have not followed the various phases of the question. It is for us to tell them that the duties of the members engaged in this work consist

¹ Evans, 57.

² *Gazette Médicale de Lyon*, 1st Sept. 1865.

essentially, and almost entirely, 1st, In the moral obligation to gain adherents, to procure resources, and to second each other according to their ability; 2ndly, In an annual contribution. Spain makes the only exception to this second rule, in which, on the contrary, Italy excels, by requiring an engagement for three years at least. In Belgium, the promise of active co-operation is considered as equivalent to the subscription, and every one who places his person, his talents, or his industry at the disposal of the committee, is relieved of all pecuniary obligation. From this it is evident that, in that country, the work promises to be really popular, and it is our opinion that it ought everywhere to be established on this basis.

III. The Resolutions (Art. 1) declare that each "*committee shall organize itself in the manner which may appear to it as the most useful and expedient.*" The Conference, fully understanding that the customs and nature of different nations would not admit of a rigorous uniformity, which, besides, was unnecessary, acted well in not treating administrative questions, which were only of secondary importance, in an irrevocable manner.

But, when inviting the central committees to complete their organization by a network of sub-committees, we were placed under the necessity to study their reports and the limit of their respective attributes.

Article 2 of the Resolutions, in fact, states that "*sections, unlimited in number, shall be formed, in*

order to second the committee, to which the general direction will belong."

Let us remark these words, *the general direction*, which confirm the principle of centralization admitted by the Conference. According to its opinion, a general direction for the purpose of drawing together all the efforts evoked by charity and patriotism from private individuals, and to make them converge on the same object, is infinitely preferable to the isolated and multiple action of a large number of small committees acting independently of each other.¹ Consequently, we only recognize in the central committee of each country, placed at the summit of the administrative hierarchy, the right to represent the association, and to speak in its name, whether it be to governments, to other committees, or to the public. It possesses, besides, the right to superintend the sections, which ought to submit their regulations to its approbation. The supremacy of the committee will also be made apparent by the obligation of the sections to keep it well informed, and to render an account of their labours, without allowing these reports to degenerate into dogmatism or a wearying control.² The committee ought also to be able to require the co-operation of the sections for the execution of measures of general interest upon which it shall have decided. With these reservations, the sections shall preserve their autonomy in everything else; for centralization here is the means to an end, but not the aim sought

¹ Van de Velde, 174; Berlin, 4.

² Frégier, 31.

to be attained. Good to a certain limit, it ought not to be exaggerated to such an extent as to draw into the committee all the life of the institution. The duty of the committee will consist in stimulating the sections, in frequently consulting them, in interesting them in the progress of the work, so as to insure well-prepared auxiliaries in time of need. With these objects in view, we should recommend it to hold annual general assemblies, successively, in the different districts of the country: these meetings should be public; they would serve to propagate the work, and would prevent a loosening of those ties which should unite the province to the capital. Finally, if the committee will alone maintain direct relations with the national or foreign governments, it may, without inconvenience, allow the sections to enter into negotiation with the local authorities, or with other committees, as to their particular affairs, on the full understanding that they then act only in their own name.

The Conference, however, made one essential distinction between a state of peace and a state of war. During periods of tranquillity the committees and sections are placed, as to the nature of their labours, if not of their powers, on a level of perfect equality. "*The committees and sections shall be occupied with the means to make themselves really useful in time of war.*" (Art. 4.) Thus, during this preparatory phase, both can, to a certain degree, act as they may think best. But when war occurs, this shall be no longer the case; centralization, until then latent, will assume

all its energy, and the subordination of the sections will no longer be an idle word. The Articles, 5, 6, and 7, which treat of this subject, speak only of the committees in whose name everything ought to be done, whilst the sections return to their proper place, which is to *second* them. (Art. 2.) The meaning of this is, that although discipline may be relaxed in time of peace, and is only, so to speak, retained by a thread, it must be restored to vigour on the commencement of a campaign; for experience has proved that it is then as useful for the exercise of charity as it is necessary for the control of an army.

This obligation may perhaps create difficult situations which all should strive to avoid, either by previous arrangement, or by calling the attention of the sections to the position which they would hold in case war should break out, and ascertaining that they would accept it without murmuring. It is especially to guard against disagreement, which their susceptibility might engender, that we insist on the necessity of having the regulations of the affiliated sections approved by the committees.

If we forewarn committees and sections against this obstacle, it is because it will cost the latter some feeling, after having zealously laboured in the preparation of means of assistance, not to have the satisfaction to employ them; and this difficulty is not so imaginary as may be supposed. It is true that it will not present itself everywhere to the same extent, but it will surely be met with when sections shall be established in

important towns, jealous to preserve their own individuality; it will arise principally in Confederations like that of Germany, where the national character generally predominates over federal union, and where a concordat ought carefully to provide for and regulate beforehand all debateable points. This was the feeling of the Schwerin Committee when it inserted the following clause in its statutes:—"In order to avoid difficulties, the society will have to come to an understanding with others of the same kind existing in Germany." (Art. 3.)

The American war, so fertile in useful lessons, gives us in this respect one of the highest importance. Facts are often more persuasive than arguments. At the commencement of this grand drama, charitable associations in favour of the soldiers were formed in different parts of the Northern States; but they were imbued with local predilections, and were intended to occupy themselves exclusively with their relatives, their neighbours, or their friends.¹ This arrangement is intelligible in a country where the soldiers are grouped in the same regiments according to their native provinces, and not indiscriminately scattered over all the divisions of the army. But, in working thus, there was a chance of wasting considerable strength, and the first care of the Sanitary Commission was to remedy it. The committee issued a manifesto, in which "it insisted on the fact that numerous societies, working without previous concert, without

¹ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 21.

direction or organization, without any relation with the military authorities, and without any instruction as to the probable or immediate wants of the army, could only dispense their enthusiasm in efforts quite disproportioned to the object, neglect certain necessities in order to give an exaggerated attention to others, and place the medical authorities in a disagreeable embarrassment, as much by the variety and irregularity of their offers of assistance as by useless demands for information.”¹ Reforms were accomplished, and the collective interest finally, but not without a struggle, prevailed, and we know of what great and noble things it was the source.

It was the same in the Southern States; but here such brilliant results were not attained, because centralization was confined to each State, and the work was not clothed with a character so general as that of the North.²

The application of relief for the necessities of an army ought, then, to be exclusively reserved for the committee, which will be able to make it under conditions of fitness and economy infinitely better than if it were derived from different sources; besides, there are things which demand great resources, and which cannot be accomplished if no person has sufficient authority to make all the available forces converge on the same point. The committee ought, however, in the exercise of its prerogatives, to qualify everything which may be distasteful to the sections, by allowing

¹ Evans, 42.

² Ibid., 169.

their members to superintend the employment of their gifts, and thus making them co-operate directly in the work. It will be necessary, also, to respect that local attachment of individuals to their native place which it would be wrong completely to ignore, since it may be able to excite between different localities a generous emulation very profitable to the work.

The Conference foresaw an unlimited number of sections, but this is not to say that it ought necessarily to be so. We even think that there exist good reasons why the lesser wheels should not be too numerous. If the association ought permanently to keep its staff, we must not conceal from ourselves that, in the hypothesis of a prolonged peace, it will have some difficulty to keep up the activity of its committee and sections: their existence will be somewhat artificial. In order to sustain itself without real work, it will require a proper centre, and one which will offer facilities such as are only met with in large cities. While rendering homage to the zeal which has succeeded in multiplying sections and sub-sections in certain places, we are inclined to believe that it has missed its aim; and we fear that this too-complicated organization will quickly become rusty. It is better not to create illusions on the conditions of existence of this mechanism in order to avoid self-deception, and there is no doubt that the great centres of population alone offer to the sections the means of maintaining their activity in a continuous manner.

However, the ramifications of the work ought not

to stop there ; but, in order to give it deep root in the population, there is another means quite as efficacious, and much more simple than sections. This is for the committee, and the few sections it may appoint, to assure in every important centre, or in every district of their respective circuits, the co-operation of a devoted and well-qualified person to represent them, and to hold himself in readiness to initiate local action whenever an occasion may arise. This staff of correspondents will suffice, with very little trouble, to keep the locality always prepared, and to maintain good arrangements—all that need be demanded of it in ordinary times.

The war footing of the Societies allows, on the contrary, a great multiplicity of subdivisions, to enable them to call on all contributors. At the moment of a warlike crisis, there could not be too many channels through which all the resources of the country could be made to flow towards one centre ; and the committees will find here much matter for study during times of peace—a study for which the precedents set by the Sanitary Commission of the United States are not to be despised. This Commission has, in fact, published a large and very curious table of statistics of its administrative *régime* which admitted of the assistance of 32,000 committees of ladies, of which, by means of a circular distributed to the extent of 80,000 copies, it had encouraged the formation.¹

We may also add that the committees ought to

¹ Evans, 107.

ascertain how, in time of war, the different kinds of work ought to be apportioned amongst their members ; for they would then be compelled to create distinct departments, with special duties. The Sanitary Commission of the United States appointed four services, namely, A, for the staff of volunteer soldiers ; B, for measures of preventive hygiene ; C, for the hospitals ; D, for the assistants. This division, perhaps, would not be quite approved by European committees, which would probably prefer to distinguish them as follows :—1st, The Secretary's Department ; 2nd, The Finance Department ; 3rd, Material Relief ; 4th, Transports ; 5th, Moral Aid ; 6th, Staff of Agents.

The committees, with the permission of the Commander-in-Chief, should also have one of their members at head-quarters, like the *Commendator* of the Knights of St. John.¹ This Commissioner-General would represent them with the army, and would have the chief direction of the work at the theatre of war.² The *rôle* of this officer would be extremely important, and his powers would be very extensive ; and, consequently, the choice should be very carefully made.

The Sanitary Commission of the United States, which in many respects found itself in an exceptional situation, had in its service Inspectors, whom it sent out by twos, to inquire into all that was wanting in the official administration, and to point out the direction which should be given to its efforts.³ They were

¹ Conférence, 139.

² Gurlt.

³ Œuvre d'un grand peuple, 25.

furnished with a very detailed set of hygienic questions, so that nothing should escape their investigations.¹ In Europe, "such control would not be suffered, and the position of such inspectors would not be tenable."² But, fortunately, they would not be needed. The agents of the committees, provided their behaviour was not too inquisitorial, and that they acted with discretion and modesty, would obtain all the necessary information from the sanitary authorities. If, for example, a committee should offer its services to the chief of a hospital in a respectful manner, leaving to him the task of exposing his own necessities, rather than pointing them out to him, it would readily gain his confidence; and such an understanding once established, the inquiry would be very soon finished.

IV. Wise and perfect as the organization of these Relief Societies may be, and well qualified and zealous as may be their staff, they would run the risk of being left powerless, if the sinews of war were to fail them. They need money—a great deal of money; for not only is war most costly, but we may add that the portion of its expense which falls on private charity has no limits, so varied are its employments, and so considerable are the evils to be palliated. Every committee will have, then, to consider the best means to draw an abundant supply of crowns into its exchequer, and to put itself in a position to meet all the exigencies of a ruinous campaign.

It is not probable that during a time of peace they

¹ Evans, 63.

² Chenu, 744.

would succeed in amassing large treasures, for charitable persons will be little inclined to loosen the strings of their purse in order to lock up capital in provision for distant and doubtful misfortunes. To the same extent as offerings would flow in, if the danger were imminent or only certain, so will they always be rare in prospect of a problematic eventuality. Nevertheless, though the committees must not count on large sums at the outset of their existence, they ought to commence without delay to collect funds to secure them a regular revenue. They will be required to cover the expenses, relatively small, of their ordinary activity; and if the advent of war were long delayed, they would thus, by little and little, gradually accumulate a capital of some importance.

We do not wish to see the committee follow the example given by that of Schwerin, in soliciting subsidies from the public treasury—a request which we learnt, without regret, was refused. The downward slope which leads the committees to place themselves under the dependence of the Government is so easy, that they could not fail, in following it, to create obligations between them and the authorities, and every service accepted by them would naturally be followed by an alienation of their liberty. It would, besides, be folly for the State to pay the committees for doing, in its place, that which it generally pretends to do for itself. If it subsidized them, it would be an avowal of weakness on its part, and a striking confirmation of their necessity; but we have not yet got to

that point. This observation, it will be understood, does not apply to the generous contribution personally made by his Highness the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg to the Schwerin Committee, a gift which consisted in taking to his own charge all the expenses of the work during the first year of its existence.¹

The idea of requiring from their members a periodical contribution naturally presented itself to the minds of growing associations; it was even imposed upon them as a necessity. The regulations of the Committee of Navarre are the only ones which do not mention it; there is nothing to show how this was to provide for its expenses; but everywhere else the annual subscription is admitted. It only varies as to its quota. Undetermined at Dresden, in Paris it is fixed at 50 francs for founders, and at 6 francs for other members, with the right of paying by monthly instalments; in Italy, it is 5 francs; in Sweden it varies from 71 centimes (50 öre) to 4·25 francs (3 rixdollars); at Hamburg it is 3·75 francs (2 ma. 8 sch.); in Württemberg 2·15 francs (1 florin); in Mecklenburg 1·50 francs (16 schellings); at Magdeburg, 1·25 francs (10 silber groschen); at Brussels, and at Lyons, it differs according as it may be from effective members, or from honorary members or subscribers. The former pay 3 francs at Lyons, and at Brussels any sum, limited only by the minimum of 2 francs; the latter pay 50 centimes at Lyons, and from 50 centimes to 2 francs, according to option, in Belgium. Had we to express

¹ Schwerin.

our preference amongst these examples, we should give it to the Belgian system, which appears to us the most judicious, in this respect, that it renders the work accessible to every one, and preserves to it its popular character; while it avoids the double objection of placing its destinies at the mercy of too great a crowd of people, and of fixing limits to the periodical generosity of rich or liberal people. In order that each may bear his portion of the general expenses of the association, the sections ought to place in the hands of the central committee a part of the produce of the subscriptions of their respective districts. The proportion cannot be fixed in an absolute manner for all countries; each must arrange it according to circumstances. It is this which has already been done in Prussia, where it was decided that the sections should forward three-fourths of their total collection to the provincial committees, and that these should contribute one-third of their fund to the central committee.¹

Although it is quite evident that exceptional gifts, especially those of some value, will always be gratefully received, it may be well to suggest the thought of them by referring to them in the statutes, and also in recompensing their authors by some honorary qualification, like that of *benefactors*, adopted in Prussia and in France, or that of *life members*, as in the Italian and Swedish Committees; the former title reserved for donors of 100 francs, the latter for those of 42 francs (30 rixdollars). It is doubtless with a view to such

¹ Magdeburg.

liberality that the French Central Committee proposes to solicit legal recognition as “an establishment of public utility,” which will constitute it as a civil body, and will confer on it the right to receive donations and legacies.

In order to raise considerable funds promptly and easily, it has been proposed,¹ not only to appeal to the members of the association, strictly so called, but also to the whole population, by instituting something analogous to Peter’s pence, to the missionary sou, or to the *denier* for liberated slaves. We do not absolutely reject this expedient, for the collection of the smallest offerings, when repeated every week, may be very productive ; we only suggest that the immediate institution of *the military hospitaller penny* would be premature. They are, in fact, the small purses that it is desirable to reach by this method, those which, to support the work with their pence, are compelled to make a real sacrifice ; and though it is, in some measure, rendered easier or disguised by the mode of weekly collection, it would not the less be a sacrifice, and it is doubtful whether it would be made in preparation for events which will perhaps never happen. When we see how difficult it is to make the mass of the people understand the advantage of provident institutions, even in cases where the interest of each is more immediate and more palpable, we may judge how little they would be disposed to spare for the advantage of unknown victims of a hypothetical war. Let money, under this form, be

¹ Frégier, 40 ; Simonot, 4.

sought on the eve of the commencement of a campaign, and nothing will prove more satisfactory, for then every one will understand the urgency, and it will be found that all minds will be disposed to facilitate the organization of vast collections; but to try to do so beforehand is to kill the hen that lays the golden eggs, by weakening, through habit, those resources which, at some future time, we shall regret we allowed to be robbed of their first vigour while but little profit was gained. Besides, it is to expose one's self with open eyes to a check, or to results of laughable insignificance. Even an appeal to a richer class would probably meet with very little success.

It is another thing in case of war, and the subscriptions ought then to be both numerous and varied. The committees will doubtless make, at such times, frequent appeals to the public, and will address themselves to all classes of society; they will inundate the country with collectors, and will strive, under the impression of imminent danger, to make an ample harvest. In order to encourage large subscriptions, we should advise them not to require immediate payment, but to spread them over certain periods, or to divide them according to the necessities as they may arise, and not to employ the whole of the gift should the war not be of such long duration as may have been anticipated. This was done in Switzerland in 1857, when the militia was called out in the Neuchâtel affair. At Geneva, in particular, voluntary contributions to a considerable amount were collected in a few days, but

no payment over fifty francs was asked for ; those who offered more gave engagements which were afterwards annulled, the war not having occurred. This system, however, has this disadvantage, that the subscribers at the time for the performance of their promises, might find themselves already exhausted by the contributions of the war, and but little disposed to make fresh sacrifices.

In the United States, where the effort was gigantic, recourse was had to large bazaars, which succeeded admirably.

	Francs.
The Chicago Bazaar produced more than .	800,000
The Cincinnati	1,400,000
The Brooklyn	2,100,000
The New York	7,000,000
The Philadelphia	6,000,000
	<hr/>
	17,300,000
	<hr/>

To give an idea of these bazaars, we will quote from Dr. Evans the account of the first of them, that of Chicago, which he himself borrowed from the *American Quarterly Review* of January, 1864 :—

“ In Chicago, for instance, the branch has lately held a Fair of colossal proportions, to which the whole North-West was invited to send supplies, and to come in mass. On the 26th of October last, when it opened, a procession of three miles in length, composed of waggon-loads of supplies, and of people in various ways interested, paraded through the streets of Chicago—the stores being closed, and the day given up to

patriotic sympathies. For fourteen days the Fair lasted, and every day brought reinforcements of supplies, and of people and purchasers. The country people, from hundreds of miles about, sent in upon the railroads all the various products of their farms, mills, and lands. Those who had nothing else, sent the poultry from their barn-yards; the ox, or bull, or calf, from the stall; the title-deed of a few acres of land; so many bushels of grain, or potatoes, or onions. Loads of hay, even, were sent in from ten or a dozen miles out, and sold at once in the hay-market. On the roads, entering the city, were seen rickety and lumbering waggons, made of poles, loaded with a mixed freight—a few cabbages, a bundle of socks, a coop of tame ducks, a few barrels of turnips, a pot of butter, and a bag of beans—with the proud and humane farmer driving the team, his wife behind in charge of the baby, while two or three little children contended with the boxes and barrels and bundles for room to sit or lie. Such were the evidences of devotion and self-sacrificing zeal the North-Western farmers gave, as, in their long trains of waggons, they trundled into Chicago, from twenty and thirty miles' distance, and unloaded their contents at the doors of the North-Western Fair for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission.

“The mechanics and artisans of the towns and cities were not behind the farmers. Each manufacturer sent his best piano, plough, threshing-machine, or sewing-machine. Every form of agricultural implement, and

every product of mechanical skill, was represented. From the watchmaker's jewellery to horseshoes and harness; from lace, cloth, cotton, and linen, to iron and steel; from wooden, and waxen, and earthen ware, to butter and cheese, bacon and beef;—nothing came amiss, and nothing failed to come; and the ordering of all this was in the hands of women. They fed, in the restaurants under 'the Fair,' at fifty cents a meal, 1,500 mouths a day for a fortnight, from food furnished, cooked, and served by the women of Chicago; and so orderly and convenient, so practical and wise, were the arrangements, that, day by day, they had just what they had ordered and what they counted on; always enough, and never too much. They divided the houses of the town, and levied on No. 16, A Street, for five turkeys, on Monday; No. 37, B Street, for twelve apple-pies, on Tuesday; No. 49, C Street, for forty pounds of roast beef, on Wednesday; No. 23, D Street, was to furnish so much pepper on Thursday; No. 33, E Street, so much salt on Friday. In short, every preparation was made in advance, at the least inconvenience possible to the people, to distribute in the most equal manner the welcome burden of feeding the visitors to the Fair, at the expense of the good people of Chicago, but for the pecuniary benefit of the Sanitary Commission. Hundreds of lovely young girls, in simple uniforms, took their places as waiters behind the vast array of tables, and everybody was as well served as at a first-class hotel, at a less expense to himself, and with a great profit to the Fair. Fifty

thousand dollars, it is said, will be the least net return of this gigantic Fair to the treasury of the Branch at Chicago."

In the statutes of the committees, with the exception of those of Berlin, we have vainly looked for directions relative to the investment of their funds, as well as to their possible liquidation; for the sums collected at the moment of war, and almost immediately expended, this is of little consequence; but some guarantees ought to be given to donors with regard to the money amassed in time of peace.

V. In order that the Relief Societies may be useful, it is not sufficient that they should be well recruited, or wealthy, and properly organized; it is also necessary that the State should not put its veto, as might easily happen, on their intervention. Let us endeavour, then, in order to settle that which refers to the constitution of the Committees, to determine precisely what will be the nature and extent of the relations with the State.

Here we touch upon one of the most difficult points of our subject; in fact, it is nothing less than to discuss the conditions of the contract of alliance between the civil and the military elements, between charity and war. The right of independent beneficence to fill that place in armies on active service which it may be ambitious to occupy, is rendered subordinate to the degree of favour which the authorities will allow it, while its efficiency will be proportioned to the freedom which it is permitted to enjoy. Our intention, how-

ever, is not to treat the whole of this subject in the present chapter, for it naturally divides itself into two parts, one of which will find a better place elsewhere. The committees will have to maintain relations, both with the chief authority and the subaltern employées; the first will concern the work taken in its entirety, and the other will be as much diversified as the acts of the committees; and we shall treat of them in each of these divisions.

It must not be forgotten that, from the point of view occupied by the State, the committees aspire to make encroachments on its domain. Its first movement, then, would be to place itself on the defensive, and it will not be superfluous to labour to gain its good graces, by dissipating its apprehensions or its prejudices, by reassuring it as to the intentions of the committees, and especially by inducing it not to raise objections to their existence, as if this implied a reproach or negligence on the part of the authorities. The Conference perfectly understood this, for it prescribed, on the one side, that every committee shall "*place itself in communication with the Government of its own country, in order that its offers of assistance, in case of need, may be accepted*" (Art. 3); and, on the other side, it solicited these same governments "*to grant their protection to the committees, and to facilitate, as far as possible, the accomplishment of their task.*"

Did these recommendations denote any uncertainty as to the manner in which the Resolutions of the

Conference would be received? Evidently not. The gracious favour with which the meeting was regarded in the highest quarters, was an omen of good augury. The sovereigns had responded by testimonies of the liveliest sympathy, and, by the very act of sending official delegates, the greater number had promised to enter into an arrangement, and to subscribe to reasonable propositions. A tribute of acknowledgment is therefore due to them; for, had they not taken this encouraging attitude, the progress of the work would have been greatly compromised. In spite of the opinion of Dr. Commisetti, who considered that the support of the State was "a difficult and doubtful matter to realize,"¹ the members of the Conference were full of confidence; and one of them, Dr. Boudier, even went so far as to say "that no prince, no government, would dare to resist the pressing solicitations of men animated with the sole desire to be useful to citizens who had fallen on the field of battle for the honour and glory of their country."²

In thus acting, the European governments were more prudent than was that of the United States, which, at the commencement of the civil war, and notwithstanding the honour in which individual initiative is held in that country, showed itself but little favourable to the Sanitary Commission. That body experienced much difficulty in obtaining a hearing, and later, in procuring an authorization to act; and it only succeeded by attacking the administration and using

¹ Conférence, 26.

² Ibid., 67

public opinion as a *point d'appui*; which proceeding, it may be said in passing, would be much less admissible on this side of the Atlantic. It is true that afterwards, when the Commission was seen at work, and its services could be appreciated at their proper value, full justice was rendered to it, and the liberty which it was in a position to demand was no longer withheld. General Grant, amongst others, declared himself ready, on the 28th of September, 1863, to extend its powers, so much good did it do.¹ But when the Conference of Geneva assembled, the history of the volunteer help in America was very little known in Europe, so that the governments which were then represented yielded to their own inspirations when they suspected that it would not be right to refuse, *à priori*, the co-operation which was offered to them.

To-day, when the Conference has given its verdict, and the creation of committees, after the plan which it traced, is an accomplished fact, it only remains for us to know how the general principles laid down in the Resolutions ought to be developed in practice, and to determine precisely the nature and object of the relations to be established between the administration of auxiliary and that of official relief.

Although, in the prospect of immediate war, these relations ought to be closely drawn together, we must not neglect to originate and foster them in time of peace. On the commencement of a campaign, the military administration is under the influence of cares

¹ Evans, 165.

and business which leave it no leisure for anything but the fulfilment of its appointed duties; and the improvident committee which may have waited until this moment in order to fraternize with it, would run the risk of appearing very importunate, or of being promptly refused. This inconvenience has not yet appeared in any European wars, because the committees which have found employment in them have only had a limited sphere of action, and their position could not give rise to much discussion. But the Sanitary Commission of the United States, as we have already remarked, ran foul of the rock which we point out for the future guidance of committees. Not having been instituted prior to the time when the war broke out, the Commission was unable to make its arrangements beforehand; and it is certain that it would have been able to act much more expeditiously had it not been forced to lose valuable time at the commencement of hostilities, in taking steps to obtain the recognition of the Government. This delay was so much the more annoying, as the official service also took considerable time to unite all its resources, and, meanwhile, the interests of the wounded were neglected. This so frequently occurs, that the committees should always consider it a matter of great importance to be in the field when the first shot is fired.

Another consideration, also, which strongly argues in favour of a prompt connection with the State, is the fact that the committees will frequently be compelled, even in time of peace, to seek the good offices of the

government. It is difficult, not to say impossible, for them actively to occupy themselves with the interests of the army without coming in contact with the government, and their action would be entirely paralyzed if any obstacle were created.

It is expedient then, that, immediately after their formation, the committees should encourage and consolidate that harmony which is indispensable to them. They must gain the governmental sympathies, and, to accomplish this, they must have recourse to the three following means.

The most direct is, certainly, to associate with themselves those persons whom it is their greatest interest to conciliate ; and this is, therefore, our first recommendation, and one which more especially refers to monarchical countries, where the representatives of power possess more authority and more prestige than in republics. Intelligent committees must, then, endeavour to place themselves under the patronage of their sovereign, or of members of the royal family. Although this advice may be almost superfluous, since it has already been very generally acted upon, we nevertheless find it necessary to set it down, in order that it may be fully understood that the committees which have solicited this honour have not done so to satisfy their vanity, but because they felt it would be a real source of benefit to the work. There is no doubt that they judged correctly, and that the noble example which was set in high places exercised a happy influence on the good-will which was manifested at every step of the social ladder.

But the committees ought not to rest there. Precious as is the support of princes and sovereigns in favouring their progress, it would, in practice, be found quite insufficient to overcome the obstacles which the undertaking would meet with. To smooth the way, it is also necessary that the committees should include, amongst the men who take an active part in their labours, the immediate superiors of those with whom their agents will be placed in contact; that is to say, military, administrative, and medical heads of departments. If the high functionaries of the army rally round the committees; if they stipulate that they should be, or even allow themselves to be, incorporated in these, their adhesion will alone remove any obstacles raised by their subordinates, who will then have no right to create opposition, or by the State,¹ which will see in it an additional guarantee that its rights and interests will be respected. As to this, we can repeat what we have just said with regard to the sovereigns, namely, that in a great measure, our wish has already been realized. It is sufficient to glance over a list of the staff of existing committees, to feel convinced that they have reasoned as we have done, and acted in consequence.

The concurrence of great personages having been obtained, the committees should strive to establish cordial relations with the official corps charged with the direction of the sanitary service. Rivalries and misunderstandings might easily arise in their intercourse,

¹ (de Cazenove) *Gazette Médicale de Lyon*, 1st Oct. 1865.

and this antagonism would be fatal to the committees; and these are therefore chiefly interested to avoid them, in being the first to offer the hand to those with whom they are about to enter into a kind of partnership.

Is there any fear that such overtures will be badly received? We do not think so. Firstly, if the committees are composed as we have suggested, the members of the sanitary councils will be placed in a difficult position to disdain their advances. In fact, if not themselves already affiliated to the association, they well know that many of their most eminent *confrères* are of the number who direct it; and that ought to induce them to receive with gratitude the overtures which will be made to them in its name. Then, again, both the sanitary councils and the committees have an interest in the progress of the official sanitary service, and this common ground of labour ought to serve to bring them together. If the councils are inclined to devote themselves entirely to it, and heartily intend to acquit themselves of the duty, the committees, on their side, will rejoice to see them succeed in the accomplishment of their task, since their labour will be diminished in exact proportion to the extent by which the State shall remedy the insufficiency of its means of relief; and thenceforth they will apply themselves, if not entirely to realize the ameliorations considered desirable, at least to second those who are legally responsible for them. Besides, men specially qualified are required to decide questions of this kind, without appeal; and, in this respect, the

staff of the committees will never be of the same utility as the sanitary councils. We by no means expect that the steps of these last should be followed, but we think with Dr. Landa, and in opposition to the opinions expressed at the Conference by MM. Lœffler, Brodrück, Boudier, and others,¹ that assistance might be efficaciously given to them, without in any way hurting their legitimate susceptibility. We should not be surprised even, if the medical men approved of this support, as Dr. Steiner has allowed us to anticipate. They know well enough that the voice of the military medical corps is not always listened to, and a good deal of time is sometimes required to introduce into practice the ideas which they favour. If, then, they could detect the possibility of increasing their own influence by that which, we hope, the committees will enjoy, certainly they will not hesitate to have recourse to it, generously sacrificing the promptings of self-consideration to the advantage of the army. However, it is not possible to lay down a distinct rule for this, and much depends on the tact and discrimination of each party.

But if an infallible receipt cannot be given to bring about the alliance we have mentioned, we may, as a general direction, insist on the propriety of seizing every occasion which may present itself to accomplish it. We can even anticipate some circumstances which may be favourable to it. For example, we wish that

¹ Conférence, 84, and following pages; *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 9.

the solicitude of the committees should be directed to the interests of the military sanitary corps, and that they should, if needed, place at its service the influence which they have acquired. We would advise them to appeal to the ability of members of the Councils, by inviting them either to take part in the discussion of important questions, or to pronounce as members of a jury, for instance, on the merit of such and such a proceeding, or of any special apparatus submitted for its approval. In every case, it will be well, at least, to invite them to the general assemblies of the Society, and to communicate to them its publications. Why, again, when an innovation in the official service appears useful to them, should not the committees exercise the right of initiative which belongs to them as to everybody else, by recommending it for the examination of the sanitary council?

We might multiply these indications, but we have said enough to make our ideas understood; and no one can accuse us of wishing to usurp the place of an honourable corps, whose prerogatives we think ought to be respected. In principle, the Councils, in everything that concerns their attributes, will be the mediums between the committees and the governments; they will constitute the normal thread, which should only be dispensed with in exceptional cases, and when the infraction can be properly justified.

When once all these preparatory arrangements are taken, nothing remains, should war be declared, but to

complete them by measures which will not admit of any opposition.

The first thing to do will be to notify, either to the Minister of War, or to the Commander-in-chief, the intention of the committee to take the field ; its plan of action will be explained, and an endeavour will be made to obtain the remission of postal and custom dues for all correspondence and consignments bearing the seal of the Association ; the kind consideration of the chiefs must be solicited ; and they should be requested to notify the existence of the committee by an Order, and at the same time to recommend it to the army, as was done at the siege of Düppel by Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia for the brethren of the Rauhe-Haus ;¹ and also to make arrangements in common as to the daily reports.

This mode of proceeding ought to be established between the central committee, or its representatives, acting on behalf of the whole national association, on the one part, and the military chiefs, as well as those of the administration and the medical corps, on the other ; the one should watch over the general interests of the army, and the other over those of the service specially entrusted to them.

Without at present entering into the details of this convention, which would necessitate numerous repetitions, we will only make one general remark on the spirit which ought to preside over the work. The committee, without abdicating its autonomy, without

¹ Appia (*b*), 117.

allowing itself to be absorbed in the military administration, ought nevertheless to give proof of the modesty of its pretensions in allowing it to be evident that it does not ask to substitute itself for the medical corps, but only to supplement it. Excessive requirements, besides having no right to be made, would not be admissible, or, if they were, they would be evaded in practice, and they would subject the work to disfavour that would be perpetually felt. The committee ought not to ignore that it seeks no personal satisfaction, and that it is ready to withdraw when the official service shall prove to be sufficient. The Association of New York, when soliciting certain powers, declared (here are its own words) "that it would dissolve itself immediately, should experience demonstrate that its operations were embarrassing to the Government, and if its utility were less than might have been expected."¹ This character of auxiliary is the one which will best become the committee; and it will make the way easier until the time arrives when it shall have furnished its proofs, and created titles for itself, by the services which, in many respects, it will have rendered.

It has been said that the committees ought, during a campaign, to keep at a distance, and to abstain from all superfluous intervention, and to remember "that military tactics have priority over philanthropy, and that, in spite of international conventions, charity will always find limits."² It has also been said that independent societies should only undertake to increase the

¹ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 15.

² Chenu, 747.

resources of governments, and to act "as a link between the official service and public enthusiasm."¹ This is going a little too far. "It would be a grievous thing to see the action of Relief Societies completely disappear before that of the government; their *rôle* is to keep the public informed as to the wants of armies in the field, to receive gifts and to distribute them, to publish, by means of the press, the results of their efforts, in order to encourage the donors, and to carry gladness everywhere, in every direction, with moral and material assistance furnished by active and ingenuous charity—charity which ought to preserve a salutary liberty of action, as was done in America."² The results obtained in the United States, as we have already said, convinced the most incredulous; and it was the same in the Crimea with the mission of Miss Nightingale, although this emanated from the Minister of War. Surrounded by jealousies, on her arrival at Scutari, this devoted woman systematically abstained from intermeddling with anything connected with the business of the official administration, and at the end of some time, far from taking umbrage at her authority, the chiefs of the different services were the first to support it, all of them being desirous to anticipate her least wish.³

Finally, during a campaign, the committees would act wisely in frequently and periodically giving an account of their proceedings to the authorities. Placed

¹ (Landa) Conférence, 48.

² Valcourt, 30.


³ Shrimpton, 33.

in a great measure beyond official control, it would be on their part a proof of deference, for which sooner or later they would reap the recompense. Besides, as one cannot foresee everything, and practice will infallibly reveal the voids and defects of the system, regular reports will afford a convenient occasion to request desirable improvements, without the appearance of importunity.

CHAPTER VI.

VOLUNTEER HELPERS.

SUMMARY.—I. The inadequacy of the Sanitary Staff must be provided for.—A. Period of peace.—I. Inquiry into the wants of the Sanitary Service.—II. Consideration of the improvements which are within the competence of the State; (*a*) to facilitate the recruiting of the medical corps; (*b*) to insure the prompt removal of the wounded; (*c*) to give instruction to the soldiers; (*d*) to improve the service of the nurses.—III. Formation of a staff of volunteers. This can only apply to persons who make the care of the sick their habitual vocation. Relations to be established with societies which devote themselves to this work. Women are qualified for this employment. Services already rendered by societies of women. Women alone are not sufficient. Services already rendered by societies of men. Are the existing societies sufficient? Hospitaller Order of M. de Chamousset. Nursing Brethren of Percy. Hospitaller Brethren of Marshal Marmont. Hospitaller Brethren of the Count de Bréda.—B. Period of war.—I. Choice of volunteers. Probable abundance of offers of service. Circumspection in the choice of agents. Approval of the authorities. Special aptitude; (*a*) of the medical staff; (*b*) of the nurses.—II. Employment of volunteers; (*a*) payment; (*b*) duration of the engagement; (*c*) dress; (*d*) discipline; (*e*) maintenance; (*f*) duties.

N Chapter I. we endeavoured to show that in armies on active service it is not only the material, but also the sanitary staff, which proves insufficient. No one will deny this. Referring

to the origin of the philanthropic movement which gave birth to relief committees, we have already recognized the fact that it had its source in this insufficiency of the official staff, and in the consequent necessity to supply it. It was the want of hands which chiefly occupied the Geneva Committee, and the starting-point in its project of reforms was the creation of auxiliary corps of volunteer helpers. We have also remarked that the Conference, in its turn, admitted that there was a great gap to be filled up; and even if this was not the principal object in its programme, it nevertheless devoted to it a very large share of its Resolutions. Let us see, then, what it decreed, and let us trace, in conformity with its precepts, the task of the committees, whether in peace or in war.

A.—TIME OF PEACE.

I. We have been satisfied, in order to prove the inadequacy of the sanitary staff, with a few quotations which are sufficient to demonstrate our thesis; yet it would be useful if the committees were to seek all the information afforded by history on this special point; not so much for the vain and sterile satisfaction of heaping up superfluous proofs, as in the hope that these might more effectually assist in discovering the causes of the evil, as well as the means of remedying it. It is necessary that we should know exactly the position we occupy, not only with regard to the reality, but also as to the measure of this insufficiency, in order, afterwards, to proportion our efforts to the known wants. Observa-

tion ought to show, such and such a circumstance being given, what would be the proportional number of sick and wounded, of surgeons necessary, and the assistants to be given to them. In order fully to understand these numerical relations, it will be necessary to take into consideration the causes which may tend to make them vary, such as the presence of wounded enemies, the separation, more or less necessary, of the hospitals and the places for dressing wounds,¹ the hygienic progress introduced in the establishment of hospitals, &c. From the heights of theory, based on a study of the past, the committees must descend to the present, and inquire into the precautions taken by the governments to strengthen the sanitary service in case of war, in order to control the opinion of those who may detect—notwithstanding much goodwill, a sincere desire to do what is right, and endeavours, more or less successful—a state of things which is not very promising.²

II. The administration of the sanitary service being shown, it will be best to inquire into the improvements to be applied to it, and, firstly, into those which the State itself should adopt. Perhaps, however, we shall be asked whether it is not better to leave to the government all the responsibility of the measures within its competence, and not to undertake to do things which exclusively concern the authorities? Most assuredly we do not wish the committees to be guilty of indiscretions, nor to render themselves importunate by

¹ (Lœffler) Conférence, 34; Lœffler, 12.

² (Boudier) Conférence, 68.

meddling with matters which do not concern them; yet, if they are animated by an earnest solicitude for the interests of soldiers, they will feel that here alone they have a part to play. If they cannot put themselves in a position of authority to apply the ideas which they may judge good and useful, they can powerfully contribute towards their adoption, by the reiterated expression, if necessary, of their wishes; and these wishes, if they are to be listened to, must be based on an exact knowledge of all the circumstances. Such knowledge, however, can only be obtained at the price of constant attention paid to all the questions which, in any way, belong to the sanitary service. If the committees occupy themselves with these, and assiduously strive to form an enlightened opinion through the study and discussion of the sanitary interests of armies, they will undoubtedly have great weight in the councils of the government. It is probable they will find themselves almost always in unison with the medical corps itself in the expression of their desires, but, being more independent than that body, they will be in a better position to speak boldly, and without exciting any suspicion of interested motives. They will be like the exponents of public opinion in the present day, whose representations the most powerful monarchs ought to take into consideration.

This is not the place to enumerate, and still less to search deeply into, those questions which must necessarily vary in different countries.

But, in order the better to make our idea understood,

we will cite, as a matter of very general interest, the difficulties which almost everywhere oppose the recruiting of army surgeons,¹ and which are principally to be found in the position the administration creates for them, either by not opening to them the prospect of a sufficiently brilliant future,² or by not permitting them the enjoyment of enough independence and authority in their service.³ Under this head, there is matter for most interesting inquiry into the different systems which were in use, from the time of the vexatious subjection which the French surgeons suffered during the Crimean war, up to the innovations recently introduced in the English army, where the military commander is bound to conform to the directions of a regimental surgeon.⁴

Independently of the normal method of obtaining surgeons, there is the extraordinary mode, to which recourse must be had whenever a war is declared, and exceptional wants are pressing. Yet the response to these urgent appeals very rarely fulfils the expectation of those who make them, so that they are obliged, to the great detriment of the sick and wounded, to engage incapable agents, or to neglect the service. In order to remedy this evil, Dr. Chenu suggests that reserve

¹ *La Charité*, Nos. 3 and 4; Feigneaux, 10; *Indépendance Belge*, 24th July, 1855; Van Esschen, 27, 28.

² Uytterhoeven (*a*), 2.

³ Scrive, 474, 478.

⁴ According to Regulations observed in the English army, the Medical Officer shall, in writing, make a recommendation to the Commanding Officer, who must conform to it, unless he has sufficient reason to the contrary, in which case he must, in writing, state his reason to the superior military authority.—*Translator*.

corps, liable to be called upon to serve (*des cadres de réserve en disponibilité*), formed of military surgeons who have attained a certain age, might be appointed;¹ or, again, as Dr. Achard proposes, to create among civil surgeons, in time of peace, a body so organized that at the first signal of war they would be ready to march.²

The sanitary staff is not only composed of surgeons, but also of a great number of assistants. Many hands are required to relieve the wounded on the field of battle, and to carry them to the ambulances and hospitals. Who should be employed in this work? Even when no stone is left unturned, it is often impossible, in great battles, to work with sufficient rapidity, and many men die for want of opportune succour. On the charitable zeal of the committees will devolve the task of aiding to find an expedient that may obviate this danger. Everywhere, persons are aiming to accomplish this, said Dr. Friedrich. The Conference of Geneva contributed towards it, and already, in this respect, it has rendered considerable service.³ *M. l'Intendant* de Préval introduced a solution to this problem. "It is sufficient," said he, "to allow companies to be formed, in time of peace, for the removal of the wounded, in order to provide for this very important duty at the commencement of a war; and I do not think it would be impossible to obtain this result without sensibly augmenting the charges of a State."⁴ It is worth while,

¹ Chenu, 723.

³ Friedrich, 7.

² Achard, 21.

⁴ Conférence, 54.

then, to inquire into this. The companies of litter-carriers (*compagnies de brancardiers*), once proposed by Percy, and again recently recommended as likely to render good service;¹ the hospital-battalions (*bataillons de santé*), adopted by Austria during the Italian and Hungarian wars, in 1848 and 1849,² and still later by Bavaria in 1851; as well as other examples taken from different countries, might form the object of a comparative examination of very great importance.

Yet, this is not everything. It is not sufficient to provide for the rapid removal of the victims; for, often, the most pressing want is, to afford relief on the spot, to check hæmorrhage, from which at least five or six per cent. succumb,³ to apply bandages, and to reduce fractures. Assistants, therefore, are needed who are not only strong and vigorous, but who besides possess a certain amount of special instruction. The men who belong to the Austrian *bataillons de santé*, of which we have just spoken, have all received surgical training.⁴ In Spain, all the sergeants, corporals, and private soldiers receive practical lessons which render them capable to alleviate, on the spot, all serious accidents.⁵ The Russian soldiers carry in their knapsack a compress and a bandage, “a valuable resource, which affords the immediate and efficacious application of a first dressing, even on the field of battle, where there is often a want of means for attending to

¹ Morin, 75.

² Feigneaux, 6; Brière, 22; Erismann, 54.

³ Chenu, 726.

⁴ Feigneaux, 6.

⁵ *La Charité*, No. 5.

wounds.”¹ Dr. Uytterhoeven has shown that the idea of training soldiers to dress wounds is not new;² but, although this may be true, it still needs apostles to propagate it, for it makes very slow progress.

In the ambulances and hospitals, also, the nurses leave much to be desired, both as to their number and their fitness.³ This is more particularly the opinion of Dr. Neudœrfer.⁴ “The nurses,” says the Count de Bréda, “are men who perform their painful and sad duty without devotion to, or even pity for the sick; they are, for the most part, unused to the practice of the details which their position requires. Whatever care may be taken in recruiting these nurses, it is known that some of them rob the dying, and their rapacity does not always stop there. Every day they may be seen surreptitiously introducing forbidden food and drink into the hospital, and selling them at exorbitant prices to the sick, whose death may be caused by these very things. It is needless to say that such men know not how to offer a word of hope and consolation to afflicted or dying soldiers; in fact, only by fear of punishment are their services obtained, and these are always small, even if they are not worse than useless.”⁵ Among the attempts made with a view to correct the imperfections in their service, we may cite the institution of the Russian felchers⁶ and that of

¹ Baudens, 110.

² Uytterhoeven (*b*), 21.

³ Scrive, 364.

⁴ Appia (*b*), 106.

⁵ De Bréda, 8.

⁶ Feigneaux, 8; Scrive, 372; Baudens, 109; Quesnoy, 141.

the French soldier-dressers (*soldats-panseurs*),¹ chosen from amongst the convalescents, and these have certainly rendered eminent services.

All this, as we have said, much more directly concerns the State than the committees, since the latter, in this respect, have, at the most, but a consultative voice, and can only make themselves useful by exercising a salutary influence on the decisions of the authorities. We have not, then, any practical directions to give them, and the preceding suggestions appear to us sufficient to make the extent of their sphere of action understood; and this is the only object we have in view. Besides, we have hastened to open the question of the volunteers, which deserves all our attention.

III. "*In time of peace*," said the Conference, "*the Committees and Sections shall be occupied with the means to make themselves really useful in time of war, especially . . . in endeavouring to train and instruct volunteer nurses.*" (Art. 4.)

When once the principle of allowing the intervention of auxiliary volunteers is admitted, there is nothing more prudent than this arrangement. In fact, "a nurse cannot be improvised. It is important that he should be sober, skilful, compassionate, with a gentle and patient character. It is especially necessary that he should be acquainted with the details of the service, and the different things that may be required of him; in a word, that he should have passed through an apprenticeship. Four auxiliary volunteers are not

¹ (Boudier), Conférence, 68; Feigneaux, 5, 6; Baudens, 101.

equivalent to one nurse who knows his business.”¹

“A certain experience is necessary to be able to move a wounded man, to place him on a litter, and to carry him; and for this, strength is less needed than skill, which can only be acquired by habit.”² “For example, in the towns of Lombardy, during the war of 1859, how valuable would have been the help of 100 experienced and well-qualified male and female nurses! Knowledge and practice are at fault in the greater number of those who can only offer individual devotion, which is, in consequence, inadequate, and very often fruitless.”³ It is, therefore, necessary to think of this in time, and to utilize the leisures of peace by preparing capable assistants.⁴

Dr. Brière fears that very few people will be found in time of peace to enrol themselves as volunteer nurses,⁵ and Dr. Gurlt is of the same opinion;⁶ and both are perfectly right. It is, therefore, not precisely by means of special enrolment that we should advise committees to proceed. It is certain that the public would evince very little zeal, if it were proposed to employ precious time in acquiring experience, of which perhaps there would never be occasion to make use, or to enter into binding engagements that a thousand unforeseen circumstances, at a little later period, might prevent it from keeping. It is evident to us that a long-standing preparation can only be suitable to

¹ Chenu, 733; see also Gurlt.

³ Dunant, 87.

⁵ Conférence, 98.

² (Percy) Laurent, 380.

⁴ Frégier, 33.

⁶ Appia (*b*), 79.

persons whose vocation is to a certain extent analogous to that of volunteer helpers, and the fruit of whose labour will not be lost while waiting for the war, which perhaps may never occur. It is within these limits that the search into ways and means ought to be circumscribed ; if it depart from these, it will only end in fruitless endeavours.

Hence it follows, that the committees ought to confine themselves to encouraging the good intentions of those who feel inclined to devote themselves at all times to the care of the sick, so as to increase the number of persons fit to be sent with an army on active service.

The Magdeburg Committee has already resolved to consecrate 3,000 thalers to the instruction, during three years, at the establishment in Halle, of deaconesses willing to serve in time of war. In the Grand Duchy of Baden, the committee of ladies which was formed for the Italian war, afterwards applied itself to the training of female nurses for the hospitals, by means of theoretical and practical lessons. If these did not serve in Schleswig, it was only because they could not be spared from the civil hospitals where they were employed ; and this reveals an obstacle against which it would be well to be forearmed.

There exist a great number of societies, corporations,¹ lay or religious orders, in which similar agents, either male or female, are trained, and it will be the duty of the committees to establish relations with

¹ Ochwadt, 37.

them.¹ They will thus learn to know the resources of which they will be able to dispose. Perhaps, also, they will find that knowledge relative to military surgery is more cultivated amongst these than it used to be. Let a certain time, for example, be devoted to the study of hygiene as regards soldiers, or to the study of sanitary work. The staff which these associations could furnish in case of war would probably be insufficient, but it would at least constitute excellent foundation for volunteer aid for the army. Their tried ability would make up for the imperfections of the assistants who would at the last moment be added to them, and amongst whom there would probably not be found so much self-denial, political impartiality, skill, above all, not so much discipline.² "In order to make a good nurse," said Dr. Boudier, at the Conference, "more is needed than goodwill, devotion, and practice; discipline, the habit of obedience, as well as of command, union, in a word, *esprit de corps*, which are not found in volunteer nurses, are required."³ But, as his colleague, Dr. Maunoir, aptly replied, "it is an affair of education,"⁴ and the moment that this education is rendered possible for the greatest number, the objection falls to the ground.

History, besides, furnishes us with decisive arguments. Many times already it has recorded the services rendered by volunteer nurses, and it has also shown what may be expected of them.

¹ Gurlt.

² Appia (*b*), 127.

³ Conférence, 63.

⁴ Ibid., 75.

It is more especially to women that we should pay homage, as possessing in the highest degree the qualities which these functions demand. "They are everywhere the same, always loving and devoted, and bestowing no thought on their own safety as long as there is suffering to be alleviated."¹ "It is woman's heart which approaches the nearest to man struggling with agony; it is her hand which has the most gentleness."² "The presence alone of female nurses banishes much coarseness and infidelity; besides, they observe a scrupulous cleanliness, which is of the highest importance."³

In the United States, the women were the life and soul of the floating hospitals, excelling the men in courage and energy;⁴ and special attention was therefore paid to them. A refuge was established where the sick and weary sisters of charity could retire for repose, and where the mothers and sisters of the wounded who came to attend them were also lodged.⁵

In European wars, also, the presence of women has been much praised. Larrey has paid homage to the virtues of which they gave proof during the retreat from Russia, especially under most difficult and perilous circumstances, at the battle of Krasnoë, on the 17th November, 1812. "The French women who had been able to follow us," said he, "while sharing our dangers and privations, were sustained by their courage,

¹ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 34. ² (Percy) Laurent, 376.

³ Gurlt.

⁴ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 31.

⁵ United States, 231.

even while assisting us to dress wounds under the fire of the enemy. Madame Aurore Bursay, directress of the theatres of Moscow, and also favourably known for her dramatic talents, was especially remarked for her humanity, as well as for an intrepidity but little common in persons of her sex."¹ When Lord Herbert wished to reform the sanitary service of the English army in the East, it was to women that he addressed himself; and it is well known how Miss Nightingale and her companions fulfilled their mission. The *Sœurs de St. Jean*, those *de la Miséricorde*, and those of Miss Sellon, possessed habits of discipline, and an experience acquired amongst the sick, which were very valuable. Besides this, they were borne up by a sentiment of great charity, and in the distance they beheld with joy the martyr's crown.² A member of a religious society, Madame Sainte-Marie-Thérèse, came from Constantinople with several of her companions, in order to attend the French soldiers suffering from cholera at Varna, and having caught the infection, she died there.³ During the remainder of the campaign in the Crimea, the French army was driven to envy the assistance which women gave to its allies; but Dr. Armand has spoken in glowing terms of those who served in the hospitals in Turkey. "The sisters of the Congregation of Saint Vincent de Paul," said he, "who have known how to make themselves beloved in the hospitals of our army in the East by so many other qualities, had more especially that of superin-

¹ Larrey, iv. 93.² Shrimpton, 41.³ Scrive, 83.

tending, with scrupulous exactitude, at the distribution of all those good things which, given opportunely and in proper quantities, so often incline the balance in favour of restoration to health.”¹ “The Piedmontese,” Dr. Scrive admitted, “have an advantage over us, in their hospital establishments during war, and this is in the manner in which the immediate hospital business is administered, that is to say, as regards the houses for the sick, furniture, culinary department, pharmacy, &c., by the *Sœurs de Charité*, who can never be replaced, in respect to devoted attention, by men, who do not possess the same sentiments as woman, and more especially the woman of the gospel.”² Their pay was at the rate of 500 francs per annum, besides two camp rations daily. They fulfilled almost the same duties as the French *infirmiers-majors*.³ The founder of their order, Saint Vincent de Paul, wished to form them into a body of “active and vigilant nurses, because he well knew that there exists in woman an ecstasy of charity;”⁴ and we see that he was not wrong. Napoleon I. highly esteemed them, and to challenge them to make one sister of mercy was one of the arguments with which he the most completely refuted the theophilanthropists of his time.⁵ However, we believe that he never attached any of these religious women to armies on active service; but, “in the last days of the Empire, sisters of the Order of Saint Vincent de Paul were seen in the civil and military hospitals, and also on the

¹ Armand, 127.

² Scrive, 302.

³ Baudens, 107.

⁴ Capefigue, 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

field of battle. During the epidemic which decimated the French army after the battle of Leipsic, sisters were sent from the Rhine provinces to nurse the sick through the ravages of the contagion.”¹

In 1859, they reappeared in Italy, but then they escorted the French as well as the Sardinian army; there were also *Sœurs de Saint Vincent de Paul* and *Dames du Sacré-Cœur*² to the number of one hundred and fifty, and “they were of very great service in the hospitals where they were employed.”³ After the battle of Magenta, rich ladies of Milan also worked as hospitaller sisters in the *Ospedale maggiore*; and it would be impossible to find more attentive or more devoted nurses: nothing disheartened them, neither night-watching, disgust, nor the murmurs of the patients.⁴

In the Crimea, the Russian army had the *Veuves de la Miséricorde* from St. Petersburg and Moscow, and later the *Sœurs de l'Exaltation de la Croix*, who were organized by the Grand Duchess Helena. At first there were some prejudices against them, in spite of the distinguished patronage under which they were placed, but they were soon indemnified for this disfavour by the expression of enthusiastic and unanimous gratitude which they received from the soldiers. Here is the noble testimony, which amongst others was rendered to them by Dr. Pflug, on the 13th of September, 1855: “Yesterday,” said he “the enemy restored

¹ Capefigue, 90.

² Evans, ix.

³ Brière, 29.

⁴ Poplimont, 267.

to us the four or five sisters of mercy who, in the night between the 8th and 9th of September, in the midst of explosions of mines and flames which consumed almost everything, preferred to remain amongst the wounded and dying who had been forgotten in the Saint Paul and Nicholas Forts." They were escorted and received with military honours, and were welcomed with enthusiasm. "Never was homage more deserved than that which was paid to these young girls; but all their companions must justly be included in the same praise. Throughout the whole duration of the siege, in the bastions as on the field of battle and in the hospitals, these courageous hearts were not only sisters of mercy for our sick and wounded, but also consoling angels."¹

The *Sœurs de l'Exaltation de la Croix* offer the curious example of a corporation created for the war, and even at the very outbreak of war, but which has since become permanent, consecrating itself to hospital work, in order to be ready in the event of Russia entering upon another campaign.² We have already alluded to an analogous case in Germany, where, in 1814, Societies of ladies (*Frauenvereine*), established in a large number of towns at the commencement of war, for the relief of the victims, instead of dissolving after the conclusion of peace, maintained themselves, only modifying to some extent the object of their work. In the following year, the return of Napoleon from the Isle of Elba furnished them with an occasion to return to their former employment,³ and at the present time

¹ Pflug, 272.² Conférence, 141.³ Frauenverein (b).

several are still in existence, which, in case of war, would certainly offer their services.

The experience, also, which was reaped in Schleswig, is altogether in unison with that derived from preceding wars. There were, on the side of the German army, 118 women, almost all of whom belonged to religious corporations, Roman Catholic or Protestant, having for employment the care of the sick.¹ However, they were not in the good graces of military men until these had seen them at work, and had convinced themselves that they were either more careful than the men, or that their presence alone excluded much that was bad.² On the side of Denmark, the Danish and Swedish deaconesses fulfilled similar duties. There, also, the medical men, after having appeared annoyed by their arrival, unanimously congratulated themselves on having their co-operation.³ "The experience which they gained proved that the presence of devoted women in hospitals is extremely desirable, as much for the physical treatment as for the moral benefit of the sick and wounded."⁴ But "it is evident that the women employed in the hospitals in time of war cannot, with rare exceptions, render true and efficacious services, except on the condition of having been previously trained to the care of the sick, of having passed through at least an apprenticeship, and of being united together by a certain *esprit de corps*, which serves as a support to them."⁵

¹ Appia (*b*), 127; Ochwadt, 36.

² Ochwadt, 38.

³ Van de Velde, 150, 160, 169.

⁴ Ibid., 174.

⁵ Appia (*b*), 101.

Let us consider the testimony which was given by Dr. Ochwadt after the war in Schleswig. "We can affirm," said he, "that the Catholic and Protestant sisters have all performed the functions entrusted to them, in tending the sick with the greatest amiability, and with fidelity above all proof. Their activity was most valuable to the patients and most agreeable to the medical men. It is our duty to state that many of them have laboured most intelligently, and that they were endowed not only with practical good sense, but with true delicacy of heart. The manner in which they offered their services was always modest, and it was easy to recognize their desire to make themselves generally useful, without seeking praise or marks of approbation. It may be declared that the presence of the sisters supplied a want to the satisfaction of the patients, as well as of the surgeons. The care they displayed in everything, accompanied by that expression of peaceful joy which is so entirely their own, and which religious sentiment alone affords, were above all eulogy. They found their recompense in the gratitude expressed by the sick and wounded, even in moments of delirium, or by torrents of tears when they were about to leave them."¹

If women possess valuable qualities which might be searched for in vain to the same degree amongst men, will it be said that they ought completely to supplant the latter? Evidently not, were it only on account of those services which require the exertion of that physical

¹ Ochwadt, 37.

strength of which women are incapable.¹ The Count de Bréda goes even further, and finds that they are not in their place amongst soldiers. "As to sisters of charity," said he, "who are so respectable and so worthy of admiration while accomplishing their pious duties, there are many very serious inconveniences which arise from their services. For example, there are maladies very common amongst soldiers which, by the rules of certain societies, they are not allowed to nurse; and in those where attendance is not forbidden, the sick, who are suffering from such diseases, are habitually neglected. The natural repugnance which the sisters feel in frequenting their ward, leaves to such patients an amount of freedom which is injurious to their health, as well as to discipline. Besides, the members of these religious sisterhoods unfortunately are very easily worked upon and deceived, and of this I have seen examples which have produced real disorders. And, lastly, and this reason seems unanswerable, these women cannot follow armies on active service."²

At the same time that we make certain reservations on the objections of the gallant colonel whom we have just quoted, and especially on the last, which in our opinion is far too absolute, we entirely agree with him that male assistance is indispensable to sick and wounded soldiers, because there are things that a woman cannot do.

Until our own times, we find but few examples of Corporations of men freely devoting themselves to the

¹ Chenu, 737.

² de Bréda, 9.

care of soldiers. Gama mentions their presence in the hospitals of the French army at Pignerol, during the campaign of 1630. "The service of nurses," said he, "was performed by members of religious charitable orders; but it appeared that they were soon obliged to change the system, for these brothers, who were at first ten in number, were afterwards reduced to three."¹ Further on, the same author adds, "The religious members of charitable orders whom Richelieu had wished to introduce into the military hospitals, preferred to remain in their own houses; a few, however, were found to devote themselves to the sick soldiers, and to superintend the nurses. We find that this custom was already established in the military hospitals of Spain during the wars of the Empire."² In the last century, the Order of St. Alexis, in Germany, which had made the same duty its specialty, was very much praised.³ Even in the time of the Crusades, the Orders of Hospitaller Knights fulfilled their noble duty; but it must be remarked that there was then no other means of relief for the wounded, and their position with regard to the army was quite different from what it could be in these days, for disputes as to competence could not exist. Since the organization of an official sanitary service, the old Hospitaller Orders, which are still in existence, and even several of those which were founded at a later epoch, have well maintained, or inscribed in their statutes, that their members owe protection and assistance to the victims

¹ Gama, 89. ² Ibid., 96. ³ de Chamousset, Œuvres, ii. 5.

of war: but we do not believe we are deceiving ourselves when we say that, with rare exceptions, those persons who have been admitted to these Orders have never seriously considered this obligation, and have seen nothing more than an honorary distinction in their nomination. This, for example, is the case with the Order of the White Falcon, or of Vigilance, of Saxe-Weimar, whose members engage themselves to relieve, in an efficacious manner, such of their fellow-citizens as have been impoverished by war, and especially those wounded in the defence of their country. They are also under an obligation to support and protect the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle.

The Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem has, however, lately returned to the tradition of its founders, and it has reconstituted itself in the spirit which presided at its creation. The massacres in Syria furnished it with an occasion to set to work again.¹ In 1859, it eventually took measures in prospect of a war, from which Germany was fortunately preserved, and it then turned its attention to the service of hospitals in time of peace. In the war of 1864, its members at last received the baptism of fire, and they were seen actively employed in the Prussian army, and generously devoting themselves. They were of great use, and their presence was a blessing to the army.² The elevated social position of the members of the Order made them, to some extent, the staff of the volunteer helpers. Assistants were needed, and

¹ Conférence, 139.

² Friedrich, 8.

these were found for them in institutions of more modest pretensions. Amongst others, they had under their orders sixteen brethren of the *Rauhe-Haus*, whom Dr. Wichern, the director of this establishment, personally introduced and placed at their disposal. There were also some of the brethren from the institution at Duisburg, and some representatives of the Roman Catholic Orders.¹ This body worked to the complete satisfaction of every one, and we have never heard the least reproach on their account.² Experience is therefore conclusive, and, in case of need, the Relief Committees would know how to utilize this source to a larger extent. For example, the *Frères de Saint Jean de Dieu*, who have not yet, we believe, paid their tribute to war, would be perfectly qualified to furnish their contingent, and, we repeat, it is the business of the committees not to wait until hostilities are imminent, before they secure the co-operation of the associations which are placed in a position to second them in a useful manner.

Here the question arises, whether the societies already existing are sufficiently numerous and available to make it superfluous to add others to them.

M. de Chamousset, about the middle of the eighteenth century, complained much of the service of the nurses and assistants in the French military hospitals, who were at that time only servants in the employment of the contractors. He wished that they should be replaced by men engaged as soldiers or attached by vows, as in

¹ Appia (*b*), 127.

² Ibid., 128.

the religious Orders, and recommended that they should be recruited from amongst the foundlings. "I propose," said he, "to create an Order to occupy a position between the religious state and society, whose members should discharge this double duty. In the Order of Malta there are knights and serving brothers; there might, then, be in the Order that I suggest, directors, storekeepers, clerks, treasurers, &c., and nurses. A period of probation would allow time to ascertain the talents of the candidates before admitting them to the Order; and many religious houses in the kingdom would be more usefully occupied by such an Order than by those which now inhabit them. A uniform dress, a ribbon or a cross, would be the only marks to distinguish the members of this Order from the rest of society. Similar houses might also be established for women."¹

At the present time, although the situation is no longer the same, owing to the progress made in the official service, competent judges persist in thinking that a new Order of Hospitaller Volunteers is desirable.

If ever it is intended to pursue so vast a project, it will probably not be before a searching statistical inquiry shall have ascertained the resources which the existing institutions can afford. But, meanwhile, we will give to our readers, by way of information, the opinion of three men, all of whom arrived at the same conclusion, after each had been actively engaged in war.

Percy preferred soldier-nurses (*infirmiers-soldats*) to

¹ de Chamousset, Œuvres, ii. 17.

those taken from monastic Orders. "It is right to confess," said he, "that the sick were never better attended to in the hospitals than by the nursing brothers, as long as these remained what they ought to be." But he found that "the monk is naturally an invader," and it was chiefly this consideration that led him to seek elsewhere for assistants, of whom he had need. Nevertheless, he entered on this subject in a manner which showed that he was not systematically opposed to religious Orders.

"Should it happen," said he, "that the decision were in favour of monastic nurses (*moines-infirmiers*), it would be necessary for the ecclesiastical authority, with the concurrence of the military authority, to create a new congregation after the manner and in the simplicity of the Christian schools (*des écoles chrétiennes*), with a dress more convenient in its style and fitted to make itself respected, but better adapted to the nature of duties purely hospitaller and essentially subordinate. This congregation would have its special superiors, as far as monastic discipline might be concerned, and in the army and in the hospitals it would be under the orders of chiefs of departments, either administrative or curative. The nursing brothers, clothed in a uniform of a somewhat clerical character, and conducting themselves with modesty and decency, would be treated with respect by the soldier, whose officers would in this set him an example. He would easily feel the advantage and importance of the help of these devoted and disinterested men, who had come to the army with difficulty

and were then exposing themselves for his sake to all kinds of fatigues and privations, and always ready to sacrifice themselves in order to be useful to him. The name of *brother* would please him, for, in the midst of war, the wounded soldier has no relatives to surround his bed of pain. The surgeon occupies the place of father to him; he would find a brother in the religious guardian who would sympathize in and relieve his sufferings. These affections, these attentions, this solicitude which belongs to consanguinity, and his gratitude towards his pious nurse, would sometimes cause the sweetest of illusions.”¹

Marshal Marmont, in 1845, also proposed to “leave to a religious body, whose members should not be strangers to the subaltern duties of surgery and medicine, the care of military hospitals; not the administration, properly so called, and the management of the funds, but the monopoly of the work as well as its direction.

“A corps of hospitaller brothers, engaged for life, or for a fixed period, having honoured chiefs, should be charged with the superintendence of the wards and with the service of the sick. Paid assistants should act under their orders in the most repulsive and disagreeable work, but with the understanding that, in case of urgency, no work should seem to be beneath the duty even of the chiefs themselves. The spirit of charity would sustain them in their labours. Never would a detachment of these worthy brethren, after

¹ Laurent, 388.

they had received a destination, be found to desert the individuals entrusted to them. Their presence would be the hope and the consolation of the sick, and their holy ministry, exercised for the benefit of all, enemies as well as friends, would become their safeguard in the midst of all the armies of Europe, should the chances of war cause them to fall into their hands.

Respect and the self-satisfaction derived from doing good, ought to be their especial reward. A hierarchy wisely formed would establish passive obedience in this corps, devoted to the practice of the most touching virtues. The general of an army would sometimes receive at his table, and would place in a seat of honour, the superior of the hospitaller brethren; and thus he would show respect, not only for him, but for all his subalterns, and would pay them with that precious coin of which the value is increased tenfold by the manner in which it is employed.

The hospital service would be performed by three corps :—1stly, men of the medical profession, physicians, and surgeons; 2ndly, the administration, which produces the stores, disburses the funds, and provides the victuals; 3rdly, the hospitaller brethren charged to distribute relief, and to direct its application for the preservation of the sick and wounded. This last corps, acting to some extent as an active and energetic control over everything that the administration, strictly so called, might fail in doing, would offer a constant guarantee for order and regularity.”¹

¹ Marmont, 102.

Finally, let us compare this project with that of the Count de Bréda, who proposed to settle the same difficulty, namely, “1stly, To find the means to organize an institution destined to succour the wounded on the field of battle, and to offer words of hope and consolation to the dying; 2ndly, To look after and to make useful during peace those who should devote themselves to this holy mission, and to instruct them in the practice of their functions.”¹

The creation of an Order of *hospitaller brothers* would, according to the author, effect this double object. These brethren, of whom a part would be ecclesiastics, would attend to the army as much in peace as in war. They would be distributed throughout the corps of all armies, and in the hospitals, and they would be attached to the ambulances of armies on active service. A regulation drawn up by the Minister of War would define their duties, and regulate their relations with the military chiefs. They would be neither administrators nor physicians. “Their functions would be confined to the strict application of prescribed remedies, and to the constant and intelligent relief of the sick and wounded, and also to the consolation best fitted to raise the spirits, or to alleviate their last moments.”²

The principal advantages that the Count de Bréda hopes to obtain by this combination would be, amongst others, to see diminished, in time of peace, those minor evils of every kind which determine the exemption

¹ de Bréda, 7.

² Ibid., 11.

from service and the admission of men to the infirmary. On the march, the brethren would aid the lame. "The number of maladies which the surgeons attached to corps would be able to attend to would be increased, and from this would arise a double advantage, namely, to lessen the number of days passed by patients in the hospitals, which are so onerous upon the war budget, and to give practice to regimental surgeons. This last consideration especially would appear to be of the highest importance, for, in the present state of affairs, the army generally, at the commencement of a campaign, has only inexperienced surgeons to look after it."¹ The brethren being initiated in simple surgery, and in the preparation of medicines, could advantageously replace the subordinate assistants and the dispensers. Fraud in the distribution of nourishment would disappear; the education of soldiers' children would be secured; and the number of soldiers drawn from the ranks of combatants would be sensibly diminished.

B.—TIME OF WAR.

I. In anticipation of a war, whilst the army is completing its numbers, the corresponding committee ought to do the same, by assembling such a staff as is necessary. But it cannot be denied that this recruiting is a very delicate operation.

The difficulty will not be found in the rarity of offers of service. We are persuaded that the number of

¹ de Bréda, 12

candidates will always be large enough. This cannot be doubted, if one considers that the staff employed by the Committee of Brescia, in 1859, for the service of the military hospitals alone, occasioned an expenditure in salaries of about 200,000 francs; namely, for medical men, 68,871 francs; for assistants, 29,817 francs; for servants, 99,280 francs: total, 197,968 francs.¹ Devotion is contagious, and when some generous men take the lead, others are soon found to follow them. When the time arrives to set out for the war, "this spontaneous devotion will be met with more easily than some persons may be inclined to suppose, and many individuals, thenceforth certain of making themselves useful, and convinced of doing good, will go, even at their own expense, to perform for a short time a task which is so eminently philanthropic. In this century, which is so generally accused of egoism, what greater attraction can there be for noble and sympathizing hearts and for chivalrous characters, than to brave the same dangers as the soldier, but with a mission entirely of peace, consolation, and self-denial."² "The desire to consecrate one's self to a sublime mission, the transcendent attraction that a holy cause possesses for noble hearts, and which causes the chord of religious virtue and that of military valour to vibrate at the same time to the very depths of the soul, the seductions of danger and war-like enthusiasm, will every day produce champions of charity upon the field of battle."³ More especially

¹ Abeni.² Dunant, 104.³ Frégier, 36.

will this be the case in wars which have a strong national character, in defensive wars, or when a government orders a *levée en masse*. Those who may not be fit to bear arms will consider it a matter of conscience in some way to serve their country, and amongst these will be found persons willing to place themselves at the disposal of the committees. It is probable that, under any circumstances, the families of the combatants will also furnish a zealous contingent, for a very natural solicitude would incline their members to place themselves near those relatives whom military service may lead into positions of serious danger.

The possibility of recruiting for this purpose to any great extent meets, however, with some sceptics. Dr. Friedrich, for instance, supposes that there may be perhaps thirty volunteers qualified for an army of 30,000 men, and thence he concludes that the administration would do well not to trouble itself about such a contingent.¹ Dr. Boudier, for his part, only looks upon the volunteers as "a grain of sand opposed to the waves of the sea."² We are not provided with arguments adapted to discuss this view of the matter before it has passed through the crucible of experience, but it is necessary to place the committees on their guard against the discouragement which might be produced on their minds. Undoubtedly, the more they may have under their orders, the more good will they be able to do; but however few their agents may be, their labour will not be lost. The additional hands

¹ Friedrich, 7.

² Conférence, 61.

they bring, weak as they may be in numbers, will always have their value, and will be better than nothing; the result obtained will be proportioned to the sacrifice it will occasion, and this will not be absolute loss.¹

The principal stumbling-block for the committees, when they have to recruit volunteers, will be the difficulty of admitting only those individuals who are perfectly qualified for the mission they desire to entrust to them. The agents of the societies, says Dr. Chenu, should be "more intelligent than numerous, more prudent than energetic, more reflective than over-zealous, more calm than demonstrative."² But this is only a portion of the qualities that ought to be required of them; it must also be ascertained that the individuals who present themselves as candidates are satisfactory as to age, health, instruction, and morality. Care must also be taken against the importunity of those whose motives are not perfectly confessed (a matter which it is not always easy to discover), and which might compromise the committees in the opinion of the military authorities, especially with regard to espionage; in a word, serious guarantees ought to be required of all candidates. On this point we will only offer one other recommendation to the committees, namely, to employ the greatest circumspection in the choice of their agents, not to enlist any but those of whom they are sure, and mercilessly to reject all such as may be suspected of incapacity or unworthiness. To facilitate this operation,

¹ Frégier, 22; (Maunoir) Conférence, 73.

² Chenu, 745.

and to avoid omitting any important point in the examination of a candidate, it would be better to prepare beforehand a set of printed questions, in which should be comprised all those to be addressed to him, and to which his answers might be attached. This is the first proceeding that every committee should establish for its agents.

Next comes the necessity for the committees to obtain from the military authorities the recognition of their staff. They cannot dispense with this formality, for without it their envoys would not have access to the ranks of the army. As Dr. Friedrich has very judiciously observed, however favourably disposed a government may be, it will never give to a commander-in-chief an order to receive into the army persons who are more or less unknown.¹ Moreover, it will need an authorization to enable it to apply Article 8 of the Resolutions of the Conference, by virtue of which the volunteer nurses “*shall wear, in all countries, a white band round the arm with a red cross upon it, as a distinctive and uniform badge.*” This badge, in fact, was adopted by the Treaty of Geneva of the 22nd August, 1864 (Art. 7), for the whole neutralized staff, and the distribution of this sign was left to the military authorities. Volunteers, then, have no right to wear this unless they have received it from the hands of the commander-in-chief, who will not carelessly bestow it. When this shall have been granted to them, they will enjoy all the advantages of neutrality secured by treaty, which was one of the wishes of the Conference,

¹ Friedrich, 9.

the distinction on the arm assimilating them in this respect to the official staff.

It can scarcely be imagined that a military commander would engage himself in a general manner to ratify the choice of a committee ; neither would he bind himself to examine the credentials of every agent. That, perhaps, to which he might consent, would be to nominate certain officers to act with some members of the committee as a mixed commission, charged to decide on the admission of volunteers. If he would lend himself to this, an obstacle would be removed, and everything would be harmoniously done.

What we have said on the subject of enrolment applies to every category of employés which the committees can require—to administrators, distributors of gifts, chaplains, *conducteurs de voitures*, as well as to the sanitary staff, properly so called ; but it remains for us to look a little closer into what concerns this last, a subject to which the present chapter is specially devoted. For the relief of the sick, doctors and nurses are necessary ; let us, then, say a few words about these.

The most useful persons amongst the volunteers must always be the medical men. The Conference did not mention them, because the matter was self-apparent ; unquestionably, they will always meet with a good reception from their military brethren, in whom they will inspire confidence, and who will be happy in being able to relieve themselves of a part of that labour to which they are no longer equal.¹ The committees,

¹ Appia (b), 59.

therefore, should appeal to civil physicians and surgeons,¹ for whom there will always be occupation in an army. If any doubt existed as to their utility, precedents might be cited to remove it. Thus, in the Sonderbund campaign, several civil surgeons spontaneously offered their services, and it was considered a very happy circumstance that these were accepted,² notwithstanding that the war had but few victims. The committee of Zurich, on its side, also employed a certain number to escort convoys of wounded.³ Six medical men accompanied the Russian Sisters of Mercy to the Crimea.⁴ In Italy, all the available surgeons were employed for several weeks in the hospitals of Lombardy and Piedmont,⁵ and these could not have been spared. Several volunteers of this kind also performed their functions in Schleswig, without counting those whom the Chevaliers of St. John attached to their hospitals in Altona, Flensburg, and Nübel. On the Danish side, all the hospitals of Copenhagen and Frederiksborg were attended by civil surgeons. The *Médecin en chef*, Dr. Rørbye, though very much opposed to volunteer aid, made an exception in their favour; and he even received help from his Norwegian confrères.⁶

All titular members of the medical profession, who possess doctors' diplomas, should not, however, be indiscriminately accepted; for a university degree,

¹ Frégier, 14.

² Flügel, 88.

³ Zurich.

⁴ Conférence, 141.

⁵ Appia (*a*), 192.

⁶ Van de Velde, 153, 158, 170.

although it creates a presumption in favour of the man who has obtained it, does not offer a sufficient guarantee for a mission so important and so delicate as that of which we are now treating. Documents should be required from candidates, establishing the services, if any, they may have rendered, and, at all events, their respectability, and an assurance that they will exhibit in the exercise of their profession all the skill and attention which it demands.

Medical students have sometimes been employed. For example, Larrey relates that General Bonaparte, on his departure for Egypt, thinking that there would be much work for the medical men of his army, endeavoured to attach to them pupils taken from the schools of Montpellier and Toulouse, and he adds that they disputed the honour to enrol themselves.¹ We have also seen how the Piedmontese Government was obliged, although with regret, to employ in the Crimea students who had not graduated. It was a last resource, and it is always as such that this expedient should be regarded, for, as far as possible, "only such men should be sent to an army as have been accustomed to military life, and are acquainted with their rights, their duties, and the services which they have to perform."² There is always a certain zeal amongst young people of which use may be made, and, all things considered, if instead of making them heads of departments, they are placed under the control of the doctors, they will relieve these of many

¹ Larrey, i. 182.

² Chenu, 723.

accessory cares, for which simple nurses, perhaps, would not be sufficiently qualified.

At the other extremity of the medical ladder are found men whose reputation has no limit; such, for instance, as the Nelatons, the Pirogoffs, and the Langenbecks, whose practice will not allow them the opportunity to follow an army, and who are under no necessity to seek instruction which they already possess. But it would be a relief to the work of the committees, and consequently a way to promote its success, were they to bring to the wounded, even though it be only for an instant, these scientific notabilities.¹ The prestige which attaches to their names would be reflected to some extent on those who had invited them: the committees, in rendering this service to the army, would infallibly conciliate its sympathies, and would see the advantage of their intervention better understood. It was thus that, on the invitation of the Chevaliers of St. John, Professor Langenbeck visited the wounded Prussians in Schleswig, where his presence was a very highly appreciated event.

It is indispensable for the medical staff to be accompanied by a proper proportion of nurses, in order that it should be complete. The committees who send the physicians should certainly attach assistants to them, taken principally from societies and corporations whose members habitually live amongst the sick, and are well prepared to meet the exigencies of their vocation. There can hardly be a doubt as to the propriety of securing

¹ Gurlt.

their good offices, and their enrolment will not be attended with any difficulty. Should they not furnish a sufficiently numerous contingent, recourse may be had to the public of both sexes ; and this will be the time to redouble attention, in order properly to test all those who present themselves. Independently of the moral examination of which they will be the object, it should be well ascertained that they are under no illusion as to the dangers which await them, and that they are ready to confront them. “ The corps of hospitallers is, in fact, that which counts most victims in war ; and it is to be feared that inexperienced volunteers, abruptly transported from a peaceable life to the midst of the tumult of camps—often passing from ease, wealth, and opulence to every kind of privation which surrounds individuals in armies—it is to be feared, we say, that volunteers will be the first victims.”¹ “ They will have to make, so to speak, charges against typhus, just as the soldier charges with the bayonet ; only, it must be admitted that the chronic courage which is necessary to meet death under the first form is a little more difficult than the exalted and intermittent courage which braves shot and shell on the battle-field.”² The volunteers should also be put on their guard against the physical weaknesses which would render their presence useless, or even troublesome, although there may be no specious reason to suppose that they will be more subject than others to the emotions which the spectacle of the horrors of war produces. Soldiers themselves frequently yield

¹ (Boudier) Conférence, 63.

² (Maunoir) Conférence, 74.

to it ; why should we fear it more in volunteers ? If we have seen civilians whose sensibility was, in such a case, over-excited, and whose nerves were strongly shaken, one has also seen men, apparently the most feeble, who have bravely resisted such feelings. In America, there were, amongst others, ladies belonging to the first families of the country ;¹ and in the Crimea and in Poland there were temporary assistants attached to the Russian *Sœurs de l'Exaltation de la Croix*, who attended with indefatigable zeal to the patients suffering from fever and wounds.² The chances to be run should, therefore, be the object of serious warning to the volunteers,³ in order that they may not be surprised or disheartened by anything which may appear repulsive or dangerous in the course of their duty ; but this forms no reason for their exclusion, as some persons have appeared to believe.⁴

What will have to be required of them is an indispensable acquaintance with the exercise of their profession : persons who are completely ignorant are not wanted.⁵ In order to be a good nurse, a certain amount of instruction, which neither fortune nor intelligence will supply, must have been received ; and it is even requisite for a candidate to have gone through a preparatory course, and to have then submitted to an examination. It is unnecessary to say that they should know how to read and write ; and, according to the

¹ Œuvre d'un grand peuple, 31.

² Conférence, 142 ; Baudens, 108.

⁴ (Boudier) Conférence, 62.

³ Ochwaldt, 42.

⁵ Ibid., 62.

place which may be the theatre of war and the language spoken by the enemy, such persons should be selected as will be capable to act as interpreters. In order to facilitate the training of their nurses, the committees ought to publish for their use a manual containing the information considered necessary, and showing the conditions which the candidates should satisfy. Such a book might very well be obtained by means of literary competition.

It is possible, however, that an individual who is in all respects deserving of recommendation may be wanting in that special knowledge which is necessary, and by means of complementary instruction, a hope may exist that he will be made fit for the employment which he seeks. In such a case, his admission ought to be adjourned until he has been instructed in those things which it is considered proper he should know. Undoubtedly this will frequently occur, and means of obtaining the knowledge or the practice which they require ought to be placed within the reach of the candidates.

We have already spoken of the publication of a manual, the study of which should be an indispensable preparation. This treatise ought to contain, not only technical directions, but also advice on behaviour towards the soldiers and officers, discretion to be observed, recommendations to abstain from criticism and espionage, and also from corresponding with newspapers.

The United States Sanitary Commission in this

respect gave a partial example, which it would be well to imitate, by publishing a series of medical monographs, which were gratuitously distributed to the sanitary officers of the army.¹ Oral instruction, also, would be very useful, and volunteers, as well as the newly enrolled, would profit by attending to it while waiting for the moment of departure. But it is especially practical teaching that is felt to be of the most pressing importance; and, to secure this, the committees will have to make arrangements with the directors of hospitals, in order that the staff in course of training may be admitted to practise in these institutions. We remember, for example, that the first physicians of New York placed themselves at the disposal of the Sanitary Commission, in order that they might instruct and train female volunteer nurses before they were sent off to the army.² The military authorities, also, should be requested to allow the volunteers to participate in the preparatory studies of the official nurses, and in the information which is given to them, either in garrison, or on the march, and in camp.³ Those individuals on whom it has been thought right to impose a course of training, under one or other of the forms that we have just indicated, will conclude it by a definitive examination. The committee will always be at liberty, up to this time, to admit or to refuse the candidate.

II. We have thus examined the question of the

¹ Evans, 87; *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 35.

² United States, 8.

³ Gurlt.

engagement of volunteers, from the point of view of their fitness and of the precautions to be taken to insure it. But, when they shall have been approved, all will not have been done, for there remains the question of a reciprocal contract, to which the two parties must give their consent. When, therefore, the committee and the government shall express themselves ready to receive a candidate, he, for his part, will have formally to declare that he accepts the conditions of his enrolment. And we have now to determine what will be the nature of these conditions.

The committees will be naturally led to adopt a line of conduct as to the salaries of their employés, for the idea of voluntary service does not exclude that of recompensed labour; and even persons who are the most willing to place themselves under the orders of the committees will not be always in a position to do so gratuitously. In presence of this situation, how will it be right to proceed? In our opinion, gratuitous and salaried assistants should both be avoided, in order to keep as far as possible to *indemnified* employés.

Gratuitous service has something about it which is very attractive, but those who accept this disinterested position would not, perhaps, be those on whom the greatest reliance could be placed. The hearty enthusiasm which may have led them to subscribe to this condition is apt to cool by contact with reality, and they would become weary sooner than might at first be imagined. Bound by engagement, they would support their yoke with effort, and their service would be

affected by it ; independent, they would abandon their duty, and in either hypothesis the chief committee would be frustrated in its endeavours. This, for example, was witnessed in the Italian campaign : the noble display of charity to which this gave rise could not be sustained until the end of the war at the level of its first enthusiasm. “ There were, it is true, many courageous women, whose patience and perseverance were never wearied ; but, alas ! it was possible easily to count them. The population also grew tired, contagious fevers scattered persons who were at the first the most energetic, and nurses and servants, fatigued or discouraged, did not all of them continue to respond to what was expected of them.”¹ This might have been anticipated, for the human heart is so formed. Let us also remark that, with the gratuitous system, not only will the committees have no authority over their agents, but, more than this, they will be under obligation to them, and very frequently embarrassed to know how to acquit themselves of it. They will owe them too much deference, and will be in a bad position to refuse them the favours which they may solicit. Gratuitous assistants are sometimes more costly than others. The only formal reservation which we think should be made in the application of this principle concerns the members of the committees themselves.² They are too much interested in the success of the work, and bear too directly the responsibility, for them to have any fear of a diminution of zeal on their part. The superior

¹ Dunant, 110.

² Gurlt.

position which they will occupy in the midst of the volunteers will also preserve them, more than their subordinates, from discouragement or weariness. They ought not, then, to be remunerated; but this need not prevent the committees from taking into account the disbursements necessary to the exercise of their functions.

Though gratuitous services offer inconveniences, it may with still greater certainty be said that the committees have little to expect from mercenaries. The men who offer themselves as volunteer nurses with the hope of profit, those who regard the work only as an advantageous employment or speculation, ought to be at once rejected; moral motives being absent, self-interest alone would be in action, and would make them careless and negligent. As a rule, only those agents who are entirely subordinate can be recruited from this category, and the services to be rendered to the sick by this class have almost always been found defective. We need only cite one example, relative to the war in Schleswig, and reported by Dr. Ochwaldt. "The number of our patients at Flensburg," says he, "often amounting to a thousand, it was necessary, besides the assistance of volunteer nurses, to take them from amongst the inhabitants of the city. Notwithstanding a salary of from fifteen to twenty silver groschen, in addition to their board, these people positively refused to watch during the night. Punctuality and proper sentiment in their work was only partially obtained, in spite of frequent exhortations; some,

weary of these warnings, hastily left the service, without giving any notice of their intention, and thus the managers of the hospitals were often placed in the greatest difficulty.”¹

Certainly, the committees will not wish otherwise than to conform to this rule, but they will find great difficulty in following it, if they offer too great pecuniary advantages to their employés. In presenting this attraction to the public, they will encourage hypocrisy in many candidates, who, in order to secure their acceptance, will be tempted to dissimulate the true motive of their application under an affectation of chivalrous and charitable sentiments, and those who have the selection will thus be easily deceived.

It will, therefore, be necessary to adopt an inter-medial system, namely, that of indemnities, which, while defraying the expenses of agents, and compensating them to a certain point for the sacrifice which they make of their time, will not transform their mission into a lucrative affair. This mode of moderate remuneration will be found equitable, and it will keep away both those in whom the desire to parade their disinterestedness predominates, as well as those whose avaricious instincts alone incline them to the work.

Our opinion on this subject was shared by the Sanitary Commission of the United States. “The Commission,” says one of its historians, “pays its employés, with the exception of the members of the committee, and it was led to this conclusion by reasons of interest as

¹ Ochwadt, 41.

well as of justice. The payments which it makes are, however, very small, especially when the work required and the position in society of the men whom it employs are considered: thanks to this kind of retribution, the committee preserves an authority which it could not possibly have over a corps of volunteers.”¹

Another difficulty in the enrolment of volunteers arises from the propriety of making them accept an engagement for a certain period. The general opinion would appear to be very uncertain on this subject. The International Committee, in its *Projet de Concordat* (Art. 8),² had proposed at the Conference that the volunteer nurses should be obliged to serve during a limited time; but this article, after a long discussion, was unanimously struck out,³ the proposers themselves siding with their colleagues. The reasons which determined this decision do not appear to us to be very convincing; the best that was brought forward is that it is not advisable to settle such a matter by means of one general regulation, but that each committee ought to be free to act according to its own inclination. Nevertheless, we think that there are reasons which are everywhere the same, and which ought always to lead the committees to fix a certain period of service for their agents. To say that one must not cool enthusiasm by imposing this restraint upon it, and to make up one's mind to see the bad employés depart at the end of a

¹ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 53.

² *Vide* Scheme of Association, p. 104.

³ *Conférence*, 115.

certain time, whilst only the good remain, is to examine the matter only superficially. It is precisely because enthusiasm is by nature ephemeral that conditions must be imposed upon it; and it is necessary, as far as is possible, that this enthusiasm be closely examined. The proposition for an engagement will be a touchstone which will enable us to distinguish transient zeal and excitement from a deeper and more durable sentiment. Otherwise, how would the committees have the courage to undertake anything with the aid of persons who at any moment might leave them? Moreover, every volunteer will involve the committee employing him in the expense of preparation, equipment, travelling, &c., in return for which, it ought not to be considered extraordinary or improper to require a promise of fidelity. It has been said that such a promise would be inefficacious, because it would not be binding, and the committee would have no means to enforce its execution. This is perfectly true. It is precisely because the committee has no legal authority over its agents, that it is necessary to bind them by the sentiment of honour, and by the fear that a shameful desertion of their duty would leave a stain on their reputation. Nothing, likewise, would prevent the committee from stipulating for the retention of a certain portion of the indemnity, in case all the conditions of the engagement were not fulfilled.

Dr. Gurlt is of our opinion, but he goes further, in asking for an engagement during the whole duration of a war. This period is so variable, it is so vague, that

it cannot serve as a basis for enrolment. To adopt it would be equivalent to a declaration that volunteers are not required, for very few would be found to accept it. It seems to us that it would be best to decide on a period of three months, capable of extension, and under the condition on the part of the person engaged, that he will give one month's notice should he wish to discontinue his functions. However, let us not bestow on this detail more attention than it deserves, but let us accept all arrangements dictated by the circumstances of particular cases.

Shall the volunteer wear a distinctive uniform? Independently of the band on the arm, of which we have already spoken, and which will be common, not only to the official staff, but also to those isolated assistants to whom the general commanding-in-chief may think right to grant it, we think that something more characteristic is needed to distinguish at the first glance the agents of the committees. Their position ought to be made evident by a visible mark, which would spare them the necessity of describing themselves, and make them immediately known to all. A uniform, however simple it may be, has a certain value, and, besides, it presents the great advantage of providing against the inexperience of the agents as to the precautions which affect them personally. Left to themselves, they would perhaps start upon a campaign with clothes and baggage but little adapted to the service before them, and it would therefore be right for the committee to intervene, either to require certain things

or to give advice in the interest of the persons it employs.

Let us now ask to what discipline the volunteers ought to be subjected; for some is necessary, and without it their presence would certainly not be tolerated.

The only example that we have of volunteers entirely independent of the official service, and being only answerable to the volunteer chiefs themselves, is furnished to us by the last war in Schleswig. The brethren of the Rauhe-Haus were entirely responsible to the Chevaliers of St. John; and no complaint was raised against this intervention but, on the contrary, everybody praised it. This experience, however, proves little. These brethren, in fact, were few in number, and never threatened to become a serious embarrassment. Besides, the Chevaliers who directed them enjoyed the highest respect and consideration, and for this very reason they were less fettered than any committee would be. Here was an exceptional situation, from which conclusions too favourable to the system, then for the first time on trial, must not be drawn. Does not common sense tell us that disagreements would be inevitable, if two corps completely independent of each other were invited to act on the same field?

This is so strongly felt, that the volunteers have generally made concessions to the officials, in order to live on good terms with them. We have already had occasion to remark that Miss Nightingale, from this

motive, abstained from interfering in that which related to hospital administration. She also directed her assistants never to do anything for the sick without having first received precise instructions from the medical men.¹ Dr. Ochwadt also found that the volunteer service ought to be excluded from the administrative direction.² Even in America, where, indeed, the Sanitary Commission took many liberties, the necessity not to thwart the functionaries of the army was fully recognized. "If it had allowed men, animated by indiscreet zeal, to intermeddle here and there, it would have lost all credit with the authorities. All its agents were therefore, in the first place, directed to keep on good terms with the military surgeons. No article was delivered without a special order from these gentlemen, and the instructions of the agents were in conformity with those which formed the rule in the ranks of the army."³ Consequently, no complaint was made against the employés of the commission, between whom and the members of the medical corps the most cordial relations existed.⁴

Deprived of administrative control, the duty of the committees in relation to their agents, surgeons, and nurses is reduced to very small proportions. The command no longer belongs to them, and they have only to exercise a supervision so as to know that each performs his engagements. They are without power ; but it is the very force of circumstances which imposes this sacrifice

¹ Shrimpton, 32.

³ Evans, 76.

² Ochwadt, 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 165.

upon them, and wisdom counsels them frankly to accept it, and to advance even farther on the path of self-denial. False positions are difficult to maintain, and in placing the volunteers under the double dependence of a committee and the sanitary authorities, one would inevitably be created. Everybody will agree that the first condition of good service rests in unity of command, and, in particular, that the chiefs of the hospital service ought to be masters in their own departments. This they will always be able to insist upon, but the committees should anticipate this desire. The self-esteem of their members ought to be satisfied, if they succeed in bestowing upon the army a staff whose assistance will be valuable to it, and they will be doubly recompensed if they leave it to the army to call for their aid when it is in need of it. By retiring, after having placed their agents at the disposal of the military authorities, they will meet with the approval of all those who entertain a just idea of the exigencies of service in an army in the field. "Those who wish to serve as volunteers in the *Service de Santé*," says Dr. Landa, "may do so for a period fixed beforehand; but they must enter into the *cadres* of the regular army and obey its discipline, otherwise an army would be an impossibility. It is necessary that those who wish to form part of it, for a shorter or longer period, should not only make a sacrifice of life, but also of their free-will, to the public good, which requires the absolute concentration of all the power in the hands of chiefs, in order that this mass of armed men

may be moved as a single man.”¹ M. Van de Velde, sent to Denmark by the International Committee, returned with the impression that “the medical men and the military intendants are opposed to the introduction of private relief for the wounded; at least, if such relief be not the work of deaconesses, surgeons, and physicians, entirely subservient to military order and discipline.”² Dr. Geissler, with his great experience, declares that, “in order that their co-operation may be efficacious, the nurses and the medical volunteers ought to be completely under military authority.”³ Dr. Ochwadt wishes also that the medical volunteers should be placed under the orders of the military surgeons,⁴ as was done in Italy;⁵ and Dr. Gurlt professes the same opinion with regard to the bearers. M. l’Intendant de Préval estimates that “the services of volunteer nurses can never be compared to those of men organized in a military manner.”⁶ “The rôle of a corps of volunteers,” says Dr. Simonot, “will only be that of an auxiliary, always ready to respond to the first call, but to whom no initiative can belong. If it were otherwise, it would be exposed to the chance of deviating from the harmony of the evolutions of the army, and thus useless dangers might be incurred, or, at all events, serious embarrassment.”⁷

It is superfluous to multiply these quotations: let us rather complete them with the example which the

¹ Conférence, 47.

² Van de Velde, 160.

³ Appia (*b*), 63.

⁴ Ochwadt, 40.

⁵ Brière, 28.

⁶ Conférence, 51.

⁷ Simonot, 5.

committees of Stockholm, Hamburg, and Schwerin furnish, all of which have clearly stipulated in their statutes that, in case of war, "they should place the nurses of both sexes at the disposal of the military authorities."

The Conference professes a different doctrine, contrary to the *Projet de Concordat* submitted to its examination. Anticipating the case in which volunteers might be found venturing even on the field of battle, it desires that the committees "*shall then place them under the direction of military chiefs.*" (Art. 6.) But it only regards this as an exceptional case, and in principle admits that "*they shall organize and place the volunteer nurses on an active footing.*" (Art. 5.) While inserting this last clause in its Resolutions, the Conference most certainly did not conceal from itself that it would meet with serious objections; but, chiefly preoccupied with the necessity of taking all liberty of action from the volunteers on the field of battle, it was doubtless unwilling to appear too rigorous, and consented to allow them more independence in the hospitals. Here, then, we see a faculty left to the committees, a suggestion which they are free to disregard, rather than a strict obligation; and this interpretation seems to us so much the more legitimate, as it conciliates all interests. The army, as we have already said, can but be benefited by it, and it will be an immense relief to the committees; for, in placing their agents under official direction, and in leaving to this the duty of organizing them, they would be relieved

of a heavy responsibility; they would not have to trouble themselves about the enforcement of discipline, nor in establishing in the midst of the volunteers an imaginary hierarchy, which would consist of superiors without authority over their subordinates, and which would excite endless annoyances. We will only make one exception to this rule, and this is in favour of hospitals established by the committees themselves, and of which the administration exclusively concerns them.

But will the volunteers accommodate themselves to this régime? It is worth the trouble to ask the question, for, evidently, in making the conditions too strict, they would be prevented from enrolling themselves. Is it thought that they would have any objection to be placed under military authority? It is not probable. By the very act of placing themselves at the disposal of a committee, they abdicate their independence, and from that time it ought to be almost a matter of indifference to them whether orders come to them from the one side or the other. What is more to be feared is, lest their dignity as volunteers should be sometimes shocked by the imperious tone of command: here, we cannot deny, there may be a difficulty, but we also believe that, in fact, they will be treated with more consideration than the servants of the State, and that their character will make them respected. The doctors, in particular, will have little dread of being treated in too military a manner. At all events, the volunteers who might have some complaint, or some demand to make,

will always have recourse to their natural superior, the delegate of the committee attached to head-quarters, and he will investigate their troubles, and, if necessary, intervene with the proper authority, and smooth away the difficulties.

Moreover, there will necessarily be a fundamental difference between the volunteers and the soldiers, in this respect, that the former will only be controlled by the code of honour, whilst the latter will be subject to the penal code. This distinction ought to be maintained at any price, for in removing it, as Dr. Gurlt proposes to do, the work of the committees would be completely denaturalized. Men who, from motives of pure charity, devote themselves to the relief of their brethren, have no need of any other restraint than moral law, and we do not wish for them, any more than they would wish it for themselves, either an oath of fidelity¹ or the risk of punishment, while at the same time we repudiate all claims to recompense or to retiring pensions granted to soldiers.²

“Were the corps of volunteers to adopt customs which are entirely military, these would take away that pacific prestige from which it ought never to depart.”³ It is not difficult to understand these precautions with regard to individuals who have been compelled, contrary to their inclination, to enter the military service; but is it necessary to employ them towards those who have freely offered themselves, from love of their neighbour, and amongst whom the sentiment of duty is

¹ (Basting) Conférence, 138.

² Gurlt.

³ Simonot, 6.

sufficiently strong to inspire this noble devotion? Besides, there is no need to be reminded that the military chiefs will always have the right to dismiss them if they are not satisfied with them, and that the common offences of which they might be guilty would fall under the stroke of the ordinary penal law.

When the committees are called upon to decide on this subject, they must not lose sight of Article 7 of the Resolutions, which is as follows:—“*The volunteer nurses employed with armies shall be provided by their respective committees with everything necessary for their maintenance.*” This obligation creates a very heavy burthen,¹ which has not escaped the sagacity of the Conference. “The greatest and most serious difficulty,” said Dr. Boudier, “will be found in victualling your nurses, in storing your material, in replacing your beasts of burthen; everything is quickly, very quickly, worn out, in time of war. You wish to keep your men and your beasts of burthen supplied; in a word, you do not wish to occasion any expense; this, gentlemen, is quite an illusion, consolatory no doubt, but one which the outbreak of a war would very soon unmask.”² The worthy doctor developed this thesis at great length, and he entered into considerations of unquestionable truth. This is evidently more than a question of money; it includes, so to speak, insurmountable obstacles. M. de Préval, who held the same opinion, thought that “the maintenance of the corps of volunteer nurses would sooner or later prove an incumbrance to the general

¹ Comité Français, 55.

² Conférence, 64.

administration of armies.”¹ In our opinion, there is no other way to obviate the difficulty. According to this hypothesis, the committees would be indebted to the State for the expenses occasioned to it by their agents. But will the favour of these advances be accorded? At a conference of Austrian medical men, held at Kolding, during the campaign in Schleswig, it was thought that the volunteers would employ the same means of transport as the army—the same lodgings and everything else besides; and they even went so far as to think that if the advantages of their assistance were well established, the State would grant these things gratuitously.² The decided opinion of Dr. Boudier is, on the contrary, that the committees will not obtain much more, if anything, than promises.³ But the reason which he gives for this is that the volunteers would be strangers to the army, whence it follows that, in more or less completely incorporating them with it, they would be protected against a refusal. It is thus also that the matter is regarded by Dr. Gurlt,⁴ although it is unnecessary, in our opinion, to go as far as he proposes, in assimilating the volunteers to the soldiers. The questions of subordination and maintenance are then, as we see, intimately connected, and the committees as well as the army have an evident interest in settling them in the manner we have indicated.

The articles of engagement of the medical men and volunteer nurses ought necessarily to mention the kind

¹ Conférence, 52.

³ Conférence, 66.

² Appia (b), 74.

⁴ Gurlt.

of service expected of them ; but will it be expedient to fix on a special destination for them, or will it be better to leave them in general terms, so that, without precisely determining anything, the committee will be at liberty to employ them where it may think best amongst the sick and wounded. If we suggest that a doubt might be raised on this point, it is because there would be nothing surprising if a person well qualified for certain cases were not so for others. There are, in fact, in the department of the sanitary staff, two very different kinds of occupation, which, at the command of their superiors, the official employés are obliged to undertake indiscriminately. These two categories comprise : the one the hospital staff, more or less stationary, the other the staff which accompanies the troops. This latter, perhaps, endures more privations, it is exposed to the fire of the enemy, but, following step by step the combatants, it is led on, like them, by the enthusiasm which makes them forget dangers and fatigue ; they have need of the courage of the soldier, which is not always accompanied by the patience necessary to watch at the bedside of the sick, and by that calmer devotion which braves the perils of a prolonged sojourn in the vitiated atmosphere of hospitals.

Before we express an opinion on the propriety of leaving the volunteers freedom of choice as to one or other of the above-mentioned kinds of employment, let us inquire if both courses are equally admissible.

No one will deny that the place for our helpers is, so to say, marked out at the bedside of the sick, and

every one agrees in desiring their presence there. It has been thought that they would be useful, not only in completing the hospital staff, but also in replacing it, and in enabling it to perform other functions of a more martial character.¹ But is it, therefore, to be said that, in accordance with a very generally accepted opinion, they should be prevented from venturing farther? No, such a restriction is morally impossible, under pain of stifling the generous aspirations of volunteers, and of seeing their number considerably diminished. To many of these, who have no dread of the smell of powder, the chance of having to display a certain military valour, and to share the emotions of the soldier, will exercise a powerful attraction;² but if it were proposed simply to send them into the hospitals, "to carry broth to the sick and to give them their medicine,"³ they would remain at home. The object would not then be attained. For our own parts, we are in favour of admitting volunteer aid to the wounded upon the field of battle; but this opinion having been strongly controverted, we cannot deny ourselves the right of justifying the manner in which we regard the question.

Fortunately, we find, at the outset, we have in the Resolutions of the Conference a strong *point d'appui*, although Dr. Chenu pretends that the discussion in this assembly "has not afforded, outside of the military element, practical results on the field of battle, the

¹ (Lœffier) Conférence, 35; (de Préval) Conférence, 88.

² Frégier.

³ (Van de Velde) Conférence, 104.

principal object of the idea.”¹ Does not Article 6, in fact, victoriously disprove this view of the case, when it allows that, “*on the demand, or with the concurrence of the military authority, the Committees shall send volunteer nurses to the field of battle?*” The proclamation of this principle appears to us as a real conquest over existing prejudices, which looked upon the presence of volunteers in the midst of the fray as an absurdity. The Conference gave the widest latitude to the scruples of opponents, and by making the military authority the judge of the opportunity when volunteer aid should be demanded, it cut short all recrimination.

If what we have already said, as to the subordination of the volunteers to the official chiefs, be borne in mind, it will be seen that our system still more completely provides against the inconveniences which were feared, than that of the Conference.

What was most dreaded was the probable absence of discipline amongst the volunteers ;² it was insisted that the strictest military order ought to reign on the field of battle,³ and that philanthropy should there yield to strategy.⁴ This view is perfectly just ; but it is precisely at this point that we arrive, in placing all the agents, whether volunteer or official, under the same command. The difficulty of providing for the maintenance of the volunteers in the midst of the disorder

¹ Chenu, 706.

² Simonot, 6.

³ (de Préval) Conférence, 54 ; Friedrich, 7.

⁴ (Lœffler) Conférence, 35.

during or after a battle has also been mentioned,¹ but we have said that we think it possible to effect a compromise with the official administration, in order that it may undertake this duty. Then, again, some persons have appeared to dread that, under the appearance of charitable helpers, spies might slip into the midst of an army.² But we have already replied to this, that the moment would be badly chosen to act as a spy between two armies which are fighting, a time when even the officers commanding find it difficult to know what is passing :³ and we may add, that there are no reasons why the presence of false friends should be more frequent amongst the volunteers than in the army itself,⁴ especially if the recruiting of the former be surrounded by the precautions we have suggested.

Besides, do not let us lose sight of the fact that it is on the field of battle that the want of assistance for the wounded makes itself the most strongly and lamentably felt ; it is there that prompt succour is the most urgently required, and it is there, also, by an unfortunate coincidence, that it is most frequently found wanting. If charity desires to meet this pressing need, it is here that it should make its most energetic efforts ; and the most important problem for its solution is, how to act so that the man who falls shall be instantaneously relieved. If means of transport are not at disposal in order to convey him to the ambulance, much may be done in dressing his wounds, in

¹ (Lœffler) Conférence, 35.

³ (de Préval) Conférence, 136.

² Ibid., 35.

⁴ Frégier, 25.

giving him to drink, and in sustaining his failing strength. The absence of these comforts, which cannot be too abundant, and which are often too few, contributes, we are convinced, to increase in a very large proportion the number of men who succumb to their wounds; and it would therefore save the lives of a multitude of these poor wretches if relief could be bestowed upon them without delay. In presence of this consideration, it appears to us that all others which are brought forward by the opponents of volunteer aid are of secondary importance. There is even one of these which we have been painfully surprised to meet with, from the pen of a military surgeon at a loss for arguments to sustain his thesis. Allow us to give this word for word. "Is it not right," says Dr. Van Esschen, "to allow to every one his small share of satisfaction in this world, where one finds so little. The medical officer, the soldier attached to an ambulance, have taken an oath of obedience; the field of battle belongs to them, with its misery as well as its glory, because beforehand, and in cool blood, they have offered the sacrifice of their lives. At the price of blood, they have purchased the honour to succour their brethren, wherever the voice of their chiefs may call them, that is to say, under fire and at the mouth of the cannon. But volunteer charity will remain free; it will come forward when it likes, and only after the danger, if it think right to do so; and, after the action, the laurels would be worn in common. We shall have purchased, at the price of our existence, a recompense that another

will have acquired for a fee of fifty centimes.”¹ In order to reason in this manner, one must place one's self in a position which we do not share, and to which we shall not follow M. Van Esschen. We have quoted these words, because, in the minds of impartial judges, the opinion which we contend against can only be more fully compromised by such arguments.

Is it necessary to adduce affirmative testimony in favour of allowing the presence of volunteer helpers under fire? It will not be difficult for this purpose to cite the opinions of experts. For example, sixteen Austrian surgeons, assembled in conference at Kolding, in order to discuss this very question, agreed that the matter was quite feasible, and they declared that if such assistance were actually to reach the field, at the moment of battle, their services would never be declined by the officers.² Dr. Boudier even went so far as to say that “if we ever have the happiness to meet volunteer nurses during a campaign, it is evident that it would be on the very field of battle they would, by preference, be employed.”³ And in this opinion he is supported by facts. The delegate of the International Committee to the seat of war in Schleswig verified the most satisfactory and the most encouraging application of the sixth Resolution. In fact, the Brethren of the *Rauhe-Haus* were specially appropriated by their director, Dr. Wichern, to the service of the advanced posts; they there bore succour to the wounded through a hail of bullets, and, on several

¹ Van Esschen, 9.

² Appia (*b*), 74.

³ Conférence, 112.

occasions, to the very midst of the fight, and principally at the storming of Düppel. The commander-in-chief, Prince Frederick Charles, as well as the chief of his staff, Colonel von Blumenthal, gave them all the support of their influence ; and the army, with which they were on the most affectionate terms, frequently testified its deep gratitude to them.¹

Dr. Chenu, who is opposed to the presence of volunteers on the line of battle, does not ignore the necessity of increasing the staff actually charged with this service, and for this purpose he proposes to institute a new special corps. Here is the mode in which he proposes to carry out his project. "Would it not be useful," says he, "to establish, under the direction of a certain number of medical men, brigades of hospital dressers, trained to this service, lightly equipped or armed, and carriers of instruments, of lint intended for the plugging of wounds, and of a small can filled with some sort of cordial? These nurses, active and intelligent, carefully selected and well prepared, would follow a storming party, would distribute themselves over a field of battle, would rapidly arrange a bandage, and would enable the wounded to wait until the surgeon might afford more complete assistance."² The idea of Dr. Chenu pleases us, but we cannot see why his brigades of hospital dressers should not be, at the same time, brigades of volunteers. The distinction is a very subtle one, since

¹ Appia (*b*). 115, and following pages ; *Brüder*, 1864, No. 3.

² Chenu, 276.

the latter would act in a manner quite as military as the former.

In laying down the sphere of action of the sanitary staff, we have placed ourselves in a position to respond to the question which we have already asked, namely, if the engagement of the volunteers should be conditional, as far as relates to their being permitted to have a word in the choice of the destination which will be assigned to them. At first sight it does not seem that this favour ought to meet with any serious difficulties, and it even appears that the service would be so much better assured, if the wish of each applicant were to receive some consideration. In fact, we are fully convinced that things will be so arranged, and that agents unfit for certain duties will be kept apart; for example, it is evident that women will not be sent to pick up the wounded, or to assist in ambulance service. Yet, on principle, it would be wrong to admit a difference of qualifications, for this might seem to testify to the moral superiority of the official staff, and to create an untenable position for the volunteers. It is difficult even to imagine the operation of separating the employés of an hospital, when it might be necessary to send away some of them upon a dangerous mission; the volunteers would at once object to cede the exclusive honour to their comrades. Is it thought, for instance, that it would be possible to utilize them for the internal work of the ambulance department,¹ without allowing them to step out from the door, in case of

¹ Simonot, 7.

pressing need, at a few steps off, on the field of battle? Or, again, could they be employed as porters on the field of battle, but only as the nearest relay to the ambulance?¹ This mongrel system is evidently not practicable. Besides, between the extreme positions, that is to say, between the first line of battle and the stationary hospitals in the interior of the country, there are endless differences of service, so that, even in multiplying the categories of volunteers, however it might be managed, arbitrary lines of demarcation must be established. Our conclusion, then, is, that nothing must be stipulated, and that the volunteers, after having expressed their preferences, should leave these to the Committees and to the chiefs of the medical service, in order that they may, as far as possible, take them into consideration. Such, also, was the opinion of the Conference.²

¹ Gurlt.

² Conférence, 115-117.

CHAPTER VII.

MATERIAL AID.

SUMMARY.—1. Generalities: Supplies in time of peace. Consideration of improvements in the official material. As to the material to be furnished by the Committees. Inquiry into the resources of the country. Volunteer contributions and official dépôts. Administrative staff. Seals of the Committees. Privileges.—II. Hygiene; the Committees to study this subject. Importance of hygienic measures. Different forms of this work; (*a*) Instruction; (*b*) Asylums for the maimed, &c.; (*c*) Travelling kitchens; (*d*) Fresh vegetables; (*e*) Washhouses.—III. Transports: Importance of means of transport. Carriages. Beasts of burthen. Railways. Boats.—IV. Hospitals: Unanimous opinion on the danger of crowding. Difficulty attending this part of the work. What can the Committees do? Employment of private houses, churches, and other buildings. Asylums for convalescents. Administration of Hospitals.—V. Dépôts: Preparatory steps in time of peace. Classification to be adopted with regard to the contents of the dépôts. Articles distributed by the Committees in different wars. General observations on these distributions. Organization of the dépôts. Division of the relief.—VI. Money: Delegated treasurers. Gratuitous services. Aid in money.—VII. Transition to a time of peace: Employment of the material remaining after the war. Indemnities to the populations of the districts devastated by war. Assistance for the invalids and for the widows and orphans.



It will not be necessary, we think, to open this chapter with an enumeration of the facts which prove that the Committees will have to complete the sanitary material with their own gifts.

"*In the event of war,*" said the Conference, "*the committees of the belligerent nations shall furnish relief to their respective armies in proportion to their resources.*" (Art 5.) This relief in kind is the base, and, so to speak, the very essence of their work; it is generally accepted on principle by the official authorities, and even those who wish that the army could dispense with it are obliged to confess that it must, in fact, always derive great benefit from it. It is not, then, of the propriety of this kind of intervention on the part of the Committees that we have now to speak; we may consider this question as settled. The subject with which we have first to deal is the manner in which this volunteer assistance ought to be given.

I. Ought the Committees, even in time of peace, to collect supplies in kind, to keep them stored, and to have them ready in case of war? To this question, presented in a general manner, we feel ourselves obliged to give a negative reply, although the Conference declared itself in the affirmative. "*In time of peace,*" we read in its Resolutions, "*the Committees and Sections shall be occupied with the means to make themselves really useful in time of war, especially in preparing material aid of every kind.*" (Art. 4.) If we do not share this opinion, it is because it appears to us that the greater part of the most necessary objects can be quickly made, while many of them might become deteriorated, and other things, perchance, might not altogether respond to the demands created by the incessant progress of science. It is in the same sense

that the delegate from Geneva to the Austro-Prussian army in Schleswig expresses himself, when he recommends that "the crowding of hospital stores in places of secondary importance should be avoided, as also the purchase beforehand of too large a quantity of objects that can always be rapidly procured, and the utility of which, in the supposed war, might not be sufficiently clear. The matter of greatest importance is, that the Committee should collect as much money as possible, and should procure those articles which are always of acknowledged use, at the same time that they are more or less difficult to be acquired."¹

A second general question, to which different answers have been given, is to know whether it will form part of the task of Committees, especially in time of peace, to make a scientific study of sanitary material, and, in particular, to consider the improvements to be introduced into the official material. It will readily be understood that the answer to this question must necessarily vary according to the point of view from which it is regarded.

If it were thought that in such an independent and theoretical investigation the Committees might pretend to constitute themselves judges of the measures taken by the principal military Board of Health, and to meddle indiscriminately in the functions of this body, the answer could only be negative; but, in truth, no sensible Committee would accept this task; and if, for example, the delegates of the Sanitary Commission of

¹ Appia (*b*), 125.

the United States fulfilled the delicate duty of controllers of the official sanitary work, they only did so with the approbation of the Government, and by scrupulously respecting the established hierarchy. At the Conference of Geneva, there arose a discussion on this subject, when it was decided, that, if such investigations into sanitary improvements by the Committees ought to be encouraged, these, on their own part, should studiously avoid everything which might have the appearance of wishing to exercise control over the authorities.¹

But there is another point of view, which, we believe, is the only true one, from which the question can be regarded in such a way as to insure an affirmative answer; namely, when a Committee, undertaking an inquiry as to the best sanitary material, has no other object but well and thoroughly to fulfil its duty. Why, then, if it has the time and means to do so, should it not pay attention, especially during peace, to the comparative trial of different patterns and models? Why, even, should it not occasionally ask of competent authorities permission to assist, for its own instruction, at the experiments directed by the Board of Health? And if this practical study, made in common, should produce some new and good idea, why should not the authorities be animated with sufficient impartiality to accept it, from whatever quarter it might come? This is the very plain opinion of Dr. Steiner.² It is also that of Dr. Chenu, who expresses himself

¹ Conférence, 84.

² Ibid., 86.

without hesitation in the following manner:—"Each Committee ought to employ itself with improvements to be made in the service of the sick and wounded, in discussing ways and means, in communicating the reports of their meeting to a Central Committee, which should know the resources at disposal, and which should be charged to make a complete study of the suggestions offered, and to verify their utility and the possibility of putting them into practice. The chief Central Committee in each State must endeavour to obtain from the government the adoption of those ideas, the realization of which it may deem useful for the army."¹

But the positive right and duty of the Committees will always be to inquire into the nature of the articles which, from time to time, they will be called upon to procure, to investigate minutely their qualities, to inform themselves by practical experiments as to the best means of preparing them, to draw up an analytical catalogue of all such articles, and to make a collection of samples, intended to serve as guides and models at the moment of entering on a campaign. In order to accomplish these objects, frequent communication must necessarily be kept up with the sanitary authorities of the army.

Another branch of preparatory usefulness, relative to the supply of provisions in kind, will consist in ascertaining the resources of the district in which the Committee is placed, and for which it will be called on at

¹ Chenu, 724.

the first outbreak of a war. This is what was done by the Magdeburg Committee, under the inspiration of one of its most eminent members. "Every district," says *M. le Médecin-général* Lœffler, "ought to make a report on the subject of its stations and of its other available resources, in order that the general state of the province may be known."¹ Again, "the Committee of Magdeburg," says the Report of the 5th April, 1864, "is occupied in studying the resources of the country in case of war."

Ought the supplies of provisions made by a Committee to be directly distributed to the troops by its delegates, or should they be added to the stores of the army? This is another general question which deserves to be considered before we enter into the details of our subject.

It is easy to believe that opinions differ on this point, according as one may be desirous to preserve military omnipotence and strict organization, or, on the other hand, to secure entire liberty for voluntary aid. It is for this reason that Dr. Friedrich proposes the formation of an administrative commission, charged to collect, to arrange, and judiciously to distribute the consignments of every kind. It is certain that if such a Committee had existed at the opening of the campaign in Schleswig, many gifts which were heaped together at Kiel and at Rendsburg would have found a more rapid and more useful employment. But, if we have rightly comprehended the thought of the

¹ Lœffler, 6.

author, the free gifts and the army stores ought to be mingled in one and the same dépôt.¹ Dr. Ochwaldt expresses himself to the same effect. He proposes that the arrangement and regular distribution of the free voluntary offerings, as well as the means adopted to encourage the sending of gifts on the part of the populations, should be placed under official and military responsibility. He also repeats the proposition of Dr. Friedrich in favour of forming a great central dépôt. At the Conference at Geneva, also, this opinion found partisans; but it was opposed by several speakers, and even by men who are compelled, by their official position in the army, not to suffer any attack on the legitimate rights of military authority. It is thus, in particular, that Dr. Landa, *Chirurgien-major*, and delegate from Spain, positively expressed himself against the fusion of the stores of voluntary gifts with those belonging to the government. It was his opinion that such an absorption of patriotic contributions would tend to paralyze charity, because, said he, "a certain amount of liberty of action is necessary, and it would not be popular to exercise charity through the medium of a government."²

It is, perhaps, useless to say that we entirely agree with Dr. Landa, and that we wish for separate dépôts, and a separate administration. Yet, in order to lessen and accelerate the work of distribution, we are anxious that frank and friendly relations should be at once established between the representatives of volunteer

¹ Friedrich, 8.

² Conférence, 106.

philanthropy and those of military authority; but if, on the part of the latter, we look for the consideration due to spontaneous devotion, we shall always expect from the volunteer representatives modest behaviour and the most complete self-forgetfulness.

We will here cite a recent example relative to our subject. Colonel de Malakowski generously offered to organize the dépôts in Schleswig, and from his high military position, as well as his philanthropic character, he naturally personified the union of war and charity. Before his departure he had to seek instructions on the one side from the Minister of War, on the other from his Excellency the Count von Arnim Boytzenburg, the director of volunteer aid in Berlin. His activity in Schleswig was most useful; nevertheless, towards the end of the campaign, if we have been rightly informed, the Government determined to constitute the voluntary offerings as property belonging to the army, and especially to the *Intendance Militaire*; and from that time the activity of the colonel was employed under the exclusive direction of the Berlin Committee. We may add that the consignments, which were without the address of any particular Committee, were supposed to be addressed to the military authorities.

As to the opinion of the military chiefs, we think the officers of the *intendance* will generally speak out, and it is only natural they should do so, in favour of the appropriation of all gifts by the official dépôts. As to the medical men, we believe we are not deceiving ourselves in affirming that, on the contrary, they will

in practice regard with pleasure the creation of volunteer depôts, from which they will be able to draw largely, and this without being continually restrained by bureaucratic control, sometimes severe, and often inconvenient, when it is important to act rapidly.

The staff attached to the administration of the material will necessarily be divided into two categories ; 1stly, the administrative staff of a certain rank, forming part of the sanitary staff, and on this account provided with the badge ; 2ndly, subalterns, generally taken from the district, such as conductors, drivers, commissionaires, laundresses, &c. These persons, forming part of the local population employed in the care of the sick and wounded, will come within the neutrality fixed by the 5th Article of the Treaty of Geneva. The distribution of the badge to these would possess no real advantage, and might easily lead to abuses ; and, perhaps, it would have a still greater inconvenience, by bringing into disrepute a badge of which the honour ought to be religiously protected.

The material ought to bear the mark of the seal of the Committee, placed in a conspicuous manner on all the cases, and it would be well, as far as possible, to stamp each particular object. This precaution was adopted by the Sanitary Commission of the United States, and it has the double advantage of ensuring the regular delivery of the consignments, as well as of making the extent of the work better known by those who benefit by it.

The Committees must take care to make all the necessary arrangements beforehand, in order to obtain from the competent authorities freedom from port and custom duties. This advice is equally applicable to letters bearing the seal of, or addressed to, the Committee, also to telegraphic messages. In all recent wars these advantages have been, more or less, completely obtained, and they were exercised on an immense scale in the United States, where even the journeys of the sick and wounded, as well as of all the members of the staff of relief, were made gratuitously. These privileges thus represented an enormous sum in the calculation of gifts furnished by the population, and the share of relief afforded by the great railway companies was estimated at many millions of dollars. We also remember that repayment was made of almost all the expenses of carriage, for the considerable consignments sent from Geneva into Italy during the war of 1859; and, on this occasion, the utility of preparatory arrangements was recognized. In the Elbe Duchies, transport was gratuitous, except on one line belonging to an English company. The Prussian and Austrian administrations, on their side, granted all the facilities necessary for the despatch of goods and letters.¹

II. If we now enter into the details of this subject, we shall at once meet with an application of gifts in kind, which here finds its chronological place,—we mean the participation of the Committees in hygienic

¹ Berlin, 8, 9.

measures. Ought the Committees to reserve a share of their solicitude for soldiers in good health, in order to prevent disease? In other words, does military hygiene form a part of their work? What are their duties in this respect? Such are the questions the solution of which we are about to attempt.

We will commence by declaring that, in default of stipulations to the contrary on the part of the donors, the various consignments ought always to be first appropriated to the sick and wounded, if the very nature of the gifts is not opposed to this arrangement. The object we have in view in this essay is, above all other things, a work for the relief of the victims of war; and it is because, in moments of mighty struggles or of great exhaustion, the resources of the State are not always equal to the assistance due to these victims, that the Committees have a right to intervene. On the other hand, the health of the men belonging to an army in the field is constantly exposed, and they are subject to such intense morbid influences, that there is always danger to be apprehended. The Relief Societies thus often find themselves in the position, and almost under the necessity, to afford preventive assistance, at the same time that they are employed in the work of healing and consolation. It is sufficient to glance at a catalogue of the numerous consignments made to the armies engaged in the different wars, in order to recognize that these gifts could be usefully applied to the preservation of the health of the soldier. Warm clothing, for

example, or special nutriment, if not all employed for the sick, and if they will not bear keeping, ought undoubtedly to be distributed to the men in good health.

It is not our intention here to expatiate at any length on the immense importance of hygienic measures for the preservation of an army. This subject, which is nevertheless of great interest, would lead us beyond our prescribed limits upon the domain of military medicine, strictly so called. There is nothing more serious, and at the same time so instructive, as to see these human masses, called armies, attacked by a frightful mortality, and yielding to the disastrous effects of measures badly combined, or of errors in that theoretical knowledge which relates to the preservation of health. And, on the contrary, there is nothing more gladdening and consoling than to witness the happy results of hygienic reforms wisely and energetically undertaken. Without allowing ourselves a scientific criticism of the rules followed in different armies—a study which, in order to be just, ought to be profound—we will confess we are not surprised to discover many facts and many opinions showing the necessity for improvement in this respect.¹ “It is necessary in the interests of the future,” says Dr. Scrive, “to set to work immediately, and to endow the French army with good institutions for preservative hygiene, destined to modify and to banish the defective or vicious conditions that our system of warfare pre-

¹ See Chap. i., p. 37, and following.

sents with respect to victuals, shelter, and all the general necessities of an army.”¹

Let us here be allowed to offer some quotations for the purpose of showing, on the one side, the importance of hygienic precautions for every army, and, on the other, the want which observation has brought to light. “The habits of cleanliness which distinguish the English army ought certainly to be introduced into our camps,” says Dr. Baudens. “On the day of a review, our soldiers exhibit new and well-brushed clothes, and an irreproachable military equipment; but, notwithstanding this, these fine battalions leave behind them a barrack smell easily recognized. Is cleanliness, then, incompatible with the work of a soldier? If the army were made to acquire habits of cleanliness, these would soon be spread amongst the mechanics and peasants. Here would be a national reform resulting in benefit to the public health. Our barracks shine with coatings of dirt.”²

“Rewards are offered to the colonels of cavalry whose squadrons best preserve their horses; and these recompenses keep up an excellent and profitable emulation. Similar, but still happier and more important results could be obtained if analogous favours were bestowed on the colonels whose battalions present the largest number of men in a good state of health.”³ With reference to the clothing of the soldier, Dr. Morin quotes the following remark of Marshal Saxe: “The love of appearance is often superior to the care which

¹ Scrive, 402.

² Baudens, 62.

³ Morin, 40.

health demands, and which is one of the most important points to which attention should be paid.”¹

Perhaps no better example of the advantage of hygiene was ever presented by an army than that of the English troops in the Crimea; but, in order to make our description complete, it would be necessary to fill several pages with details relative to this important subject. The disasters and the mortality arising from indescribable negligence would then be shown, and, immediately afterwards, a state of things only comparable to a resurrection—the result of wise and energetic reforms. Referring to the mortality of the English and of the French in the Crimea, Dr. Shrimpton thus wrote: “We maintain that the greater part of this frightful mortality had its source in disease which it would have been easy to prevent, as was done in the Italian campaign.”² In another place, he adds: “The calculations of Miss Nightingale present us with a fact quite unique in its way—an army, at first menaced with destruction by disease, passing, almost without transition, to the most flourishing sanitary state, and this under the same circumstances of war, climate, and of season; and only from a change of hygienic and administrative measures.”³

Dr. Scriver renders justice to German institutions by saying: “Germany has subjected its soldiers to a hygienic code, the prescriptions of which, written in simple language, easy to be understood, are regularly executed by subaltern and non-commissioned officers,

¹ Shrimpton, 36.

² *Ibid.*, 36.

³ *Ibid.*, 45, 46.

who have studied the rules and are able promptly to put them into practice.”¹

The hygienic action of the Committees may be displayed in two ways. The first is that of oral or written instruction, intended to familiarize the soldier with the essential principles of hygiene, and to warn him against the dangers of certain excesses or the neglect of certain precautions. This belongs to the moral and intellectual work, of which we shall treat farther on.² The second consists in affording material assistance of different kinds to the troops exhausted or menaced by disease.

The most useful and the most frequently required help is that afforded by asylums, in which soldiers weakened by fatigue and privation can receive, during a period of some days, those attentions of which they are in need. Such were the houses, called *wayside homes*, which, in the Southern States of America, were established at the stations along the principal lines of railroad, and at the most important junctions. In the Northern States, the Sanitary Commission created analogous asylums, under the name of *homes*. From the time of their origin, up to the 1st of September 1863 only, these furnished more than 500,000 meals and 250,000 lodgings. These benefits were extended to the soldiers on active service, to the men sent back to their own districts either on account of disease or other causes, to men who had strayed away or were delayed from various motives, to those who were on

¹ Scrive, 402.

² Chap. viii.

their way to join the service, to convalescents, and also to men who were not sufficiently ill to have the right to a place in an hospital, but for whom immediate attention was necessary in order to avoid a serious illness.¹

Another form of hygienic station consists in establishing, as was also done by the Sanitary Commission, a *waggon-kitchen*, placed on the route of exhausted troops, who probably have neither the strength nor the leisure to prepare their meals properly for themselves. These movable kitchens have rendered great services. In Schleswig, the Knights of St. John employed part of their resources and of their staff in carrying refreshments and comforts to the advanced posts who surrounded Düppel, and who were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. These services were highly appreciated by the army.

We might also include, among hygienic measures, those large consignments of vegetables, such as were made to the Crimea and in the United States, and which had the happy effect of preventing and resisting scurvy. The hospitals of Washington, in 1863 and 1864, were provisioned with vegetables brought from New York and Philadelphia in refrigerating waggons constructed for the purpose. The following quotations on this subject will be read with interest, confirming as they do the importance of vegetable nutriment:—"The supply of fresh vegetables to the army of the Cumberland and to that which was besieging Vicksburg, had a preponderating influence in the result of these memo-

¹ Evans, 101.

rable campaigns. Dr. Hamilton, who was attached to the staff of Rosencranz, declared that, thanks to the supplies of fresh vegetables sent to the sick by the Sanitary Commission, not a single soldier died of scurvy. Dr. Warriner, one of the inspectors, said that "the vegetables which were sent changed the course of events, and produced its effect on history." Mr. Woodward, an eminent army surgeon, said "it is probably impossible to cite a single example of scurvy making its appearance in an army sufficiently provisioned with fresh vegetables."¹ "100,000 francs spent in fresh vegetables is 500,000 francs spared in the hospitals."²

It is unnecessary to add, that the clothes mentioned in the catalogues, and more particularly intended for the sick, have often been distributed with great advantage to troops when healthy, but exposed to sickly influences. The bodily cleanliness of the soldier being one of the most important hygienic conditions, the Committees will do well to imitate Miss Nightingale, and to establish washhouses at their expense.

III. But we have hastened to reach that part of our subject which relates to the assistance to be afforded to the sick and wounded. In order to proceed methodically, we shall to some extent follow the chronological order of the relief necessary to soldiers, from the moment when they cease to belong to the category of combatants, and it is desirable that official or voluntary philanthropy come to their aid.

¹ Evans, 84-87.

² Baudens, 47.

Let us, then, first speak of the carriage of the wounded, and of the material resources which the Committees can and should provide for this purpose.

Good and rapid transport is of the greatest importance ; and it is to the defects in this first proceeding that great suffering, incomplete cures, or even the impossibility to cure, are very often attributable. For instance, is it not evident that the kind of means employed for the transport of the wounded cannot but influence the results to be obtained in the preservation of fractured limbs? What terrible effects may arise from a long journey on badly suspended stretchers? "It is still worse," exclaimed Percy, "when one is reduced to seat the patient across rifles, or to lift him by his clothes, in order to carry him to the ambulance." Again, he said, "how many times have I seen officers and men carried in this manner, sometimes for half an hour, from the place where they had fallen! It cannot be too often repeated, that the first assistance which a wounded man should receive is to be quickly and carefully borne off the field!"¹ It is impossible not to admit that, if almost perfect immobility could be secured, from the very first, for a fractured limb, the chances of consolidation would be increased.² Dr. Neudœrfer, surgeon of the Austrian hospital in the town of Schleswig during the war, demands, amongst other things, "that serious attention be paid to the improvement of means of transport for the wounded, in order to be able to send them off immediately from the field

¹ Laurent, 381.

² Appia (*c*).

of battle to the regular hospitals, where greater care can be bestowed upon them.”¹ In this respect there is only one opinion amongst the doctors, and it could not be otherwise. As we see, the Committees will do well to provide good means of carriage, and to devote themselves practically to this part of the work when the opportunity occurs, and they will thus render a service to the wounded which may decide their fate. The work of the Committees in reference to the transport of the wounded is naturally divided into three periods: 1stly. A theoretical study of the question during peace; 2ndly. Preparation in consequence of such inquiry; 3rdly. Practice and exercise of the staff appointed to this service.

We have already spoken of the fitness and propriety of the Committees devoting themselves in time of peace to a comparative and experimental study of the means of relief which at a later period they may have to employ. For instance, they should learn to know the litters employed in the different armies, the recent improvements which have been introduced in them, the models of carriages and other vehicles, such as the apron of Dr. Landa, the *sac-brancard* of M. Joubert, the stretcher of M. Arrault, the carriages of the Knights of St. John, the numerous models from the factory of M. Frédéric Fischer and Co., at Heidelberg, and many others.

The Committees will have to decide, with reference to carriages for transport, properly so called, whether

¹ Appia (*b*), 106.

they ought to have them built beforehand, according to an approved model. Experience has shown that a very valuable carriage is the farmer's waggon, which, in the majority of cases, and especially for short distances, answers very well in the place of ambulance waggons. Very useful experiments were made on this subject during the last campaign in Schleswig. "All agree," said the delegate from Geneva, "in approving the farmers' waggons well furnished with straw. On the day of the attack on Düppel two hundred of these had been collected, besides the ordinary carriages belonging to the army. I had an opportunity, in my own person, to prove how much the shocks of a carriage badly hung and without springs are lessened by a good quantity of straw. It is well, I think, that the Committees should know that, in case of need, they can dispense with special carriages." Already, in the first war in Schleswig, the farmers' waggons had been found preferable to the ambulance carriages, which are too cumbersome.¹ As to means of transport for short distances, often and rapidly repeated, it would be better, as much as possible, to use small vehicles constructed for the purpose; but, as a general rule, the Committees need not provide special material, unless their resources happen to be very abundant. "It is a simple question of money," said Dr. Gurlt, "as the utility of them for men seriously wounded is incontestable. In great battles, there never will be a sufficiency of means of transport. Whatever provision

¹ Erismann, 34.

may be made in this respect, the farmer's cart can never be dispensed with."

The special model of transport carriage which attracted most attention in the last German war is that introduced by the Knights of St. John, and built by Neuss of Berlin. But these carriages, however perfect they may be, looking at the great cost of them, can only be purchased in limited numbers, and by Committees with large funds at their disposal.

The carriage used by the Committee of Zurich during the campaign of the Sonderbund, and invented in Switzerland seventeen years before the war in Schleswig, bears the greatest resemblance to that of M. Neuss. It is a kind of omnibus, divided into two compartments: the greater, which is behind, and forms the body of the vehicle, can conveniently receive two wounded men, one beside the other, reclining at full length on stretchers pushed in upon rollers. The front compartment is a sort of cabriolet, where three men slightly wounded can be seated. Lamps illuminate the exterior as well as the interior. There are also boxes for the effects of the wounded men, and others for bandages and implements of surgery. This carriage is on horizontal springs, and it is drawn by one horse. The part which supports the head can be raised or lowered, and this form, we may observe, has also some resemblance with the old Prussian stretcher.

The Zurich Committee also employed the ordinary foundation of carriages on springs. On these were suspended a frame of wood for four wounded men in a

recumbent position, and the whole was covered with an awning of canvas or waxed cloth. Mattresses, cushions, blankets, and linen were placed inside, while on the outside was a medical chest with dressings and bandages. The owners of horses made very valuable offers to the Committee, which rendered it quite independent, in the midst of the requisitions of all kinds which weighed upon the country, and greatly contributed to the rapidity of the relief which it was able to afford.

The cacolets and mules are the means of transport preferred in the French army ; and the French delegate at the Geneva Conference attached so much importance to them, that one of his opponents taunted him as though he were wishing to reduce the whole work of the Committees to the purchase of mules. "In time of peace," said Dr. Boudier, "mules should be employed instead of horses, and they would then be ready at the commencement of hostilities, whilst three months would be required to obtain five hundred horses. Seven or eight thousand could be had without difficulty. This is the gordian knot of the question."¹ It might be possible that, for the armies in which this means of transit is in use, the Committees might find it necessary to obtain some mules ; but it is probable that in flat countries recourse will always be had to carriages, and especially to railways.

Dr. Gurlt proposes, as the most easy means to utilize railway vans, to cover the floor with straw or hay to the depth of a foot, and on this to place the mattresses for

¹ Conférence, 69.

the wounded. These mattresses have canvas loops on the sides, through which the wooden bars of the litter can be placed. Experience has shown that the suspension of beds in the manner of hammocks ought not to be practised, and this is confirmed by the report of the Berlin Conference.¹ A discussion having there been raised as to the best manner of employing the vans, it was stated that some of the wounded were quite content to be laid on the floor, whilst others, on the contrary, had preferred suspended beds; from this it was concluded that the Committees ought to be provided with the material for both systems, and that the employment of one or the other should be left to the discretion of the medical men, guided by the immediate circumstances.

In America, it was often necessary to send back wounded men to the North on the railways, and the jolting and oscillation of the ordinary cars were found to produce cruel tortures. The Commission therefore established twelve carriages of a special and comfortable kind, to which nurses were attached. Dr. Thurston, medical director of the army at Nashville, asserted that the sanitary train had done more for the benefit of the sick than all the other institutions.² In these ambulance waggons, litters were arranged like beds in a ship, and all of them could be detached and carried by men like ordinary litters.³ Whenever it was practicable, in the United States, the Sanitary Commission took charge of an independent train, or of some carriages

¹ Berlin, 9, 10.

² Evans, 133.

³ Ibid. (Engraving).

which were allowed to move on at the same time as the troops.¹

Dr. Gurlt recommends that, during the whole of a journey, the sanitary staff of each carriage should, as far as possible, remain the same. A train, or a single van of sick or wounded men ought, according to him, to be always accompanied by a surgeon and nurses ; but he is not in favour of keeping special carriages, because, from such a course, he fears superfluous expense and a complication of labour.

There is another means of transport which is so useful that the Committees cannot pass it over without particular attention, and without availing themselves of it whenever circumstances allow them to do so—we mean water carriage. Here again the Sanitary Commission made a great experiment, and it affords us the most valuable information. For the hospital service on the sea it purchased two large steamers, six steam coasting vessels, two floating hospitals, and, for the river, eight steamboats ; altogether, eighteen vessels.² This species of sanitary fleet rendered the greatest service ; the wounded were not exposed to painful shocks, and there was sufficient space to enable them to receive much more complete and assiduous attention than is possible in the land carriages ; and, besides, the facilities of navigation permitted them to run in anywhere to take on board recently wounded men. Two vessels, transformed into floating hospitals, were placed under the direction of American ladies, who fulfilled the duty

¹ Evans, 117.

² Ibid., 128.

of nurses with admirable devotion, braving danger for the sake of the men who were confided to their care, and amongst whom were several hundreds prostrated by typhus.

The carriage of the sick by water was a necessity in the Crimean war, and there it was a matter for the government. Unfortunately, and especially at the commencement of the campaign, the journeys, from Sebastopol to Constantinople and farther, left much to be desired in reference to the sanitary organization, and the sick suffered much from overcrowding, dirt, absence of hygienic precautions, as also from defects in the service during these long voyages. A volunteer society which could have furnished to the transport service vessels properly organized for the use of the sick, would have rendered immense services to the army.¹

In Schleswig, water transports in this way were successfully employed.²

IV. Taking it for granted that the means of transport are conveniently established by the Committee, we are now led on to speak of the localities in which the sick and wounded can be placed in order to receive temporary aid or prolonged care. This new and important duty of volunteer activity is expressed in the following terms by the fifth Resolution of the Geneva Conference :—" *The Committees, in conjunction with the military authorities, shall arrange places for the reception of the wounded.*"

Here we must repeat that it is not our intention to

¹ See Chap. i. p. 21.

² Appia (b), 66.

enter into descriptive details; we have only briefly to indicate the manner in which the Committees have acted, and may again act, in the establishment of these stations. The reader, therefore, must not expect to find here any architectonic discussions on the nature of their construction, or any dissertations on hygiene, applied to their ventilation or heating, &c. We shall simply remark that, as in the case of means of transport, the Committees cannot better occupy their leisure during peace, than in a complete study of the subject, based on the experience acquired in former wars, and with the assistance and kind advice of the sanitary directors of the army.

In what follows we shall include, under the generic denomination of hospitals, all places intended for the use of the sick and wounded, whether movable ambulances or hospital establishments, strictly so called.

The exertions of a Committee with respect to these places will vary according to necessity and the extent of its own resources. There is only one opinion as to the great danger of overcrowding the sick and wounded; consequently, everything that can assist to distribute them amongst detached buildings of small dimensions will increase the chances of cure, and will undoubtedly diminish those of death. All military-medical history is full of facts, often alarming, sometimes gratifying, in support of this truth.

The work of Miss Nightingale in the Crimea, which we have often mentioned, demonstrates by facts and figures the influence that judicious measures can exer-

cise on the hygiene of hospitals. Dr. Shrimpton, in speaking of it, adds, that the hospitals, where the sick are collected together, as was done in the East, "are open craters which infallibly engulf their victims, while at the same time they are demanding new ones."¹ Three parts of the mortality in hospitals, in time of peace, result from inattention to the rules of hygiene; and this evil is not temporary, but permanent.² Let us again quote certain authors. Dr. Uytterhœven says, with respect to the mortality in the Crimea, that "the hospitals are the antechambers of the cemetery."³ "That the most terrible dangers of war are not on the breach, but in the hospitals;" and, farther on, that "a proof of the inconvenience of accumulating sick and wounded on the same point is seen in the advantage of their being scattered."⁴ "Of all the evils that menace the lives of wounded soldiers, the most fatal is the overcrowding of their asylums."⁵ Dr. Baudens expresses himself in the same sense. "The mortality," says he, "is much less when the number of the patients is more limited." It is true the author still leaves a sufficiently large latitude when he adds, "There must not be more than five or six hundred beds. Medical men and administrators find it difficult to agree on the word *overcrowding*." As long as the normal number of beds is not exceeded, the intendance appears to be satisfied, especially if each has twenty cubic metres of air. "For the physician, overcrowding

¹ Shrimpton, 37.² Ibid., 39.³ Uytterhœven (c), 5.⁴ Uytterhœven (c), 28.⁵ (Lœffler) Conférence, 34.

exists as soon as it reveals itself by the aggravation of diseases in the contaminated atmosphere of an hospital and by an increased mortality.”¹ In the Russian field hospitals in the Crimea, the beds were arranged for two, with separate mattresses, sheets, and blankets; space was in this manner economized, but not without danger.²

If, then, it is unfortunately proved that the crowding of hospitals has caused so great a number of victims, and if it is a serious duty by all possible means to avoid the huddling together of patients, it will be believed that some Committees have demanded permission to assist in the establishment of these sanitary asylums, which, in order to be numerous and scattered, will necessarily require an increase of material and personal resources. In fact, during late wars, the Committees have paid attention to this point, and not without success.

It is thus that, in the short campaign of the Sonderbund, it was a subject of congratulation, that the civil establishments, already furnished with everything necessary, offered to receive the sick. An hospital for the men wounded before Fribourg was established at Payerne by means of voluntary contributions. One of the field hospitals would have undertaken this charge, but it was kept in reserve for the future. At Langnau, a small hospital was established in the schoolhouse, and the members of the Regent's family took upon themselves the work of attending to it. At Berne, the

¹ Baudens, 245.

² Ibid., 167.

ordinary administration of the civil hospitals performed the military service. At Münchenbuchsee, the sick were nursed at the schoolhouse.¹

After the murderous battles of Magenta and Solferino, the whole of Lombardy was covered with improvised hospitals. The vast churches and convents, especially of Milan and Brescia, were transformed, with incredible rapidity, into hospitals, filled with beds made up in a hurry, and all placed, with scarcely an exception, under civil direction. The expenses of maintenance were partly reimbursed, at the end of the war, by the respective governments.²

Dr. Unger, Austrian delegate to the Geneva Conference, said that, in 1859, the Austrian Committees had greatly contributed towards the establishment of the necessary hospitals for the army, and that the administration was satisfied with their organization. They were placed in the second line, where, taking into consideration the usual wide-spread distribution that prevails, there is a vast field for activity.³ The patriotic Relief Committee, founded at Vienna at the outbreak of the war in Italy, says, indeed, at the head of its financial report, "The Committee, in its active beneficence, was even enabled to establish in Vienna and its environs free hospitals (*vereinsspitäler*), and in a great measure to complete places of this kind already commenced by other philanthropists."⁴

During the war in Schleswig, there were six hospitals

¹ Flügel, 3, 8, 21.

³ Conference, 110.

² Abeni.

⁴ Wien, 1.

at Kiel. The Committee of this town furnished all the material for forty-five beds, in the hospital established in the house of M. Bulow-Bothkamp, which that gentleman had placed at the service of the victims of the war.¹ The Knights of St. John, as we know, created hospitals at Altona, Flensburg, and Nübel, but their good example could but rarely be imitated by Committees of less wealth, and the staff of which would probably never hold in an army the exceptional position of this chivalrous Order.

As a general thesis, notwithstanding the preceding facts, we are obliged to admit that it will not usually be necessary for private philanthropists to establish hospitals complete in all their parts; but, nevertheless, the importance of having numerous sanitary asylums is so great, that we should be unwilling to dissuade the Committees from devoting serious attention to this object.

M. Achard, in a pamphlet entitled "*La Réforme des Hospitaux*," describes, under the head of *unité hospitalière*, a collection of portable materials, capable of being so arranged as to form a little hospital, and to this he has added the description of a system of ventilation of which he is the inventor, and which he terms *ventilation renversée*. This system consists in establishing an active current of air, by causing hot air to pass through the upper part of the rooms, in order to force down the cold and heavy atmosphere, and drive it out below, the object being "to remove and destroy

¹ Kiel, 4.

the effluvia of each patient ;” and it has been introduced, says the author, into some of the industrial establishments of the Isère.

The adoption of this plan dispenses with the necessity for thick partitions ; and, therefore, movable hospitals, easily taken to pieces and carried away, can be employed, and this would be valuable, especially for armies in the field. “ This hospital,” says M. Achard, “ may be of use to the army ; and it can be constructed on the eve of a battle, on the very day itself, or on the day after. For example, at Solferino and at Magenta, a proper number of these movable hospitals, placed in echelon along the whole line, might have received all the wounded, and thus the torture of distant transport would have been avoided, as well as the danger incidental to placing them in hospitals improvised in the midst of towns, where the latter threaten the double inconvenience of becoming centres of infection for the wounded, and of contagion for the inhabitants. In a besieged city, such an hospital might be blinded in the same manner as a ship.”¹

It is not for us to pronounce on the value of this invention. Will such portable hospitals ever be constructed so as to be useful to Committees, either in peace or war ? Until the most complete trial has been given to them, we shall feel some doubt on the subject.²

¹ Achard, 11-17.

² Mr. Albert Napper, Surgeon, of Crauleigh, Surrey, is the originator of a very simple and ingenious system, which will

However this may be, if the Committees cannot form important establishments, they will do well to create small ones, as was proposed by Captain Van de Velde. If they cannot do more, let them at least strive to aid the military authorities with their resources for the improvement of the hospitals already in use, and in which the supply of material is often reduced to absolute necessities ; in fact, let them aid in founding new hospitals.

There is one form in which the Committees might assist most satisfactorily, in avoiding the overcrowding of hospitals, and this without necessarily running into much expense ; we mean by distributing the sick in private houses, either in the towns, or, where it is possible, in the country. A trial of this was, indeed, successfully made in 1859, in some of the towns of Italy, especially at Brescia.

Towards the close of the war in Schleswig, it was decided to distribute some of the sick and wounded amongst the detached houses of the peasants. It is true that immediate medical care could not always be rendered to them ; but, nevertheless, it is a curious fact that their mortality was comparatively trifling

enable a Central Society to send to any point invaded by an epidemic, all the material necessary for the formation of a complete hospital, and there to construct it within a few hours, and which, when no longer required, may be as quickly packed up and removed to any other place ; and he and the Translator are further developing this scheme, in the hope that such " Flying Hospitals " may be found worthy of adoption by the *Société internationale de secours pour les militaires malades et blessés*.—*Translator*.

to that of the men collected together in the large hospitals.

Professor Gurlt, in his instructive report, devotes a chapter to the consideration of this question, and here is a summary of his opinion on the subject. The distribution of the wounded in private houses is useful, especially in the north, where the wounded cannot be treated under canvas ; besides, when the small hospitals are crowded, they present the same inconveniences as the large ones. It is, then, an advantage for soldiers seriously wounded to be received into private houses ; but, unfortunately, there are not always sufficient means of transport for this purpose. By an appeal to proprietors, the names of those who are disposed to take in wounded men should be ascertained beforehand ; and, in order to stimulate their zeal, they should be reminded of the privileges which they will enjoy on this condition. The Treaty of Geneva, of the 22nd August, 1864, stipulates, in fact (Art. 5), that every wounded man *entertained and taken care of in a house shall be considered as a protection thereto. Any inhabitant who shall entertain wounded men in his house shall be exempted from the quartering of troops, as well as from a part of the contributions of war which may be imposed.*¹ The delegate of the Committee attached to head-quarters will verify these offers, and will encourage the good-will of the people of the district by subsidies in kind and in specie. These lodgings will be given to men upon whom operations have been performed, or who are suffering from

¹ Moynier (b).

broken legs. This system of distribution will complicate the medical service; but the period required by such cases being long, the army doctors will be seconded by their non-military colleagues and the inhabitants.

It is not for us to enumerate the qualities which the localities to be transformed into sanitary asylums ought to present. In this the Committees will be guided by the precepts of science; and we also suppose that during peace they will devote themselves to preparatory study, and seek information from the official sanitary corps.

In Italy, in Schleswig, in almost all wars, the medical men of the army have used as hospitals the churches, schools, inns, &c. Although such buildings do not realize the idea of what is desirable, and are frequently unsuitable, it is often fortunate when they are at their disposal. Yet it is necessary to manage them in a proper manner, and in accordance with rules calculated to promote health.

We must not omit to mention other buildings which are peculiarly necessary during long journeys, and the homeward route of the sick and convalescents, and these are the sutling sheds and stations for fresh provisions. At the important Conference of Berlin, the question of their immediate formation was thoroughly examined with a view to its solution. That assembly decided to erect, besides those already existing, new stations for the purpose of supplying refreshments and assistance to the sick and wounded returning by railway to their country.

But the Committees will do well to remember that their mission is not at an end when the wounded man leaves the hospital. In order that their work may be complete, it is indispensable that their earnest solicitude should attend him until the moment arrives when his health no longer requires any special supervision. Without thus completing their work, the Committees would run the risk of allowing those they had protected to lose all the benefit of the care already bestowed upon them.

“The Committees,” says Dr. Chenu, “ought to seek opportunities of being useful to sick and wounded men, who, being for a long time unfit for active service, are sent home as convalescents, and often require assistance. They need information, guides, interpreters, and sometimes money to procure proper food, lodgings, &c. In such cases, intelligent commissioners, by superintending the journey of individual soldiers, or a number of them, may be of much service.”¹

The Sanitary Commission of the United States attended to the wants of soldiers who were absent from their regiments. Thus it assisted those who, having received their furloughs, were obliged to wait for papers or pay to enable them to start; it received the pay of the sick; it paid the expenses of the journey home for poor discharged soldiers, or indemnified them and took care of their interests; it superintended the departure and return home of others who had left the army, in order to prevent them from being influenced by bad

¹ Chenu, 747.

advice ; it attended to the cleanliness of all before their departure, and adopted measures to enable the soldiers to rejoin their corps on leaving the hospitals.¹ The same Commission took under its care soldiers who, although sick, were not sufficiently so to be entitled to enter an hospital, but, nevertheless, required care to prevent their becoming more seriously ill.² It also established a "Home" at St. Augustine, on the eastern coast of Florida, the Cannes of America, for soldiers suffering from consumption.³

Percy caused a large cauldron to be placed at the entrance of any town where the wounded were to pass, and himself took care that every one of them received, as he went through, a basin of broth, a piece of bread, and some water, to which was added a little brandy when he could purchase any.⁴ At the time of the war in Schleswig, "the Committee of Hamburg was prepared to receive convalescent soldiers, and for that purpose it had made an appeal to the Government, which generously responded to it. The Committee, however, had few opportunities of being of service in such cases. It also attended to the sick and wounded who passed through Hamburg."⁵ The Berlin Committee, for its part, sought lodgings for convalescents in the country, to be afforded gratuitously or paid for, and it intended to make the same demand upon the directors of bathing establishments. Liberal offers of such assistance were made by some of these, and profited

¹ Evans, 101.

² Ibid., 100.

³ Evans, 174.

⁴ Laurent, 193.

⁵ Appia (*b*), 114.

by. A great number of rich Prussian landholders offered to receive on their estates a certain number of convalescents. In France, Dr. Morin has drawn public attention to the necessity of forming a vast sea-bathing establishment for the army.

We have a few more observations to make on the administration of free hospitals. As a general rule, the Committees will do well to regulate their proceedings by the course habitually taken by the official administration. Independent of its probable advantages, as the fruits of long experience, there is that of its permitting a more thorough unity of action in the two services, and the connection (we do not say fusion) is often desirable, and sometimes necessary. Probably it would be best to attach to each free hospital an official controller, appointed by the health officer of the army, to register and look after the soldiers who are received into the hospitals, and also to ensure their return into the ranks. The Committee ought to consider such a control over the patients as a diminution of its responsibility, and encourage rather than restrict it.

V. Let us now consider what are the different descriptions of goods and provisions which the Committees must store in the depôts, and distribute for the use of that part of the army which may require them. This portion of the functions of the Committees is their foundation or most essential part. Wherever there is something for them to do, their first duty will be to occupy themselves in collecting articles for the use of the sick and wounded.

It is superfluous to repeat that it is advisable to consider these matters in time of peace. We have already spoken of the advantage of studying them in theory and preparation. Every article ought to be the subject of special inquiry as regards its use, quality, price, &c. This preliminary work will cause a great saving of time when the moment for action arrives, and ensure a judicious choice, which has not always been made. "Gifts in kind," says Dr. Chenu, "do not always supply immediate wants. Their carriage is often difficult and expensive, and they are subject to injury, and become no longer worth the cost incurred to bring them to their destination. In general, they are composed of a most miscellaneous collection of articles, which it is impossible to sort, even if the minute quantities of each did not render the attempts to do so ridiculous. Such gifts should always be worthy of the greatness of the nation which bestows them, and armies would then accept them with gratitude."¹

Let us endeavour to form, with a view to instruction, comparative lists of the articles furnished by several Committees in the most recent wars. In the reports we have consulted on this subject, the gifts are not always arranged in the most logical manner. As an instance of this, in an American report, chloride of lime, lanterns, candles, and paper are placed in the same category as clothes; and pipes are classed with eatables. In the Hamburg report the articles are not named. For our own part, we will adopt the following classification:—

¹ Chenu, 745.

Necessaries for the Wounded and Articles used for their Transport—Materials and Furniture for the Establishment of Stations—Supplies for the Medical Department—Clothing and Articles used to ensure Cleanliness—Food and Drinkables—Sundry Articles.

The calculation given by Professor Gurlt of the supplies desirable for a certain number of wounded is as follows:—He assumes that a corps of 30,000 men, after an important engagement, has suffered an average loss of ten per cent., including sick and wounded, of which number 1,500 are slight cases. A Committee desirous to form a dépôt for urgent necessities, and supplemental to the supplies of the army, ought, according to the probable number of men rendered inefficient, to provide at least the following articles:—

Articles for transporting the Wounded.—6 waggons for carrying soldiers who are seriously wounded; 24 hand-stretchers, and 48 slings; 12 litters with two wheels; 3 waggons full of necessaries, each to contain 12 tin splints, with straps for the lower extremities; 1 large tin bottle, full of good wine; 5 lanterns, with a supply of candles; and 2 resin torches.

Movables.—500 mattresses and bolsters, 200 wooden bedsteads which can be taken to pieces, 200 warm blankets, and 50 chamber utensils.

Supplies for the Medical Department.—All the articles necessary for dressing wounds, such as linen, bandages, lint, and flannel; a supply of waterproof cloth and silk; 500 sheets of wadding; 200 pounds of well-burnt plaister of Paris; 500 india-rubber or parch-

ment bags for ice; 50 air or water cushions; 50 sponges; 12 basins for dressing wounds; 6 irrigators (for cleansing wounds); 50 wooden splints for broken legs; 50 inclined planes; 400 little bags of oat chaff, hair, or sand; 6 baths for arms; 6 baths for legs; 50 crutches. The requisite arrangements must be made to ensure a supply of ice, and also proper cases in which to keep it.

Clothing.—1,000 shirts, 200 pairs of stockings, 200 pairs of slippers, 200 pocket-handkerchiefs, 100 flannel waistcoats, 100 drawers, and 100 shawls.

Food and Drinkables.—Good wine; strong wine (Port, Madeira, and Hungarian), rum, brandy, beer, soda and seltzer water, sparkling lemonade, sugar, coffee, chocolate, herrings and sardines, sago, arrow-root, rice-flour, dried fruits, preserves, jellies, oranges, and lemons.

Sundry Articles.—Cigars and tobacco.¹

Dr. Ochwaldt has also given the names of such articles for immediate use as ought to be found in the depôts. His catalogue is almost the same as that of Dr. Gurlt, but less complete.²

The following are the principal articles furnished from the stores of Miss Nightingale at the request of the hospital surgeons:—

Movables.—233 air beds and pillows, 168 lanterns, 8,450 metres of waterproof cloth, 55 sets of camp cooking apparatus, stoves, and canteens, 68 kettles and saucepans, tables and forms, brooms, brushes, pails,

¹ Gurlt, 11-14.

² Ochwaldt, 43.

&c. ; 5,477 drinking mugs, 2,086 tin plates, 856 knives and forks, 2,630 spoons.

Supplies for the Medical Department.—624 zinc basins, bed-pans, and baths.

Clothing.—50,000 flannel or cotton shirts, 23,743 pairs of socks or stockings, 6,843 drawers, 1,004 dressing-gowns, 5,826 towels, 10,044 pocket-handkerchiefs, 9,638 mufflers, 1,384 metres of flannel, 3,626 pairs of slippers, 4,224 night-caps, 4,545 pairs of gloves and mittens, soap.

Food.—253 boxes of preserved meat, 2 barrels of meat-biscuit, 75 kilogrammes of isinglass and gelatine.

Sundry Articles.—Thread and tape, 74 packets of various games.¹

It will perhaps prove interesting to place in comparison with this list, which relates to the war in the Crimea, a somewhat similar one which is of transatlantic origin. It is that of the articles distributed by the Sanitary Commission on the occasion of the battle of Gettysburg.

Movables. — Pillows, pillow-cases, counterpanes, blankets, sheets, utensils, lanterns, candles, pails.

Medical Supplies.—Old linen and bandages, fans, waxed cloth, chloride of lime, crutches, musquito curtains, plasters, tin basins.

Clothing, &c.—Flannel drawers, cotton drawers, woollen shirts, cotton shirts, shoes and slippers, dressing-gowns, pocket-handkerchiefs, trousers, hats, woollen stockings, cotton stockings, napkins and towels,

¹ Shrimpton, 34.

sponges, combs, soap, water-bottles, refrigerators, Bay rum, eau de Cologne.

Food and Drinkables.—Poultry, sheep, butter, eggs, vegetables, berries, bread, tamarinds, lemons, oranges, coffee, chocolate, tea, sugar, syrups, brandy, whisky, wine, beer, biscuits, preserved meat, ice, soup tablets, concentrated milk, prepared flour, dried fruits, jellies, preserved fish, pickled gherkins, maize flour, farinaceous food, salted cod, preserved fruits, oysters, peaches in brandy, sauces, vinegar, ginger.

Sundry Articles.—Paper, tobacco, pipes.¹

We will now give the abbreviated list of the gifts entrusted to the Patriotic Committee of Vienna for the benefit of the wounded Austrians in Schleswig.

Movables.—Towels, table-cloths, sheets, pillow-cases, bed-coverings, cushions, straw-mattresses, bedsteps, &c.

Medical Supplies.—Lint, compresses, different kinds of bandages, wadding, waxed cloth, gutta-percha cloth, sponges, pasteboard, fillets for the head, bags for ice, shades, bags of chaff, surgical tubes, wooden splints, tourniquets, iron-wire splints, crutches, small wooden supports for the hand, various syringes, balsam of Bettorini, Diachylon plaster, spectacles, insect-powder.

Clothing, &c.—Shirts, drawers, stockings, triangular bandages, pocket-handkerchiefs, jackets, towels, slippers, cravats, gloves, braces, trousers, belts, caps, shawls, clothes, dressing-gowns, boots, waistcoats, night-caps, combs, eau de Cologne.

¹ Œuvre d'un grand peuple, 45.

Food and Drinkables.—Prunes, preserved fruits, coffee, chocolate, almonds, oranges, tea, bread, sugar, zwieback, gelatine, cherries, cocoa, portable soup, white and red wine, beer, brandy, seltzer-water.

Sundry Articles.—Cigars, tobacco, pipes, linen, silk and woollen slings, straps, night-lights, corkscrews, letter-paper, envelopes, &c.¹

The following gifts were sent by the Hamburg Committee :—

Movables.—Bedsteads, mattresses, eider-down quilts and cushions, woollen blankets, arm-chairs, mats, chamber utensils, china basins.

Medical Supplies.—Air and water cushions, gutta-percha, cases of instruments, bandages, compresses, linen, lint, wadding, sticking-plaster, oil-cloth, sponges, ice-bags, gypsum, lime, manganate of potash, suspensory bandages, probes, machines for irrigating wounds, cupping instruments, basins for dressing wounds, crutches, tourniquets, thermometers, spectacles, shades, fly-papers, scent-powder.

Clothing, &c.—Shirts, flannel waistcoats, drawers, stockings, pocket-handkerchiefs, towels, shawls, dressing-gowns, shoes, utensils for washing, soap, eau de Cologne.

Food and Drinkables.—Wine, port, sherry, gin, brandy, rum, ale, porter, extract of malt, liqueurs, vinegar, lemonade, soda and seltzer water, mineral water, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, dried fruits, jellies, fresh vegetables, sauer kraut, portable soup, fish, meat,

¹ Berlin, 20, 21.

sausages, hams, sardines, anchovies, herrings, sugar, coffee, chocolate, tea, sago, arrowroot, rice, cheese, olive-oil.

Sundry Articles.—Cigars, tobacco, pipes, books, copybooks, different games.¹

Although we are not called upon to discuss here, one by one, all the above-named articles, we may at least conclude, from the preceding lists, that if the position in which an army is placed varies in every war, its general necessities being always the same, there will be little difference in the means to be employed to satisfy them. That which will chiefly influence the nature of the supplies will be the object which the Committees will have principally in view, and the extent of their resources.

As soon as war is imminent, the Committees interested in it should make an appeal to the generosity of the public, in order to obtain gifts in kind. The demands of the Committee should be accompanied by precise information as to the articles wanted, their number and dimensions, the manner in which they are to be made, &c. To this should be added explanatory plates, and the donors should be afforded every facility for learning the wants of the army. They should be particularly urged to make themselves acquainted with the models and patterns prepared by order of the Committees.

When the depôts are being formed at the seat of war, it may be possible to complete them by purchases made on the spot. If the articles are bulky, easily

¹ Hamburg (b).

procured, and relatively cheap, there can be no objection to their being obtained in this manner, otherwise it will often be more profitable to draw them from the warehouses of the Committees, even when they are at some distance. The Committees will buy wholesale, and in the best markets, and, presuming that the carriage will be free, it will be always most advantageous to apply to them.

When forwarding the stores to the seat of war, each Committee ought, like that of Hamburg,¹ to use every precaution, and do all that is necessary, to ensure the speedy and punctual delivery of the articles at their destination, and at the same time claim the different exemptions of which we have spoken.² Care should also be taken that on the outside of each case is fastened a list of its contents, in order to facilitate unpacking and classification in the dépôt. The omission of this precaution, on several occasions when goods were sent to the dépôts of Kiel and Rendsburg, occasioned much disappointment in Schleswig.

As regards the establishment of dépôts, the first step to be taken will be to obtain suitable buildings, easily accessible, sufficiently large, and near the army hospitals. It will be well not to take possession of them without the consent of the military authorities, who in time of war have absolutely everything at their disposal. The various localities in a strange town not being always easy to be found, it will be advisable that each dépôt should be made conspicuous by a placard.

¹ Appia (*b*), 111.

² See p. 241.

It is difficult to lay down any rule as to the number of these depôts, which must depend entirely on the geographical extent of the war; yet it is probable that, in all cases, circumstances will render it necessary to form at the seat of war a grand central depôt, from which the secondary depôts can draw their supplies as their wants arise. Independently of this, it is hardly necessary to say, we take it for granted that warehouses will be established in the most central parts of the country in which the head Committee exists.

The manner in which the different articles are warehoused is important as regards their preservation and convenient classification; but for this it is impossible to lay down precise and general rules. In the Schleswig-Holstein war, the public donations were so abundant and so badly administered, that they soon formed a confused collection, which proved exceedingly inconvenient, and it became necessary to send a special delegate to Berlin to take the superintendence and direct the arrangement of the depôts. The generosity of the public commonly manifests itself by sudden movements, and these accumulations are inevitable without a good and strong organization. The English people sent such large supplies to Miss Nightingale, during the Crimean war, that she was obliged to moderate their zeal by informing them that the warehouses were overstocked.¹ Marshal Wrangel, in Schleswig, was also obliged, by means of the press, to check the overflowing generosity of his countrymen, which, nevertheless, in a war of greater

¹ Shrimpton, 34.

length and extent, would have been of immense value. Let us not shackle generous inspirations, but know how to second them by good administration.

The distributions ought to be made with the greatest regularity, and no delivery should take place but on the demand, in writing, if possible, of a medical man, of an hospital director, an officer, or the superior delegate. The guardian of charitable offerings would compromise the dignity and responsibility of his position by handing over his treasures at random to the first comer without warrant ; and the same thing would occur were he to offer his gifts, so to speak, as a dealer does his wares. For instance, the Sanitary Commission of the United States did not deliver a single article of the value of a dollar for which there had not been required and delivered an attestation, in due form, signed by the surgeon or his assistant, and countersigned by an inspector who had been fully informed of the utility of the expense. The most rigid precautions were adopted in order that the voluntary contributions might be as usefully employed as possible. At the depôt at Kiel, and in other towns in Schleswig-Holstein, demands could only be made by the military surgeons, and, for certain articles, by the Sisters of Charity. Distributions of warm clothing, linen, &c., were made to the healthy soldiers, but always on the demand of the superior authorities.

We need hardly say that we except as unexpected events such cases as cover the ground in a few hours with a multitude of wounded men. The depôt ought then to be rendered accessible to all, and the usual

routine should be less strictly adhered to, without ceasing, however, to require that proper receipts be given. Loads of gifts might advantageously be carried out, even to the field of battle, to form moving depôts, as was done by the American Commission, whose vehicles accompanied troops going into action. It had three central establishments; one at Washington, another at Louisville, and a third at New York, where all gifts were classified and packed; and also a movable office for distribution attached to each division and each *corps d'armée*.¹

VI. We have said that one of the first duties of the Committees would be to collect money; and it is more particularly for the formation of depôts that this will be urgently wanted. If a Committee does not wish to fail in its mission, it will be necessary that it should commence sending articles and distributing them as soon as the first cannon is fired, at which moment, in all probability, there will not have been time for it to receive voluntary donations in kind from the public, however eagerly it may have endeavoured to obtain them. It will therefore be necessary to make purchases; even when gifts are abundant, they must be completed, for often they will be defective or insufficient. If these fail, and the war is prolonged, the Committee will be to a certain extent bound in honour to continue its labours, of which the army will have already enjoyed the excellent fruits. It counts on the Committee; will it withdraw for want of resources?

¹ Evans, 107-109.

It is easy to understand, therefore, that in such a state of things, repeated collections are a necessity, and a wise Committee will always manage to have something in reserve for difficult moments. The delegates, at all events, cannot act without ready money during war, for every moment they will find themselves in the face of obstacles which money alone will remove. We think, therefore, that the Committee ought at once to place a fixed, but rather considerable, sum at the disposal of its general commissioner, whom we suppose to be assisted by a cashier and secretary. This commissioner will, in particular, pay the persons employed by the Committee, reimburse them their advances, and keep them supplied with money for their small expenses or trifling gifts of money to the soldiers. He will also countersign the contracts for any considerable purchases to be made on the spot, and will regulate the expenses, sometimes rather heavy, of the first establishment.

It can hardly be necessary to recommend economy to all the agents of the Committee. How would they dare to abuse the gifts of charity and patriotism? And yet the causes of expense are so frequent, so unforeseen, that it is useful to impress moderation on all persons employed in the expenditure of the sums committed to their care. We would also recommend, as a matter of importance, that no delegate should neglect any means of obtaining, free of cost, the assistance he wants. Many services will be rendered him gratuitously, or at least at a reduced price, either by civilians or by the army, if he explains

that his intervention is altogether disinterested and philanthropic. Thus vehicles, of which he will be obliged to make frequent use, for his own purposes or the carriage of the articles to be distributed, will usually be scarce and dear, owing to the requisitions of the army. He will do well, therefore, to obtain from the town major a general authority, or at any rate some guarantee, to employ a certain number of the vehicles at the disposal of the military commander. He will find this not only of immense service, but also a great saving of expense. It is evident that the delegate ought not to neglect any opportunity of increasing his resources by accepting assistance, under the form of gratuitous services of all sorts, and thus prevent the necessity of using funds which may at any moment prove an anchor of safety for his undertaking. Occasionally, however, in time of war, there are difficult moments which every person must struggle through as he can. The representative of the Committee will then be obliged to do as others do, and cease, owing to the force of circumstances, to rely upon the support of the administrative authorities, although it may have been promised. He must then act on his own judgment; yet he will be prudent not to consent to do this but when it is unavoidable, and unless, without such concession, the success of the mission would be endangered.

It is impossible to give rules to fix the cases in which the volunteer helper should give money. If he has tact—and he must possess it—he will be able to

avoid any great errors in that respect. In general, on the spot where the events occur, the opportunities for assisting with money will be rare, and ought not to be rendered frequent. It is hardly necessary to add that we naturally except such cases as those in which the Committees may receive sums of money expressly destined for specific objects or persons.¹

VII. We now have a few words to say on the last period of activity of the Committees in time of war, more especially in what relates to the depôts. This period is one of transition to a state of peace.

When once the war is at an end, and the troops have returned home, it will be necessary without delay to come to a decision as to the stores left on hand. We cannot enumerate, as will be easily understood, all the cases which may occur, and we will confine ourselves to giving our opinion in a general manner. In the first place, we must inquire why the Committee should retain the means of relief which have been confided to its care. We think that, as a matter of principle, it ought not to receive donations otherwise than as absolute gifts, in order that it may exercise the right of ownership, without having to fear that restitution may be demanded of it after the war. As regards its position relative to the army, the Committee ought not to part with donations which are not articles of consumption, without expressing a wish that these, when no longer wanted, should be returned to it: it is unnecessary to say that it will always be at liberty

¹ Kiel, 1.

to give them up entirely, if it thinks it right to do so in any particular case. It follows, therefore, that at the end of a campaign the Committee will find itself in possession of stores to be disposed of. Unless urgent necessity rendered that course advisable, it would be best to avoid realizing the value of the dépôts by means of a public sale, a proceeding which appears to us to be hardly consistent with the dignity of the undertaking or the generosity of the donors. The Committee of Kiel felt this,¹ and, having obtained authority in writing from the principal contributors to do so, it distributed the contents of its warehouses among some of the hospitals of the country and a certain number of pious institutions. It had previously taken care to request the surgeons of the military hospitals to select what they wished to have.

Another application, which appears to us not only allowable, but in conformity with the general spirit of the undertaking, is to relieve by gifts the inhabitants who may have suffered particularly by the calamities of war. Dr. Diday is even desirous that a portion of the free gifts should be reserved for the inhabitants of the theatre of war, whose property has been destroyed.² After the war in Germany, in 1813, the *Frauenverein* of Frankfort assisted the inhabitants who had suffered by it, and interested itself for those whose resources had become exhausted.³

If the cost of recarriage be not too great, the dele-

¹ Kiel, 8.

² *Gazette Médicale de Lyon*, 1st Sept., 1865.

³ *Frauenverein* (b).

gates can carry away with them whatever is not wanted on the spot, as in their own country the stores will not cause embarrassment, and they will always be able to form a depôt of reserve which will be at the disposal of the Committee at some future time.

Besides which, as we have already said, after the wounded have left the hospitals, the work of the Committee is not complete; the convalescent cases are often long and expensive, and if the existence of the invalids is prolonged it must be provided for. This latter case is worthy the philanthropy of volunteers. In Austria, the Patriotic Committee, having been too rapidly dissolved, left a number of invalids neglected and unprotected.

Those fine institutions, the *Johannisstiftung* and the *Kronprinzstiftung*, at Berlin, are interesting examples of what, after war, may and ought to be done for those who suffer. The *Johannisstiftung*, over which Dr. Wichern presides, is a kind of colony, of which a part receives the children of soldiers who died or were invalided in the last war in Denmark. They are there fed, lodged, and instructed gratuitously. Appeals are made to the public for donations.¹ The *Kronprinzstiftung* receives the invalids of the campaign in Schleswig and the widows and orphans of the soldiers killed in it. The total receipts on the 9th May, 1865, had already amounted to 351,119 thalers, and the expenditure to 24,876.²

We will not attempt to examine in detail the best

¹ *Wochenblatt*, No. 20.

² *Ibid.*, No. 22.

means of providing assistance to the invalids, because those governments which feel the weight of their responsibility have time to increase their means of relief to the necessary extent, and, therefore, it is not so urgent that the Committees should come to their assistance. We may also anticipate, particularly since a philanthropic spirit has penetrated all institutions, that in no civilized country will the man be left in want who has lost his strength, his health, and perhaps a limb, in obeying his sovereign, and in the defence of his country. Nevertheless, we cordially approve of those associations which, by their rules, accept the mission to complete, in this respect, the work of the authorities, when circumstances arise which make them think it their duty to do so. This sphere of action will also offer to the Committees an excellent opportunity to maintain the practical zeal of their members in time of peace.

Thus we have seen, with pleasure, the Committee of Magdeburg, notwithstanding the rivalry of other societies, keeping this object in view, and causing inquiries to be made as to such wants in the province of Saxony.¹

It appears that opinions are divided as to the utility of large establishments for invalids, such as those of Paris and Greenwich. The Sanitary Commission of the United States applied itself to this question, and it sent an agent to Europe to study similar institutions;² but the conclusion arrived at in this inquiry was, that

¹ Magdeburg.

² *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 39.

it is best to avoid the European system of treating invalids. Large bodies of idle men soon become centres of demoralization. It is better that the soldier should return to his family and render himself useful there, as far as his strength will permit.¹

It is probable that private efforts will be most frequently applicable when the invalids are not massed together in a single large establishment, powerfully organized and administered by government.


¹ Evans, 173.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND INTELLECTUAL ASSISTANCE.

SUMMARY.—I. Reasons for moral culture ; this is always insufficient on the part of the State ; a vast field is, therefore, open to the Committees ; they will act in a Christian spirit, and watch over the moral position of the soldier ; moral and material aid inseparable ; material assistance ought to precede moral aid. II.—Assistance on the field of battle ; assistance in field and stationary hospitals, and in camps ; divine worship ; visits to prisoners ; burials ; correspondents ; (*a*) office for information ; (*b*) facilities for writing ; (*c*) distribution of letters ; books ; schools ; lectures ; buildings for these purposes ; abuse of intoxicating liquors. III.—Staff.

I.

N war, where the struggle between material forces is the first consideration, it is natural that bodily activity should appear to the soldier a matter of much greater importance than those things which are generally considered of a higher nature. This is true as regards certain exceptional periods ; for instance, during an engagement, or when great muscular exertion is necessary, on forced marches, when men are working in trenches, or called upon to afford prompt assistance to a large number of wounded or sick, &c. Yet, it must be admitted, this also occurs in time of peace, in some armies, which from idleness fall into a sensual

course of life, or are subjected to a brutalizing discipline, or, it may be, owing to some fault in the administration. Nevertheless, man is always of the same mixed character; by nature double, and with double aspirations. By the side of the first and most imperious wants of the body, and after these have been satisfied, soon appear in all their strength desires of a more elevated character—the aspirations of the soul; for, if the soldier is liable to wounds and diseases, he is not the less subject to mental suffering. To the latter as well as to the former are applicable, firstly, a preservative and health-giving activity, and secondly, action which is curative, or at least palliative and consoling.

The Resolutions adopted by the Conference of Geneva do not mention, as included in the mission of the Committees, spiritual aid to the victims of war. It is, in fact, a subject which was only indirectly comprised in the programme of the deliberations of that assembly, whose real object was the means of ameliorating the material state of the sick or wounded soldier. In this respect the following chapter is not, like the others, a development of the Resolutions of the Conference; but the aim of our work being the consideration of the best means to afford relief under all its aspects, we cannot avoid treating at some length a point which forms a serious duty for the Committees, on account of that spirit with which we believe them all to be animated.

It would be easy for us to show that governments

will never be able to supply the moral and religious wants of an army more completely than they can cope with its material needs. We are even justified in asserting that the insufficiency will always be greater in the first case than in the second ; firstly, because the only object of war being victory, the thought of the leaders will always be turned towards the preservation of the forces destined to obtain it, and the moral welfare of the army will, by necessity, occupy an inferior place ; secondly, because the moral wants of man are not so limited as those which affect his physical existence. We arrive at the same conclusions if we reflect on the real nature of war. In fact, from whatever point we examine it, it cannot ever be considered as a moral act. Like a fire or a flood, war may afford an opportunity for extraordinary acts of heroism and devotion, but, at the same time, it will always be a plague ; and, what is worse, a human plague, that is to say, depending upon the free will of man, and consequently an immoral act. Its immediate object is a material victory by the destruction of man and the resources at his disposal ; and if the feeling which leads to war is often that of just indignation, it must be confessed that passion almost always favours the explosion, whereas, without it, war might be avoided. Here we see a striking contradiction arise between the objects of war and those of morality founded on the principles of Christianity. Is there not, in fact, an evident incompatibility in two acts which consist in an almost simultaneous distribution to the soldiers who are sent into battle, of a supply

of cartridges and the symbols of Christian communion? What conclusion must be drawn from this? It is that war and charity are fundamentally opposed to each other, and that the will which decides on war and carries it on, will leave the objects of morality in abeyance, without which brilliant successes may undeniably be obtained.

It is necessary, therefore, that private efforts should further the objects of charity, in which they will always find employment for their activity. "When we think," says the Count de Bréda, "of the multitude of young men who perished in Africa and in the late war for want of intelligent care, without pity and far from their families, while not a word was spoken to them to preserve them from despair in their last moments, it is impossible not to feel the deepest regret."¹ "Many, very many, of the patients in the hospitals during the Italian campaign, implored the commiseration of the visitors, confiding to them their last words to their families; but, alas! there was not a tenth part of the number of persons who were needed to respond to these heart-rending appeals."² "No almoner was employed in the American army during the campaign in Virginia. Exposed to cold and hunger, covered with vermin, in pain and despair, the poor fellows died without any one to look after their bodies or their souls. In the whole army there was a complete dearth of writing materials and means for corresponding with absent friends. Not any arrangement even was made

¹ de Bréda, 8.

² Evans, ix.

that letters addressed to the soldiers should reach them. It is true the Government had endeavoured to obtain an almoner for each regiment, but it was not able to collect more than a fourth of the necessary staff. Among those who presented themselves voluntarily and were accepted, some were incapable, whilst others were unworthy of their calling. Soon the majority of them resigned their functions and returned home. The moral condition of the army was such, as to be not only painful to its friends, but the cause of real alarm."¹

This insufficiency, of which the historian of the Sanitary Commission of the United States complains so bitterly, is still more striking as regards the forms of worship of minorities, such as the Protestants in France. Thence arose the urgent necessity, when the war broke out in the Crimea, that the Protestant Church should form, as it did, a body of almoners, paid by an independent committee, but recognized and respected by the Government. "On all sides, men in health, as well as the sick and dying, were heard to bless the French Protestant Church, which had remembered them." "I should never have hoped," wrote M. Chardon, a delegate of that Church, "to meet with such encouragement from soldiers."² "In all my visits, I have always found the Catholics respectful, and the Protestants delighted, and sometimes affected to tears, on seeing a minister come amongst them. All the brethren," said M. Frossard, "received me

¹ Mackenzie, 39.

² Aumoniers, 25.

with sincere joy. The distribution of tracts always causes them great pleasure. It is more than evident, then, that if our churches had not tried this mission, they would have failed in their most sacred duty.”¹

In time of peace, the insufficiency of moral assistance is less felt, either because the trial of war is wanting to awaken the desires of the soul, or that the military commanders have leisure to attend to this part of the welfare of their troops, as it is their duty to do.

We see, then, from what precedes, that, in the interests of morality, a new and praiseworthy sphere of activity, the exercise of which they are not at liberty to evade, is open to the Committees.

It is now the moment to repeat what we have already said of that Christian spirit which ought to preside over every part of the work in which we are engaged. We have shown that it is to the influence of Christianity on civilization that armies owe, in a great measure, the assiduous care bestowed upon wounded soldiers.² The sentiments of that kind of philanthropy which is called *humanizing*, those more particularly of honour and patriotism, can do much, and we should be very unwilling to depreciate their value. Patriotism is, among others, one of the most powerful levers. To prove this, we have only to recall the admirable labours of the Sanitary Commission of the United States, which were carried on chiefly by the impulse of patriotism and sympathy with the success of the army of the North. Yet, we frankly declare

¹ Aumoniers, 26.

² See Chap. ii. p. 58.

that we see in Christian sentiments the wisest and most energetic motive for every philanthropic enterprise. We consider this most powerful force as the best means to regulate human actions, and to sustain the devotion of man at a moment when all his faculties are to be exerted; in short, we find in it the true expression of that international bond which ought to unite all nations upon the common ground we have indicated. This is the feeling which inspired Mr. Mackenzie, when he cast upon the conscience of the American people the duty which they bore during the war. He said to them, "The Christianity of America is now in a position to show its zeal and wisdom, by providing for the moral wants of the soldiers, and at the same time by offering them material and moral aid in the hour of agony. If Christian men and women willingly leave the comforts of domestic life to visit and relieve the soldier, when exhausted or wounded, procuring him good books, talking to him of his family and his friends, endeavouring to gain his good-will and confidence, and to direct his thoughts to that great eternity at whose threshold he stands, then truly—yes, then the country will have fulfilled its duty towards the army."¹

It was also a tacit profession of Christian principles which those young volunteers of Duisburg made, and of which a report on the war in Schleswig contains so touching an example.² Far be from us, however, that narrow spirit which only recognizes as Christianity of

¹ Mackenzie, 39.

² Appia (*b*), 61.

the true metal, that which exhibits itself under certain forms. It is then, or never, when carrying out an enterprise altogether spiritual, that we must raise ourselves above trifling obstacles and external differences. The tolerance amongst those who adopt different forms of worship, even in critical circumstances, has not always been worthy of imitation, and has sometimes caused collisions much to be regretted; yet, on the contrary, a spirit of true and cordial fraternity has often been seen to reign among the representatives of different churches. In the Crimea, for instance, the Protestant almoners were on excellent terms with the Roman Catholic almoners and the Sisters of Charity.¹ The same thing occurred during the campaign of Schleswig, where the best understanding existed between the brothers and sisters of the two denominations constantly brought together in the hospitals of Flensburg and elsewhere. It was thus that in the same hospital there were on one floor Protestant deaconesses, and on another Catholic monks. They lived on friendly terms, and rendered one another mutual services. "We vow," said an Alexian brother to us, "to attend upon the sick without distinction of religious opinions. We have not even the right to inquire into them, and are forbidden to speak to the sick on controversial questions. If we know a sick person to be a Catholic, and he is dying, we offer up the usual prayers; but, if the dying person is a Protestant, we make a general prayer, and call the almoner, who

¹ Aumoniers, 27.

generally," added he, " approves of the prayer that we have made."¹

In addition to the Christian sentiments by which the agents of the Committees should be guided, they must study the moral state of the soldier, which presents some peculiarities arising from the special influence of military service. The soldier forms part of a living mechanism, and by this incorporation he necessarily loses something of his moral independence. Strategy and military discipline exact that he should renounce his individuality. This fact, though it has the advantage of habituating the soldier to a greater regularity of life and strict obedience, is not devoid of moral dangers. As long as a man is under arms, the mass carries him with it, he is hurried on, almost without willing it, in the direction of the general movement. But after action follows repose, and each man then requires his free will, and this, the commanders having to a certain extent assumed the responsibility of the conduct of all, is often permitted to him, and he then, no doubt, thinks that everything is allowable which is not forbidden by a military order. To this cause of moral weakness another is added, which belongs to the very laws of our nature. Action demands reaction, and pressure requires the relaxation of the moral springs, and this reaction easily degenerates into indifference, or even into license. For instance, who is not acquainted with the sad spectacle which the crew of a vessel often exhibits when, after a long voyage

¹ Appia (*b*), 103.

under severe discipline, it enters the harbour of a large town? Moreover, the habit of facing death sometimes developes in the soldier, in presence of this grand and solemn enigma, a sort of indifference, or even of cynicism, which is opposed to moral influences. In pointing out, as we have just done, the moral dangers of military life, we do not intend to depreciate all those real advantages which the school of arms can, within certain limits, offer for the education of the people: but this is not the place to develop that side of the question. We are only desirous to show that the Committees will be able to assure themselves, so to speak, at every step, that material assistance does not comprehend all the work that they will be called upon to perform, and that the moral aid which they must give will offer some particular points for consideration before they attempt to undertake it.

We also wish to make one general remark relative to the connection which exists between the sanitary and moral divisions of the work of the Committees, for this is a very necessary consideration in the study of the subject.

Let us begin by pointing out, that the fact alone of the intervention of private charity will, in itself, exercise a beneficial influence upon the army. Even if confined to material assistance, it will effectually represent the charitable sentiments which ought to unite all men. The soldier, who has himself received benefit from them, will, we think, feel more disposed to be humane towards his enemy, and to abstain from the

excesses and cruelties which are often the result of violent struggles. It will, above all, conduce to the increase of morality by the force of example.

The sincere, modest, and practical devotion, of which the delegates of the Committees ought to give proofs, will act, we do not doubt, as a tacit profession of principles. It will display before the whole army the banner which ought to be placed above the standard of victory, and on which is written, "Love the Lord with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself."

Moreover, this moral action will in its turn produce a favourable reaction upon the health. Has it not been noticed, for instance, that where the moral stimulant of courage, hope, and victory has acted, the army was less liable to be attacked by diseases produced by depression, such as typhus and cholera? "If, also," as Dr. Morin says, "sobriety is the first virtue of an army,"¹ whence will come this precious safeguard, if not from the influence of morality?

Yet, if it is true that the influence of morality ought to exist, from its advantageous action on the physical state of the soldier, if there is thus a connection between moral and sanitary aid, the former, in its turn, to be efficacious, cannot possibly act independently of the latter. The association of these two kinds of aid is, to some extent, even imposed by necessity, and if we discuss them separately in special chapters, it is not without fully understanding how far this division is factitious.

¹ Morin, 100.

The intimate and reciprocal dependence of a double activity has been felt everywhere, and in all the wars where there were representatives of civil philanthropy. Examples of this are abundant, and in citing some of them we are only embarrassed to know which to choose.

It is thus that M. Frossard tells us that, "at Balaclava, he found the English almoner, Mr. Heyward, surrounded by a mass of cases and bales of all sizes : these were supplies of Bibles, New Testaments, popular and religious books, together with flannel belts, guernseys, worsted stockings, shirts, dried fruits, packets of tobacco, &c. Mr. Heyward commanded an army of hawkers and other messengers of good news ; he distributed to each his work and his bale."¹ The French Protestant almoners in the East also distributed clothing, small sums of money, preserves, dried vegetables, paper, toilet necessities, and also a large number of books, furnished by religious societies."² In Schleswig, the Knights of St. John and their assistants, the Brethren of the *Rauhe-Haus*, did not omit, when an occasion to do so presented itself, to join to their other gifts, New Testaments and useful books. In the United States, the Christian Commission, "besides spiritual aid, gave clothing where needed, and a nourishing diet to those who required it. The sick were taken care of, the wounded had their wounds dressed, a multitude of the unfortunate were relieved in the midst of their different trials, and the soldier

¹ Frossard, 165.

² Aumoniers, 23, 24.

was assisted in maintaining a correspondence with his family, and with the means of communicating with those who were in anxiety about him.”¹

If, as we have just seen, the influence of morality and that of sanitary improvement are connected, there results from such connection a truth which we ought not to ignore, as it transforms itself into this practical recommendation:—The wants of the body, whether sick or in health, predominate so much over all others, particularly in war, that, in most cases, material assistance ought not only to accompany but to precede spiritual aid. The most ignorant man is very clear-sighted in recognizing the true motives which have inspired the charitable act of which he has been the object. There is between man and man a mysterious sympathy that very soon reveals to them the reciprocal feelings with which they are animated. This exchange of feeling often takes place without words: a kindness of manner, a simple draught held to the burning lips of a wounded man, or a change in his position gently and promptly performed—all may become a language, and a language so much the more efficacious that it is backed up by an argument which is incontestable. “The Christian Commission, of which it cannot be doubted that the first object was the increase of morality, soon discovered that there was much more for it to do than to speak and to teach; and its delegates received special

¹ *Soldiers' and Sailors' Almanack*, 1866, p. 30.

instructions not to offer spiritual aid until material assistance had been given.”¹

We will not deny ourselves the satisfaction of quoting the words which relate to this same Christian Commission of the United States:—“The exertions of the Christian Commission were not confined to the field of battle. The delegates have also done a great work among the masses living in the camps, and it is among these, not less than amongst the wounded, that the delegates distribute their benefits both to the body and the soul. When the army is on the march, the Commission follows it step by step with waggons filled with supplies of all sorts; when it halts, the Commission is ready with a large supply of coffee and soup. Everything is given willingly. The soldier sees clearly that it is given in a noble spirit of charity. The delegates go everywhere, with the double intention evident to the eyes of all, to render man better, and to add to his bodily comforts. . . . When, therefore, they begin to fulfil their spiritual mission, they are sure to find hearts disposed to listen to them, for they have proved to the soldier the interest they take in his welfare by a multitude of services. They speak, then, with the irresistible authority of a devotion which has been proved. Here and there they committed the fault of occupying themselves with the spiritual welfare of the soldier whilst the wants of his body still existed. Eighty-five wounded men were lying in an old house

¹ *Christian Work*, a magazine of religious and missionary information, Feb. 1865, p. 62.

near Harrison's Landing; the regular infirmary attendants had refused to act, but nothing could discourage the delegates of the Commission. They bathed the feet of these unfortunate men, after having cut off their boots, which had become hardened by the heat; they supplied them with clothes, and then addressed them in a short exhortation; but when a refreshing drink was distributed they exclaimed, 'Ah! that is better than words.' This was a lesson for the delegates which they did not forget."¹

II. The first picture which the imagination delights to form of this work of encouragement and consolation is, that of the volunteer devoting himself to the wounded on the field of battle. The solemn hour of combat is, less than any other, the moment suitable for lengthy exhortations: it is necessary to act, to act without ceasing, to risk your own life, to show courage, and even that intrepidity which the consciousness of a high mission gives. The delegate who is well prepared ought in those trying moments to act by inspiration. His heart and his enthusiasm will guide him better than the best rules which we could lay down here. It is thus that an almoner, M. Meynadier, when speaking of his work at the taking of the Malakoff, expresses himself:—"All that can then be done is to say a few words of Christian hope and consolation to those whose position appears most to require it; and it is that which I also endeavoured to put in practice by going from one to the other to sustain their courage, to inspire

¹ Mackenzie, 45.

them with a little patience and resignation, to procure for them, as soon as possible, the resources of human assistance, and to speak to them, when I found an opportunity to do so, of hopes of salvation and immortality.”¹ “I would,” wrote another almoner, M. Rœhrig, “that you could be here, at least for an hour or two, in the terrible nights when the wounded are crowded round the surgeon’s hut, and that you could see the good that the presence of a minister of religion does them.”² “There were in Sebastopol priests who accompanied the troops in the engagements, and were even seen, cross in hand, at their head, at the most dangerous moments, and who, in the midst of a shower of balls, gave to the dying the last consolations of religion.”³ We have been told by a person who was travelling in Schleswig at the time of the war that he had an opportunity of conversing at a *table d’hôte* with a volunteer almoner who was at Düppel, and present during a desperate engagement. Still under the profound impression produced by the scenes of which he had been a witness a few days before, he replied to the objections of a sophist, who pretended that during an engagement a soldier is not accessible to any other sentiment than that of blind passion. Drawing his arguments from his personal experience, the almoner related how, at the moment when Lieutenant d’Ekardstein fell mortally wounded, he had run to him, and, raising him in his arms, had strengthened him during

¹ Aumoniers, 15.² Ibid., 14.³ Pflug, 133.

his hours of agony by the prospect of eternity. By this natural and graphic narrative he reduced to silence his opponent, who understood by the applause of those present that the feeling of the public had decided against him. It was afterwards known that, at the final assault on Düppel, this same almoner had been to the last always in the foremost rank, and that it was not thought too much was done to reward him when his breast was decorated with the military distinction of the Cross of the Red Eagle, with swords.

We cannot give all the details of the double duty performed by the Christian Commission of the United States during and immediately after engagements. Let us repeat, nevertheless, with an author whom we have already quoted, that "the delegates, after having provided for a thousand material wants, speak to the wounded soldier, who is perhaps at the point of death, of his spiritual state; they write his last wishes, which in general relate to distant friends; they read and pray with him; they repeat in his hearing, which is perhaps already made dull by the approach of death, the consolations of the Bible; and, finally, they lovingly close his eyes when he has breathed his last sigh. The volunteers also devote themselves to those who are so severely wounded that it is useless to think of removing them; endeavouring to lessen their sufferings and to turn their last thoughts towards Him whose love remains the best consolation when all earthly hope has vanished."¹

¹ Mackenzie, 44.

Visiting the hospitals on the field and in the interior appears to us a natural extension of the moral work on the field of battle. It is even here that the Committees could display, as regards the spiritual welfare of the soldier, their most useful action. To say that the agents of the Committees ought, in time of war, to undertake a moral mission, is to say that they should especially fulfil it with the sick and wounded collected, and very often crowded together, in those asylums of suffering. There, the first sanitary wants being satisfied, they will be able more at leisure to offer to the patients the spiritual comfort of a sympathetic exhortation. It is precisely when the soldier is wounded and lying on the bed of pain, that his heart is most accessible to impressions of a higher nature ; this fact is an old one, and it is confirmed by the experience of the last wars. We are reminded of this whenever moral and sanitary activity have been combined. The almoners in the Crimea, the Geneva delegate in Schleswig, the Christian Commission in the United States, all have observed it.

It is particularly in this part of our remarks that we experience some embarrassment in mentioning the separation, somewhat artificial, which we have made between sanitary and spiritual assistance. What delegate, who seriously felt his mission, would not be urged to unite them in the same visit ; to add moral encouragement in every form to material assistance ; to bind up the wounds of the body while raising the soul above the sphere of visible things, and directing the thoughts

towards the only perfect Consoler? The Sanitary Commission of the United States strongly felt this when it promised "to employ all its resources to the profit of the physical and moral condition of the troops," and when, to make its inquiries in the camps and hospitals, it chose two inspectors, of whom one was a medical man and the other an ecclesiastic.¹

Here, again, we think it advisable to recommend the delegate to use much tact. Is it necessary to say that the more the sufferings of the body call for care and consideration, so much the larger must be the share of solicitude given to them, whereas moral aid may, on the contrary, occupy more attention and be more frequently applicable when the object is to benefit convalescents or men in health? It will be understood, also, that the duties will vary in form and proportions according as the delegate is, strictly speaking, an almoner, that he belongs to a religious or lay corporation, that the Committee who sends him shall undertake as its principal object moral or physical assistance.

As to any exhortation, it is needful in every case that it should be simple, and always bear evidence of strong conviction and deep sympathy. Unless this precept is observed, the best organized plans will easily miscarry. It will, perhaps, not be useless in regard to this to quote the advice as to the form of exhortation which the Bishop of Cork gave in a speech delivered on the 10th of May, 1864, at the annual meeting of a society which

¹ *Œuvre d'un grand peuple*, 15, 25.

occupies itself specially with the religious instruction of soldiers.¹ His Lordship said, "It is not so much sermons that soldiers want as a little word of advice in season. One word rightly pointed, one idea rightly put, will do more for a man who is practically engaged in the business of life, than a whole volume of sermons. Let there be but half a minute's conversation, and one little shot from the Word of God may hit the target of the man's heart. Thus it is, my friends, with the soldier. . . . I recollect that the second sermon I ever preached was a sermon to soldiers. To my astonishment, when I thought I was doing wonders in the way of interesting them, I saw a soldier with a long white wand tapping first one soldier, and then another, just to open his eyes. Oh! thought I, let me be careful never to preach sleepy sermons."

In the programme of the moral work of the Committees which we here trace, we cannot always completely separate the category of the wounded from that of the convalescent and healthy, or a time of war from that of peace. It will, therefore, not be surprising if these distinctions disappear more or less in that which follows.

What is properly termed "Divine worship," is in general entrusted to ecclesiastics; and soldiers accustomed to respect persons in authority, and to recognize them by external signs, will perhaps be more disposed to attend official worship than any other. We assert

¹ The Army Reader's and Soldiers' Friend Society.

this, nevertheless, without positively affirming that it is so. Every one will allow it the value he thinks fit. But what is of real importance is, that religion should always have its place in an army. "I have had an opportunity of remarking," said the General Duke de Fezensac, "how prejudicial it is never to speak of religion to any large body of men. There is nothing to remind them of their duties, and forgetfulness of piety soon produces forgetfulness of morality."¹

We believe that the agent, be he who he may, will do well to adopt for his dress a kind of uniform, in order to prevent mistakes, and to ensure for himself the respect by which he ought to be surrounded. One of the Protestant almoners sent to the Crimea had reason to regret having discarded for a moment the dress agreed upon at his departure, for he was arrested as a suspicious character, and was only set at liberty after he had proved his position.

There have been cases in which necessity or propriety have caused Divine worship to be celebrated by laymen, and even by military officers.

Captain Van de Velde, in his report of his mission to Denmark, explains the manner in which provision had been made for the moral and religious wants of the soldiers in the Danish army. "I had," says he, "an opportunity of admiring the zeal of the almoners and the book distributors. The almoners were six in number, of whom three were in the Island of Alsen, one was at Fredericia, the fifth accompanied the 4th

¹ Souvenirs Militaires, 34.

division, and the sixth was ill. Each day, if possible, there was public worship in the churches or chapels of the villages where the soldiers were quartered, or in their cantonments. Three times in each week the Holy Sacrament was administered. The number of soldiers who voluntarily attended worship, and received the Sacrament, was always very large, and the almoners declared that for many of these men the war had been a blessing to their souls. At Düppel, the officers read the Scriptures and religious lessons to their men in the trenches. Divine services were also performed throughout the fleet, after the example set on board the *Geyser* and the *Rolf-Krake*, and were always attended with joy.¹ The ministrations of the almoners are not less important in the hospitals; their influence is most salutary and affecting; and perhaps to this influence is, to a certain extent, to be attributed the remarkable patience with which the wounded soldiers suffer: the almoners serve also as agents for the distribution of gifts of various descriptions.”²

We will also recall some circumstances relating to the English Captain Hedley Vicars, who was killed before Sebastopol, and whose interesting biography is very generally known.

“I have been thinking over the time we spent at the Piræus,” writes a young brother officer, in whom

¹ The *Translator* had the advantage of being able to attend some of these services, both on sea and land, and can testify to their impressiveness and to the deep devotion of the sailors and soldiers who joined in them.

² Van de Velde, 170.

Hedley Vicars was warmly interested, "as you know, of course, there was no chaplain for the English troops there. The chaplain attached to the English Legation at Athens came over to the Piræus at first to perform a short service in one of the barrack-rooms, but as soon as the sickness broke out he was not allowed to come. Part of the service was generally read on Sunday by the officers to the men of their own companies; and the officers, in rotation, took the duty, morning and evening, of burying the dead. Hedley Vicars undertook this duty several times for others, and seldom, if ever, performed it without adding a few earnest words to the men present."¹

"Colonel de Mallet, in the Crimea, much regretted the manner in which his troops were left without spiritual aid, and he was ready, if an almoner had not arrived from France, to assemble, in his tent, the Protestant soldiers of his regiment."² "In an English field hospital," said M. Frossard, "I saw posted here and there tracts of a serious and interesting nature. Everywhere my hand rested on good books, among which the most frequent was the Word of God. I had already noticed in the colonel's tent a number of New Testaments. The 23rd has no chaplain. Do you believe, therefore, that the soldiers of this regiment are without religious instruction? You are in error. It is their colonel who performs the functions of a clergyman."³ The Jews, as well as the Protestants, had

¹ Life and Letters of Captain Hedley Vicars, 171.

² Frossard, 154.

³ Ibid., 145.

provided for the spiritual wants of their co-religionists in the Crimea.¹ Yet, as regards free worship, as in many other respects, no efforts in any war have equalled those of the Christian Commission in the United States.²

Prisoners will form the object of special care on the part of the Committees, as regards morality; but we will speak elsewhere of these, in order not to touch upon international relations, to which we propose to devote a special chapter. As to the intervention of the Committees with regard to their countrymen detained in an enemy's country, it is surrounded by many difficulties. Nevertheless, it is not impracticable, and its utility ought to be a stimulant to overcome the obstacles which are opposed to it. The Sanitary Commission of the United States, for instance, sent a delegate to the South, who was permitted to visit the deplorable prisons in which thousands of individuals were confined. Thanks to the interference of twelve surgeons of the army of the South, taken prisoners at the battle of Gettysburg, the Commission received an assurance that supplies of all sorts, sent to the poor prisoners at Richmond, would reach them through the assistance of Dr. Wilkins, surgeon of the prison known as Libby Prison. The supplies consisted of bedding, clothing, and books; but only books were allowed to be sent to the other prisons. These supplies might be renewed from time to time.³ It is also easy to under-

¹ Armand, 118.

² Mackenzie, 47, 49.

³ United States, 285.

stand that the Commission employed a portion of its activity in bestowing the most tender and assiduous care on its countrymen, the liberated prisoners, who were brought home in a most deplorable state.

We are not aware that there exists any Committee which has taken upon itself the task of visiting the military prisons in time of peace. The philanthropic spirit of our century favours a work similar to that inaugurated for civil prisoners by the devotion of Elizabeth Fry.

The last assistance of a moral nature which the delegate of the Committee can be called upon to give to the soldier, is to take care that proper funeral honours are rendered him ; to accompany his mortal remains to their last resting-place ; to distinguish his grave with a mark : by a wooden post, as was done by the delegates in America, or by a cross with a suitable inscription, after the example of the Knights of St. John in the Cemetery of Nübel. The religious services at the funerals will, in general, be confided to an official almoner, or, if there is not one, to an almoner who is not attached to the army. This last case occurred at Düppel, when, at the request of the military commander, one of the ecclesiastical delegates of the Deacons' Institution at Duisburg, being the only one on the spot, officiated at an interment which could not be postponed.

The title of the present chapter shows that it was our wish to include in it, besides the direct work of prayer and exhortation, all those other efforts which the

Committees may use for the spiritual welfare of the soldier, and all the institutions which he may create to satisfy his moral and intellectual wants; for instance, to assist him in his correspondence, to procure him useful and instructive books, even to impart to him some elementary knowledge; in short, to offer him such reasonable recreation and amusement as may keep him from evil temptations. If it were necessary to insist here upon the happy influence which instruction and intellectual development have in a struggle against demoralization, we would remark that those branches of military service which require most knowledge are also those which best preserve their members from moral infirmity. Men who serve in the Engineers and Artillery, for instance, employ almost all their time in theoretical and practical studies, and the result is that, without being less brave than other soldiers, their courage is more calm and reflective, and their intrepidity, under all circumstances, is combined with more refined and regular manners; nor are they so frequently addicted to wine, gambling, and other vices.¹

Let us first speak of what is to be done with regard to correspondence—a most useful thing, and one which deserves to be treated with some detail.

It will be advisable that the agents of the Committees should establish an office for information, closely connected with the central direction. This office will undertake the collection of all possible information likely to be useful to soldiers, and especially to

¹ Bégin (*a*), 35.

the sick and wounded. There should be kept a nominal register of the men received into the hospitals, with an account of their state. This catalogue, in the United States, was called *The Hospital Dictionary*, and on the 1st October, 1863, there were 400,000 names inscribed in it. The office was able to reply to the questions addressed to it, particularly by relations and friends of the soldiers. The American reports show that, at the above date, it had been possible to reply to 10,000 questions. It is evident that the use of such an agency will depend upon the extent of the seat of war, and the facilities given for obtaining information from official sources, &c.

With the work of affording information is naturally connected that of correspondence, properly so called; and, under various forms, it constitutes a branch, and not the least portion of the work of the Committees. The agents will encourage, as much as they can, correspondence intended to soothe the anxious feelings of the soldiers' relatives. They will do it, not only by an appeal to filial sentiments and the consciences of the soldiers, but particularly by assisting them in writing letters, by furnishing them with the means of writing, and by devoting places to that purpose. M. Frossard relates that, in the Crimea, he frequently received letters from parents anxious about the fate of their children, who, although perhaps in good health, neglected to write. He constantly urged them to do so, and, if necessary, offered them writing materials to prevent any excuse. To reply to the letters of parents

was one of his principal occupations. "Nothing could be more touching," said he, "than these letters from mothers alarmed for those they loved, nor anything more grievous than the silence of careless soldiers, and the difficulty to induce them to break this silence."¹ Supplies for an office ought, therefore, to occupy, in the assistance offered to an army, a more important place than at first appears necessary; for, notwithstanding the negligence of many soldiers as to correspondence, we meet with a great many, particularly among the better educated, who eagerly avail themselves of the means of communicating with their families. "The great anxiety of the Austrian prisoners," says M. Poplimont, in his narrative of the war in Italy, "is to know if they will be permitted to send news to their friends. Many have asked me for writing-paper."² The Brethren of the *Rauhe-Haus*, in Schleswig, wrote to their director that they could never have too many adhesive envelopes. The Committee of Hamburg, when applied to, sent in one parcel 3,000 of these envelopes, and an equal supply of writing-paper. A member of the direction of the *Rauhe-Haus* said to a delegate from Geneva, "We made ourselves a great many friends in the army by a supply of small objects, which will make you laugh when I mention them. They were needles and thread, with buttons, to replace those which were often missing from trousers and coats, also envelopes for letters, with

¹ Frossard, 119, 138, 214.² Poplimont, 153.

paper and writing materials.”¹ Among the Danes, the almoners made themselves very useful as secretaries, by enabling the sick to communicate with their relatives. “The post-office of the army of Düppel and Alsen, in three weeks, received or forwarded 142,000 letters.”² Finally, one of the delegates of the Christian Commission relates that in an hospital near Stevenson, he distributed a great quantity of stationery, of which the want was much felt. These resources enabled hundreds of men to write to their families and friends.”³

Another means by which the Committees will be able to render themselves useful in correspondence, will be to superintend the distribution of letters addressed to soldiers. In the course of almost all wars, very many letters are lost, or are heaped up in the post-offices, where they are forgotten, in consequence of the frequent changes of residence of the persons to whom they are addressed, and for want of information about them. In Schleswig, some of the Knights of St. John undertook to sort the letters, and to superintend the distribution of them in their hospitals. It is also to this work, trivial in appearance, but of great use, that the office for information, of which we recommended the establishment, might contribute.

The soldier, in time of war, being often deprived of the means of reading, eagerly seizes the first book which he finds at hand. The Committees ought, there-

¹ Appia (b), 94.

² Van de Velde, 171.

³ *Soldiers' and Sailors' Almanack*, p. 27.

fore, to make use of this predisposition for his moral and intellectual good, by providing him with books carefully chosen. They should be books for improvement and instruction, amusing tales, and newspapers. These last were received with much pleasure in Schleswig by the German army, to which, thanks to the editors, the Kiel Committee distributed every week twenty-two copies.¹ The books should in general contain a number of facts, rather than long arguments. Those which are more particularly intended for improvement should be nervous in style, conveying profound sentiments, expressed with energetic brevity. What the Bishop of Cork said of long sermons may be applied to books.² Reading may be facilitated in two ways—by libraries and by distribution. Libraries ought, as far as possible, to be formed in time of peace, in order that there may be time to make a good selection and classification of the works. The Committees could obtain assistance for this bibliographical labour from numerous societies, whose principal object is the diffusion of sound literature. In Paris, through the exertions of a single individual, who modestly devotes his life to do good to his countrymen during their military service, forty libraries have been established in different barracks; and the camp at Chalons has also been provided with one.

The circulation by means of distributors has already played a most useful and considerable part in all the

¹ Kiel, 8.

² See page 306.

endeavours to improve the morality of the soldier. If we refer to the war in the Crimea, that of Schleswig, and particularly that of the United States, we shall always find the same fact, although of different proportions. The English "Pure Literature Society" received, at the first moment of its formation, gifts of money and books for specific purposes; it was able, therefore, to send 10,000 volumes and periodical publications to the camp and hospitals in the Crimea, and 3,000 volumes and periodicals to the fleets in the Black Sea and the Baltic.¹ Everywhere, in the army as well as in the navy, these gifts were received with eagerness, as is proved by an extensive correspondence.

The association which appears to have done the most in this respect is that known in England under the name of "The Soldiers' Friend and Army Scripture Readers' Society." Its work is not confined to times of war, which are only accidental phases. Its object is to spread the influence of Christianity through every class of the English army, as well in the mother country as in her colonies. A large number of agents are employed to visit the huts, barracks, hospitals, and other military stations. They act by verbal exhortation, by reading, by the diffusion of useful and religious books. The society publishes periodically, and distributes, "The Christian Sentinel, or Soldier's Magazine," a small collection in 8vo, entirely reli-

¹ *Des livres utiles et du colportage*, by de l'Etang, p. 37.

gious, which appears every month, and is sold for a penny; "The British Flag," a monthly journal, in small folio, also containing articles having a tendency more or less directly moral and religious; and "The Soldiers' and Sailors' Almanack," published annually. That of 1866, for instance, contains, besides the usual contents of almanacks, articles analogous to those of "The British Flag," a long account relative to the work of the Christian Commission in the United States, much information of a practical nature useful in a soldier's life, some rules of discipline, others relating to funeral honours, medical and sanitary rules, &c. The management of this immense effort to advance morality is confided to a committee of twenty-four members. It has established stations wherever the English army has military posts, namely, in England, 26; in India, 16; in Canada, 4; in Scotland, 5; in Ireland, 5: total, 56 stations. On beholding this society protected by the first nobility of the kingdom, on reading the speeches made at the general assemblies by the most eminent of the English clergy, we perceive that this is, as is often seen in that country of individual enterprise, altogether independent of, but placed under, the protection of Government. A society similar to the preceding also exists in England, under the name of "The Naval and Military Bible Society." It was founded in 1780. Its only object is the distribution, in the army and navy of England, of complete copies or portions of the Scriptures, which are either sold or given away. In the year 1865 alone, 18,937

Bibles, and 7,937 copies of the New Testament, were distributed, of which number only a fourth was given gratuitously.¹

The governments which feel their responsibility as regards the intellectual development of the army, for instance, that of Prussia, have established regimental schools, where the private soldier receives from officers named for that purpose, school, and even elementary instruction, in which he is often deficient. The establishment of schools, therefore, does not appear to be directly within the functions of the Committees, yet they might, perhaps, use their influence to promote these useful arrangements, and to recommend, as masters, volunteers prepared for the work. It is, nevertheless, an experiment which, as far as we are aware, has not been tried, and upon which, therefore, we cannot express a decided opinion.

Perhaps, also, unofficial schools might be established. We do not doubt that the soldier would accept with gratitude an offer calculated to complete his first education, of which he has often to regret the insufficiency. Already the Roman Catholic system of teaching soldiers, to a certain extent, meets this desire, as "there exists at present in France, and in other countries, under the authority of the chaplains, numerous clubs, in which the soldiers employ their leisure time in harmless amusements or useful studies, and a represent when Christian instruction is given to

¹ Report of the Proceedings of the Naval and Military Bible Society, 31st March, 1865.

strengthen their faith or recall them to the practice of religion." ¹

The meetings for instruction and amusement, which Miss Nightingale afforded to the soldiers at the time of the war in the East, are the only example, as far as we know, of recreation of that nature to which volunteers have contributed. Their inventive faculties will, no doubt, enable them to discover something to be done in this respect. The subject of amusing relaxations, however, belongs rather to the science of health than to moral improvement, and it is not without surprise that we have failed to discover any mention of it in the history of voluntary assistance in America, which, in other respects, is so complete. The pressing necessities of the moment doubtless prevented the Committees from occupying themselves with less urgent matters, and, besides, the army had no time to seek for amusement.

That which we have said in speaking of correspondence, schools, and libraries, explains the necessity of having places appropriated to those purposes. These places of refuge, consecrated to the occupation of the mind and to recreation, are very important, and are destined to play a prominent part among the most valuable institutions of an army. The English army experienced this in the Crimea, when, at the suggestion of Miss Nightingale, comfortable huts were built, in which the soldiers could meet and amuse themselves, and where they found either books or materials to

¹ Manuel du soldat chrétien, p. 5.

enable them to write to their friends.¹ Later, this example was followed on a vast scale, and with no less success, by the Sanitary Commission of the United States. Wherever an army is compelled to remain for a long period, such places of refuge will be very valuable. In time of peace, on occasions when large numbers of troops are assembled in a body, in garrison towns, or in camps of instruction, during war, both before and after active service, the first day as well as the last, independently of their immense utility as a means of health, they satisfy the want common to all men, that of occasional intervals of intellectual calm and reflection.

How is it possible to speak of the leisure of soldiers, and the way in which they employ it, without drawing the attention of philanthropists to the abuse of intoxicating liquors, always so frequent with soldiers, and which ought to excite the serious anxiety of the Committees? It is proved by facts, that the use of spirits is not necessary to sustain the strength of the soldier under his heavy work, and still less in the idleness of a garrison life. One example, among many others, will serve to prove this.

The tenth *corps d'armée* of the Germanic Confederation, formed by the contingents of all the small States, having been called together, for instruction, about twenty years since, several of the governments agreed not to distribute any strong liquors to the soldiers, and to employ the money thus saved in improving their diet.

¹ Scrive, 375.

This change principally affected citizens who were little inured to fatigue, while spirits were given to robust peasants. Well! these last, to the number of 20,952, had 472 sick, that is, 1 in 45; while the first, to the number of 7,107, had only 79, or 1 in 90.¹

In the United States, the Temperance Societies, from the time of their formation, have endeavoured to diffuse their opinions in the army; and certainly the success they have obtained is of a nature to encourage persons who are disposed to imitate them. The army, as well as the navy, feel the benefits of the reform. A distinguished officer wrote, in 1832, to the secretary of the American Temperance Society: "I am much obliged to you for having sent me your fourth report. I consider it a great honour to belong to so philanthropic an institution. When I came here, I do not believe there were in the whole corps three men who totally abstained from spirituous liquors. They have now established a Temperance Society upon the principle of total abstinence, and more than three-quarters of the regiment belong to it. Every fortnight they meet, and one or other of them reads an essay upon temperance. The effect of this is, as I had hoped, an evident improvement in the appearance, the morality, and the conduct of the soldiers. Instead of the stupid-looking, bloated faces, which one formerly saw, they now have a look of health and contentment; disputes and quarrels have changed to good humour and mutual

¹ De l'abolition des boissons fortes, par Huydecoper; traduit par Bouquié-Lefebvre, p. 41.

good nature ; finally, insubordination and negligence have been replaced by obedience and a steady attention to all that affects the service. In the six weeks during which the Temperance Society has existed, not one of those who belong to it has been under arrest ; and such is the influence which it exercises, even on those who do not belong to it, that, since that time, only two soldiers have been punished. It is hardly necessary to say that their fault was drunkenness. Before this, there were generally three men punished every twenty-four hours—that is to say, more in one day than there are now in six weeks. Since the formation of the Society, there has not been a single case of desertion ; whereas, in the preceding month, the regiment had lost, by that cause, five men ; and it is to the reform of intemperance that the difference must be principally attributed.”¹

III. From all that we have said in this chapter, it appears to be desirable that the staff of persons who undertake moral and religious work should be able to combine with their functions those of sanitary agents, so that the same volunteer may be as apt at binding a wound as consoling a dying man.

This staff will be partly composed of ecclesiastics. In America, this category was fully represented. “ Clergymen,” says Mackenzie, “ have obtained leave of absence from their parishes, doctors have left their patients, merchants their business. Three thousand

¹ History of the Temperance Societies of the United States of America, by Baird, p. 67.

devoted men, ecclesiastics and laymen, are at work at this moment (February, 1865), by their own choice, for the moral and physical benefit of the army."¹ We will also remind our readers of the work done in Schleswig by Dr. Wichern, director of the *Rauhe-Haus*, by two directors of the Deacons' Institution of Duisburg, and by the agent of the Society for Home Missions, M. Meyringh. We have often spoken of the Protestant ecclesiastics sent by France to the Crimea. They were ten in number, to whom must also be added a native of the Vaudoise Valleys of Piedmont, who, of his own accord, undertook to visit his co-religionists in the hospitals of Constantinople.

Yet, on the other hand, owing to the connection between the two species of labour, the sanitary staff ought to be able to afford moral aid, which should be associated with material assistance, just as the spiritual delegate ought, from the moment of his departure, to possess the knowledge and resources requisite to season all he does with the precious addition of sanitary aid.

It is hardly necessary to say that there must also be special superintendents of the reading-rooms.

There should also be messengers specially appointed for the distribution of books, magazines, and newspapers.

It is probable that the correspondence will always be sufficiently large to require regular agents.

To complete what we have to say respecting the staff, we must refer the reader to our sixth chapter, where will be found the general rules for its regulation.

¹ Mackenzie, 42.

As regards the position in which the delegates must place themselves in relation to other persons, it will be needful that, immediately after their arrival, they should come to a good understanding with the almoners attached to the army, and establish the most friendly intercourse with them ; and that, if the latter consent, they should unite with them, and work together, as was done in the United States.

As to their position in regard to the military chiefs, it should be the same as that of the other agents of the Committees.

Is it needful to recommend them to maintain among themselves a frank and amicable intercourse? Will not the serious nature of their mission insure harmony? The only point upon which we will insist is, that they should confer together as often as possible. Mutual encouragement, and the exchange of experience and information, can but contribute to render their efforts more useful. The almoners in the Crimea met together for consultation, and derived the greatest advantage from so doing.

CHAPTER IX.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

SUMMARY.—I. The Conference wished for international relations, but not for international Associations. Functions of the International Committee.—II. Time of peace. Necessity of international relations in time of peace. They may have for objects:—(A) The practical and theoretical study of the means of assistance by (*a*) philanthropic congresses; (*b*) medical conferences; (*c*) exhibitions; (*d*) prizes offered; (*e*) publications; (*f*) translations. (B) The advancement of international law; the Congress of Geneva proves that such progress is possible; occupation might be found, for instance, in (*a*) the extension of the Treaty of Geneva to marine affairs; (*b*) the amelioration of the position of prisoners of war; (*c*) the diminution of the abuses of means of destruction.—III. Time of war. (A) Relations between allied committees. (B) Relations between neutrals and belligerents. (C) Relations between belligerents; care of the enemy's wounded and of prisoners, including, besides material assistance, (*a*) a body of interpreters; (*b*) religious aid; (*c*) facilities for correspondence; (*d*) the direction of the means for returning men to their homes; (*e*) the restitution of objects left by deceased soldiers.

I.



THE Conference of Geneva, although it stamped the Committees with a national character, since they were appointed “*to furnish assistance to their respective armies* (Art. 5), nevertheless, adopted some resolutions which denote on its part a desire that a wider spirit should animate them. This was to be

expected, looking at the point from which it started, which was nothing less than the principle of universal fraternity. The Conference foresaw that relations would be formed between the Committees, and even urged them to do so by certain arrangements which it will now be our object to examine.

It is hardly necessary to notice an inexact expression which several writers have employed to characterize the work of the Conference. Evidently it is going beyond its intention to speak of *universal and international association*. It has founded nothing of the kind. There is an essential distinction to be made between international relations and the organic connection of national committees. These are perfectly independent of one another; although, by keeping aloof from their fellow-labourers, the members of national committees would show themselves unmindful of the Resolutions of the Conference.

That which has to a certain extent, perhaps, produced mistakes on this point is the existence at Geneva of a committee called *international*, which must not, however, be confounded with a *central* committee. On reading Art. 10 of the Resolutions with attention, it will be seen that the Geneva Committee has no right to meddle with the affairs of the national Committees, and has not any administrative power; and, moreover, that its functions are only temporary, and consequently, its existence is no sign of a general centralization. To say that "*the exchange of communications between the Committees of the different nations shall be made*

provisionally through the medium of the Committee of Geneva" is, in other words, to consent generally to that which the Committee of Geneva, the promoter of the work, had already so happily effected. The Conference, by thus publicly approving the commencement of its labours, and placing confidence in it, gave the Committee of Geneva that encouragement and support which was calculated to enable it successfully to follow up its operations, and thus added vigour to an institution still in its infancy. It was, in fact, perfectly qualified to aid it in struggling through the period of formation. An extensive correspondence had concentrated in the hands of the Geneva Committee valuable information for the organization of the work in different countries. It held, so to speak, all the threads, and this particular circumstance induced the Conference to entrust the Geneva Committee with the temporary guidance of its future destinies. The Conference also believed, and with reason, that the Geneva Committee would not be content to stop half-way on its road, and that, after having been the first to enter the breach, it would redouble its zeal for the success of its ideas.

This expectation was not erroneous. If, among the committees which were soon afterwards formed, many owed their existence to the members of the Conference, the greater number rose under the care of the International Committee, which gave them the first impulsion. It was fitting that the mission of the committee should continue until the system was complete,¹ in

¹ Conférence, 131.

which each committee had taken its place and become connected with the others, so as to facilitate their first relations, and to preserve the fundamental principles of the work. It is, nevertheless, evident that the action of the Geneva Committee would cease after a time, beyond which it might become useless and embarrassing. To-day, even, there remains little work of this kind for it to do. There are now a sufficient number of national Committees, able to support themselves, and bearing aloft the banner of the Conference, to insure its vitality and the increase of the work. Dr. Chenu thinks it right that the office to receive and exchange the communications of different nations should continue to remain in the hands of the *Société d'Utilité Publique de Genève*, to which belongs the honour of having originated the undertaking.¹ Yet, it is improbable that this will be the case, as the Committees will find it more convenient to communicate directly with one another.

It will be well, nevertheless, that the Geneva Committee should exist until a new order of things is established, even if it have nothing to do, because its virtual existence will be a symbol of the common action and mutual responsibility which connects all the persons who assist in the work. International relations are no new thing, they are established every day under a thousand forms ; whereas, the opportunity to proclaim the principle of solidarity has not often occurred, and there will be some advantage in attaching it to a visible

¹ Chenu, 746.

sign, in order to render it more easily recognizable. As the loosening of family ties is in itself a thing to be regretted, so it will be well to strengthen those which unite the different Committees of assistance, by preserving as long as possible the historical fact which recalls their common origin. Besides, there is yet much to be done, in order that their object may be attained, for the Committees are still only feeling their way, and are yet far from agreeing on the details. The general questions are not even exhausted; and, in this state of things, the International Committee can still render useful services. Its modest and disinterested position in a neutral country, where it cannot give umbrage to any one, has hitherto contributed much to the success of its undertaking, and circumstances might occur which would render it desirable to be able to place under its protection the proposal of some measure of general utility, or the initiative in some new application of military philanthropy.

II. Under any circumstances, if the International Committee should cease to exist, its dissolution ought not to be the signal for a general rupture, and, from the present moment, the Committees should establish an intercourse more or less frequent. In time of war they may be called upon to afford each other mutual assistance, to act in concert, or at least to be on good terms with each other, and it is therefore indispensable that they should become known to one another.

These objects may be attained by so arranging the separate action of each Committee, that there may be in

all of them connecting links which will prevent any of them from becoming isolated. Besides, without quitting the principal object of their mission, there is a common ground most favourable for the interchange of communications, and this is to be found in *the theoretical and technical study of the assistance to be given to the victims of war, and the development of international law* with reference to the principles of humanity.

Science does not belong to any one country. If, owing to the force of circumstances, its applications are local, the theoretical study of it is not limited by time or space, and it is enriched by the contributions of light which every nation bears to it. Therefore, it will not only be within the power, but it will be the positive duty, of the Committees to devote themselves to it in common, and to exchange their ideas upon it. This co-operation may assume many forms, but we will here only briefly enumerate a few of them.

One is immediately found in the Resolutions of the Conference : “ *The Committees and Sections of the different countries,*” it is there said, “ *shall meet in international Conference, in order to communicate to each other the results of their experience, and to decide on the measures to be adopted for the advancement of the work.*” (Art. 9.) It is certain that these meetings will not be held frequently, and will usually be produced by events. They ought not, however, to be adjourned indefinitely ; and it will be advisable, under any circumstances, to promote them from time to time—

a duty which may be left to the vigilance of the Committees. For instance, at the termination of a war, such an assembly could not fail to be highly interesting, and to give rise to useful discussions. Such was the effect of that held at Berlin, on the 10th of July, 1864, at which all the different Committees and administrations interested in the war in Schleswig were represented. Before any new war afflicts Europe, a Conference, supplemental to that of 1863, is desirable, to examine certain doubtful questions of which we have given an outline in this work, as far as we have been able, but which we wish should be discussed.

We would ask also that the Committees should at the same time convoke a Conference of military-medical men, either before or after the Congress. This last would benefit by it, since it would be the means of drawing together men having special knowledge, and it would also fulfil a wish we have often heard expressed by members of the medical body. After the diplomatic Conference of Geneva, in 1864, the medical men who took part in it met together privately to confer upon their art; and the report of that improvised meeting, which we have read, contains the formal expression of its desire that an International Congress, to discuss medical questions connected with military affairs, should be held. This document, therefore, has confirmed us in our opinion. It is known also that, during a campaign, the members of the medical staff meet together to confer about the interests of the sanitary

service; it is, then, permissible to conclude that discussions would be useful, in which the members would apply themselves to the consideration of preventive measures, and to which men of different countries would be invited to add to the number of ideas to be expressed and debated, and to form comparisons.

Independently of the advantages which we have just enumerated, congresses suggested by the Conference would favour its views by the personal relations to which they would give rise among people of different nations. Those who take part in them will, unknown to themselves, be inspired with more fraternal sentiments towards foreigners, they will leave behind them some scraps of national prejudices, and they will return to their homes with inclinations essentially pacific, and fully prepared to afford assistance to persons suffering, without inquiring under what flag they may be serving.

These means of union will not, however, be sufficient, and they require to be completed by others.

The excellent idea of the Committee of Paris, of an International Exhibition of Sanitary Material, in conjunction with the Universal Exhibition of 1867, is worthy of all praise. It is announced under fortunate auspices, and the Committees will certainly co-operate in its success. The International Committee had already suggested an analogous idea by proposing that such exhibitions should be created under the permanent form of museums.¹ The utility of such institutions will be

¹ Comité International, 37.

easily understood, yet it is doubtful if it be advisable that the Committees should undertake to form them. It would rather be an addition which the State should make to the school of military medical science under its direction.

Competitions might also be proposed, such as that which occasions this memoir, for, after the study to which we have devoted ourselves, there will be others to be undertaken, less vast but not less important, and the Committees ought to open the arena to all men of energy and talent, let them come whence they may. The more they render the competition accessible to foreigners as well as natives, the better chance there will be of inducing men capable of doing so, and having special knowledge, who are always few and scattered, to enter it. If it were a question exclusively local and national, our suggestion would not be applicable, but for a dissertation on the best means of transport for the wounded, or upon the mode of establishing hospitals, on the form of a manual to be used by nurses, or instructions to soldiers on their duty towards sick and wounded enemies, and for other works of a similar character, it is best to place ourselves on a less exclusive footing, since the benefit of the result will be the same for all.

All this, nevertheless, does not sufficiently fulfil our wish to see established frequent and habitual intercourse between the Committees in time of peace. No doubt they can correspond with one another, but that will be but an imperfect resource, which will offer no guarantee

against the carelessness of those who may neglect to make use of it.

That which is indispensable is, that the Committees should bind themselves to issue regular publications. It is through the periodical press that we must seek the bond of which we feel the necessity. We do not ask that the example given by the Belgians, French, and Prussians should be followed, or that the Committees should undertake the expense of journals and reports published at short intervals. This would, no doubt, be very advisable; but, to sustain such enterprises, conditions exceptionally favourable are requisite, and we cannot reproach the Committees with not entering on a path which would require great sacrifices. Yet it is not asking too much to request them to make a yearly exchange of the reports of their labours. Even if these documents were very brief, they would suffice to keep everybody on the alert, and prove that each man was at his post. If one of the vedettes of charity fell asleep, it would be known by his silence, and before harm was done an effort would be made to awaken him. Unfortunately, the difference of language will be, for most of these papers, an obstacle to their being much read in foreign countries; yet that will also be to the advantage of the Committees, who, in their own reports, will thus be obliged to give an analysis of those of others, and thus render their own more interesting.

Translations will, moreover, furnish inexhaustible employment for the international action of the Com-

mittees, if they wish to occupy themselves with foreign publications, the knowledge of which may contribute to ameliorate the condition of soldiers—such as the medical history of certain campaigns, treatises on medicine and military surgery, &c. It would be rendering a most essential service to the victims of future wars to place within the reach of those for whom they are designed, works which are unintelligible for them so long as they have not been translated. Without taking upon themselves the trouble and expense of such work, the Committees, by suggesting or encouraging it by pecuniary rewards, would obtain the same result; and, to this extent, there is not one which might not so employ itself.

International laws, which regulate the intercourse of nations, ought to excite the serious attention of the committees; for they can, by a common understanding, powerfully contribute to cause them to be respected and to progress. They are perfectly qualified to act in that manner, by influencing public opinion, through an active propagation of humane sentiments, and we are satisfied that they would soon be recompensed for their efforts.

We will not deny that the slowness with which, in general, pacific conquests are made, and the difficulties by which they are surrounded, may be proposed as an objection; yet we will venture only to cite the example of the Convention of Geneva. The Conference of 1863 had asked:—

“ Firstly, That, in time of war, neutrality may

be proclaimed by the belligerent nations for the field and stationary hospitals, and that it may also be accorded, in the most complete manner, to all officials employed in sanitary work, to volunteer nurses, to the inhabitants of the country who shall assist the wounded, and to the wounded themselves.

Secondly, That an identical distinctive sign be adopted for the medical corps of all armies, or, at least, for all persons attached to this service in the same army.

*That an identical flag be also adopted for the field and stationary hospitals of all armies.*¹

Well, however exorbitant these demands appeared, a small committee of five members, sitting at Geneva, succeeded, in less than a year, in obtaining them. The Treaty of the 22nd August, 1864, bears, at this moment, the signatures of twenty sovereigns. Its object being, like that of the Committees, to diminish the evils of war, and it being, therefore, directly connected with the subject of which we are treating, we will here give the text of the Treaty :—

*ARTICLES of the Convention for the Amelioration
of the Condition of Wounded in Armies in the
Field.*

Article 1.—“ Ambulances and military hospitals shall be acknowledged to be neuter, and, as such, shall

¹ Suggestions B and C, p. 106.

be protected and respected by belligerents so long as any sick or wounded may be therein.

“Such neutrality shall cease if the ambulances or hospitals should be held by a military force.”

Article 2.—“Persons employed in hospitals and ambulances, comprising the staff for superintendence, medical service, administration, transport of wounded, as well as chaplains, shall participate in the benefit of neutrality whilst so employed, and so long as there remain any wounded to bring in or to succour.”

Article 3.—“The persons designated in the preceding article may, even after occupation by the enemy, continue to fulfil their duties in the hospital or ambulance which they serve, or may withdraw, in order to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

“Under such circumstances, when those persons shall cease from their functions, they shall be delivered by the occupying army to the outposts of the enemy.”

They shall have specially the right of sending a representative to the head-quarters of their respective armies.

Article 4.—“As the equipment of military hospitals remains subject to the laws of war, persons attached to such hospitals cannot, in withdrawing, carry away any articles but such as are their private property.

“Under the same circumstances an ambulance shall, on the contrary, retain its equipment.”

Article 5.—“Inhabitants of the country who may bring help to the wounded shall be respected, and shall remain free. The generals of the belligerent powers

shall make it their care to inform the inhabitants of the appeal addressed to their humanity, and of the neutrality which will be the consequence of it.

“ Any wounded man entertained and taken care of in a house shall be considered as a protection thereto. Any inhabitant who shall have entertained wounded men in his house shall be exempted from the quartering of troops, as well as from a part of the contributions of war which may be imposed.”

Article 6.—“ Wounded or sick soldiers shall be entertained and taken care of to whatever nation they may belong.

“ Commanders-in-Chief shall have the power to deliver immediately to the outposts of the enemy soldiers who have been wounded in an engagement, when circumstances permit this to be done, and with the consent of both parties.

“ Those who are recognized, after they are healed, as incapable of serving, shall be sent back to their country.

“ The others may also be sent back on condition of not again bearing arms during the continuance of the war.

“ Evacuations, together with the persons under whose directions they take place, shall be protected by an absolute neutrality.”

Article 7.—“ A distinctive and uniform flag shall be adopted for hospitals, ambulances, and evacuations. It must on every occasion be accompanied by the national flag. An arm-badge (brassard) shall also be allowed

for individuals neutralized, but the delivery thereof shall be left to military authority.

“ The flag and arm-badge shall bear a red cross on a white ground.”

Article 8.—“ The details of execution of the present Convention shall be regulated by the Commanders-in-Chief of belligerent armies, according to the instructions of their respective Governments, and in conformity with the general principles laid down in this Convention.”

Article 9.—“ The high contracting powers have agreed to communicate the present Convention to those Governments which have not found it convenient to send plenipotentiaries to the International Conference at Geneva, with an invitation to accede thereto. The protocol is, for that purpose, left open.

The history of the Convention of Geneva permits us to affirm that it is for the Committees to advance international law,¹ about which the last word has not yet been spoken.

War is evidently destined to become more and more humane under the breath of civilization, and, in order to favour this tendency, it will be necessary to brand and repress many abuses. It is, and without doubt will always be, a calamity, but progress will consist in waging war more economically, if we may so express

¹ The adhesion of the Government of Mecklenburg to the Treaty of Geneva was partly due to the efforts made by the Schwerin Committee.

ourselves, in wasting less the human capital, in giving more consideration to the lives of men, which may be styled the money that pays for both defeat and triumph.

Why, for instance, should not the benefits which the Treaty of Geneva has conferred on armies, be extended to navies? The nature of maritime warfare would not permit the application of the same arrangements as those for war on land; but stipulations, if not identical, at least analogous, might be the object of a new contract between the powers interested. The Scheme of Agreement presented to the diplomatic Conference of Geneva, mentioned this new application of the principle of neutrality, while reserving it for the subject of a second document. But it was struck out of the final text, and, in truth, it would have been out of place there.¹ The Congress, nevertheless, received a petition from Dr. Le Roy-Méricourt, who wished that everything should be settled at once, and proposed a series of clauses relating to naval warfare. This project deserves to be revived and discussed. Larrey cites a case in which the want of maritime neutrality was followed by most melancholy results. When leaving for Egypt, he had furnished a vessel with a large quantity of stores for the sanitary service, but, on the passage out, the ship was captured by the English, and this caused the French to be afterwards in the greatest need of everything necessary for hospitals.² Is it not also important that, in future, a renewal of

¹ *Protocoles*, 28.

² Larrey, i. 183.

such revolting acts as those which, on a recent occasion, aroused the indignation of Europe, should be prevented? It was on the 10th of June, 1865; an engagement had taken place on the waters of the La Plata, near Riachualo, between eight small vessels belonging to Paraguay, and nine large Brazilian vessels. These last had gained the victory, and dispersed the enemy's flotilla, of which one, named the *Olinda*, had fallen into their power. Four Brazilian crews went on board the prize, and filled their boats with plunder. They also carried away the Commodore Robles, who soon afterwards died. But they mercilessly left on the deck twenty-six men who had been grievously wounded, consigning them to the mercy of the waves. An English vessel found them—it is easy to imagine in what state—and took them on board, five days afterwards.¹

The condition of prisoners of war is also a subject for consideration, although it has already been much improved. They are no longer reduced to slavery; they are no longer massacred; yet, they are not always treated with the care that humanity demands. “The persons who were alive during the latter years of the Empire can remember those bands of prisoners, Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and Spaniards, who were dragged from town to town, presenting a distressing spectacle of want, which private charity and the most generous self-devotion could but very partially relieve, and spreading everywhere, with their pestilential corpses, contagion

¹ *Handels und Spener'sche Zeitung*, August 27, 1867.

and fear.”¹ During the war of 1866, in Paraguay, “Marshal Lopez complains, and, it appears, with reason, of the manner in which his soldiers were treated by the Allies. In Brazil, they were employed on the most laborious works: and in the Republics it was even worse; they were forcibly incorporated in the battalions formed of pretended Paraguayan refugees and exiles. The larger number died of misery and nostalgia; some deserted and regained their country. This barbarous conduct, which is contrary to all morality, forms a contrast to the humanity which the President of Paraguay seems to have shown towards the prisoners from the Allies.”² In the United States, during the civil war, the prisoners from the North were treated in a revolting manner. The hospitals at Richmond were wretchedly kept. The death-rate was 50 per cent. “Of the total number of patients, more than three-fourths suffered from general debility, fevers of a typhoid character, diarrhœa or dysentery, affections of the chest, or scurvy; that is to say, from diseases caused by starvation, cold, dirt, and the want of air fit to breathe and of clothing. The imagination recoils at the thought of these horrors.”³ If we did not fear to make too long a digression, we should yield to our desire to give some of the dreadful details published by the Sanitary Commission of the fate of the prisoners. The inquiry

¹ Larroque, 273.

² Duchesne de Bellecourt: *La guerre du Paraguay* (*Revue des deux mondes*, September 15, 1866, p. 286).

³ Evans, 99.

which it instituted revealed the real abominations which had been committed, and that the men of the South had treated their enemies with refinements of cruelty which deserve to be publicly branded with shame. Only a country in which slavery reigns, and where the heart is hardened by the habitual spectacle of inhuman treatment, could offer such a sight. But we fondly hope that such things are only exceptions, the renewal of which the Committees will do well to oppose with all their power. Already, on a more recent occasion, the prisoners of war have had to praise the conduct of the victor. We allude to the crew of the Spanish gunboat *Virgen de Covadonga*, captured on the 26th November, 1865, by the Chilian corvette *Esmeralda*. Eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men were sent into the interior, to Santiago, where they received from the inhabitants all the care desirable, a subscription being made for their assistance.¹ During the war in America, the agents of the Sanitary Commission—those, for instance, in Fort Delaware—worked unceasingly in the distribution of medicines, nutritious food, warm clothing, tracts, books, and writing materials; and also in exhorting them and conversing with them. The prisoners gratefully received both moral and material assistance.² Let us also remember that, during the war in Schleswig, the prisoners had not to complain of their enemies. Captain Van de Velde, who visited them, at Copenhagen, as a deputy from the International Committee of Geneva, says, “The

¹ *Star and Herald*, of Panama.

² Mackenzie, 37.

halls in which they were placed were large, and their food and general treatment were excellent; they were allowed two hours each day to walk upon the ramparts of the citadel, and permission to correspond with their relatives and friends, provided their letters were submitted to the inspection of the general. They were all in good spirits, and contented.”¹ These principles of humanity have even found their way to nations which are not Christian. Before the rise of Abd-el-Kader, not a single soldier who fell into the hands of the Arabs of Algeria received quarter. In their eyes it was more glorious to bring home a head than a prisoner. As soon as he rose to power, the Emir undertook to struggle against this terrible habit. He offered his troops eight douros (forty francs) for every prisoner, and suppressed the custom of paying for an enemy’s head.²

The committees might also employ their influence to cause the prohibition of the use of such or such a means of destruction, the adoption of which would only be a retrogressive step towards barbarism. “War is an act of force, whose object is to constrain an adversary to do what we will.”³ But are all the means of constraint to be indifferently accepted? Evidently not. Why should the belligerents mercilessly harm one another more than is necessary? “Any useless suffering, any injury which does not seriously weaken the enemy, with a view to bring about peace more speedily,

¹ Van de Velde, 154. ² Bellemare : Abd-el-Kader, p. 324.

³ De Clausewitz, i. 4.

is condemned by the human conscience, and it ought to be rejected by modern international law.”¹ The rules of war expressly forbid to poison wells and fountains, or provisions to be eaten by the enemy; to send to him men suffering from contagious diseases; to make use of certain projectiles, &c. Public feeling also forbids certain ways of injuring an enemy. It was thus that, at the time of the Italian campaign in 1859, Count Cavour publicly protested against an act of barbarity committed by Austrians upon some peasants who had been put to death with culpable levity.² On the other hand, one of the most noble examples of humanity which can be proposed for the imitation of future warriors is the warning given by Prince Menschikoff, Commander of the Russian Forces in the Crimea, to the French General-in-Chief, when he politely informed him that the works in the trenches were on the point of being carried into a part of the Cemetery of Sebastopol, in which persons had been buried who had died of the plague.³

There is, then, a limit to be placed to the horrors of war, an ideal limit, fixed by conscience, and which varies, in fact, according to time and place, with the sensitiveness to moral impressions.

It has been pretended that, in our days, this has been neglected, through abuse in the adoption of certain means of destruction. “The progress in the perfection of the means of destruction is fearful,” said

¹ Audiganne: *Economie de la paix*, p. 116.

² Poplimont, 286.

³ Scrive, 138.

General Jomini. "Congreve rockets, Shrapnell shells, which discharge a shower of bullets at the same range as a cannon-ball, the steam-gun of Perkins, the fire of which is equal to that of a battalion, will perhaps increase a hundredfold the chances of carnage; as if hecatombs such as Eylau, Borodino, Leipsic and Waterloo, were not sufficient to decimate the population of Europe! If the sovereigns do not meet in congress to proscribe the inventions of death and destruction, there will remain only one thing to be done, namely, to have the half of an army composed of cavalry in armour, able to seize with rapidity all such machines; while the infantry will be compelled to recur to the iron armour of the middle ages, without which a battalion will be stretched on the ground before it is able to reach the enemy."¹ Even conical bullets have been objected to, as their effects are so much more terrible than the balls formerly in use.² "If the aim of regular and just warfare," exclaimed Dr. Landa at the Conference of Geneva, "is to disable the enemy, and not to kill, still less to martyrize him, why not return to the spherical ball, of which the wound is sufficient to disable a man? Of what advantage are these additional murderous precautions, which so closely resemble the refined cruelty of the savage. Gentlemen, let us return towards sentiments of chivalry. What has been gained by perfecting the fire-arm, but to see it dethroned by the bayonet, and

¹ de Jomini, i. 114.

² Bertherand, 158; Appia (*a*), 190, 230; Quesnoy, 71.

to render the result of a battle once more dependent on single combats, in which sublime tactics are of no use; the general ceasing to be a man of science, and transforming himself into a leader in a fight changed into a butchery. This is the position in which we find ourselves at present, after so much scientific progress made in fire-arms! We have retrograded to the middle ages!"¹

We are aware that this opinion has met with contradiction which we may be permitted to repeat. "Philanthropic minds," said General Clausewitz, "may conceive the existence of some artificial means of disarming or disabling an adversary without inflicting upon him too many wounds, and see in that idea the real object of war. Specious as this error may be, it is necessary to destroy it, for, in a thing so terrible as war, it is precisely the errors resulting from kindness of heart which are the most pernicious. . . . It will never be possible to introduce a moderating principle into the philosophy of war, without committing an absurdity. . . . If a sanguinary struggle forms a terrible spectacle, let it serve to make the serious nature of war better known! But, to allow humanity gradually to take the edge from the sword of battle, is to expose ourselves to see some one suddenly interfere who employs without scruple the sharp blade, before which we should find ourselves entirely defenceless."² The soldier who spoke thus had, nevertheless, felt his heart revolt in the presence of the horrors

¹ Conférence, 45.

² de Clausewitz, 1, 5, 438.

which he looked upon as inseparable from battle, and he avowed that, "it is there one sees that which is repugnant to the heart which beats in the breast of the commander."¹

Is, then, the problem beyond solution, and must we renounce the hope of "reconciling the philanthropic spirit of our age with the fatal science of war, or harmonizing so many benevolent institutions and so many homicidal inventions—asylums and gunboats, *crèches* and rifled cannon?"² We believe we need not despair of doing so, and we strengthen our confidence by that of a very competent judge, the Duke de Fezensac, President of the Paris Committee, who, in his *Souvenirs militaires*, "incessantly recalls war not only to its respect for humanity, as compatible with its terrible mission, but also to its own rules and its special laws."³

We hold, therefore, that in general it is the duty of all the Relief Committees to keep watch over the observance of the rules of war. They will thus fulfil that which is expected of them, if they employ the moral authority with which they are invested in branding with disgrace infractions of the rights of mankind, and citing abuses at the bar of public opinion. The fear of general reprobation is already, and will become still more so, a troublesome but salutary check on combatants, of which the Committees ought to make use.

III. Let us now examine to what extent, in time of war, the Committees will be able to render each other

¹ de Clausewitz, 435.

² Cavillier-Fleury: *Etudes et portraits*, p. 191. ³ Ibid.

mutual support, and in what manner the spirit of universal charity which animates them can manifest itself. Their programme would, in fact, be very imperfectly carried out, if their connection ceased with peace.

In the first place, there are Committees with whom common action would be inevitable, namely, those of Federal States. When corps are formed of troops belonging to different confederate countries, it will be necessary to centralize the work, in order to prevent falling again into the embarrassment which the Conference endeavoured to avert, and thus to profit by the lessons of the past. As far as the United States of America are concerned, it may be said that the question is settled ; thanks to the experience which they have acquired, they know the value of unity of action. Switzerland, also, is little exposed to the dangers of disunion ; its inhabitants are too much accustomed to unite their efforts, when the general interest requires it, not to understand what to do in such a case. The Germanic Confederation appears to us to be much less prepared to feel the necessity of union, and we much doubt if a Central German Committee would act with any chance of success. If hostilities commenced, the German army would be assisted by the Committees of Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, Stuttgart, Schwerin, Hamburg, and other places, which probably would not be willing to allow supremacy to any one, while the others would be simply acting as its auxiliaries. It is, nevertheless, that course which will have to be adopted, if the resources are to

be employed to the utmost profit. It is not for us to untie the knot formed by this delicate position ; but it will no doubt be sufficient to have exposed it, to ensure the attention of those competent to deal with it.

War is never so general but there some spectators ; and these, although not interested in the quarrel, ought not to remain impassive spectators of it. The Conference lays down as a rule that the Committees of the belligerent nations can ask the assistance of the Committees belonging to neutral nations (Art. 5), which implies for these latter the moral duty of granting it. We even go further than this, and think that neutrals ought, in every case, to offer their services, and contribute to a certain extent to the assistance distributed by the Committees of the belligerent nations. We should go beyond the mark in obliging them to imitate the excellent conduct of the Committee of Hamburg, which, in the last war in Schleswig, only applied its resources exclusively to the German army, after the Danish army had refused to receive a share of them. We know that on the same occasion the International Committee, animated by the same spirit, sent a delegate into each camp, to set an example of that impartiality which it rightly believed ought to preside over the actions of the Committees.¹ We admit, as far as we are concerned, that political and other sympathies determine preferences, and that an inclination is felt to go to the assistance of only one of the antagonists.

¹ Comité International.

We make allowances, also, for distance, and the greater or less facility of communication, which will not permit every one to join in the work to the same extent. But it is most essential that none should refrain from rendering assistance, and that, when war breaks out anywhere, all should feel themselves responsible for the aid to be given to its victims. All the Committees will have to contribute their mite, in order that their intervention may acquire all the value and weight of a collective manifestation.

As regards administration, it is hardly necessary to say, that the neutral Committees ought not to present themselves on the theatre of war as administrators. If they are permitted to act, it can only be on the condition that they are more or less amalgamated with the Committee which they propose to second, and which alone will be responsible to the Commander-in-Chief. It is he alone who must organize and direct the assistance; assigning to its auxiliaries, as well as to its own sections, the position they are to occupy.

We do not regard the international relations between Committees of belligerents as exemplified in the fusion of their agents on the field of battle, or in the cantonments of troops actually in presence, but only in the special attentions they will bestow on adversaries fallen into the hands of the army to which they are attached. These will consist in a reciprocity of services to the sick and wounded, as well as to the prisoners who are in good health.

As to the first, the Committees will make it a point

of honour to observe the Convention of Geneva, which says, that "*wounded or sick soldiers shall be entertained and taken care of, to whatever nation they may belong.*" (Art. 6.) It is with this feeling that they should offer aid to their respective governments, and it will be a consoling guarantee for the fate of the men whom it may be necessary to abandon to them. Moreover, the Treaty, on this point, only registered an established rule; and it is asserted that medical assistance has been given in the most recent campaigns, as well as in more remote wars, to wounded enemies as equally as to friends. In the Crimea, in Italy, in Denmark, they were all treated with the same care. It is certain, nevertheless, that, do what we may, wounded men received by the enemy will have more to suffer than others; for, if they are as well off as their adversaries as regards material aid, they endure moral sufferings which the others do not share. Hence arises an inequality of suffering, which the Committees ought to endeavour to diminish, especially as the military administration has no time to attend to it. It must be acknowledged that soldiers, though severely wounded, having the benefit of the Treaty of Geneva, will not have to bear, in the same degree, the privations to which we allude. Should they be transported, before their capture, to one of their field or stationary hospitals, even if the enemy takes possession of this, their position will not be changed. Not only will they remain undisturbed, but they will continue to receive the care of their countrymen. The Treaty will also

contribute to diminish the number of persons absent from their country, in permitting the sanitary staff, by virtue of its neutrality, more freedom in the removal of the wounded, and in facilitating the immediate return of those who are incurable. Each belligerent will, nevertheless, always have on his hands a certain number of enemies, deserving the commiseration of the Committees.

Besides these, there will always be prisoners of war, whose state will probably be far from what could be wished. Who will assist them? Those who are on the spot where they are detained are in the best position to judge of what they want, while the fellow-countrymen of the prisoners are the most inclined to make sacrifices for them. The consequence of this state of things will be an exchange of communications between the Committees of the belligerents to regulate such assistance, and by a system of compensation to avoid changes of residence and unnecessary expense.

But the special task of the Committees in what concerns the prisoners, as well wounded as sick, will be moral aid, in order to counterbalance the misfortunes of the same description which befall those unfortunate individuals, owing to "their exile far from their country, in regions where everything is unknown to them—manners, usages, and language."¹ "The assistance and consolation to be given to prisoners of war who are not wounded have not, perhaps, sufficiently attracted the attention of the Congress," said Dr. Chenu.² This

¹ (Demidoff) Conférence, 28.

² Chenu, 706.

reproach was called forth by the fact that the Conference was placed in a position to occupy itself with this subject, but threw it aside and passed to the order of the day. But we must not conclude from this that it failed to recognize the great propriety of the matter. It was only put aside because the principal object which demanded the attention of the Congress occupied all its time, and it would be unjust to construe this adjournment as a refusal to discuss the question. That which the Conference might have done would have been explicitly to refer it for examination by the Committees, and it is in such a sense that we believe its decision must be interpreted.

Let us, then, endeavour to fix the nature of the moral aid to be afforded by the Committees to the enemies confided to their charitable care.

What is most urgent is the formation of a service of interpreters. The impossibility of making ourselves understood is one of the most painful trials, particularly when we suffer physically, and feel the necessity of an exchange of ideas with those who approach us and have care of us. The permission granted to medical men to remain with patients, without fear of captivity, will in future render this privation less frequent; for to neutralize military medical officers "is to remove the causes which often prevented them from accomplishing their pious mission, and which sometimes obliged them to abandon the wounded." "Compatriotism inspires sick persons with con-

¹ Arrault, 30.

fidence in the medical man appointed to attend him by a similarity of habits and language. Notwithstanding political alliances, the aid of a stranger will never equal that fraternal charity, in which national sympathy can alone effectually supply the absence of family affection.”¹ Separated from their relations, soldiers ought to be, as far as possible, surrounded, through the care of the Committees, with persons who speak their language and can interpret their thoughts. This will become more difficult when a dialect, but little known beyond a certain district, has to be encountered. M. Frossard relates that he saw in an hospital at Constantinople, at the time of the war in the East, an Arab, both of whose legs had been recently amputated, and who suffered cruelly through being unable to make himself understood.² This example is the more striking as the man in question was not in an enemy’s hands, but in his own camp. Dr. Evans observed, during the campaign of Italy in 1859, that “the want which was chiefly felt in the hospitals was for nurses who, having received some education, were capable of conversing in different languages. The Austrian soldiers belonged to most different nationalities: among them were all the varieties of the Germans, Croats, Servians, Hungarians, and Walachians. Of thousands of poor wounded men, scarcely one knew a word of Italian; the surgeons and nurses, for their part, being also incapable of communicating with these miserable beings in their own language. This circum-

Bertherand, 16.

² Frossard, 50.

stance led, as may be easily understood, to the most terrible confusion, and very much increased the suffering of the patients.”¹

The religious question next arises. In the sad position in which the persons to whom we allude are placed, they require, more than ever, the consolations of religion, and yet they run great risk of being deprived of them. It frequently happens that belligerents do not follow the same form of worship, and that their almoners cannot accompany them into the enemy's country, notwithstanding the neutrality which protects them, and the immunities they enjoy, by virtue of their particular character. Well, it will be the strict duty of the Committees to invite ecclesiastics of different denominations to exercise their religious functions for the benefit of their respective co-religionists. It was thus that the almoners—sent to the Crimea by the French Protestant churches—employed themselves usefully for the Russian Protestant prisoners, who, without that, would not have found any minister of their religion among the official agents of the French army.²

As regards correspondence, the necessity to provide for it cannot be overlooked by any one. “Correspondence is the consolation of the prisoner, and in it is found his courage and resignation; and it is that which reconciles him to exile, and makes him appreciate without hostile prejudice the country where chance has placed him.”³ We borrow these words of Prince Demidoff, who, during the war in the Crimea, himself

¹ Evans, ix.

² Aumôniers, 28.

³ Conférence, 28.

undertook to facilitate the exchange of communications between the prisoners and their families. His first endeavours were for his countrymen, the Russians, by means of an agent whom he established in Paris, and of two ecclesiastics who visited them in all their dépôts in France and England. Next he extended the benefit of this arrangement to the prisoners dispersed through Russia, by means of a general centre of correspondence which he formed at Constantinople. And it is essential to state that the governments generously granted to this undertaking the greatest facilities, and permitted it to be carried out upon excellent conditions. The Russians detained in England were also under the care of an English Society.¹

The return home of the wounded and other prisoners will close, as far as the Committees are concerned, the series of operations of the campaigns. Not only will it be necessary to see that their rights are not forgotten, nor their liberation unduly retarded, but it will be necessary to give them some protection on their road. Superintendents should be appointed to receive them at the successive stages, to supply their wants, and to give them the necessary directions for continuing their route without inconvenience. Information of their departure should also be given to the Committee of the country to which they belong, in order that it may, so to speak, come to meet and receive them at the frontier.

Lastly, the Committees could undertake to restore to the families of soldiers who have died in the enemy's


¹ The Army Scripture Readers' and Soldier's Friend Society.

hands any articles of value which may have belonged to them, such as watches, jewellery, purses, pocket-books, &c. This is now done, but very imperfectly, through the care of the official administration. One of the agents of the *Rauhe-Haus* relates that, in Schleswig, he saw on a table a collection of such things, which the Prussians were preparing to send to the Danes by a *parlementaire*.¹ It is very certain that there is much confusion in these operations, and that the Committees could acquit themselves of the task with more care and regularity, to the great satisfaction of the relations of the victims, who in general attach great importance to these souvenirs.

It is thus evident that there are not wanting motives for intercourse between the Committees of belligerents, who will easily find reasons in favour of international relations. The importance of these might even justify, on the part of the Committees, the formation during war of a special service, in the functions of which will be included all the causes for activity which we have sketched out, in order to be certain that this essential and characteristic part of the work is not forgotten nor neglected.

¹ *Fliegende Blätter*, 1864, No. 3.

A LECTURE delivered at the Royal United Service Institution, on Friday, March 16th, 1866, Major Sir Harry Verney, Bart., M.P., in the Chair, on the GENEVA CONVENTION of August the 22nd, 1864, and on the National Committees formed in various countries for Aiding in Ameliorating the Condition of the Sick and Wounded of Armies in time of War. By Deputy Inspector-General T. LONGMORE, C.B., Professor of Military Surgery at the Army Medical School.

HE CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure of introducing to you Professor Longmore, Professor of Military Surgery at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley. He has seen a great deal of service in the Crimea, and he has given particular attention to the subject which he brings before us to-day. Professor Longmore was sent by our Government to the Conference which was held at Geneva two years ago; and I beg to mention to you that this morning Miss

Nightingale said to me, she thought there was no person better qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, and to discuss it, than Professor Longmore.

Professor LONGMORE: In the early part of last winter it was intimated to me that the Council of the Royal United Service Institution desired to have a lecture on the subject of the International Congress, which was held at Geneva in 1864, for ameliorating the condition of the wounded soldiers of armies in the field by obtaining a treaty for their neutralization, and I was asked if I would undertake its delivery. I acceded to the request without hesitation, and I did so for two reasons. The first was that I knew there existed no little misapprehension in the minds of some persons in this country respecting the objects of this Congress, and considerable doubt as to the practicability of carrying into effect the terms of the international treaty which resulted from it; the second was, that having had the honour of being sent to the Congress as one of the representatives of the British Government, and, moreover, having acted at the Congress as one of the members of the sub-committee whose duty it was to weigh carefully the written terms in which each article of the Convention was expressed, I felt I probably possessed the means of removing some of the misapprehensions to which I have referred, and of showing that the treaty contains nothing which is impracticable, or inconsistent with national or military requirements. It also appeared to me that I might, perhaps, be of use by calling

attention to the advisability of steps being taken in this country for the formation of a national committee, similar to the committees which have been formed in most other European countries, for aiding their respective Governments in time of war in ministering to the necessities of sick and wounded soldiers. I am impressed with the importance of the subject being considered now, while we enjoy the leisure of peace ; and of the committee, if one should be formed in this country, being organized and directed by persons holding positions of social weight and influence, as well as by officers possessing extended military experience ; so that whatever preparations may be made, or course of action resolved upon, the steps taken in case of war breaking out may be uniform, may be such as will excite sympathy and confidence in the nation at large, and, at the same time, such as will harmonize with the necessities of campaigning and the general arrangements of military service. Keeping the several objects I have named in view, I propose, firstly, to lay before you a brief sketch of the circumstances which gave rise to the International Congress in 1864 ; secondly, to explain the results of the Congress, as exhibited in the articles of the Convention acceded to by Her Majesty's Government ; and, thirdly, to describe the functions of the National Committees which have been formed in the principal countries of Europe, as well as to submit a few reasons for the establishment of a similar committee in this country.

Firstly, then, as to the *history* of the Congress.

No one who has studied the moral and political progress of a nation can fail to notice the prominence of certain successive periods in its history, within each of which a general condition has been arrived at notably favourable for the development of some fresh and important advance in civilization which has followed. It seems to be similar in moral progress to what we often observe in the progress of physical science, which, owing to successive additions to its stores of knowledge, and to concurrent circumstances, from time to time reaches such a stage of improvement that important discoveries, or valuable applications of the information already gained, spring from it, almost spontaneously, as it were, and occur to the minds of several individuals nearly at one and the same moment. The apostles of moral and political advancement, whose names are household words among us, have, in frequent instances, owed their success and influence, not merely to their own zealous efforts, but also to the fact that they raised their voices at a time when many had become prepared and well disposed to listen; whereas others, equally zealous, and of equal power, had previously failed in advocating the same doctrines, because the period favourable for their reception had not yet arrived.

So it seems to have been in respect to the International Congress and treaty of which we are now speaking. There was nothing in the objects of the Congress, there is no provision in the treaty which has resulted from it, which had not been previously

advocated by able and earnest men of various countries. Not only had individuals advocated, but in some instances the commanders of armies in the field had of their own accord, agreed to, and carried into effect, the principles embodied in the articles of the Geneva Convention. Such instances, however, have been few, and are remarkable as exceptional cases. The fitting time has only recently arrived for what was exceptional to become the rule, for such topics as those which are embraced in the Geneva Convention to excite general interest, and to be held to be of sufficient importance to European Governments to enter into a treaty respecting them. We must look to the vast increase in the means of diffusing information ; to the facilities for rapid personal intercommunication ; to the general attention now paid to the great events which stir mankind, of which wars are among the most stirring in their nature and their consequences ; to the spread of more civilized and humane feelings, and the abatement of national animosities ; and to the higher estimate of the value of life everywhere ; if we seek for an explanation of the altered circumstances of our times in respect to the matters of which I am speaking.

The moral influences, no less than the military circumstances, of modern battles are greatly changed by the changed conditions of things around us. While the names of the killed are hardly known at the place of action itself, while the numbers of the wounded are scarcely counted, electric messages inform the world that a battle has been fought, that a

victory has been achieved, or a reverse sustained. The fears and hopes of thousands are at once excited, and general sympathy is awakened. While the wounds of the wounded are still recent, and the lives of many who are under the care of the military surgeons are still trembling in the balance, private communications from comrades, or from friends who have hastened to assist in the relief of sufferers, and public accounts, multiplied and diffused far and wide by the press, rouse the attention of all ranks of society to individual concerns, and to detailed incidents of the conflict, to an extent which was unknown, and, indeed, impossible, before the existence of telegraph wires, railroads, steam, and of all the machinery for the rapid diffusion of intelligence and personal observations, which exist in our epoch. In former days, the *general* results of war were made public, the knowledge of *personal* circumstances was exceptional, and limited to a narrow sphere ; now the personal are almost as widely known as the general results. No wonder, then, on the one hand, that in former days the evils of war, being regarded as incapable of mitigation, or being unknown until all power of affording aid was passed, were left to be dealt with entirely by the governing authorities ; or, on the other hand, that in our time public sympathy has sought to lessen these evils by committees of relief, by volunteer assistance, by donations of materials, by patriotic associations for the support of widows and orphans, by the special employment of soldiers disabled for ordinary occupa-

tions, and by various other means too numerous to be mentioned; or even that the mitigation of the rigours and sufferings of war should be thought worthy of being made an object of international concern.

It was undoubtedly to the direct influence of the work, written by Monsieur Henry Dunant, entitled "*Un Souvenir de Solferino*," as well as to the personal exertions of that gentleman, that the movement which led to the International Congress of 1864 and its results was immediately due. Monsieur Dunant, a Swiss gentleman, was travelling in Italy, on his own account, in the year 1859, and was in the neighbourhood of Solferino on the day of the great battle of the 24th of June. The aspect of the battle-field, the sufferings of the vast numbers of wounded scattered over it, and the occurrences which he afterwards witnessed in the hospitals, where Monsieur Dunant remained for some days assisting as a volunteer in attending upon the wounded, excited in him the strongest mental emotions. Notwithstanding the able arrangements of Baron Larrey, the chief of the medical service in the field; notwithstanding the liberal provision which had been made by the administrative functionaries of the French army, in surgeons, in the means of transport, surgical stores, and sick dietary; notwithstanding, in addition, the aid afforded by some of the inhabitants of the places to which the wounded were first brought, M. Dunant saw that many of the wounded, owing to the vastness of their number, were left for some days without attention, and still

longer without an adequate amount of nursing and surgical relief, and he was led to consider whether there were any means by which this superadded suffering in time of war might be obviated. Thus was formed the train of ideas which subsequently led to the publication of the "*Souvenir de Solferino*" in 1862.

The work may be regarded as consisting of two parts, although the diction is continuous; the first being a description of the incidents which Monsieur Dunant had observed in the battle-field and in the improvised hospitals at Castiglione, on the road to Brescia, and elsewhere; the second being a series of arguments in favour of a proposition for founding in every country permanent societies of persons willing to prepare themselves for supplementing the regular military establishments of surgical assistance in time of war—volunteers trained and organized beforehand for carrying the wounded from the field, and for attending upon them afterwards in hospitals with requisite skill and care, under the direction of competent authority. Since it was on the field of battle, and in the crowded temporary hospitals in its immediate neighbourhood, that Monsieur Dunant had chiefly observed the want of sufficient assistance, it was in these situations that M. Dunant thought aid could most efficiently be given by devoted volunteers acting from motives of humanity and patriotism. I will notice presently how far such a system appears practicable to those who have considered the subject.

M. Dunant's work created a great sensation, and

was quickly translated into several European languages. At the time of its publication there existed, and still exists, at Geneva, a society called the Genevese Society of Public Utility (*La Société Genevoise d'Utilité Publique*), and this society appointed a committee, of which General Dufour, the General-in-Chief of the Swiss Confederation, accepted the presidency, for the purpose of supporting and encouraging the dissemination of the proposals which had emanated from M. Dunant. The action of this committee subsequently led to the convocation of an International Conference on the subject. This was held at Geneva, in October, 1863, and was attended by delegates from sixteen Governments, viz., from Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, Italy, Prussia, Russia, Saxony, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wurtemberg. This Congress, which must not be confounded with the subsequent Congress of 1864, sat four days, and discussed several articles which were laid before the assembled delegates for consideration by the Genevese Committee before named. Some of the propositions contained in these articles were assented to; others, especially those relating to the organization of corps of volunteer hospital attendants invested with independent action, were only accepted in part, and became considerably modified in the resolutions which the delegates finally agreed upon.

The delegates adopted and recommended a proposal that in every country central and sectional committees

should be formed, for the purpose of supplementing in time of war, by every constitutional and practical means in their power, the regular hospital service of the army. But they did not support the articles in which propositions were contained for volunteer hospital attendants to be organized under engagements to serve during definite limited periods, with the right of being employed, according to their own desire, on duty in the field or in the hospitals. The articles proposed that these volunteers should wear a distinctive uniform ; that, their exclusively charitable character being recognized, their persons should be held sacred ; and, lastly, that, following in the rear of armies, they should make no claims on the armies which they accompanied, but that they should take with them their own provision of means of transport, rations, and the material necessary for the exercise of their functions.

It was obvious enough to officers of military experience that these proposals, as they stood, would lead to interference with that unity and supremacy of control which is so essential for military discipline and success, even if they were not altogether impracticable, and they finally assumed at the hands of the assembly the following shape : that the National Committees, under whose direction the volunteer hospital attendants would be trained, should, in concurrence with the military authorities, designate the places where they were to attend upon the wounded ; that on the demand, or with the permission, of the military authorities, the National Committees might send volunteers into the

field, on the understanding that, while there, they were to be placed exclusively under the order of the Commander of the Forces for duty. So far, then, as regards the manner in which the propositions which were submitted to this Conference of 1863 were dealt with; in addition, however, before separating, the delegates recorded by general vote a strong appeal to the Governments of all civilized nations to come to an agreement for according the benefits of neutrality to all soldiers of regular armies, whatever nation they might belong to, who had the misfortune to be placed *hors de combat* by wounds or sickness in time of war, as well as to the hospitals receiving them, the hospital staff and attendants, and to any of the inhabitants at the seat of war who might give them assistance; that a common recognizable sign should be adopted to indicate the medical staff of all armies; and that a common flag should be adopted in every country to designate the military hospitals.

Two actions followed the resolutions of the International Assembly of 1863. One of these was the formation of National Committees in various countries; among others, in Austria, Prussia, and Denmark, where the Committees were soon called upon to discharge their functions practically in the war which shortly afterwards occurred in Schleswig-Holstein. The second was a course of proceeding which ultimately led to the International Congress of 1864, for the purpose of considering the question of the neutralization of the sick and wounded soldiers of belligerent armies. This

is the Congress from which the Convention emanated which we shall have to consider presently.

This Congress was assembled in accordance with a request from the Supreme Federal Council of Switzerland. The Geneva Committee, which I have before mentioned, and to which the designation of "International Committee" had been given at the Conference of 1863, having ascertained that fifteen of the Cabinets of Europe were favourable to the adoption of a treaty for the neutralization of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war, as well as of the *personnel* employed in attending upon them, solicited the Swiss Government to invite the other Governments to take part in a General Congress for discussing and agreeing upon terms on which a convention on the subject might be based. The Federal Council acceded to the request, and proposed Geneva as the place of meeting, and the 8th of August as the time for opening the Congress. It was felt that Switzerland, with no permanent army of its own, and placed as a nation in an independent position, as it were, with regard to the conflicting interests of the great European powers, might initiate such a movement with grace and propriety.

The invitation was accepted by sixteen powers, and the Congress was opened, on the date before named, in a portion of the Hôtel de Ville at Geneva, which was furnished for the occasion by the Federal Government. The representatives, twenty-five in number, consisted of members of the diplomatic service, as well as officers of the military and medical staff of various

armies. The deliberations lasted nearly a fortnight, and the terms were finally agreed upon for the Convention, which was signed, on the 22nd day of August, by the representatives of twelve Governments who had accredited their delegates with sufficient powers for signing a treaty. Subsequently it was adhered to by four others, including our own Government. The accession of the British Government to the Convention was signed at London on the 18th of February, 1865.

The Governments which have acceded to the Convention, in addition to the Government of England, are those of France, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, Baden, Wurtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt.

This is a remarkable instance of a general treaty brought about by the exertions of an individual in private life: at the same time, without the active support and operations of the International Committee of Geneva, but, above all, without an advanced philanthropy inducing a strong general desire for lessening, as much as practicable, the evils of war to individual soldiers, who, after all, have no personal feelings in the conflicts in which they are engaged, who only act as instruments; without these aids, it is more than probable that the benevolent efforts of Monsieur Dunant would never have achieved the work they at last accomplished.

I have thus rapidly glanced at the history of the circumstances which led to the International Congress

of 1864. I have now to give some account of the several articles of the Convention which resulted from it.

It is important to understand that the particular aim of this Congress was to obtain the neutralization of the wounded of belligerent armies and of the *personnel* and *matériel* which are necessary for their care and treatment. Hitherto it has not been the custom of war to regard soldiers disabled by wounds, any more than the surgeons or others in attendance upon them who might fall into the hands of an enemy, as neutrals. As already noticed, in a few exceptional instances, from motives of generosity or by special agreement between hostile generals, both wounded soldiers and military surgeons have been so regarded; but the general custom has been to regard them as prisoners of war, and, like all other prisoners, only to be given up on the principle of exchange. Equally, all hospital and ambulance transport equipment or materials falling into the hands of the enemy were regarded as prize of war. The Congress of 1864 was solely to determine whether the humane principles which had now and then been applied exceptionally, might not, under certain limitations, be rendered consistent with military necessities on all occasions, and be established as a rule.

As to the question of a common flag, if the sick and wounded were to be treated as neutrals by belligerents, and if the military hospitals, attendants, ambulance transport, and the surgical materials necessary

for the wounded were to be included in the protection accorded to the wounded themselves, it would naturally follow that a common flag or some other recognizable sign would be necessary to indicate them, so as to secure the protection they were entitled to.

I have dwelt upon the special purpose of this Congress, because it was supposed by some persons that the question of independent volunteer attendants, which had been discussed, as I have already mentioned, in the former assembly of 1863, was again to be opened and discussed in the Congress of 1864. This erroneous supposition led to the Congress being regarded with suspicion, and even with positive disapprobation, by some who would doubtless have regarded it very differently had no such views been entertained by them. But it was only on a positive understanding that this question was not to be reopened, and with a predetermined resolution not to join in any treaty which included the admission of *independent* volunteers, that some of the delegates were sent by their respective Governments to the Congress. On examination of the articles of the Convention, it may be noticed that all allusion to volunteers has been rigorously excluded from the treaty. In case of volunteer corps of hospital attendants being organized, there are other fields open for the exercise of their patriotic and charitable functions besides those with the armies operating in the field, where endless difficulties might arise from their independent presence under the ordinary circumstances of campaigning. Should their

services be required in the field by the supreme military authority, they would doubtless only be accepted on the condition of the men of the corps becoming incorporated and forming for the time part of the military establishment, and of their being subject to all the rules and articles of war; and then they would fall under the benefits of the treaty, because they would be comprised in the *personnel* of the hospitals under the second article.

The articles in which the terms of the Convention are embodied are nine in number, and the following is a copy of them in the translated form in which they were presented when the accession of the British Government to the treaty was laid before Parliament. (*See p. 337, ante.*)

I will now consider these articles separately.

The first article naturally provided for the security of the hospitals in which the wounded might happen to be collected. Military hospitals, both those in the field and those of a more permanent kind in rear, were to be recognized as neutral points, and to be safe from attack or disturbance. But as these hospitals were only to be respected for the sake of the wounded contained in them, it became necessary to stipulate that the presence in them of these sick or wounded was essential for ensuring a title to this consideration. Hospitals and their contents, when unoccupied by patients, would naturally fall under the ordinary rules of war, just as any other buildings or *matériel*. It became also evident, on discussion, that the stipulated

immunity from attack of a hospital might, in certain situations, and under certain circumstances, be abused, and it was necessary to provide against such an abuse. A mortar battery might be so placed in rear of a hospital as to be incapable of attack so long as the hospital itself had to be respected; or the hospital might be placed in a position of strategic importance, with a military force holding the position, under pretence of guarding the hospital. The restriction that the neutrality would cease if the hospital was held by a military force became therefore necessary. Of course a simple guard, for the maintenance of military order and discipline, was not intended to be included in this restriction.

Military hospitals, with certain reservation, being thus recognized as neutral, it next became necessary to define the *personnel* who were to be included in the benefits of this neutrality, and to lay down any restrictions necessary for ensuring that the neutrality should only be applied to the purposes for which it was admitted. In the first place, the neutrality of the hospital *personnel* was only agreed upon in the interest of the wounded, not for the individual benefit of the persons comprising the *personnel*; and, in the second place, the interests of every army at large would require that steps should be taken to guard against persons moving among its ranks, and perhaps abusing the opportunity of observation thus afforded under cover of neutrality. With these ends in view, the second and third articles of the treaty were framed.

In defining the *personnel*, all the classes of persons usually comprised in the official organization of military hospitals were included ; not only the medical officers and their subordinates, but those also in whom the functions of general superintendence, administration of supplies, and transportation of wounded were vested ; in short, all the official hospital establishments. To none of them, however, was accorded the neutrality, excepting so long as the sick and wounded needed their services. They might remain on duty with the wounded of the forces to which they were attached with impunity, even after the conquering army had gained possession of the ground on which those wounded were—a great boon under circumstances where the conquered might happen to speak a different language from the conquerors, or when the latter had limited means of surgical attendance at their disposal. When no wounded remained to require their services, the neutralized persons would be permitted to rejoin the forces to which they belonged, and their neutrality would only cover them from the hospital up to their arrival at the advanced posts of these forces, to which they would be conducted under the charge of the army occupying the position from which they retired. These limitations obviated the risk of persons included in the second article abusing their neutrality for purposes of spying or idling.

The fourth article settles the terms on which the *matériel* of ambulances and hospitals is to be regarded under the treaty. By the first article, ambulances and

military hospitals being only neutralized while containing sick or wounded, they and their contents would, by the laws of war, become the property of the conquering force when no sick or wounded remained in them. No reason for altering this was advanced so far as regards the fixed hospitals, but many reasons were found for mutually agreeing that this right of the conqueror should not be exercised so far as regarded the ambulances, or moving field hospitals. Take away the *matériel* from these—the stretchers and other articles of field transport, the means of dressing the wounded, the restoratives, the appliances for lessening the evils of transportation, and such things—and you deprive the soldiers who may be afterwards wounded of their first means of safety, and add greatly to their sufferings. Moreover, while the stores and furniture of stationary hospitals are often collected in abundance as reserves, and are costly, those of the ambulances are necessarily limited, and of little money value as prize of war to the captors. The *matériel* of the ambulances was therefore neutralized, while only the private property of the *personnel* employed in the fixed hospitals was protected by this article.

The best plan for securing another important means of succouring the wounded, especially after great battles, was a subject of much consideration. This was to secure the aid of the civil inhabitants of the towns and villages adjoining the site of the action, an object frequently found very difficult to attain. It was felt to be of the utmost importance to adopt measures

for dissipating the alarm which so frequently causes these persons to flee from the neighbourhood, and for obtaining their services as early as possible after the conflict. At such a time the victorious army has generally to occupy itself not only with its own injured and dead, but also with numbers of the enemy, not to mention various other duties which devolve on it ; and this is the very time when speedy removal from the scene of conflict, and immediate attention, is of vital importance to the wounded. Hence the fifth article was introduced, by which not only protection was promised to inhabitants assisting the wounded, but a dispensation from the quartering of troops and other advantages were agreed upon for those who received the wounded and attended upon them in their houses.

The sixth article binds the contracting parties to the treaty not only to give requisite care and treatment to all sick or wounded who may fall into their hands, but also enforces the important principle that the misfortunes of those who are disabled by the effects of their wounds are not to be aggravated by the many depressing influences which are entailed by banishment and loss of liberty :—they are not to be retained as prisoners of war. If circumstances admit, and mutual consent is given, the wounded may be given up at once, immediately after an action, to be cared for by their own army. Otherwise, if they are retained, and, after proper treatment, are found to be disabled for service, they are, by the treaty, to be sent back to their own country and friends. It is left optional, as regards

the wounded who recover completely from the effects of their injuries, for the contracting parties to determine whether they shall be sent back to their own country on condition of not serving again during the war, or whether this liberty shall not be granted. It was necessary to add a paragraph to this article to protect with neutrality not only the wounded or disabled soldiers while being convoyed to their destination, but those also who are engaged in the duty of directing the sick convoy.

To enable the neutralization of the ambulances, hospitals, ambulance transport, and their *personnel* to be effectually carried out, it was necessary, as I have before mentioned, to fix upon a common sign by which they might be recognized by all parties joining in the treaty. A flag was obviously the most convenient for the hospitals, both moving and fixed, and for sick convoys ; but, for distinguishing the *personnel*, a *bras-sard*, or arm-badge, that could be readily worn over a coat-sleeve, was fixed upon as the most convenient. The design proposed was a red cross, *alézée*, upon a white ground, and being simple, and, moreover, typical of the Christian principle of international charity embodied in the Convention, it was unanimously adopted. There was also a propriety in adopting this design, for, the colours being changed, it was the national flag of the country in which the Congress was then sitting, and to which—a neutral country itself, as it were, in the midst of the Great Powers of Europe—was due all the credit of the effort which was then being made to

lessen the rigours of war by neutralizing its chief sufferers. But in adopting this flag and common sign two things were necessary. Firstly, it was necessary to indicate not only the objects and persons having a right by treaty to be shielded by neutrality, but also to show to what country they belonged; the national flag was therefore required to accompany the neutral flag whenever the latter was used. Secondly, it was necessary to guard against any one assuming the use of the *brassard* who had no official title to it; therefore it was left to the military authorities to issue the *brassards*, so that the right persons only should have them. To the Generals-in-Chief of the belligerent armies was also left, by Article 8, the execution of the treaty in all other particulars under the instructions of their respective Governments; the object being to guard against any such rigid fulfilment of its terms being exacted as might on any occasion interfere with the general military interests, which, of course, must always be recognized as overriding the interests of the wounded, and all other interests, in time of war.

The ninth article provided for the treaty being left open for the subsequent admission of other Governments. A tenth article was included in the Convention, but this simply related to the formal arrangements for its ratification.

I have thus passed rapidly in review the terms embodied in the several articles of the Geneva Convention of 1864, and brought to notice the points which formed the chief subjects of discussion at the

meetings of the Congress in reference to them. The treaty will materially lessen the misfortunes of those officers and soldiers who happen to be disabled by wounds or sickness in time of war, for it establishes their neutrality and the neutralization of all that is essential to their preservation and restoration to their country and friends; and it does this without in any way interfering with the military interests of the belligerents. Its execution has been mutually agreed upon by a formal compact between the Governments of sixteen countries and states, including all the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Austria and Russia, and, as the treaty is still open to them, it is to be hoped that, although they have not yet joined it, they will eventually do so, and that the principles of justice and humanity embodied in it will become an established law among all the civilized nations of the world. The anxious consideration that was given to the articles of the treaty, not only by the delegates of such military nations as France and Prussia, but also by the higher military authorities in those countries (for constant communication was kept up with the central authorities during the sitting of the Congress), is calculated to remove any doubts as to the practicability of carrying out the terms of the treaty. But the practical nature of the compact is proved beyond doubt by the fact that, on certain occasions, as I have before remarked, to the honour of those concerned, the very provisions embodied in the treaty have been carried into practice by mutual special agreement. An historical

account of these occasions was printed and laid before the Congress by the International Committee at Geneva, and a notice of the principal among them may be found in the last edition of a little work entitled "*La Charité Internationale sur les Champs de Bataille*," which was published in Paris last year.

I have now to make a few remarks on the National Committees.

I have before mentioned that the International Conference of 1863, in addition to paving the way for the Congress of 1864, led to the establishment of National Committees in certain countries for assisting wounded soldiers in time of war, but I have not yet mentioned any particulars concerning these Committees. The general principles on which these Committees are formed were set forth by the Geneva Conference of 1863 in a series of ten resolutions. They may be summed up as follows:—Each Central Committee is to organize itself, and to form sub-committees and sections, in the manner most suitable to the circumstances of the country in which it is placed, and to establish relations with the Government, so that its offers of service may be acceptable when need of them shall arise. In time of peace, the Committee is to collect information on the best means of affording aid to the Government in case of war; to make itself acquainted with all improvements in the means of helping wounded soldiers; to employ itself in forming and training volunteers for service in hospitals approved by the authorities; to make a collection of the materials

most necessary for sick and wounded, and, in short, to study all matters that may conduce to the great object of ameliorating their condition in time of war. Friendly relations are to be kept up between the National Committees of different nations, so that any improvements in field transport, or inventions likely to be serviceable to sick and wounded in campaigning, made in one country, may be made known in other countries; just as improvements in the implements of destruction are mutually observed, and generally without much reserve communicated, between nations on friendly terms with each other. In time of war, the Central Committees of the belligerent nations are to become the agents of the public at large for affording aid through the proper authorities to the sick and wounded of the respective armies, and, if required to do so, but only if so required, are to place at the disposal of the military authorities volunteer assistants for service in hospitals, or even for carrying or otherwise helping the wounded in the field of action itself.

Committees based on these principles have now been formed in nearly all the chief capitals of Europe. These Committees present the names of military and civil persons distinguished by their official rank or social standing, and are generally under the patronage of members of royal families. In France, the Emperor has himself given marked encouragement to the undertaking, and the Central Committee in Paris has been constituted, with the Minister of War as honorary

president, and a General of Division as president. No Committee has as yet been formed in England, and I will presently mention some circumstances which lead me to think this a subject for regret.

Before stating them, however, I may mention that some of the National Committees formed since the Congress of 1863, have had the opportunity of practically exhibiting their usefulness in time of war. The campaign of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 gave opportunities to the Central and Sectional Committees in Prussia, Austria, and Denmark, of supplementing with advantage the official means of hospital assistance. The Central Committee at Berlin organized and furnished volunteer assistance, both in *matériel* and *personnel*. An appeal was made for surgical aid, and it was answered by sixty-eight young civil surgeons being sent to help in the hospitals at the seat of war, with the consent of the military authorities. In Copenhagen and Vienna, the Central Committees equally collected funds and assistance of all kinds for the sick and wounded, and organized a systematic distribution of them.

Doubtless there will not be less interest shown as regards the troops of this country, should they become engaged in active hostilities of an extended nature, than has been exhibited in the more important wars of recent years; and there can be no one among us who is not familiar with the volunteer philanthropy of this nation, its liberality, and the examples of personal devotion that were so conspicuous during the Crimean

campaign and the Indian Mutiny. Indeed, in case of such a calamity occurring—I say calamity, for even when war is waged on the justest principles, for the protection of the weak, for the maintenance of national honour and independence, it is still acknowledged by all thoughtful persons to be one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation—in such a case it seems likely that public interest will be even more strongly expressed than it was on the occasions to which I have referred, especially if the war in which our army be engaged should take place in Europe or in America. Some of the circumstances which I named at the commencement of my remarks as being so favourable for the convocation of the Geneva Congress of 1864; the strong hold and great influence which humanitarian doctrines have attained as one result of the spread of civilization; the great activity of thought among people at large; the rapid communication of intelligence to great centres, almost irrespective of distance, and its immediate circulation through whole communities; the facilities for personal movement and observation by land and sea;—all these are daily on the increase, and this increase will still further tend to ensure the maintenance of continued watchfulness, not only over the army as a body, but also over the personal concerns, the health, and the welfare of all the individuals composing it. While the loss of life resulting from the direct effects of a battle must ever be regarded as one of the inevitable results of war, unnecessary loss of life from deficient means of transport for the wounded,

deficient surgical aid, deficiency of needful supplies on the field of action, will be closely scrutinized. The wounded officers and soldiers will be watched from the place of fighting to the hospitals, and anxious attention will be given that in no way that can be avoided, by care or expenditure of means, shall loss of life occur, or health suffer, while they are engaged in the active service of their country.

The best organization for meeting the urgent medical and surgical demands which would arise in time of war in the British army, has been most carefully studied. It would be out of place for me to refer here to the details of the plan on which the military medical arrangements have been approved by the Government of this country to be worked in time of war; suffice it for me to say, that I believe the system to be as admirably contrived, and as capable of expansion in case of need, as that of the medical department of any army in the world. But even if the approved plan of assistance for the sick and wounded should be thoroughly carried into execution, and should be practically applied, as regards the provision of *matériel* and *personnel*, in the same liberal spirit as was contemplated by those who designed it, this provision, liberal and well organized and well prepared as it would then be, would still require to be supplemented by popular aid in case of a great battle or a prolonged campaign. No Government in the world could afford to maintain a medical staff, or to provide the necessary means of meeting the wants of such a battle as that of Solferino,

in the way that the wants of the wounded are now expected to be cared for. The *per-centage* of wounded is stated to have been less at Solferino than it has been in any other great battle for many years past; but still the vast number of wounded which were thrown upon the care of the allies after that battle—about 20,000—not to mention the sick requiring care at the same time; the great extent of ground over which they were scattered; the rapidity with which the troops had been concentrated, defeating all the efforts for bringing up at the same time many necessary surgical stores;—these created demands that no Government establishment alone could have possibly supplied. The treaty of 1864 will facilitate, to some extent, the meeting of such emergencies in future, for a proportion of the surgeons and medical staff of the conquered can be left behind with their wounded, without fear of being retained as prisoners of war; and the wounded themselves, as soon as they are fit to move, can be restored to their own countrymen for care and treatment, and the charge that will fall upon the conquerors will be thus proportionably lessened.

There are two directions in which, in such general engagements, deficiencies are liable to be experienced. One is in the number of the executive—the surgeons, and the hospital attendants upon whom so much depends, men trained for properly carrying the wounded, and for attending upon them under the directions of the surgeons—the other is in the means of transport, and in hospital stores. One of the

proposals, as I have before mentioned, at the International Conference of 1863, was that independent volunteer aid, in both these respects, should be afforded on the field itself. I have already said that this proposal cannot be held to be generally practicable. To be ready to give help at any moment, such a volunteer establishment must move with the army; and the rationing of the men, and of the transport animals composing the establishment, and its movements by independent means in time of war, as proposed, could not be carried out. But is this volunteer assistance, therefore, inadmissible in every way? This by no means follows as a matter of course, and here one of the useful qualities of the National Committees might show itself. On the same principle as, in time of war, a portion of the home defence would be left to volunteer combatants, while militia regiments would be moved to take the place of regular troops in colonial garrisons, and the regular troops be thus set free for work in the field, so it seems feasible that, under the direction of the National Committees, and with the concurrence of the Government, volunteer hospital corps could be utilized in time of war. The men of the army hospital corps, under ordinary circumstances required for performing the duties of the home and of the intermediate hospitals which the necessities of war require to be established (and which will probably be greatly increased in numbers in future, from the now proved importance of distributing the sick and wounded over a wide area in small hospitals

to prevent army epidemic diseases, instead of crowding them together in single towns or large buildings), might in the same way be rendered available for duty in the field hospitals, their places in the former being taken by the volunteer assistants. But this plan, to answer, must be regularly organized on a definite system, in communication with the Government, and this would be the work of the Central National Committee. There would be no reason why volunteer hospital attendants, after sufficient experience, and with proper organization, should not be drafted to serve in the field to meet necessities that might exist there, on demand and under appropriate regulations. Emergencies might arise in which, due regard being given to the just interests of the regular and permanent establishments, very valuable and material aid might be given by such means to the military authorities and the Government, as well as benefit conferred on the sick and wounded of the army. So with material aid. During the Crimean campaign vast supplies were collected in England from hundreds of independent sources, but from want of system, a large proportion of the supplies, valuable as they were in themselves, were rendered useless from being inappropriate in kind, or from arriving when they were no longer required. In all recent wars, every Government has received aid from the nation towards supplying the wants of those injured in the nation's cause. At the opening of the Italian campaign in 1859, a *depôt* was opened in Paris for the reception of old linen for the

manufacture of *charpe*, and in a few days some tons were presented, and other donations from the nation, for the sick and wounded of the French army, rapidly followed. In Austria, from the number of sick and wounded sent out of Italy, shown by official returns to be not less than 48,713 men, we are told "public sympathy and interest was largely aroused; hospitals were opened in many remote places; the Empress formed one at Laxenberg; others were opened at Hetzendorf, Trieste, near Vienna, and many other places; ladies of the highest rank attended in these hospitals; and patriotic societies everywhere arose who forwarded stores, food, and money. The telegraph was of the most essential service in rendering the distribution of the sick possible." I need do no more than allude to the wonderful work of the Sanitary Commission organized in the United States of America during the late civil war, for that has already been ably described by Mr. Fisher in a recent lecture in this theatre. I may remark, however, that I do not think any one can study the work of that vast association without coming to the conclusion that the beneficial influence it exerted, as regards the armies of the United States, was beyond calculation. With all the wonderful energy, the vast expenditure of treasure, the immense surgical resources, which the United States Government brought to bear for the relief of the sick and wounded of their armies, and the able administration of the medical bureau at Washington, these means, without the aid afforded by the Sanitary Com-

mission, would have been very far short of what was necessary for preserving the health of the troops, in the degree in which it was preserved after that national association was in full operation ; and without this preservation of health most important advantages must have been lost, and the war probably greatly prolonged. I have already alluded to what has been done by some of the National Committees since their establishment in 1864, and need not again refer to them. If a similar National Committee were established in England, one of its functions would be to organize the distribution of the national donations on a proper footing. Should this country remain without the formation of such a committee, it will find itself at a disadvantage, as compared with neighbouring countries, in case of becoming engaged in a great war. Committees no doubt will be formed and subscriptions poured in, as has happened hitherto, as soon as there is need of them ; but, as heretofore, there will be absence of system and independence of action, and there will not be the advantage, at any rate at first, of Government support ; while, in other countries, on war breaking out, the necessary preparations will have been long made and fully considered, everything will be systematized on preconcerted plans, so as to harmonize with the arrangements of the Government and the action of the combatant and army medical authorities. These are some of the reasons which induce me to hope that this country may yet have its National Com-

mittee on the same footing as the National Committees on the Continent.

In conclusion, I would observe that I have purposely avoided any attempt at exciting feelings in favour of the Convention of 1864, and of the formation of a National Committee in this country, by attempting to draw a picture of the sad collateral events which spring from war, or of the sufferings of those who in the course of duty fall wounded on the field of action, and become inmates of our military hospitals. Those who have been witnesses of fields of battle and the occurrences which follow in the ambulances and hospitals, need no description to induce them to attempt to mitigate, as far as practicable, the sufferings which are undergone in these situations; and to those who have not witnessed these scenes, any description from me would convey very inadequate ideas concerning them. Neither have I attempted to bring to notice the names of those who have already stood prominently forward in trying to lessen these evils; they are recorded elsewhere. I have attempted simply to carry out the plan I laid down at starting, viz., to give a plain narration of the circumstances which led to the International Congress of 1864, to lay before you a brief exposition of the articles of the treaty which resulted from it, and to give some account of the National Committees which have been formed in various countries for aiding in ameliorating the condition of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war, as well as to suggest some reasons for the formation of a National Committee,

with the same objects in view, in this country. It appeared to me that I should thus best fulfil the task I had undertaken at the request of the Council of this Institution.

The CHAIRMAN: We are extremely indebted to Professor Longmore for the very interesting address which he has been so good as to give us on this most important subject. He has traced the history of this movement and work, and he has shown us with what good judgment and good sense, and in how practical a manner, it has been carried on all through. He has observed that which I think must be patent to all of us, that when such efforts are made for the perfecting of those instruments of warfare by which human life is destroyed, it is also natural and right that those who are influenced by feelings of humanity, should employ their best exertions to endeavour to preserve human life, and to lessen, as far as possible, the miseries and horrors of war. I believe no better means could be devised than those which have been suggested, and which were described by Professor Longmore, for the formation of these National Committees. I am myself acquainted with M. Dunant. I know how highly he is respected in his own country; I know how he was occupied before he devoted himself to this subject; and I know that his efforts have always been directed to the improvement of the condition of his fellow-countrymen, and to the promotion of every humane, religious, and civilizing object. It appears to me that if this Committee can be carried out, in case we engage in it, it may have the

effect of enabling us not only to mitigate the horrors of war in themselves, but really to form connections with those who may influence the various Governments of Europe to abstain from war, and to encourage rather the arts of peace. Wars may be necessary, as Professor Longmore has said, for the vindication of a nation's honour, and for the defence of one's own country; but the more public opinion can be brought to bear upon the Governments at whose instance wars are undertaken, the more benefit will accrue to nations at large. Professor Longmore has well said, that the soldiers, who are the individual sufferers in war, are not those for whose interests wars are made. Professor Longmore very wisely abstained from harrowing our feelings with descriptions of what takes place in war; but there are a few words in one of these newspapers which have been sent to me which I will venture to read to you. It is in the *Journal de Genève*, of February, 1864:—

“Rappelons aussi qu'à Flensburg il y a peu de jours, faute d'une organisation créée d'avance et de comités bien constitués, les malheureux blessés n'ont pas été relevés, et que gisant ensanglantés dans les rues de cette ville les roues des chariots de l'artillerie leur ont passé sur le corps.”

It really does convey an impression of the great want of medical and surgical assistance in the time of war, that the poor creatures who had been fighting for their country were lying in the streets, and by a military necessity, artillery being called to fire on the

enemy, these poor creatures were absolutely destroyed by their own artillery passing over them. Now, if such a corps existed as Professor Longmore has suggested, a corps of volunteer assistants in time of war, the wounded might have been moved away, and most likely they would have been transported from the place of danger, and received such assistance as could have been given them. There is one subject on which I feel extremely anxious myself in regard to what has been brought before us; that is, that if we take a part in this international work, our own Government should not consider themselves in the least degree freed from the responsibility which in my opinion attaches to every Government, that of taking care of the sick and wounded in time of war. I believe it is true that no Government can be prepared beforehand for all circumstances that are likely to take place, in case we are engaged in a future war. It would, indeed, be a matter of great regret, and a great misfortune, if any Government should think itself liberated from its own first and most imperative duty, and I rejoice much to know that in the International Exposition which is to take place in France in the course of the year 1867, a special department will be organized in this most humane and admirable cause, and that persons will be invited to exhibit any machines or instruments, or means of providing for the care of the sick and wounded in time of war, and that every facility will be given to afford information upon this most interesting and important subject. I see also that the Prussian National

Committee has offered a very handsome prize for suggestions upon this subject, and I hope some papers will be sent from this country. But the practical object which, I understand, Professor Longmore desires to bring before us, is rather that we in this country should establish a Committee to co-operate with our own Government, and I suppose also with foreign Governments, for the promotion of this work. And if the lecture which Professor Longmore has given, should lead us to form such a Committee, I am sure we shall all rejoice in that which may relieve the distresses of war, and which may, under Divine Providence, have even the effect of preventing war.

General Sir WILLIAM J. CODRINGTON, G.C.B. : There is one point upon which I desire to ask a question. Every person must be gratified with the intelligence with which Professor Longmore has characterized his lecture. I think I heard him mention that no country would go into war better prepared for the succour of the wounded than our own. It would be interesting to know what those preparations actually are for the care and removal of the wounded from the field to the field hospital, and from the field hospital to the more permanent hospital in the rear.

Professor LONGMORE : In reply to the question, I would beg to say that the arrangements which have been made by our own Government, including those for the care of the wounded on the field of action itself, as well as others for the transportation of the wounded from the field to the ambulances, or field hospitals,


and thence to the hospitals in the rear, are now defined in the authorized army medical regulations. I consider that these arrangements have been made on as liberal a scale as those which exist in any European country.

General CODRINGTON: I only want to know what is the actual preparation? Are there men told off for the purpose? I want to come to the practical part of it.

Professor LONGMORE: As regards the men, I can only practically speak of those told off for staff employ. As to those for regimental service, I know that recommendations have been made, and orders have been issued to make provision for the proper care of what may be expected to be the proportion of wounded of regiments in action, by the previous instruction and preparation of certain soldiers in those regiments set apart specially for this duty. The purpose was that these men, being trained only for attending on the wounded, for hospital work, and not in rifle practice, should not be liable to be taken away for fighting purposes, leaving the wounded without proper relief; how far this is carried out in practice I cannot say. As to the necessity for such a provision, I don't think there can be two opinions. As regards the staff arrangements, there is now in this country an "Army Hospital Corps," which has only been formed, or rather received its present constitution, since the Crimean war. That Hospital Corps now numbers about 1,000 men in its ranks. It is regularly organized. Every man belonging to the medical branch of the corps,

nearly 500 in number, is systematically trained, or in course of being trained, in the duties of carrying and tending the wounded, both on the field itself and in the hospital subsequently. There is every reason to believe that this corps will prove of essential service in time of war; though, the number available for surgical duty being so limited, it will doubtless require expansion to meet the wants of a campaign.

EXTRACT FROM A REPORT BY PROFESSOR LONGMORE
on the PROCEEDINGS AT THE INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCES of the Societies for Aid to Wounded
Soldiers in time of War, held at Paris, inclusively
from the 26th to the 31st of August, 1867.

 HAVE already given an account of the constitution and work of the General Committees of Delegates from the societies for aid to wounded belonging to different countries, who, during the early months of the Exhibition, prepared the way for the International Conferences arranged to be held at Paris in the month of August. This account will be found in my previous report from Paris,* together with a summary of the questions intended to be discussed at the Conferences.

The General Committee of Delegates not only set forth the questions to be discussed, but also arranged a programme and the forms of proceedings to be adopted at the Conferences. They elected the officers to preside and conduct the business of the Conferences, subject to future confirmation. These officers were—

* Professor Longmore's first report was chiefly concerned with matter unconnected with the subject of this work, and is therefore not printed here.

General the Duc de Fezensac, president; Le Comte de Sérurier, and M. Gustave Moynier, President of the International Committee at Geneva, vice-presidents; Le Comte de Rohan Chabot, and Dr. Gauvin, Médecin-major, French army, general secretaries; Major Staaff, Military Attaché to the Legation of Sweden and Norway at Paris, and Dr. Piotrowski, secretaries. The selections above named were ratified at the first sitting of the International Conferences, and the following were added to the list, viz., Professor Baron Langenbeck, privy counsellor, delegate from Prussia, Baron Mundy, Surgeon-Major of the 1st class, delegate from the Minister of War of Austria, as vice-presidents; Dr. D'Ancona, secretary; and M. Vernes, treasurer. General Duc de Fezensac was prevented by illness from taking his place as president, and in his absence the Comte de Sérurier presided at the Conferences.

It is necessary to give some explanation of the constitution of the assembly which was brought together to join in the Conferences. The meeting was substantially a meeting of representatives of the national societies established in various countries for affording aid to wounded soldiers in time of war; and the purpose of the gathering was to discuss, and to attempt to arrive at a solution of the twenty-six subjects laid down in the pages of my former report. This was the basis of the assembly; but the Conferences were attended by others besides the representatives above mentioned. The General Committee

at Paris not only invited the national committees of different countries to send representatives to the Conferences, but also applied to the Governments of the leading powers of Europe to send delegates to join in them. These invitations were responded to affirmatively by several Governments viz., by the Governments of Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland; and delegates were sent either by the Ministers of War, or by the general Governments, of these nine countries. With the exception of these official delegates, who in a few instances represented also national committees as well as their respective Governments, all the other delegates at the Conferences but three were representatives of the *Sociétés de Secours aux Militaires Blessés* of different countries. The three exceptions referred to were two delegates sent by the Orders of St. John of Jerusalem in Prussia, and of St. John in Spain, and one sent by the Imperial Ottoman Commission for the Exhibition at Paris. The countries from which delegates were sent by societies for aid to wounded in time of war were the following:—Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Spain, United States, France, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and Wurtemberg. Altogether the Conferences were attended by fifty-six delegates.

No society corresponding with the national societies for aid to wounded in time of war which have been established on the Continent has been organized in England. On the Continent these societies are said to

have proved themselves valuable aids to their respective Governments during recent campaigns. Some account of what was done in Prussia by the Central Society of Berlin, and by the Order of St. John, in assisting in the care of the wounded resulting from the campaign of last year (1866), is given in page 360 of Vol. VII. of the Army Medical Reports, in the account, by Surgeon-Major Bostock, of the "Medical and Sanitary Services of the Prussian Army during the Campaign in Bohemia, 1866." Major A. Leahy, Royal Engineers, has referred to the same subject in his report on the Field Hospital Equipment at the Paris Exhibition. The Central Society of Vienna, which has been established out of the patriotic societies previously formed to meet temporary necessities arising from the casualties of war, in a small work containing a memoir concerning the foundation of the Society and the statutes on which the Society, under the patronage of Field-Marshal the Archduke Albert, is now permanently based, has shown to what a very large extent it assisted, both by funds and materials, the wounded soldiers of the Austrian army in 1859, 1864, and 1866. The Italian societies have published similar accounts with regard to Italy. Indeed, not only in all parts of the Continent are Central National Societies for aid to wounded soldiers in time of war now established on a firm basis, with fixed rules, and under the highest support, but they appear to have taken a deep root, and to be throwing out extensive ramifications in their respective countries.

Nearly all these societies have been organized since 1864, the date of the Convention of Geneva for the neutralization of field hospitals, with their *personnel* and *matériel*, in time of war. By the terms of this Convention, to which all the Governments of Europe have now given their adhesion, the neutrality conferred is limited to the military hospital *personnel* and *matériel* of the armies engaged. The societies established for aiding the wounded, whether by personal attendance or by materials, being voluntary associations, whatever relations they might hold to the governing authorities of their own countries, could not by right claim any title to the neutrality mutually agreed to by the different Governments who are signatories to the Convention of Geneva. But the societies hold that, in consideration of the importance of the services rendered by them during recent campaigns, services which, in certain instances, they were invited by their respective Governments to render, the *personnel* employed by them, and their property destined for hospital purposes, should participate in the benefits of the Geneva Convention equally with the military *personnel* and *matériel*. They assert that their work would not only be facilitated by such a measure, but that recent campaigns have demonstrated its necessity. One of the principal objects of the Conferences was to discuss the best means of attaining this end, and the interest taken in this subject by the societies was probably one of the leading motives which had induced so many representatives from them to be present.

I have mentioned in my previous report that the preliminary consideration of this subject had been undertaken by the second section of the General Committee of Delegates at Paris. The deliberations of this section ultimately led to the preparation of a series of modifications of the text of the Geneva Convention of 1864, for submission to the International Conferences in August. The discussion of these proposed modifications occupied a considerable time at the Conferences.

At the same time that the alterations proposed by the second section of the General Committee were submitted for the approval of the International Conferences, another series of propositions, which had emanated chiefly from Berlin, and had been agreed to at a conference at Wurzburg, were laid before the meeting. These proposed modifications of the articles of the Geneva Convention were brought to Paris by Baron Langenbeck, and were chiefly defended by him. They were discussed concurrently with the modifications proposed by the Committee at Paris.

The discussions terminated by the assembly agreeing to certain projected modifications of the Geneva Convention of 1864, to be submitted for the consideration of the Governments who are parties to that Convention. This project of modifications is drawn up under the form of propositions, a desire being, in the first place, expressed by the International Assembly that the powers which have signed the Convention of Geneva should give their consent to a revision of its articles ;

and, secondly, that, should the revision lead to a new diplomatic act, the principles set forth in the modifications projected, and earnestly desired by the international delegates of the *Sociétés de Secours aux Militaires Blessés* assembled at Paris, should be adopted in it.

The projected modifications will no doubt be submitted in a formal manner hereafter to the different Governments concerned. I append to this report a translation of the text of the modifications proposed by the General Committee of Delegates at Paris, and of those proposed by the Conference at Wurzburg, together with a translation of the modifications finally agreed to as desirable by the International Conference at Paris.

Various other matters were discussed, but, as I hope to be able to attach to this report the minutes of the successive sittings of the Conferences, which are to be published and forwarded to me as soon as they are completed, I do not propose to enter upon a description of them here. The subjects discussed were substantially those of which a list was given in my former report.

But I may mention the following matters which were agreed upon by the delegates of the societies at the Conferences :—

1. That there shall be established at Paris a museum consisting of all such objects as may be useful for studying and assisting in the improvement of articles of field hospital equipment (*des objets d'ambulance*) as are intended for giving assistance to wounded soldiers on the field of battle and in hospital. This

museum is to be under the charge of a mixed committee, subordinate to the principal International Committee at Geneva. At the same time an appeal was made by Comte de Sérurier, president of the Conferences, to the various national societies of aid to wounded, who had assisted in forming the large stores of ambulance *matériel* under the neutral flag in the park of the Universal Exposition, to leave at Paris all the articles that could be spared from their respective collections, with a view to forming the commencement and nucleus of the museum by these presentations. There seemed to be little doubt but that a large portion of the objects of field hospital equipment, which had attracted so much attention at the Exhibition, would be left for the museum in response to this appeal. An application to the same effect was also made to the Governments that had sent articles of hospital equipment and ambulance conveyances to be exhibited at the Exposition. The British Government responded liberally to this request by presenting the following articles to the museum :—Ambulance waggon and medical store cart, complete ; the several kinds of hand-stretchers exhibited ; two hospital bedsteads and sets of bedding, for surgical and medical wards, complete ; two old pattern, and two new pattern, canteens ; one suit of hospital clothing ; operation table ; and various articles of military hospital furniture. For the present the International Ambulance Equipment Museum at Paris is arranged to be established near the Hôtel des Invalides.

Another determination come to at the Conference was the establishment at Geneva of an international journal, specially devoted to the general concerns of the national *Sociétés de Secours aux Militaires Blessés*. It was not intended that this international journal should displace the journals connected with the national societies already published in France, Prussia, Belgium, or elsewhere, but that the international journal should be more devoted to general, and less to local interests, than the national journals naturally are. The neutral character of Switzerland among the great Powers of Europe, and its central position, determined the selection of Geneva as the place of publication for this journal. At the same time it was agreed that the International Committee, which has existed at Geneva since the Conference of 1863 at that city, but without being called upon to take much active part in relation to the national societies on the Continent, should be requested to undertake the management, and conduct the correspondence connected with the publication.

Before giving a translation of the proposed texts of a new Convention, it may be serviceable, for purposes of ready comparison, to refer to the text of the existing Convention. This will be found at p. 337.

The proposed modifications now follow.

TEXT PROPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES,
JUNE, 1867.

Convention for the amelioration of the condition of

wounded combatants in land and sea forces (*des militaires blessés dans les armées de terre et de mer*).

Article 1.—Ambulances,* hospitals, and all the material designed to succour the wounded, shall be acknowledged to be neutral, and, as such, shall be protected and respected by the belligerents.

Article 2.—The personal staff of hospitals and ambulances, comprising those employed in the medical, administrative, and transport services, as well as those for religious aid, shall participate in the benefit of the neutrality.

Article 3.—The persons designated in the preceding article may, if they fall into the hands of the enemy, continue to discharge their functions in the hospital or ambulance in which they are officiating; while subject to the authority of the enemy they shall preserve their full pay.

They shall also have the power of withdrawing to rejoin their corps as soon as circumstances shall permit, and on the consent of the two sides.

Article 4.—The members of all national societies for succouring the wounded combatants of land and sea forces, likewise their auxiliary *personnel* and their *matériel*, are declared neutral.

The societies shall have the power of sending delegates to follow armies upon the theatre of warfare, and to second the medical and administrative services in their functions.

They shall have specially the right of sending a

* *Vide* p. 101.

representative to the head-quarters of their respective armies.

Article 5.—Inhabitants of the country, as well as volunteer hospital attendants, who shall afford succour to the wounded, shall be respected and protected.

Any wounded soldier entertained and taken care of in a house shall serve for a protection thereto. Any inhabitant who shall have entertained wounded men in his house shall be exempted, as much as possible, from the quartering of troops, and from all or part of the contributions of war.

Article 6.—Sick or wounded soldiers shall be entertained and taken care of, to whatever nation they belong.

Every wounded soldier is declared neutral, and, if he fall into the hands of the enemy, shall be delivered to the civil or military authorities of his country, so that he may be sent back to his home.

This restitution shall have effect as soon as circumstances permit, and on the consent of the two sides.

Convoys of sick and wounded, with the persons who have the direction of them, shall be protected by an absolute neutrality.

Article 7.—A distinctive and uniform flag is adopted for hospitals, ambulances, depôts of *matériel*, and convoys of sick and wounded. It must on every occasion be accompanied by the national flag.

An arm-badge is also allowed for individuals neutralized, but the delivery thereof shall be left to the military authorities.

The flag and arm-badge shall bear a red cross on a white ground.

Article 8.—The high contracting powers engage themselves to introduce into their military regulations the modifications become indispensable in consequence of their adhesion to the present Convention.

They will order it to be explained to the troops in time of peace, and to be published in general orders in time of war.

The Commanders-in-Chief of the belligerent armies will see to the strict observance of the Convention, and will regulate, to this effect, the details of its execution.

Article 9.—No change.

Article 10.—No change.

THE MODIFICATIONS OF THE EXISTING CONVENTION
PROPOSED AT THE CONFERENCE OF WURSBURG,
BEFORE REFERRED TO, WERE THE FOLLOWING :—

Articles 1 and 2.—No change.

Article 3.—The persons designated in the preceding article shall continue to fulfil their duties, even if the ambulance or hospital in which they are serving fall into the hands of the enemy. The *personnel* of the medical service, and the ambulance conveyances for transporting the wounded, shall continue to discharge their functions upon the field of battle, even after it shall have been occupied by the conquering army; the wounded who are carried off the field shall, however, remain in the hands of the victor.

The *personnel* of the medical service shall not be retained beyond the time necessary for assisting the wounded ; the Commander-in-Chief of the conquering army shall decide when this *personnel* can retire.

When the *personnel* of the medical service falls into the hands of the victorious army, the Commander-in-Chief of this latter will decide if the *personnel* is to continue its service in the ambulances or to be conducted to the advanced posts.

If the *personnel* of the medical service should fail in the duties which its neutrality imposes on it, it shall be subjected to martial law.

Article 4.—The stores and convoys, as well as money, of the “*Sociétés des Secours*,” destined for the wounded, and also their conveyances, shall not be considered as *matériel* of war. Neither shall the supplies, whatever their nature, for the relief of the wounded, be considered as supplies in aid of the belligerent troops ; but shall, on the contrary, be declared neutral, and, consequently, shall also be for the service of neutral troops.

If the military circumstances do not render it objectionable, a permit to pass, and protection, shall be granted to the convoys and delegates of the “*Sociétés des Secours*” upon the theatre of warfare.

Article 5.—The Commander-in-Chief of the belligerent powers shall invite, by a proclamation, the inhabitants of the country to help in every way, whenever the occasion shall present itself, the wounded of the enemy the same as if they belonged to a friendly army.

Access to the field of battle cannot be granted to non-military persons except by the Commander-in-Chief.

It is a duty of the victorious army, so far as circumstances permit, to exercise a military watch over the dead and wounded on the field of battle, to preserve them from pillage and ill-treatment.

Article 6.—Rejecting the first three paragraphs of the new text (the text submitted by the Committee of Delegates), it is proposed to preserve the first and second paragraphs of the old text, and to add to them the following :—

The wounded shall not be regarded as prisoners of war, and on this account shall be permitted to provide for their treatment where and how they choose, provided that their Government engages not to call upon them to serve again during the war.

Ambulances, dressing-places, dépôts, as well as the *personnel* directing them, shall enjoy an absolute neutrality (the sixth Article shall terminate with the last paragraph of the new text).

Article 7.—It is proposed to add to the new text the following paragraph :—

The arm-badge shall be delivered exclusively by the military authorities, who shall create for the purpose some means of control. Any person who shall wear the arm-badge unduly, shall be subjected to the laws of war.

Article 8.—It is proposed to add after the second paragraph of the new text :—

They shall take care that in time of war every soldier is furnished with a certificate indicating his name, place of birth, and the corps (regiment or company) to which he belongs. In case of death, this document must be withdrawn before burial, and, after being copied and inscribed in the list of dead, shall be remitted to the civil authority of the birthplace of the deceased.

Lastly, it is proposed to add after the third paragraph of Article 8:—

The inviolability of the neutrality announced in this Convention is to be guaranteed by uniform declarations published in the military codes of the different nations.

TEXT OF THE PROJECTED MODIFICATIONS OF THE
GENEVA CONVENTION OF 1864, FINALLY AGREED
TO ON THE OCCASION OF THE INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCES AT PARIS.

Although the projected modification of the Geneva Convention, agreed upon at the International Conferences to be advocated and applied for, is composed, a few alterations and additions excepted, of selections from the foregoing texts, it will be, perhaps, better to furnish a translation of it in its entire state. A comparison between it and the previous texts taken separately will be rendered easier.

The following heading precedes the modified text of the Articles of the Convention itself:—

Vote of the International Conference, 29th August,

1867. Convention for the amelioration of the condition of soldiers wounded in land and sea forces.

The international meeting of the "*Sociétés des Secours aux Militaires Blessés*," assembled at Paris, expresses the wish that the Convention of Geneva of the 22nd August, 1864, for the amelioration of the condition of wounded soldiers of armies in the field, should be revised by the powers that have signed it.

It believes that it would be opportune to modify some of its articles, and to complete them by additional enactments.

The principles which, according to the meeting, ought to find place in the new diplomatic act, which it urgently advocates, are the following:—

Article 1.—Ambulances, hospitals, and all the *matériel* designed to succour the wounded, upon land and upon sea, shall be acknowledged to be neutral, and, as such, shall be protected and respected by the belligerents.

Article 2.—The personal staff of hospitals and ambulances on land and sea, comprising those employed in the medical, administrative, and transport services, as well as those for religious aid, shall participate in the benefit of the neutrality.

Article 3.—The persons designated in the preceding article may, if they fall into the hands of the enemy, continue to discharge their functions in the hospital or ambulance in which they are officiating; while subject to the authority of the enemy they shall preserve their full pay.

The *personnel* of the medical service shall not be retained beyond the time necessary for assisting the wounded ; but the Commander-in-Chief of the victorious army or naval forces shall decide when this *personnel* can retire.

The *personnel* of the medical and administrative services, as well as the conveyances, vessels, and all the *matériel* for the use of the wounded, shall continue to discharge their functions upon the field of battle or upon the scene of naval conflict even after the position shall have been occupied by the conquering army or naval forces. The wounded who are taken shall, however, remain in the hands of the victor.

If the medical or administrative *personnel* should fail in the duties which their neutrality imposes upon them, they shall be subject to martial law.

Article 4.—The members of all national societies for succouring the wounded combatants of land and sea forces, likewise their auxiliary *personnel* and their *matériel*, are declared neutral.

The Societies of Succour shall put themselves in direct correspondence with the head-quarters of armies, or with the commanders of naval forces, by the medium of representatives.

The Societies of Succour, on the consent of their representatives at the general head-quarters or with the commanders of naval forces, shall be empowered to send delegates to follow armies or fleets on the theatre of warfare, and to second the medical and administrative services in their functions.

Article 5.—Inhabitants of the country, as well as volunteer hospital attendants, who shall afford succour to the wounded, shall be respected and protected.

The Commanders-in-Chief of the belligerent powers shall invite, by proclamation, the inhabitants of the country to help the wounded of the enemy all the same as if they belonged to a friendly army or marine.

Any wounded soldier entertained and taken care of in a house shall serve as a protection thereto.

Every vessel charged to collect wounded or wrecked sailors shall be protected by the pennon mentioned in Article 7, below.

Article 6.—Sick and wounded soldiers shall be entertained and taken care of, to whatever nation they belong.

Every wounded soldier who falls into the hands of the enemy is declared neutral, and shall be delivered to the civil or military authorities of his country, to be sent back to his home when circumstances permit, and on the consent of the two sides.

Convoys of sick and wounded, with the persons who have the direction of them, shall be protected by an absolute neutrality.

Article 7.—A distinctive and uniform flag and pennon are adopted for hospitals, ambulances, dépôts of *matériel*, and convoys of sick and wounded of land and sea forces. They must, on every occasion, be accompanied by the national flag or pennon.

An arm-badge is equally admitted for the neutralized *personnel*.

This arm-badge shall be delivered exclusively by the military authorities, who will create for the purpose some means of control.

Any person who shall wear the arm-badge unduly shall be subjected to the laws of war.

Article 8.—It is the duty of the conquering army to supervise, so far as circumstances permit, the soldiers who have fallen on the field of battle, to preserve them from pillage and bad treatment, and to bury the dead in strict conformity with prescribed sanitary rules.

The contracting powers will take care that in time of war every soldier is furnished with an uniform and compulsory token, appropriate for establishing his identity. This token shall indicate his name, place of birth, as well as the *corps d'armée*, regiment, and company to which he belongs. In case of death, this document shall be withdrawn before his burial, and remitted to the civil or military authorities of the place of birth of the deceased.

Lists of dead, wounded, sick, and prisoners shall be communicated, as far as possible, immediately after an action, to the commander of the hostile army by diplomatic or military means.

The contents of this Article, in so much as they are applicable to the marine, and capable of execution by it, shall be observed by victorious naval forces.

Article 9.—The high contracting powers engage themselves to introduce into their military regulations the modifications become indispensable in consequence of their adhesion to the present Convention.

They will order it to be explained to the troops of the military and naval forces in time of peace, and to be published in general orders in time of war.

The Commanders-in-Chief of the belligerent armies or naval forces will see to the strict observance of the Convention, and will regulate, to this effect, the details of its execution.

The inviolability of the neutrality announced in this Convention shall be guaranteed by uniform declarations published in the military codes of the different nations.

A perusal of the Articles of the Convention advocated by the Delegates assembled at the International Conference will show that the essential points in which it differs from the original Convention of Geneva are :—

Firstly,—That it seeks to apply, as far as practicable, the advantages of neutrality to hospital service in naval warfare in the same manner as it is already applied to the establishments of armies in military warfare.

Secondly,—As before referred to, that it seeks to extend the same advantages to the persons and the hospital *matériel* of the *Sociétés de Secours aux Blessés Militaires*.

Thirdly,—It also seeks to obtain mutual engagements with regard to the dead on the field of battle, more particularly for certain steps to be taken with a view to their identification, and to the notification of their

deaths to the authorities of their own country, for communication to their relatives or friends.

This last subject was brought to the notice of the assembled Delegates through a letter from the Austrian Ministry of War. In this communication it was stated that, up to the date on which the letter was written (shortly before the assembling of the Congress), no certain information had been received respecting the fate of the majority of the missing soldiers of the Austrian army engaged in the campaign in Bohemia of the previous year ; so that their relatives had remained for a long time in doubt whether they were dead, wounded, or only prisoners ; and were still uninformed as to the circumstances and place of their decease, whether it had occurred on the field of battle, or subsequently, while under treatment for wounds in hospital.

It was argued, although in all civilized armies there exists some method by which each soldier can be personally identified, and the corps and company to which he belongs determined by any one of the army to which he belongs, that something else is required in time of war, viz., a method by which the same facts can be ascertained, without delay or risk of error, by men of other armies. On this view, a general mode of indication for purposes of identification common to all armies appears to be required ; while, to guard against risk of errors in copying, and also to save time, it seemed to be considered that the indication should be on something that could be detached, when necessary,

from the person or clothing of the soldier, such as a tablet suspended to his neck, or a small parchment label stitched within his tunic. A small belt, containing the materials for the first dressing of wounds, and intended to be worn buckled round the waist within the tunic and trousers, as part of the field kit, was exhibited as one plan by which the object in view could be obtained. In a small pocket of this belt there was a parchment label, bearing the name, regimental number, and other particulars required for the identification of the wearer. Should either of these methods, or any similar plan, be adopted, all that would have to be done as regards the dead on the field of battle would be for the officer or non-commissioned officer of each burial party to have the indicators removed and collected before the burial of the bodies, and to remit them to the proper authorities for registration and communication to those concerned. Such a proceeding, if systematically enforced, would certainly prevent the evils and suffering described in the letter, above referred to, from the Austrian Ministry of War.

HELP FOR THE SICK AND WOUNDED; two Articles reprinted from the *Standard* of January 7th and 27th, 1868, written by Captain HENRY BRACKENBURY, R.A., F.S.A., Professor of Military History at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.



WHILE for the last few years the pages of the press have been devoted to chronicling the giant strides made in the art of destruction, but little notice has been taken of a movement, that has been steadily progressing, for the relief of the misery of battle-fields; yet it would be difficult to overrate the benefits already derived from this movement, or the blessings which [it is to be hoped will be conferred by its further progress in the wars of the future, which we cannot but fear are already casting their shadows before them. After visiting the exhibition, at Paris, of the International Society for the Succour of Wounded Soldiers, and reading the accounts of the work done by the American Sanitary Commission during the war between the Northern and Southern States, and the aid afforded to the sufferers in the late war on the Continent, we are so profoundly impressed with the value of volun-

tary ministration, by the hands of independent organizations, not paid by the Government, in addition to the official action of the Government authorities, that we are anxious to interest our readers individually in a cause that cannot fail to command their sympathies, and which the nation is in honour bound to support, by placing before them a sketch of the work recently done in this direction, and of the wonderful results that have been derived from it.

Dr. Thomas W. Evans, an American by birth, but a Frenchman by adoption, is the moving spirit, at the present time, in keeping alive the interest in this all-important subject. He visited the battle-fields of the Italian Campaign of 1859, and those of the late war in Bohemia and elsewhere, and he crossed over to his native country to see personally what was being done during the terrible conflict that was raging there. The very interesting collection of objects connected with the sanitary work of the American war exhibited at Paris has been got together by him ; and we are indebted to his pamphlets on the American Sanitary Commission and the sanitary institutions during the late war on the Continent for much of our present information, though Dr. Stillé's history of the United States Sanitary Commission is our chief authority on that branch of our subject.

The idea of lessening the horrors of war by special aid of the sick and wounded is no invention of modern times. Xenophon tells us how it was one of the characteristics of the rule of Cyrus ; Flavius relates

that the Emperor Aurelian enjoined his soldiers to aid the sick and wounded among the enemy. Even in the darkness of the middle ages, and amidst the horrors that took place, signal examples of merciful solicitude are to be found. Leo VI., in the ninth century, formed special corps to attend to the wounded, and the famous Saladin authorized the Knights of St. John to minister without interference to the wounded Crusaders in the conquered city of Jerusalem. Passing to later times, in the Austrian War of Succession we find a treaty concluded to regard the hospitals as sacred from harm; and a similar convention was signed between the English General Conway and the French commander in the Seven Years' War, when, also, Louis XV. and Frederick II. agreed to consider all the medical staff as neutrals and exempt from capture. A step further was taken in 1800, when Moreau and Kray agreed to take equal care of all wounded in their hands, whether friends or enemies; and perhaps the crowning stone of the edifice was added by the Emperor of the French, in his memorable order, after his victory over the Austrians at Montebello, eight years ago, deciding to return to the enemy, without requiring them to be exchanged, all wounded prisoners, as soon as their condition would allow of their removal.

The Crimean war, the first that tried the military institutions of Europe after a long and profound peace, produced its share of charitable effort to relieve the evils that ensued. The horrors of that campaign are

yet fresh in our memory. When men were dying in such numbers that it was estimated the whole British army would perish in ten months, and the official medical staff was powerless to remedy the disastrous mortality, a Civil Sanitary Commission was sent out, whose labours resulted in what Dr. Stillé calls "the grandest contribution ever made by science to the practical art of preserving health among men required to live together in large masses." That commission was entrusted with the fullest powers, overriding all other orders. But though ably investigating the causes of the direful march of death, the commission was too late to prevent it, and the glorious efforts of Miss Nightingale and her sister nurses to mitigate the sufferings of our soldiers in the hospitals of Scutari will never be forgotten. Sidney Herbert, whose name the soldier holds dear, hesitated not a moment in giving her the fullest authority, and official routine was thus in two instances set aside, in time, as we must again point out, to mitigate, but not to prevent, the disaster. In the Russian army the military medical service even more thoroughly broke down; and there, too, noble voluntary efforts were made. The Grand Duchess Helen Paulowna of Russia, Princess of Wurtemberg, and widow of the Grand Duke Michael, busied herself, at the commencement of hostilities, in founding a system of ambulances and hospital aid. Then, in rivalry of Florence Nightingale, she went, with 300 of her sex, to the seat of war, where, as an eminent Russian surgeon writes, they were indefatig-

able in tending the wounded not only in the hospitals of Sebastopol and Simpheropol, and in the ambulances, but in the immediate neighbourhood of the batteries, in the midst of the most frightful scenes, and under the fire of both musketry and artillery. But the want of unity of action and of a practical direction was everywhere visible. The women of Russia strove to send comforts to the army, but for want of organization many were lost. A number of bales of lint, prepared by their hands, were sent from St. Petersburg to the Crimea, but they went astray; and while the want of them was urgently felt by the surgeons, they found their way to be used up at some paper-mills. It is said that the terrible scenes which met the eyes of the Czar, during his visit to the hospitals of the Crimea in the first dreadful winter of the campaign, did much to induce him to conclude peace when Sebastopol fell. Dr. Evans visited the hospitals of Moscow and the South of Russia immediately after the peace; and he speaks with grief of the sufferings caused chiefly by the want of treatment and medical aid at the needful time, and the pain which it gave him to see the impossibility of ever remedying the evils caused simply by neglect at first.

Europe was destined to but short respite from the horrors of war. The French, whose experience of the Crimean campaign, and whose gigantic warlike preparations would, we should naturally suppose, have rendered them prepared for any event, were, in 1859, opposed, in the plains of Italy, to the troops of Austria;

and a series of actions was fought, ending in the battle of Solferino. Armed with a pass from the Emperor of the French and his Minister of War, Dr. Evans inspected the hospitals at Turin, Milan, Brescia, Castiglione, Desenzano, and elsewhere, and this is his report:—"The labour suddenly imposed on the surgeons and their assistants, exceeded to such an extent the resources, that on all sides the eye encountered, in a thousand quivering forms, the sight of tortures to which no relief could be given." M. Dunant, of whom and of whose work, "*Un Souvenir de Solferino*," we shall have more to say presently, has estimated carefully the number of killed and wounded of the three armies. It makes a total of nearly 42,000, to which must be added some 40,000 more, who sickened with exposure and fatigue in the succeeding two months. And now the people of Italy vied with each other in offering help. Churches, convents, palaces, and mansions were turned into hospitals. The ladies of Milan sent their carriages for the wounded heroes; and the enthusiasm of the hour was immense. But again the same story. There was no organization; the spasmodic efforts fell off; the first excitement cooled down, and the efforts succumbed under the difficulties felt by individuals, themselves inexperienced, and without any guiding hand to aid them. Wherever organization existed, its value was beyond price. The tribute paid by Dr. Evans to the Sisters of Charity, whom he calls angels in human form, is of the highest praise; but the scenes which he saw must indeed have

been terrible. The distress of the Austrian soldiers was aggravated by their inability to understand or be understood by their nurses. Germans, Croats, Serbians, Hungarians—they could speak no word of Italian. In one of the wards of Brescia lay a poor fellow, with the great tears rolling down his bronzed cheeks, groaning and mouthing out words that sounded like the mumbling of an idiot. The surgeon in attendance believed he had nothing the matter, and was feigning pain; but, on careful examination, Dr. Evans discovered that a bullet had grazed the top of his head, and pressed the skull down on the brain. He was trepanned—his groans ceased, his tears were stopped, and his language became intelligible. But many were not thus fortunate; and the supplications of the dying Austrians for their last words to be taken to their loved ones at home had to be disregarded for the more practical work of helping those whom it seemed possible to save. How much of this misery might have been spared had an organized system of hospital relief been at hand, in unison with, but not dependent upon, the government medical service, to which it would have been an invaluable auxiliary.

The experience of Dr. Evans in this campaign bore fruit in reports to the French authorities; important reforms were introduced into their medical service, and their advantages proved in the Mexican war; but there was another noble-minded man who was also deeply impressed with the painful inadequacy of the means of succour for the wounded and dying not only in the

hospitals, but on the battle-field itself. This was the M. J. Henry Dunant whom we have already named. He had worked hard to form a voluntary hospital corps for service in the campaign, but he saw that such efforts must, for the future, be made on a larger scale than had hitherto been attempted, and some time after the campaign he published at Geneva a narrative of his experience as an eye-witness of the horrors of the battle-field, which he called "*Un Souvenir de Solferino*." In this work, which excited great attention, and was speedily translated into most of the European languages, passing through several editions in French and German, he urged the formation, in each country of Europe, of a permanent society for the relief of the wounded in battle, acting in the interest of its own country, but in a spirit of universal humanity. He claimed that the person of a combatant, prostrated by a wound, should always be considered sacred, no matter what his nation ; that the sanitary corps of the several armies should be considered neutrals, and free from liability to capture, and that, on the occasion of great battles, the services of benevolent persons willing to relieve the wounded should be freely accepted as auxiliary to the necessarily overworked official staff. He suggested a uniform flag for the hospitals of all civilized powers, and a distinctive badge for all military surgeons and their assistants, officials, and volunteers ; and at the same time he expressed the hope that his proposals might be adopted by some, at all events, of the great military powers, and ultimately be incorpo-

rated into the international law of the civilized world. The success of the modest little work of M. Dunant induced the Geneva Society of Public Utility to nominate a commission of five members, with General Dufour as president, and M. Dunant as secretary, to secure a formal expression of European public opinion in favour of these recommendations ; and the Commission called a Conference at Geneva, in October, 1863, inviting official representatives from every European power, as well as from certain special societies. But before this Conference assembled, an extraordinary movement had taken place across the Atlantic.

On the 12th April, 1861, the great American civil war was opened by the attack on Fort Sumter. On the 15th, the President of the United States called for 75,000 volunteers for the defence of the Union. On the same day the women of Bridgport, in Connecticut, and those of Charlestown, formed societies to afford relief and comfort to the volunteers. A few days afterwards a similar society was formed at Lowell, to supply nurses for the sick and wounded, to bring them home when practicable, and to care for their comfort in a number of other ways. At this time all was tumult and confusion with the army ; volunteers were rushing to be enlisted—but there was neither discipline nor military experience. The officers knew no more of their duty than the recruits under them ; the commissaries did not even know the names they should employ in requisitions for provisions and quarters. The surgeons knew not where to apply for medicines and

instruments ; the medical bureau was swamped and over-burdened. All over the country efforts of the most desultory nature were made to aid the troops ; lint and bandages were prepared by the women of every town and hamlet, under the advice and superintendence of the medical men ; associations, with vague and ill-defined ideas of rendering aid, were formed ; and every one was crying out for instruction and guidance. The first attempt at definite organization was made in New York. About a hundred ladies met at the Infirmary for Women on the 25th of April, at which meeting the Rev. Dr. Bellows was present. It was decided to form a central association ; a committee was elected, and an address to the women of New York, claiming their assistance, and convening a meeting, for the 29th of April, at the Cooper Institute, was drawn up by Dr. Bellows, and signed by ninety-one well-known ladies. At this meeting a " Women's Central Association of Relief " was organized under a constitution prepared by Dr. Bellows, which announced that the women of New York had associated themselves together with the view of furnishing comforts, stores, and nurses in aid of the medical staff ; that they were desirous of organizing the scattered efforts of the women of the country, for which object " they will collect and disseminate information on the actual and prospective wants of the army ; establish recognized relations with the medical staff, and act as auxiliary to it ; that they will maintain a central depôt of stores, and open a bureau for the examination and registration

of nurses." Dr. Valentine Mott was appointed president, Dr. Bellows vice-president, and Mr. Olmsted secretary of the association.

And now the difficulties began. Dr. Bellows saw the head of the Medical Department, who temporarily convinced him that the efforts of the women were ill-advised and uncalled for. But the ladies were not satisfied; they sent a deputation to Washington, together with one from the "physicians and surgeons of New York," and another from the "Lint and Bandage Association," who found the utmost confusion prevailing. The deputations, however, succeeded in obtaining a re-inspection of the army, and so weeding out a small portion of the most unfit recruits. Their next interview with the head of the medical bureau failed to convince him that the support of the people was needed, or that anything but confusion and embarrassment could arise from external efforts. When, at last, they obtained his consent to the appointment of a mixed scientific commission of civilians, medical men, and officers, to aid and advise the medical bureau in sanitary matters, they met with stronger opposition from his superiors. Their scheme was looked on as a cunning device to gain power for selfish ends. One secretary asked them to state frankly precisely what they wanted, as it was evident they could not want only what they seemed to be asking for. President Lincoln thought they would "be adding a fifth wheel to the coach." At last, after repeated discouragement, they obtained, on the 13th

of June, the appointment of a "commission of inquiry and advice in respect of the sanitary interests of the United States forces," to serve without remuneration, and to be officially recognized within the limits of their authority. It is impossible to over-estimate the noble exertions of those men, who, with unselfish zeal, begged in ante-chambers, under rebuffs and insulting insinuations, for favours for the nation which they would have scorned to ask for themselves. But their pluck and resolution carried them through, and their determination to commence before the war should break out in full fury the task which England and France had begun too late, overpowered the dogged resistance of bureaucracy.

The commission thus appointed divided itself into two committees, one of inquiry, subdivided into three special sub-committees, and one of advice, similarly subdivided; and one of the sub-committees of advice was charged with the arrangement of a common plan of action between the benevolent associations throughout the country in respect of supplies, and feeding the extra demands of the medical bureau or commissariat. A central office was established at Washington; agents were sent to every portion of the army. On the 9th of July, three weeks only after the formation of the commission, its general manager, Mr. Olmsted, made a circumstantial report on the hygienic condition of the troops, and the probable wants of the volunteers. On all sides the agents urged the importance of attention to sanitary rules, and strove to induce the officers to

exert themselves in the cause. A system of camp and hospital inspection was organized, and subscriptions in money and in kind were sought and obtained. At this time prevention was the aim; too soon came the necessity for cure. Pertinaciously the commission urged on the government the necessity of improved sanitary arrangements, but the laxity of discipline rendered improvements all but impossible. Supplementary hospital accommodation was organized at every station of the army. And now came the rout of Bull's Run, and the reorganization of the army under M'Clellan, during all which time the commission was slaving for the good of the troops.

We must pass from the main work of the American commission to the supplementary work, which is more specially the subject of our heading—the distribution of supplies and the relief of the sick and wounded. Auxiliary societies having been formed throughout the Union, the articles sent from them for the use of the troops were collected at the principal depôts, and thence forwarded to the provisional depôts, which were established in every division or corps of the army. The sick received from the hands of the relief agents comforts of all descriptions; and the most useful objects were soon ascertained, and distributed in the most judicious manner. In the general field-hospitals, and in the ambulances, the sick received attention, and the convalescents, or those who

were invalided home, were aided and spared all care. The commission maintained during the war, at different points, forty homes, which received more than a million and a half of discharged soldiers, provided them with meals, aided them in every way, and forwarded them home. But the work done in the relief of the wounded after the battles peculiarly excites our interest. The first severe test of the system of battle-field relief was at the battle of Antietam, fought on the 17th of September, 1862, closing the campaign in Northern Virginia and Maryland. More than ten thousand Federal wounded, besides a large number of the enemy, were in need of succour. Every house, barn, church, or building of any kind for miles was filled with them. The supplies of the medical authorities were not a tenth of what was absolutely needed. But throughout the campaign a waggon-train laden with supplies had been sent from the head-quarters of the commission to the army every day, and after the battle relays of these trains daily arrived. Thus the first wants of the wounded were at once attended to, and by the 19th the most pressing necessities of all were relieved ; and it must be borne in mind, that the aid given in the first two days is worth all that is done in the next ten. Chloroform, opiates, instruments, bed-pans, and everything required for the treatment of the wounded, was supplied. “ Within a week after the battle of Antietam there were dispatched to the field by the sanitary commission, and distributed by its agents, the following articles :—28,763 pieces of dry goods, shirts, towels, bed-ticks, pillows, &c. ; 30

barrels of old linen bandages and lint, 3,188lb. farina, 2,620lb. condensed milk, 5,000lb. beef stock and canned meats, 3,000 bottles wine and cordials, and several tons of lemons and other fruit, crackers, tea, sugar, rubber-cloth, tin cups, and hospital conveniences." Of course this could not have been done but for the admirable independent transport arrangements organized by the commission and placed in charge of its own agents. The battle of Perryville showed the same want of resources on the part of the government authorities, even worse consequent suffering, and timely relief by the commission. The aid given was not confined to the soldiers of the Union, but was extended with equal liberality to the wounded troops of the enemy.

In May, 1864, before the campaign entered upon by the army of the Potomac, an auxiliary relief corps was organized by the commission to look after the wounded sent to the hospitals after an engagement, thus freeing the field relief corps for its work in the front. Its members were to minister personally to the wounded, to meet them as they arrived in ambulances, to supply them with proper food and stimulants, to give them fresh clothing, wash and cleanse them; to cleanse even the hospital buildings, if required; to write letters home for the wounded, to supply them with reading matter, to cheer them with conversation, to speak comfort to the dying, to bury the dead with a Christian burial. After a short probation at Belle Plain, this corps, now consisting of 150 young men, with ladies also aiding,

arrived at Fredericksburg to find 20,000 wounded men in every conceivable phase of agony. Night and day they strove, acting in thorough harmony with the military surgeons, who hailed their presence with delight. Let us take one day's work of a member of the corps, when the first days of torture were over. "Yesterday I went round with a basket on each arm and a havresack on my neck. A rough estimate of the day's work, from the morning and evening stock on hand, showed that I had given out writing-paper and envelopes to about 700 men; pencils to 90; a large lot of newspapers, sent direct to me by Mr. Felt, of Salem, Mass.; crutches to 136 wounded below the knee, who were thus enabled to get up and move about; arm-slings to 115 wounded in the arm; a piece of chewing tobacco each to about 370, smoking tobacco and matches to about 450, and pipes to 73 who had lost theirs. . . . The sleep of last night was sweetened by bearing out 38 nice warm new blankets to as many blanketless men, whom I found as I came from a distant part of the camping ground at a late hour of the evening." To the last hour of the campaign, which was brought to a close by the surrender of General Lee, the work went on; some of the workers died nobly at their task, women as well as men, and their histories are chronicled by Dr. Stillé, whose work is enthralling in its interest. Some were captured and sent to prison, but nothing stopped the glorious work of self-devotion and love. "Thank God, here comes the sanitary commission; now we shall be able to do something," was over and over again the

cry of the surgeons. Twenty-two thousand wounded were succoured at Gettysburg alone. After the battle of the Wilderness, the train of carriages containing wounded men stretched for ten miles in length. The commission established three "feeding stations" on the road, whence nourishing food was borne to the sufferers in the ambulances. What its work must have been may be estimated from the fact that from May 4th to June 20th of this year 8,487 officers and men were killed and 44,261 wounded. On the army of Virginia alone the commission expended in these two months more than half a million of dollars, while its work in the Shenandoah Valley and throughout the South-West, and in the general hospitals, was kept up as well.

We turn with regret from the history of this glorious work in the cause of humanity, standing out as true patriotism in striking contrast to the awful butchery and carnage so often perpetrated in the name of patriotism; but we must revert to the Conference that assembled in Geneva in October, 1863, while the American war was running its deadly course, and the American Sanitary Commission engaged in its work of mercy. The Conference was attended by thirty-six delegates, fourteen governments, including those of Great Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Italy, Russia, and Sweden, being officially represented. A proposed code of international enactments was discussed during four days; and the main recommendations agreed to were the formation in each country of a committee to co-operate with the army sanitary

service, in communication with the government ; that such committee should occupy itself in peace with preparing supplies of hospital stores, training volunteer nurses, &c.; that during war national committees should furnish supplies and nurses in aid of their respective armies, neutral nations being invited to aid—and that, if permitted by the military authorities, volunteer relief agents should be sent to the battle-fields, wearing a badge of a red cross on a white ground. The Conference urged governments to aid such national committees, and to declare the neutrality of hospitals, of the official *personnel* of the sanitary service, the unpaid nurses, the inhabitants of the country who might aid the wounded, and even the wounded themselves ; and suggested the adoption of a distinctive and uniform badge for all hospitals and sanitary officials. Within a few months fifteen States expressed their willingness to accept these propositions as part of an international code ; and the Swiss Federal Council summoned a Congress to complete an international convention. The representatives of sixteen States assembled in Geneva on the 8th of August, 1864, and accepted, with small modifications, a treaty embodying the proposals of the Conference held in the preceding year. Twelve of the sixteen representatives signed the treaty at once. It has since received the accession of all the civilized powers of the world, with the exception of Austria, Turkey, and the United States.¹ The latter power held back, considering itself to be at

¹ Austria and Turkey have since joined the Treaty.

the time, in the words of its Secretary at War, "in the midst of war with a relentless and barbarous foe;" but an "American Association for the Relief of the Misery of Battle-fields" has been established, auxiliary to the "*Comité Internationale de Secours aux Militaires Blessés*," constituted by the Conference of 1863 at Geneva.

Although the King of Prussia did not sign the treaty till August, 1864, a society was formed at Berlin in February of that year, to afford help to the sick and wounded, and entered on its work the following month, during the campaign in Schleswig-Holstein. The army suffered much during that winter campaign; and the Berlin Society appealed to the nation. In a few days it received 4,000 thalers, and before long contributions in kind sufficient to supply the most urgent needs of the army. The famous physician, Dr. Gurt, was sent to the seat of war, and two officers, delegates of the society, organized a dépôt of supply in the town of Flensburg. The Prussians wounded in this war were comparatively few; not beyond the number provided against; but yet with them and the sick the hospitals were filled beyond their capacity. The society, seeing the mortality arising from this, appealed to the inhabitants of the district; their response enabled large numbers of sick to be removed from the hospitals, and the death rate rapidly declined. Another act of the society was to supply the soldiers invalided with small sums of money. These results, though not very great, were important at this time, when the proposi-

tions of the first Geneva Congress were on their trial, and aided in the success of the second Congress, for they clearly showed the great advantage of independent societies; not, it is true, to the same extent as the great American work we have described, but nearer home, at the very door of the contracting parties.

The Danish war having been brought to a close, the Berlin Society, faithful to the article of the treaty, which lays down that "in time of peace the committee should engage in such employments as should best fit them for usefulness during the war," did not cease its labours. In April, 1865, the King and Queen of Prussia placed it under their special protection; and in this year its chief expense was the gift of sums of money to the wounded in the Danish campaign. In the month of April, 1866, the society, then possessing some £2,000 of capital, received a charter of incorporation from the King, which gave it the power of buying and selling, and, in fact, a complete civil status. When the nation was called to arms, the Berlin Society appealed to the people at large; on all sides local societies were established in connection with the central society of Berlin, and money and supplies were poured in. When war became inevitable, Count Stollberg was appointed by the Government Commissary-general and Inspector of voluntary hospital service of the Prussian army, and acted as negotiator between the society and the military medical department.

We remember how rapidly events followed each other after the outbreak of the war. The first trial of the society's arrangements appears to have been after the battle of Langensalza. In that unnecessary battle, which lasted some five hours, about 1,500 men were badly wounded. The Hanoverians had absolutely no medical comforts with their forces; the Prussians but little. At 5 P.M. on that day, the 28th of June, Count Stollberg heard of the action, and that there were 1,500 wounded in want of the simplest necessities. At midnight three special convoys started from the station at Berlin, carrying bandages, instruments, chloroform, mattresses, shirts, towels, slippers, lint, and a thousand other necessities and comforts. A member of the committee, eight surgeons, and many male and female nurses accompanied the convoy. At Magdeburg they were joined by other surgeons and nurses. The committee had telegraphed to Gotha for conveyances to be ready, and by early morning the convoy was at Langensalza, which was occupied by the Hanoverians. Their surgeons and those of the Prussians were slaving among the wounded, but they had none of the necessary appliances for their task, and no nurses. The wounded lay on the ground or on straw; scarcely one had a bed or a mattress. Judge of the relief of the surgeons when the convoy arrived with bedding, lint, bandages, and provisions, and with surgeons and nurses to attend the sufferers. All was soon transformed, and the wounded relieved from their unnecessary sufferings.

In the south the society was no less active. Immediately on the first actions being fought in the defiles leading into Bohemia, it dispatched a large convoy of supplies, which reached Gitschin the evening before the battle of Königgratz. The King, who was present, ordered the supplies to be distributed among the field-hospitals established from Nachod to Gitschin, a part being reserved for the wounded, then actually on their road in long convoys from the various battle-fields. "When the delegates of the society," says Dr. Evans, "went to meet the wounded, a sad spectacle met their eyes. Stretched on straw, in clumsy waggons, lay men who, having received a first treatment, had remained from thirty to forty-eight hours without nourishment." What must have been their fate but for the Society's timely succour? And now, on the 2nd of July, came the battle of Königgratz, and 40,000 wounded crowded the space from Sadowa to Chlum, and from Nechanitz to Königgratz. The retreating Austrians had been compelled to leave their wounded to the mercy of the victors, and these with equal care tended friends and foes, fulfilling their part according to the first treaty of Geneva, to which they had assented in the previous year. But the task was beyond the strength of the Prussian sanitary service. For three days and nights the sick-bearers searched the field, relieving the wounded, but hundreds died before ambulances could be brought to remove them. And when the living were all placed in conveyances, where could they be taken? Many had to remain in the vehicles in which

they had been placed, enduring exquisite tortures, and long unattended by the surgeons, whose task was far beyond their powers. But in time volunteer surgeons arrived, and the influence of the central society began to be felt, and all were attended to. Those who were slightly wounded were sent to Reichenberg, Horitz, and Gitschin, or even to Prussia and Saxony; the severely wounded were housed in the surrounding villages, which in five days were filled within a circuit of four leagues from the battle-field, and all were placed on good beds and supplied with medical comforts, thanks to the agency of the central society. Dr. Evans speaks warmly of the devotion and tenderness of the Prussian surgeons and nurses, when he visited the hospitals shortly after the battle, and of their kind and soothing words to the sufferers, whether friends or foes. We would fain repeat some of the instances that he quotes, but our limited space forbids our doing so.

Meanwhile the society had been sending convoys in rapid succession to the seat of war, and had organized depôts in Bohemia and in Moravia, following the armies in their march towards the Danube. But the supplies were constantly delayed on the railway at Dresden and Prague, and the Elbe could not be utilized for traffic; for the commandant of the Saxon fortress of Kœnigstein threatened to fire on any boat moving on the river. Volunteers accompanied the convoys, guarding them, and undertaking the distribution of the supplies. Austrians and Prussians were equally aided,

and grants of money sent to the Austrian kindred societies. In Bavaria and on the Maine the work was carried on with equal vigour; but we must refer our readers to Dr. Evans' book for details. Suffice it to say, that by the end of the war the society had expended £80,000 in money, and, in addition, had distributed supplies valued at three times that amount. Its work had been done intelligently and with judgment, and its special journal, the *Kriegerheil*, which is still published, had rendered account to the public of its proceedings.

There were other institutions engaged in similar work—the Society *König Wilhelm*, and another, but notably the Order of the Knights of St. John, of whose service Mr. Hozier speaks warmly in his history of the war. This order, restored in Prussia in 1812, had been merely an honorary order, but in the Danish campaign, remembering the mission of the old Knights of St. John, the members resolved to devote themselves to tending the sick and wounded, and they continued their labours in the war with Austria. Count Stollberg was their grand master, and the most friendly relations were established between them and the central society. All members of noble families, they devoted themselves to hospital work, or they took charge of the society's depôts throughout the whole theatre of war. The Prussian Knights of St. John are all Protestants, but, nobly as they performed their duties, they were rivalled in devotion by the Roman Catholic Knights of Malta, who worked side by side with them in the hos-

pitals and on the battle-fields. But we must now bid adieu to the Prussian societies, and, in doing so, pay our tribute to the Queen of Prussia, whose influence in the cause was incessantly exerted without relaxation, and whose personal visits and words of kindness to the wounded of both nations in the hospitals will surely never be forgotten.

In Saxony, in Wurtemberg, where the Queen vied with her royal cousin of Prussia, in the duchy of Baden, where the women had organized a society for help to the wounded as far back as 1859, and in Bavaria, there was the same work going on. We cannot pause to describe their efforts. We must, however, say a few words about Austria. She had refused to subscribe to the treaty of Geneva; but she was no less active than her antagonist. The fortune of war being against her, she was not called on to succour her foes, which she would no doubt have done with equal generosity, but her own wounded were carefully tended. The *Patriotischer Damenverein*, a society of ladies only, under the presidency of the Princess of Schwarzenburg, received the wounded in hospitals, cared for and helped them on their leaving. The Patriotic Society, composed entirely of men, approached almost to the American society in organization. Under the presidency of Prince Colloredo Mansfeld, it rendered important services. The *Damen Comite*, another society of ladies, under Madame Ida Von Schmerling, established and attended an immense hospital on the Prater, at Vienna; but when the cholera broke out their courage failed, and

one by one all left the hospital but two, and these alone remained to the end. Their names deserve to be recorded : they were Madame Anna Stolz and Mdlle. Pelz. Thus Austria was not behindhand in acts of devotion : it is deeply to be regretted she has not joined the international movement.¹

We can say but a few words in regard to Italy. She had taken an active part in the Geneva Conference, and early adopted its convention. In June, 1867, the Medical Society of Milan had formed a society for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers. Other societies were formed at Bergamo, at Como, Cremona, Pavia, and elsewhere, which recognized the Milanese as the central association, and the society at once commenced active operations. Hence, when the war broke out, all was prepared. Surgeons enrolled themselves under the banner of the society. At Custozza they worked on the field, aiding indiscriminately Italians and Austrians. A good ambulance service was organized, which was of the utmost value, and the supplies were well and readily furnished when and where most required. Florence shares with Milan the honour of having been a chief depôt, and from these two cities went forth innumerable blessings for the victims of the campaign.

In this brief sketch of the work done in the last few years, certain facts stand prominently forward. It is evident that where large bodies of troops are collected together the State machinery invariably proves insufficient for their sanitary requirements ; the official medical

¹ See note, page 440.


department is never sufficient after an action of any importance. The enemy's wounded may often have to be cared for, but they are never estimated for in government calculations. The Prussian army medical organization is excellent; but it proved utterly unable to meet the requirements of the campaign. Spasmodic, ill-organized voluntary efforts are of little avail: witness the Italian campaign of 1859, and the Crimean war. Well-organized national efforts may be of incalculable benefit in saving life and in relieving unspeakable agony. The more complete the organization, the more successful the efforts: witness the American and Prussian wars. And lastly, help given immediately is everything. Two days' delay after a battle, and the help might almost as well never be sent. The first two days' help is worth that of the next ten.

Thus preparation and organization are everything. We have seen what other nations have done. What is England doing? We have our Nightingale Fund for training nurses, our Patriotic Fund for relief of Crimean sufferers. Where is our branch of the "International Society for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded," and what work is it doing? Where is its shipload of comforts to follow the Abyssinian expedition? There lies before us the catalogue of that most interesting exhibition of objects for relief of sick and wounded soldiers held in connection with this International Society at Paris, near the chief entrance; and in the midst of the thousands of objects exhibited, England sends two books, and one of those is called

“America and its Army.” Surely this is a slur on our national humanity, a blot on our fair escutcheon. In Heaven’s name, let us be up and doing. We have signed the Convention of Geneva. We are bound in honour to be working in time of peace not for ourselves alone, but for all the other nations, whose wounded may, by even the remotest possibility, ever fall into our hands. We invite discussion and action on a subject affecting both our soldiers’ lives and our national honour.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT BERLIN, 1869.—

Letter addressed by the President and Vice-Presidents to the Governments and Societies whose representatives had taken a part in it.¹

HE undersigned have the honour to bring to the notice of the Governments which have acceded to the Convention of Geneva, and of the Societies of Help for sick and wounded soldiers, the results of the Conference which was held at Berlin from the 22nd to the 27th April, 1869. They fulfil this duty, imposed upon them by a resolution passed by the Conference at its closing sitting, in the well-founded hope of obtaining for this communication a hearty welcome, as well as the concurrence of the Governments and Societies, in endeavouring to realize the wishes expressed after careful deliberation. The undersigned take advantage of this

¹ One hundred and sixty-two delegates attended this Conference, and, with but one or two exceptions, every state in Europe was represented at it. There were present from England, Professor Longmore, C.B., delegated by the Government, Mr. C. J. Burgess, and Mr. John Furley.

opportunity to offer to the Governments the expression of their deep respect, and to assure the Societies of Help of their highest consideration.

The President and Vice-Presidents of the
International Conference—

R. v. SYDOW.

G. MOYNIER.

C^{te}. SÉRURIER.

Berlin, 27th April, 1869.

RESULTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT
BERLIN.

The Conference, during its sittings from the 22nd to the 27th of April, 1869, passed the following resolutions:—

I.—WITH REFERENCE TO WAR ON LAND.

1. Societies of Help will avoid in principle whatever may draw their members into a battle, and will, in consequence, abstain from creating *ambulances de combat*.

2. As a general rule, they will only establish and administer hospitals in the interior of their own

country (hospitals of reserve of the Societies of Help).

3. At the seat of war in a foreign country the sanitary service of the army will be aided by the Societies both in *personnel* and *matériel*—

- (a) On the field after a battle ;
- (b) In the transport of sick and wounded ;
- (c) In hospitals.

4. With a view to material assistance, central and local dépôts of sanitary *matériel* will be established at home and abroad. Especial regard will be had to fortresses in the interior which may be menaced.

5. Gifts of *matériel* will undergo a strict examination before being sent to the theatre of war.

6. The *matériel* of the sanitary service will conform, as nearly as possible, to the models adopted by the State.

7. The Societies will act in all their arrangements in conformity with the regulations of the army, and will follow a plan previously fixed upon for this purpose.

8. Assistance to sick and wounded soldiers in each country shall be, as far as practicable, under a central direction.

9. It is desirable that in each country or union of countries the relations between the Societies of Help and the military authorities during war be defined by certain rules, and that these rules be as uniform as possible.

10. In all that concerns the service at the seat of

war, efforts must be made to establish good relations and a common action with the Societies of Help existing in that country.

11. Preventive measures against any abuse of the international badge of neutrality are considered necessary.

12. A rigorous police should be established to protect the dead and wounded from pillage or ill-treatment on the field after battle.

13. Hygienic regulations relating to the interment of the dead should be carefully observed.

14. Some convenient means should be adopted to enable the dead and wounded to be easily identified.

15. The articles of the Geneva Convention should be made known as widely as possible, especially among soldiers.

16. It is desirable that railway companies should consent to transport gratuitously, or at a very reduced price, the *personnel* sent to help the wounded by the Societies of Help, as well as the *matériel* furnished by them.

17. A pension should be assured to those persons who, while devoting themselves to the wounded during war, may become incapable of gaining a livelihood, as well as to the families of those who may die under the same circumstances.

18. The Governments which have agreed to the Geneva Convention are asked to consider the following proposition, and to make it an additional article of that Convention :

“In case of war, non-belligerent powers are invited to place at the disposal of the belligerents those surgeons of their army whom they are able to lend without disadvantage to their own service; such delegated surgeons to be placed under the orders of the principal medical officer of the belligerent army to which they may be attached.”

19. This Conference expresses a wish that all Governments will, in time of war, extend to the sick and wounded who may be sent to mineral-water establishments the same privileges as are accorded to sick and wounded soldiers in the field, and to such establishments themselves the privileges enjoyed by the hospitals of an army in the field.”

20. The next International Conference will examine:—

- (a) How the delegates of Relief Societies will be able to follow the general head-quarters with a small convoy of *matériel* and *personnel*.
- (b) How the indispensable correspondence with the Relief Societies of the enemy's army can be established.
- (c) By what means populations can be the most efficaciously encouraged to aid Relief Societies in their work at the seat of war.

II.—WITH REFERENCE TO VOLUNTARY HELP DURING NAVAL WAR.

1. Societies of Help should place themselves in com-

munication with societies for the saving of the shipwrecked, so that, in case of naval war, the latter may place at their disposal lifeboats and their crews and a sufficient number of boats, on payment of a premium or remuneration less than usual.

2. Before hiring vessels destined to assist the shipwrecked in a sea-fight, it will be necessary to decide who would bear the expense occasioned by the damage or destruction of such vessels. With this view Assurance Companies should be asked to undertake the insurance at a higher rate than usual.

3. Relief ships will work during and after the fight, will follow the belligerent fleets, and be under the orders of the admirals commanding.

4. They should, during the battle, and as soon as the signal of distress is hoisted, proceed to the relief of any ship, without distinction of nationality.

5. The Powers which have signed the Convention are therefore requested to deliberate upon the choice of the signal of distress (a yellow flag) indicating the wreck or burning of a ship.

6. Relief ships should, immediately after a battle, announce that they can and will collect the sick and wounded.

7. It is therefore desirable that the above-mentioned Powers should fix upon a special signal for this purpose (a yellow flag with red cross?).

8. Fast and good sea-going steamers, wide and lofty between decks, should be selected as relief ships.

9. Preparations concerning the *personnel*, fitting out and organization of relief ships, should be made in time of peace and in conformity with the naval organization of the respective States.

10. In choosing commanders for relief ships, preference should be given to old officers or masters and pilots from the Navy, to whom the Societies of Help would assure a pension, and whose families they would take care of in case of need.

11. The Societies of Help shall send on board delegates, whose orders as to the destination and object of the vessel must be followed by its commander.

12. It is not necessary that the rest of the *personnel* for relief ships should be indicated during peace ; it will suffice to engage them before the opening of hostilities.

13. The *personnel* (10 and 12) will be chosen in preference by those Societies of Help which are established in seaports.

14. The *matériel* necessary for relief ships should be decided on by a special State. In time of peace models may be procured and notes taken of the objects and their places of manufacture.

15. Such *matériel* should be obtained, as far as the object for which it is destined will permit, according to the regulations, and constructed on the models of the Navy.

16. Those Societies of Help which are willing and able to offer their assistance in maritime wars will con-

form to the above provisions, but, nevertheless, they are not bound by them.

III.—OF THE ACTION OF SOCIETIES OF HELP DURING PEACE.

1. In order to render voluntary help as efficacious as possible, it will be necessary, as soon as circumstances permit, to take proper means during peace to further the action of Societies in time of war, and by so doing to keep awake a public interest in the charitable work which they seek to perform.

2. These means seem to be chiefly—

- (a) To organize Societies of Help and to establish their relations with the Army Medical Service.
- (b) To prepare and have ready for use the most efficacious means of help.
- (c) To use these means and to gain experience in the application of them, so as best to carry out the principles of Societies of Help.

All this must be done during peace by taking into account both actual and probable wants.

3. This Conference specially recommends to Societies of Help the following arrangements and measures:—

4. A solid and intimate union of all the Societies of Help in each country into one compact body is an essential condition of their efficiency, both during war and peace.

5. Societies of Help should be formed in every country.

6. All the local Societies of a country should have, as a common point of union, a National Central Committee.

7. In order to facilitate communication between Local and Central Committees, it will be found convenient, in large countries, to establish intermediary committees for large districts or provinces (sectional or county committees).

8. The Central Committees can meet together in order to satisfy general wants.

9. The Central Committee of a small country might be placed in the same relation to that of a large one as the County Committees are to the National.

10. It seems desirable, in order to conform to the ideas which have produced voluntary help, and to create and keep alive an interest in the organization and activity of Societies of Help, that Local Committees, while remitting part of their annual receipts to the funds of the National Central Committee, should keep their independence relatively to the administration and employment of their resources.

11. In this question the Central direction (in which Local Committees would participate by delegates having votes) should merely give notice of existing wants and ask common action for common undertakings, without having the power of control over the material and personal resources of the Local Committees.

12. Societies of Help cannot accomplish their task

during war unless they increase their hospital staff during peace.

13. It must consequently be part of their duty to provide for the instruction of nurses.

14. This duty can only be performed by submitting to a strict examination such persons as wish to become nurses, as well as by exercising and proving them by employing them in the care of the sick poor.

15. The choice and equipment of a sanitary corps, composed of strong and active men, will also be found useful to Relief Societies during both war and peace.

16. The procuring of tents or movable barracks, and of stretchers, for the service of the sick and wounded, both in peace and war, should form one of the duties of Societies of Help.

17. It is not necessary to keep dépôts of *matériel* during peace; it will, however, be advisable to procure models of those articles necessary in the care of the sick, and to arrange an exchange of objects of this nature between the committees of different countries.

18. Committees of Help should, during peace, keep themselves informed of all new inventions, trials, and suggestions concerning military hygiene and the care of the sick in war time.

19. It is necessary, for the vigorous development of Societies, and as a good preparation for their action in time of war, to furnish aid and help in calamities which may happen in time of peace.

20. Societies of Help should, therefore, in time of

peace, employ themselves in works of humanity corresponding to their duties in time of war—viz., in tending the sick, and in giving assistance during public calamities which require, as war does, prompt and well-organized help.

21. They should aid deaconesses and sisters of charity, and the Orders of St. John and of St. John of Malta, and other similar communities, in their care of the sick.

22. They should draw up a precise and detailed plan of their line of action during war.

23. They should, in the interests of their work, previously place themselves in communication with the military authorities.

24. They should also make preparations for the creation of such military hospitals as they wish to establish or to work in time of war (hospitals of reserve). These preparations would include the choice of locality, of the *matériel*, and administration.

25. Each Central Committee will fix upon the best mode of carrying out the above suggestions, having regard to its particular locality, and not losing sight of the principal object of voluntary help.

26. It is advisable to distinguish the officers of Societies of Help by a mark which will attract the attention of the public.

IV.—OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE EXISTING AT GENEVA, AND THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF RELIEF SOCIETIES IN GENERAL.

1. As a matter of public utility, and as a means of making widely known all inventions which may tend to lessen the sufferings of sick or wounded soldiers, it is desirable that in each country, or group of countries, in proportion to the resources at their disposal, a collection of objects of sanitary *matériel* should be formed and permanently kept for exhibition.

2. This Conference regards as indispensable the publication of a journal which will place the Central Committees of different countries in communication with each other, and bring to their knowledge official and other matters which it is important for them to know. The editing of this journal is entrusted to the International Committee of Geneva. Subscriptions may be sent for this purpose to any of the members of this Committee. The journal will be published periodically, at such intervals as the Committee may determine. Part of the sheet will be reserved for notices or reports of special works, or for the description of apparatus or inventions relating to the help of sick and wounded soldiers.

3. The International Committee would wish that in case of war there should be established in some convenient locality an office for correspondence and information, which would facilitate in every way an

exchange of communications between Committees and the transmission of help.

4. The next International Conference will examine into the following proposition made at the Berlin Conference :—“ That the attention of the International Committee should be devoted, in time of war, first of all to the sick and wounded of the retreating army, without distinction of nationality.”

5. Considering that it is to the general interest of all peoples to accept the great principles originated at the Convention of Geneva and its additional articles, this Conference invites the International Committee to make the most active endeavours to obtain in succession the adhesion of all the Powers which have not yet signed the Geneva Convention of 1864.

6. This Conference, having finished its labours, expresses its great regret at not having had the valuable assistance of any delegate from the United States of North America. Convinced that the great and noble nation which, one of the first in the world, has rendered such eminent services to the great work of humanity, will welcome with sympathy the results of its labours, this Conference desires that the protocols of its sittings shall be addressed by its president to the Government of the United States and to the various Committees of Help which exist in that country.

7. Although the additional Acts to the Geneva Convention do not yet fulfil the wishes expressed by the Conference of 1867, they must be regarded as containing important ameliorations and an extension of this

Convention ; consequently, their ratification by all the Governments is extremely desirable ; as it has not yet taken place, this Conference, apart from the wishes expressed in some of the above resolutions, does not think that the time has arrived for a fresh deliberation upon the question of the revision or extension of the Geneva Convention.

V.—OF THE PERIODICAL REPETITION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

1. It is desirable that the Central Committees of Societies of Help should meet together in international conferences, which may be convoked in different countries successively at short intervals, according to circumstances, and conformably to the requirements of our work.

2. The next international conference will take place at Vienna, in 1871.

VI.—FINAL RESOLUTION.

All the delegates promise to do their best, each in his own sphere of action, to carry out the resolutions of this Conference as opportunity occurs.

Before closing the Conference, the President, in the name of the Prussian Central Committee, made the following communication relative to a new literary prize :—

By the additional Act of October 20th, 1868, the maxims contained in the Geneva Convention of August

22nd, 1864, have been applied, by the States which recognize them, to maritime war. The 3rd article of this Act, which fixes to what extent and under what conditions neutrality may be granted to vessels of Societies of Help, springs from the supposition that these Societies bring aid and assistance to the wounded and shipwrecked in case of a maritime war.

This responds to a wish expressed in 1867 by the International Conference of delegates of Societies of Help which then met in Paris.

The discussion which took place during the sitting on the 23rd of April of the Berlin Conference, has placed us a step nearer the application of this article. The Central Prussian Committee wishes, however, to have the question which is thus raised thoroughly examined, by making use of the experience gained in the latest naval wars. It therefore offers a prize of 100 *frédéric*s *d'or* to the author of the best work on the following subjects :—

“ Under what circumstances, in what shape, and with what success, has private charity taken any part as yet, in time of naval war, in making efforts to save the shipwrecked, and in providing for the sick and wounded, of belligerent fleets ?

“ To what extent, and under what conditions, can Societies of Help undertake this task with probability of success ?

“ What arrangements should be made in time of peace to obtain a result which would satisfy humanitarian ideas on the matter ?

“Would the realization of these ideas be hastened or assured if established committees of help, whose duties consist in aiding during war the sanitary service of armies, were to place themselves in communication with existing societies for the safety of the shipwrecked?”

These are the chief questions which the committee wish to be solved. They wish that the author would regard not only experiences gained during maritime wars, but also, and more particularly, the ideas put forth at the sitting of the Berlin Conference on the 23rd of April, 1869. No condition is imposed as to the arrangement or the length of the memoir.

A report of the sitting of the 23rd of April, 1869, will be furnished to every person who, intending to take part in the competition, will address his request for it to the office of the Central Prussian Committee (No. 4, Linkstrasse, Berlin).

The memoir, written in German, French, or English, must be sent to the Prussian Central Committee before the 1st of May, 1870. It must be without signature, but bearing a mark, and accompanied by a sealed letter repeating this mark, and stating the name and address of the author.

On the 30th of September, 1870, the birthday of Her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, the prize will be adjudged to that memoir which shall be judged worthy of it by a jury nominated by the committee.

The author will have the right of publishing the memoir which gains the prize; but if, during the

six months following the date of its being awarded, the author shall not take advantage of this right, the Prussian Central Committee may dispose of the memoir.

The President and Vice-Presidents of the
International Conference—

R. v. SYDOW.

G. MOYNIER.

C^{te}. SÉRURIER.

The Secretaries of the International Conference—

COMTE DE BEAUFORT.

DR. GURLT.

A. BUCHNER.

O. HASS.

LEONCE DE CAZENOVE.

C. FREIHERR V. KRAUSS.

FR. VON CRIEGERN.

DR. W. V. MAUTHNER.

Berlin, April 27th, 1869.



VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Special List for 1869.

**** NOTE.**—*In order to ensure the correct delivery of the actual Works, or Particular Editions, specified in this List, the name of the Publisher should be distinctly given. Stamps or a Post Office Order may be remitted direct to the Publisher, who will forward per return.*

A TRULY MAGNIFICENT WORK.—“LIVES OF THE SAINTS.” Enriched with Fifty-one exquisite Full-page Miniatures, in gold and colours. Every page of the Text within Engraved Borders of Beautiful Design. In thick 4to, sumptuously printed, £7 7s., bound in silk velvet, enriched with gold, preserved in a case.

THIS VERY IMPORTANT WORK, commenced three years since, has at length been completed, and fully justifies the high expectations formed of it during its progress through the press. Taking the text of the Rev. Alban Butler as his guide, the Editor has, wherever practicable, carefully verified the references of that eminent divine. The delicacy and finish of the beautiful miniatures have never before been approached in any similar work in this country. They exhibit a beauty and exquisite softness of colour which have hitherto only been realised by the most expensive miniature paintings. The work must be seen to be appreciated, as it is like no other of the kind. The preparation has been so costly and slow that the book is never likely to decrease in value.

A VERY SPLENDID VOLUME.—SAINT URSULA, PRINCESS OF BRITAIN, AND HER COMPANIONS. With Twenty-five Full-page 4to Illuminated Miniatures from the Pictures of Cologne, and exquisitely designed Woodcut Borders. In crown 4to, beautifully bound in silk and gold, £3 15s.

****** The finest Book-Paintings of the kind ever published. The artist obtained the Gold Prize at the Paris Exposition.

THE BOOK MUST BE SEEN TO BE APPRECIATED. The illustrations are exact reproductions of the exquisite paintings of the Van Eyck school, and in finish and beauty are far above any similar book-paintings issued in this country. As the preparation of the work has been so costly and slow it is never likely to decrease in value.

Exquisite Miniatures and Illuminations.—“Golden Verses from the New Testament,” with 50 Illuminations and Miniatures from celebrated MISSALS and BOOKS OF HOURS of 14th and 15th centuries in GOLD and COLOURS. The text very beautifully printed in letters of gold on fine ivory paper. 4to, in a very handsome cloth case with silk ribbons, 30s.; or bound in a volume, morocco, gilt edges, £2 5s.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Pictorial description of Abyssinia.

DEDICATED TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN BY ROYAL COMMAND.

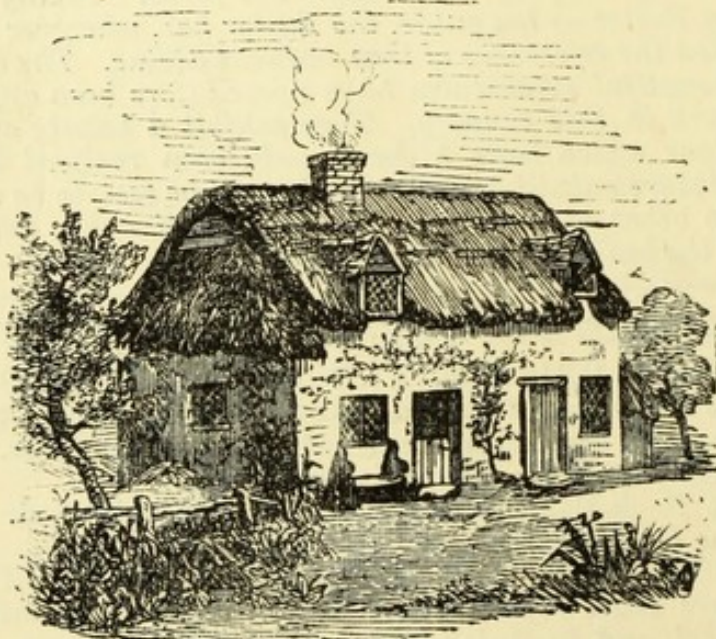
Views in Central Abyssinia. With Portraits of

Natives of the Galla Tribes, taken in Pen and Ink under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, by T. Zender. With letterpress description by SOPHIE F. VEITCH, daughter of the Chaplain to the Bishop of Jerusalem. 4to, price 12s.

*** A book of peculiar interest at the present moment, as it gives a marvellously faithful panorama of the country, about which so much has recently been said. The soiled worn volume from which these facsimiles were taken is quite a curiosity, having been constantly secreted about the person of the draughtsman, fearing the observation of the native chiefs, who do not allow drawings to be made.

Mary Lamb's Poems and Letters; with Inedited

Remains of CHARLES LAMB. Now first collected, with numerous illustrations of Lamb's favourite haunts in London and the suburbs. *Facsimiles on old paper of the title-pages of the rare first editions of Lamb and Coleridge's works. Facsimile of a page of the original MS. "Essay on Roast Pig," Hancock's admirable Portrait of the essayist now first correctly reproduced, and many other relics of the delightful essayist.* Crown 8vo, price 10s. 6d.



FAIR ROSAMOND'S COTTAGE.

The Collector. Choice Essays on Books, Authors,

Newspapers, Pictures, Inns, Doctors, Holidays, &c. Introduction by Dr. DORAN. A Choice Book, on toned paper, half morocco, 6s.

*** A charming volume of delightful Essays, with exquisitely-engraved Vignette of an Old Book Collector busily engaged at his favourite pursuit of book-hunting. The work is a companion volume to Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature," and to the more recently published "Book-Hunter," by Mr. John Hill Burton.

"A comely and suitably named volume. His humour and reading are considerable, and whilst he displays the latter with the frankness of a collector not ashamed of his function, he exercises the former with unflagging spirit and excellent effect."—*Athenaeum*.

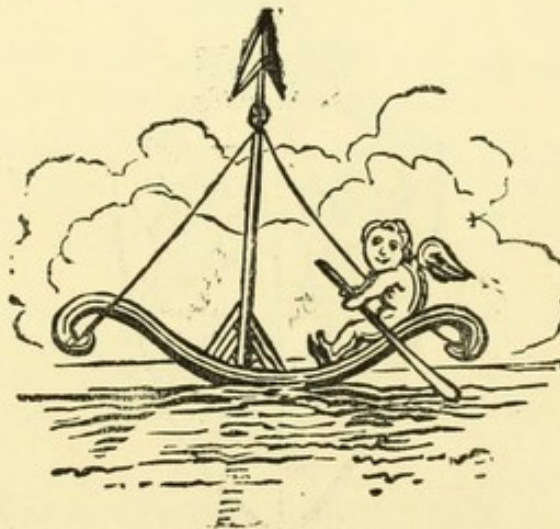
VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

John Ruskin and George Cruikshank. — "German Popular Stories." Collected by the Brothers GRIMM, from Oral Tradition, and Translated by EDGAR TAYLOR. Edited by JOHN RUSKIN. WITH TWENTY-TWO ILLUSTRATIONS AFTER THE INIMITABLE DESIGNS OF GEORGE CRUIKSHANK. Both series complete in 1 vol. Very choicely printed, in small 4to, price 6s. 6d.

* * * These are the designs which Mr. Ruskin has praised so highly, placing them far above all Cruikshank's other works of a similar character. So rare had the original book (published in 1823-1826) become, that £5 to £6 per copy was an ordinary price. By the consent of Mr. Taylor's family a new Edition is now issued, under the care and superintendence of the printers who issued the originals forty years ago. The Illustrations are considered amongst the most extraordinary examples of successful reproduction ever published. A very few copies on LARGE PAPER, 21s.; or with proofs of plates on INDIA PAPER, price 31s. 6d.


"'Grimm's German Stories' was so well adapted to the genius of Cruikshank, that it has suggested one of the very best of all his etchings. The two elves, especially the nearer one, who is putting on his breeches, are drawn with a point at once so precise and vivacious, so full of keen fun and inimitably happy invention, that I have not found their equals in comic etching anywhere. It is said that these elves are regarded with peculiar affection by the great master who created them; it is only natural, for he has a right to be proud of them."—*Hammerton's Etching and Etchers.*

Hood's "Whims and Oddities," 1826. A New and very Cheap Edition of this well-known Book, with the Author's 40 inimitably funny Woodcuts. Square 12mo, price 1s. stiff cover; or cloth neat, 1s. 6d.



* * * Christopher North once remarked of this book that "it contained more wit, more fun and humour, than any other work of its size."

Hawthorne's Note Book. A new and most interesting volume of Autobiographical Reminiscences, Ideas, and Suggestions by this delightful author, selected from his private Note Books. Square 12mo, stiff cover, 1s.; or cloth neat, 1s 6d.

 The poet Longfellow thus anticipates this charming book:—"Live ever, sweet, sweet book. It comes from the hand of a man of genius. Everything about it has the freshness of morning and May."

John Camden Hotten, 74 and 75, Piccadilly, W.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Price to Subscribers, 27s., afterwards to be raised to 36s.

Life and Newly-Discovered Writings of Daniel Defoe.

Comprising Several Hundred Important Essays, Pamphlets, and other Writings, now first brought to light, after many years' diligent search. By WILLIAM LEE, Esq. With Facsimiles and Illustrations.

*** For many years it has been well known in literary circles that the gentleman to whom the public is indebted for this valuable addition to the knowledge of Defoe's Life and Works has been an indefatigable collector of everything relating to the subject, and that such collection had reference to a more full and correct Memoir than had yet been given to the world. In 3 vols., uniform with "Macaulay's History of England."

Vol. I.—A NEW MEMOIR OF DEFOE.

Vols. II. and III.—HITHERTO UNKNOWN WRITINGS.

*** *This will be a most valuable contribution to English History and English Literature.*

The Best Handbook of Heraldry. Profusely Illus-

trated with Plates and Woodcuts. By JOHN E. CUSSANS. In crown 8vo, pp. 360, in *emblazoned gold cover*, with copious Index, 7s. 6d.



*** *This volume, beautifully printed on toned paper, contains not only the ordinary matter to be found in the best books on the science of Armory, but several other subjects hitherto unnoticed. Amongst these may be mentioned:—1. DIRECTIONS FOR TRACING PEDIGREES. 2. DECIPHERING ANCIENT MSS., ILLUSTRATED BY ALPHABETS AND FACSIMILES. 3. THE APPOINTMENT OF LIVERIES. 4. CONTINENTAL AND AMERICAN HERALDRY, &c.*

Michael Faraday. Philosopher and Christian. By

The Rev. SAMUEL MARTIN, of Westminster. Toned paper, Portrait, 6d.

*** *An admirable résumé—designed for popular reading—of this great man's life.*

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

THE NEW "PUNIANA SERIES" OF
CHOICE ILLUSTRATED WORKS OF
HUMOUR.



*Elegantly printed on toned paper, full gilt, gilt edges, for the
Drawing Room, price 6s. each :—*

1. Carols of Cockayne. By Henry S. Leigh. Vers de Société, and charming Verses descriptive of London Lite. With numerous exquisite little designs by ALFRED CONCANEN and the late JOHN LEECH. Small 4to, elegant, uniform with "Puniana," 6s.

2. The "Bab Ballads" New Illustrated Book of HUMOUR; OR, A GREAT DEAL OF RHYME WITH VERY LITTLE REASON. By W. S. GILBERT. WITH A MOST LAUGHABLE ILLUSTRATION ON NEARLY EVERY PAGE, DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR. On toned paper, gilt edges, price 6s.

"An awfully Jolly Book for Parties."

3. Puniana. Best Book of Riddles and Puns ever formed. Thoughts Wise and Otherwise. With nearly 100 exquisitely fanciful drawings. Contains nearly 3,000 of the best Riddles and 10,000 most outrageous Puns, and is one of the most popular books ever issued. New edition, uniform with the "Bab Ballads," price 6s.

Why did Du Chaillu get so angry when he was chaffed about the Gorilla? Why? we ask.

Why is a chrysalis like a hot roll? You will doubtless remark, "Because it's the grub that makes the butter fly!" But see "Puniana."

Why is a wide-awake hat so called? Because it never had a nap, and never wants one.

The *Saturday Review* says of this most amusing work—"Enormous burlesque—unapproachable and pre-eminent. We venture to think that this very queer volume will be a favourite. It deserves to be so; and we should suggest that, to a dull person desirous to get credit with the young holiday people, it would be good policy to invest in the book, and dole it out by instalments."

John Camden Hotten, 74 and 75, Piccadilly, W.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Popular Shilling Books of Humour.

ARTEMUS WARD: HIS BOOK.
ARTEMUS WARD AMONG THE
MORMONS.
BIGLOW PAPERS.
ORPHEUS C. KERR PAPERS.
JOSH BILLINGS.

HOOD'S VERE VEREKER.
HOLMES' WIT AND HUMOUR.
NEVER CAUGHT.
CHIPS FROM A ROUGH LOG.
MR. SPROUTS: HIS OPINIONS.

Yankee Drolleries. Edited by George Augustus Sala,

Containing Artemus Ward; Biglow Papers; Orpheus C. Kerr; Major Jack Downing; and Nasby Papers. One of the cheapest books ever published. New Edition, on toned paper, cloth extra, 700 pages, 3s. 6d.

Orpheus C. Kerr Papers. The Original American

Edition, Three Series, complete. 3 vols. 8vo, cloth; sells at £1 2s. 6d., now specially offered at 15s.

. A most mirth-provoking work. It was first introduced into this country by the English officers who were quartered during the late war on the Canadian frontier. They found it one of the drollest pieces of composition they had ever met with, and so brought copies over for the delectation of their friends.

A Keepsake for Smokers. — "The Smoker's Text-Book." By J. HAMER, F.R.S.L. This day, exquisitely printed from "silver-faced" type, cloth, very neat, gilt edges, 2s. 6d., post free.

18

THE TRUE CONSOLER.

HE who doth not smoke hath either known no great griefs, or refuseth himself the softest consolation, next to that which comes from heaven. "What, softer than woman?" whispers the young reader. Young reader, woman teases as well as consoles. Woman makes half the sorrows which she boasts the privilege to soothe. Woman consoles us, it is true, while we are young and handsome: when we are old and ugly, woman snubs and scolds us. On the whole, then, woman in this scale, the weed in that, Jupiter, hang out thy balance, and weigh them both; and if thou give the preference to woman, all I can say is, the next time Juno ruffles thee—O Jupiter! try the weed.

BULWER'S "What will he do with it?"

"A pipe is a great comforter, a pleasant soother. The man who smokes thinks like a sage, and acts like a Samaritan."—*Bulwer*.

"A tiny volume, dedicated to the votaries of the weed; beautifully printed on toned paper in, we believe, the smallest type ever made (cast especially for show at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park), but very clear notwithstanding its minuteness. . . . The pages sing in various styles the praises of tobacco. Amongst the writers laid under contribution are Bulwer, Kingsley, Charles Lamb, Thackeray, Isaac Browne, Cowper, and Byron."—*The Field*.

Laughing Philosopher (The), consisting of several

Thousand of the best JOKES, WITTICISMS, PUNS, EPIGRAMS, HUMOROUS STORIES, and Witty Compositions in the English Language; intended as "Fun for the Million." Square 12mo, nearly 800 pages, frontispiece, half morocco neat, 5s. 6d.

AARON PENLEY'S Sketching in Water Colours, for 21s. By AARON PENLEY, Author of "The English School in Water-Colours," &c. ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY-ONE BEAUTIFUL CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS, produced with the utmost care to resemble original WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS. Small folio, the text tastefully printed, in handsome binding, gilt edges, suitable for the drawing-room table, price 21s.

•• It has long been felt that the magnificent work of the great English master of painting in water-colours, published at £4 4s., was too dear for general circulation. The above embodies all the instructions of the distinguished author, with twenty-one beautiful specimens of water-colour painting.

A Clever and Brilliant Book (*Companion to the "Bon Gaultier Ballads"*) **PUCK ON PEGASUS.** By H. CHOLMONDELEY PENNELL.



This most amusing work has already passed through FIVE EDITIONS, receiving everywhere the highest praise as "a clever and brilliant book." TO NO OTHER WORK OF THE PRESENT DAY HAVE SO MANY DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS CONTRIBUTED ILLUSTRATIONS. To the designs of GEORGE CRUIKSHANK, JOHN LEECH, JULIAN PORTCH, "PHIZ," and other artists. SIR NOEL PATEN, MILLAIS, JOHN TENNIEL, RICHARD DOYLE, and M. ELLEN EDWARDS have now contributed several exquisite pictures, thus making the new edition—which is TWICE THE SIZE OF THE OLD ONE, and contains irresistibly funny pieces—THE BEST BOOK FOR THE DRAWING-ROOM TABLE NOW PUBLISHED.

In 4to, printed within an india-paper tone, and elegantly bound, gilt, gilt edges, price 10s. 6d. only.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

UNIFORM WITH MR. RUSKIN'S EDITION OF "GERMAN
POPULAR STORIES."

New Book of Delightful Tales.—"Family Fairy Tales;"

or, Glimpses of Elfland at Heatherston Hall." Edited by CHOLMON-
DELEY PENNELL, Author of "Puck on Pegasus," &c., adorned with
beautiful pictures of "My Lord Lion," "King Uggermugger," and
other great folks. Handsomely printed on toned paper, in cloth, green
and gold, price 3s. 6d. plain, 4s. 6d. coloured.

*** This charming volume has been universally praised by the critical press.

Popular Romances of the West of England; or, the

Drolls of Old Cornwall. Collected and edited by ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S.

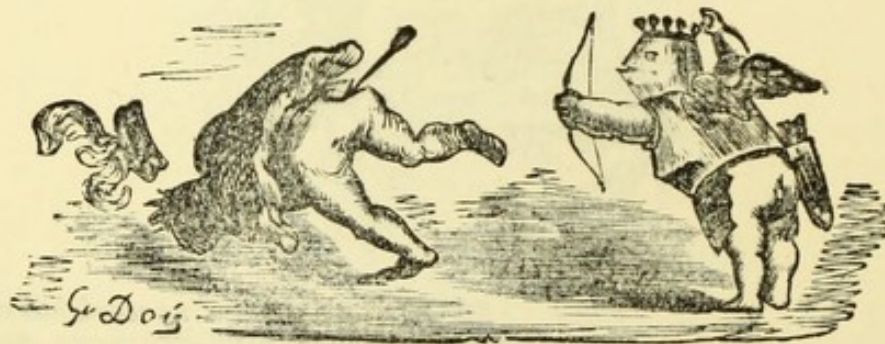
This day, in 2 vols. 8vo, very handsomely printed, price 16s.

*Only a few copies of this very interesting work now remain, and
COPIES WILL SOON BECOME SCARCE.*

*** Many of the stories are remarkable for their wild poetic beauty; others surprise us by their
quaintness; whilst others, again, show forth a tragic force which can only be associated with those
rude ages which existed long before the period of authentic history. Mr. George Cruikshank has
supplied two wonderful pictures to the work. One is a portrait of Giant Bolster, a personage
twelve miles high.

Gustave Dore's Favourite Pencil Sketches.—His-

torical Cartoons; or, Rough Pencillings of the World's History from
the First to the Nineteenth Century. By GUSTAVE DORE. With
admirable letterpress descriptions by THOMAS WRIGHT, F.S.A. Oblong
4to, handsome table book, 7s. 6d.



*** A new book of daring and inimitable designs, which will excite considerable attention, and
doubtless command a wide circulation.

Captain Castagnette. His Surprising, almost Incre-

dible Adventures. 4to, with GUSTAVE DORE's Illustrations. 1s. 9d.
(sells at 5s.)

DIRECT APPLICATION must be made to Mr. Hotten for this book.

Cent. per Cent. A Story written upon a Bill Stamp.

By BLANCHARD JERROLD. With numerous coloured illustrations in
the style of the late Mr. Leech's charming designs. [Immediately.]

*** A Story of "The Vampires of London," as they were pithily termed in a recent notorious
case, and one of undoubted interest.

Seymour's Sketches. A Companion Volume to "Leech's Pictures." The Book of Cockney Sports, Whims and Oddities. Nearly 200 highly amusing Illustrations. Oblong 4to, a handsome volume, half morocco, price 12s.

. A re-issue of the famous pictorial comicalities which were so popular thirty years ago. The volume is admirably adapted for a table-book, and the pictures will doubtless again meet with that popularity which was extended towards them when the artist projected with Mr. Dickens the famous "Pickwick Papers."

The Famous "DOCTOR SYNTAX'S" Three Tours. One of the most Amusing and Laughable Books ever published. With the whole of Rowlandson's very droll full-page illustrations, *in colours, after the original drawings.* Comprising the well-known TOURS:—


1. In Search of the Picturesque.
2. In Search of Consolation.
3. In Search of a Wife.

The three series complete and unabridged from the original editions in one handsome volume, with a Life of this industrious Author—the English Le Sage—now first written by John Camden Hotten.



. It is not a little surprising that the most voluminous and popular English writer since the days of Defoe should never before have received the small honour of a biography. *This Edition contains the whole of the original, hitherto sold for £1 11s. 6d., but which is now published at 7s. 6d. only.*

A VERY USEFUL BOOK. In folio, half morocco, cloth sides, 7s. 6d.
Literary Scraps, Cuttings from Newspapers, Extracts, Miscellanea, &c. A FOLIO SCRAP-BOOK OF 340 COLUMNS, formed for the reception of Cuttings, &c., with guards.

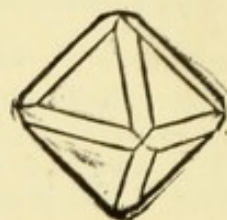
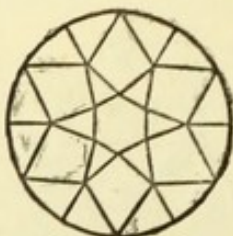
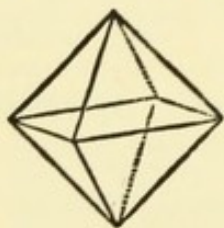
 *Authors and literary men have thanked the publisher for this useful book.*

. A most useful volume, and one of the cheapest ever sold. The book is sure to be appreciated and to become popular.

Hone's Scrap Book. A Supplementary Volume to the "Every-Day Book," the "Year Book," and the "Table-Book." From the MSS. of the late WILLIAM HONE, with upwards of One Hundred and Fifty engravings of curious or eccentric objects. Thick 8vo, uniform with "Year-Book," pp. 800. *[In preparation.]*

Sets of "Punch," 1841—1860. Mr. Hotten has purchased from the Messrs. Virtue and Co. their ENTIRE REMAINDER of this important set of books, which contains, among its 12,000 Illustrations and Contributions from the most noted Wits of the time, the WHOLE OF LEECH'S SKETCHES, 4 vols.; LEECH'S PENCILINGS, 2 vols.; TENNIEL'S CARTOONS; DOYLE'S MR. PIP'S DIARY; MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ENGLISH; BROWN, JONES, AND ROBINSON; Punch's Almanacks, 1 vol.; Thackeray's Miscellanies, 4 vols.; The Caudle Lectures; Story of a Feather; &c., &c. 39 half-yearly vols. bound in 20 vols., cloth gilt, gilt edges, published at £16 10s., to be obtained of Mr. Hotten for £6 10s. ONLY.

The Standard Work on Diamonds and Precious Stones their History, Value, and Properties, with Simple Tests for Ascertaining their Reality. By HARRY EMANUEL, F.R.G.S. With numerous Illustrations, tinted and plain. New Edition, Prices brought down to Present Time, full gilt, 12s. 6d.



"Will be acceptable to many readers."—*Times*.

"An invaluable work for buyers and sellers."—*Spectator*.

See the *Times*' Review of three columns.

*** *This new edition is greatly superior to the previous one. It gives the latest market value for Diamonds and Precious Stones of every size.*

The Young Botanist: A Popular Guide to Elementary Botany. By T. S. RALPH, of the Linnæan Society. In 1 vol., with 300 Drawings from Nature, 2s. 6d. plain, 4s. 6d. coloured by hand.

*** An excellent book for the young beginner. The objects selected as illustrations are either easy of access as specimens of wild plants, or are common in gardens.

Gunter's Modern Confectioner. The Best Book on Confectionery and Desserts. An Entirely New Edition of this Standard Work on the Preparation of Confectionery and the Arrangement of Desserts. Adapted for private families or large establishments. By WILLIAM JEANES, Chief Confectioner at Messrs. Gunter's (Confectioners to Her Majesty), Berkeley-square. With Plates, post 3vo, cloth, 6s. 6d.

"All housekeepers should have it."—*Daily Telegraph*.

*** *This work has won for itself the reputation of being the Standard English Book on the preparation of all kinds of Confectionery, and on the arrangement of Desserts.*

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

MOST AMUSING NEW BOOK.

Caricature History of the Georges (House of Hanover).

Very entertaining book of 640 pages, with 400 Pictures, Caricatures, Squibs, Broad-sides, Window Pictures. By T. WRIGHT, F.S.A. 7s. 6d.



**** Companion Volume to "History of Signboards." Reviewed in almost every English journal with highest approbation.**

"A set of caricatures such as we have in Mr. Wright's volume brings the surface of the age before us with a vividness that no prose writer, even of the highest power, could emulate. Macaulay's most brilliant sentence is weak by the side of the little woodcut from Gillray which gives us Burke and Fox."—*Saturday Review*.

"A more amusing work of its kind never issued from the press."—*Art Journal*.

"This is one of the most agreeable and interesting books of the season."—*Public Opinion*.

"It seems superfluous to say that this is an entertaining book. It is indeed one of the most entertaining books we have read for a long time. It is history teaching by caricature. There is hardly an event of note, hardly a personage of mark, hardly a social whimsey worth a moment's notice, which is not satirised and illustrated in these pages. We have here the caricaturists from Hogarth to Gillray, and from Gillray to Cruikshank."—*Morning Star*.

"It is emphatically one of the liveliest of books, as also one of the most interesting. It has the twofold merit of being at once amusing and edifying. The 600 odd pages which make up the goodly volume are doubly enhanced by some 400 illustrations, of which a dozen are full-page engravings."—*Morning Post*.

"Mr. Thomas Wright is so ripe a scholar, and is so rich in historical reminiscences, that he cannot fail to make an interesting book on any subject he undertakes to illustrate. He has achieved a success on the present occasion."—*Press*.

Notice.—Large-paper Edition. 4to, only 100 printed,
on extra fine paper, wide margins for the lovers of choice books, with
extra Portraits, half-morocco (a capital book to illustrate), 30s.

Romance of the Rod: an Anecdotal History of the
Birch in Ancient and Modern Times. With some quaint illustrations.
Crown 8vo, handsomely printed. *[In preparation.]*

John Camden Hotten, 74 and 75, Piccadilly, W.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

NEW BOOK BY THE AUTHOR OF "A NIGHT IN A WORK-
HOUSE."

Preparing, in crown 8vo, handsomely printed,

The Wilds of London: with a Full Account of the Natives. By the Amateur "Lambeth Casual," Mr. JAMES GREENWOOD, of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

"Mr. James Greenwood, the brother of the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who wrote such a spirited account of his workhouse experiences for this journal, has just commenced a series of descriptive sketches, from the personal observations and experiences of the writer, of remarkable scenes, people, and places in London."—*London Review*.

The Thames from Oxford to London. Forty Exquisite

Photographs. Royal 4to. Both series complete in a neat French morocco folio, with flaps, gilt side, £3 10s.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS.—FIRST SERIES.

Oxford.	Pangbourne (3 views).	Great Marlow Lock.
Barges at Oxford.	Boat House, Park	Boulter's Lock, Maidenhead.
Ifley Mill.	Place.	Maidenhead Railway
Bridge at Nuneham.	Henley-on-Thames.	Bridge.
Day's Lock.	Medmenham Abbey.	Water Oakley, near
Shellingford.	New Lock, Hurley.	Windsor.
Wallingford Bridge.	Marlow.	
Near Goring.		

SECOND SERIES.

Windsor (4 views).	Moulsey.	Duke of Buccleuch's.
Eton College.	Hampton Court (2	Richmond (2 views).
Halliford.	views).	Kew (2 views).
Garrick's Villa,	Twickenham (3 views).	Westminster Palace
Hampton.	Eel-pie Island.	and Bridge.

** This is an admirable collection of Views of the most charmingly picturesque spots on the River Thames, in the very highest style of Landscape Photography.

A Tour in Crete, during the Insurrections of the

Cretans, 1867. By ED. POSTLETHWAITE, Author of "The Fortunes of a Colonist," "Pilgrimage over the Prairies," "Diary of George Dern," "Poems by Tristram," &c. This day, cloth neat, price 2s. 6d.

Letters from Greece, written in 1867. By Ed.

POSTLETHWAITE, Author of "A Tour in Crete," &c. With Three Photographs, cloth, 4s. 6d.

FOLK-LORE, LEGENDS, PROVERBS OF ICELAND.

Now ready, Cheap Edition, with Map and Tinted Illustrations, 2s. 6d.

Oxonian in Iceland; with Icelandic Folk-Lore and

Sagas. By the Rev. FRED METCALFE, M.A.

Tom Marchmont: a Novel. Just out, 3 vols. 8vo,
cloth, 31s. 6d.

"A story of English life, with a hero who is not depicted in accordance with the conventional rules for masculine perfection framed by modern society."

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

The History of Advertising in all Ages and Countries.

A Companion to the "HISTORY OF SIGNBOARDS." With many very amusing Anecdotes and Examples of Successful Advertisers. By MESSRS. LARWOOD and HOTTEN. [In preparation.]

Signboards: their History. With Anecdotes of Famous

Taverns and remarkable Characters. By JACOB LARWOOD and JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN. "A book which will delight all."—*Spectator*. This day, Fourth Edition, pages 580, price 7s. 6d. only.



From the "Times."

"It is not fair on the part of a reviewer to pick out the plums of an author's book, thus filching away his cream, and leaving little but skim-milk remaining; but, even if we were ever so maliciously inclined,

From the "Times."

we could not in the present instance pick out all Messrs. Larwood and Hotten's plums, because the good things are so numerous as to defy the most wholesale depredation."—*Review of three columns.*

BULL AND MOUTH.

(Angel St., St Martin's-le-Grand, circa 1800.)

*** Nearly 100 most curious illustrations on wood are given, showing the various old signs which were formerly hung from taverns and other houses. The frontispiece represents the famous sign of "The Man loaded with Mischief," in the colours of the original painting said to have been executed by Hogarth.

Notice.—"Large-paper Edition," with Seventy-Two extra Illustrations (not given in the small edition), showing Old London in the days when Signboards hung from almost every house. In 4to, half-morocco neat, 30s.

*** Only a small number printed on extra fine paper with wide margins for the lover of fine books.

The Parks of London. Their History and Associations from the Earliest Times. By JACOB LARWOOD. WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE AUTHOR. [In the Press.]

AN EXTRAORDINARY BOOK.

Hotten's Edition of "Contes Drolatiques" (Droll Tales collected from the Abbeys of Lorraine). Par BALZAC. With Four Hundred and Twenty-five Marvellous, Extravagant, and Fantastic Woodcuts by GUSTAVE DORE. Beautifully printed, thick 8vo, half morocco, Roxburghe, 12s. 6d.

*** The most singular designs ever attempted by any artist. This book is a fund of amusement. So crammed is it with pictures that even the contents are adorned with thirty-three illustrations.

Direct application must be made to Mr. Hotten for this work.

John Camden Hotten, 74 and 75, Piccadilly, W.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Common Prayer. Illustrated by Holbein and Albert

Durer. With Wood Engravings of the Dance of Death, a singularly curious series after Holbein, with Scriptural Quotations and Proverbs in the Margin. 8vo, exquisitely printed on tinted paper, 8s. 6d.; in dark morocco, Elizabethan style, gilt edges, 16s. 6d.

Apply DIRECT for this exquisite volume.

AN APPROPRIATE BOOK TO ILLUMINATE.

* * The attention of those who practise the beautiful art of Illuminating is requested to the following sumptuous volume.

The Presentation Book of Common Prayer. Illus-

trated with Elegant Ornamental Borders in red and black, from "Books of Hours" and Illuminated Missals. By GEOFFREY TORY. One of the most tasteful and beautiful books ever printed. May now be seen at all booksellers,

Although the price is only a few shillings (7s. 6d. in plain cloth; 8s. 6d. antique do.; 14s. 6d. morocco extra), this edition is so prized by artists that at the South Kensington and other important Art Schools copies are kept for the use of students.

English Church Furniture, Ornaments, and Decora-

tions, at the Period of the Reformation. Edited by ED. PEACOCK, F.S.A. *MOST INTERESTING BOOK ON ANGLICAN CHURCH ORNAMENTS.* Thick 8vo, with illustrations, 15s.

"Very curious as showing what articles of church furniture were in those days considered to be idolatrous or unnecessary. The work, of which only a limited number has been printed, is of the highest interest to those who take part in the present Ritual discussion."—*See Religious Journals.*

NEW BOOK BY PROFESSOR RENAN'S ASSOCIATE.

Apollonius of Tyana: the Pagan or False Christ of

the Third Century. An Essay. By ALBERT REVILLE, Pastor of the Walloon Church at Rotterdam. Authorised translation. Price 3s. 6d.

* * A most curious account of an attempt to revive Paganism in the third century by means of a false Christ. Strange to say, the principal events in the life of Apollonius are almost identical with the Gospel narrative.

Carlyle on the Choice of Books. Address by Thomas

CARLYLE, with Memoir, Anecdotes, Two Portraits, and View of his House in Chelsea. This day, elegantly printed, pp. 96, cloth 2s.

* * The leader in *Daily Telegraph*, April 25th, largely quotes from above "Memoir."

Smiles's (Saml.) Story of the Life of George Stephen-

son; a Companion Volume to "Self-Help." Sells at 6s. A few copies only at 3s. 9d. *Apply to Mr. Hotten DIRECT for this book.*

Malone's (Ed.) Life. By Sir James Prior, with his

Manuscript Anecdotes, "Maloniana," &c. A handsome library vol., with fine portrait. Sells at 14s. Cloth new, 4s. 3d.

Apply to Mr. Hotten DIRECT for this book.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

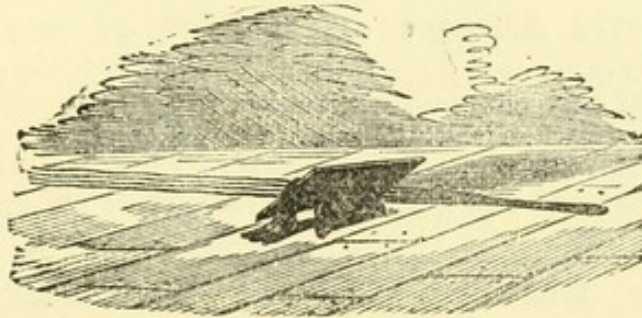
NEW BOOK BY THE "ENGLISH GUSTAVE DORÉ."—
COMPANION TO THE "HATCHET THROWERS."

Legends of Savage Life. By James Greenwood, the famous Author of "A Night in a Workhouse." With 36 inimitably droll illustrations, drawn and coloured by ERNEST GRISET, the "English Gustave Doré." 4to, coloured, 7s. 6d.; plain, 5s.

*** Readers who found amusement in the "Hatchet-Throwers" will not regret any acquaintance they may form with this comical work. The pictures are among the most surprising which have come from this artist's pencil.

"A Munchausen sort of book. The drawings by M. Griset are very powerful and eccentric."—*Saturday Review*.

School Life at Winchester College; or, the Reminiscences of a Winchester Junior. By the Author of "The Log of the Water Lily," and "The Water Lily on the Danube." Second edition, revised, coloured plates, 7s. 6d. [In preparation.]



*** This book does for Winchester what "Tom Brown's School Days" did for Rugby.

Log of the "Water Lily" (Thames Gig), during Two Cruises in the Summers of 1851-52, on the Rhine, Neckar, Main, Moselle, Danube, and other Streams of Germany. By R. B. MANSFIELD, B.A., of University College, Oxford, and illustrated by ALFRED THOMPSON, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. [In preparation.]

*** This was the earliest boat excursion of the kind ever made on the Continental rivers. Very recently the subject has been revived again in the exploits of Mr. MacGregor in his "Rob Roy Canoe." The volume will be found most interesting to those who propose taking a similar trip, whether on the Continent or elsewhere.

The Hatchet-Throwers. With Thirty-six Illustrations, coloured after the Inimitably Grotesque Drawings of ERNEST GRISET. The English Gustave Doré. 4to, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.; plates, uncoloured, 5s.

*** Comprises the astonishing adventures of Three Ancient Mariners, the Brothers Brass of Bristol, Mr. Corker, and Mungo Midge.

Melchior Gorles. By Henry Aitchenzie. 3 vols. 8vo, £1 11s. 6d.

*** The New Novel, illustrative of "Mesmeric Influence," or whatever else we may choose to term that strange power which some persons exercise over others.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

AN INTERESTING VOLUME TO ANTIQUARIES.

Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers in the Civil War, 1642. 4to, half morocco, handsomely printed, price 7s. 6d.

*** These most curious Lists show on which side the gentlemen of England were to be found during the great conflict between the King and the Parliament. Only a very few copies have been most carefully reprinted on paper that will gladden the heart of the lover of choice books.

Magna Charta. An Exact Facsimile of the Original

Document preserved in the British Museum, very carefully drawn, and printed on fine plate paper, nearly 3 feet long by 2 feet wide, with the Arms and Seals of the Barons elaborately emblazoned in gold and colours. A.D. 1215. Price 5s.; by post, on roller, 5s. 4d. Handsomely framed and glazed, in carved oak of an antique pattern, 22s. 6d.

*** Copied by express permission, and the only correct drawing of the Great Charter ever taken. It is uniform with the "Roll of Battle Abbey." A full translation, with Notes, has just been prepared, price 6d.

UNIFORM WITH "MAGNA CHARTA."

Roll of Battle Abbey; or, a List of the Principal

Warriors who came over from Normandy with William the Conqueror and settled in this country, A.D. 1066-7, from Authentic Documents, very carefully drawn, with the Arms of the principal Barons elaborately emblazoned in gold and colours, price 5s.; by post, on roller, 5s. 4d. Handsomely framed and glazed, in carved oak of an antique pattern, price 22s. 6d.

Illuminated Charter - Roll of Waterford, Temp.

Richard II. In 1 vol. 4to, with 19 large and most curious Plates in facsimile, coloured by hand, including an ancient View of the City of Waterford. Subscribers, 20s.; Non-subscribers, 30s. [Preparing.]

*** Of the very limited impression proposed, more than 150 copies have already been subscribed for. An ancient Illuminated Roll, of great interest and beauty, comprising all the early Charters and Grants to the City of Waterford, from the time of Henry II. to Richard II. Full-length Portraits of each King adorn the margin, varying from eight to nine inches in length.

The Oldest Heraldic Roll.—"The Roll of Cærlaver-

lock," with the Arms of the Earls, Barons, and Knights who were present at the Siege of this Castle in Scotland, 26 Edward I., A.D. 1300; including the Original Anglo-Norman Poem, and an English Translation of the MS. in the British Museum. By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. *THE ARMS SPLENDIDLY EMBLAZONED IN GOLD AND COLOURS.* In 4to, very handsomely printed, extra gold cloth, 18s.; or crimson morocco extra, the sides and back covered in rich fleur-de-lys, gold tooling, 55s.

*** A very handsome volume, and a delightful one to lovers of Heraldry, as it is the earliest blazon or arms known to exist.

Now publishing in monthly parts, price 1s.

A New and Complete Parochial History of Cornwall,

Compiled from the Best Authorities, and Corrected and Improved from Actual Survey; with Illustrations of the Principal Objects of Interest. Volume I. now ready, price 16s.

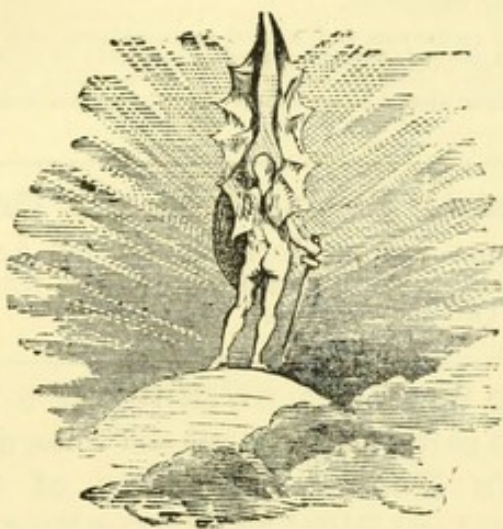
VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

MR. SWINBURNE'S NEW BOOK.

*** "A wonderful literary performance."—"Splendour of style and majestic beauty of diction never surpassed."—WILLIAM BLAKE: A CRITICAL ESSAY. With facsimile Paintings, coloured by hand, from the original drawings painted by Blake and his wife. Thick 8vo, pp. 350, 16s.

"An extraordinary work: violent, extravagant, perverse, calculated to startle, to shock, and to alarm many readers, but abounding in beauty, and characterised by intellectual grasp. . .

. . . His power of word-painting is often truly wonderful—sometimes, it must be admitted, in excess, but always full of matter, form, and colour, and instinct



with a sense of vitality." — *Daily News*, Feb. 12, 1868.

"It is in every way worthy of Mr. Swinburne's high fame. In no prose work can be found passages of keener poetry or more finished grace, or more impressive harmony. Strong, vigorous, and musical, the style sweeps on like a river."—*Sunday Times*, Jan. 12, 1868.

Mr. Swinburne's New Poem. — A Song of Italy.

Fcap. 8vo, toned paper, cloth, price 3s. 6d.

*** The *Athenaeum* remarks of this poem—"Seldom has such a chant been heard so full of glow, strength, and colour."

Mr. Swinburne's Poems and Ballads. Third Edition.

Price 9s.

Mr. Swinburne's Notes on his Poems, and on the

Reviews which have appeared upon them, is now ready, price 1s.

Mr. Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon. New Edition,

fcap. 8vo, price 6s.

Mr. Swinburne's Chastelard. A Tragedy. New

Edition. Price 7s.

Mr. Swinburne's Queen Mother and Rosamond.

New Edition, fcap. 8vo, price 5s.

Mr. Swinburne's Bothwell. A NEW POEM.

[In preparation.]

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Original Edition of Blake's Works.

NOTICE.—Mr. Hotten has in preparation a few facsimile copies (*exact as to paper, printing—the water-colour drawings being filled in by an artist*) of the ORIGINAL EDITIONS of the Books written and Illustrated by WILLIAM BLAKE. As it is only intended to produce—with utmost care—a few examples of each work, Mr. Hotten will be glad to hear from any gentleman who may desire to secure copies of these wonderful books. The first volume, "MARRIAGE OF HEAVEN AND HELL," 4to, is now being issued, price 30s., half morocco.

"Blake is a real name, I assure you, and a most extraordinary man he is, if he still be living. He is the Blake whose wild designs accompany a splendid edition of 'Blair's Grave.' He paints in water-colours marvellous strange pictures—visions of his brain—which he asserts he has seen. They have great merit. I must look upon him as one of the most extraordinary persons of the age."—CHARLES LAMB.

George Chapman's Plays, from the Original Texts.

Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. 4 vols., tastefully printed, uniform with Wm. Pickering's Editions of the "Old Dramatists." [In preparation.]

UNIFORM WITH MR. SWINBURNE'S POEMS.

Fcap. 8vo, 450 pages, Fine Portrait and Autograph, 7s. 6d.

Walt Whitman's Poems. (Leaves of Grass, Drum-Taps, &c.) Selected and Edited by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.

"Whitman is a poet who bears and needs to be read as a whole, and then the volume and torrent of his power carry the disfigurements along with it and away.—He is really a fine fellow."—*Chambers's Journal*, in a very long Notice, July 4th, 1868.

Walt Whitman

☞ A great deal of prejudice in this country has been shown against this very remarkable author. His work should be read by independent minds, and an opinion formed totally apart from the attacks that have been made upon him.

Rossetti's Criticisms on Swinburne's Poems. Price 3s. 6d.

The Prometheus Bound of Æschylus. Translated in the Original Metres by C. B. CAYLEY, B.A. Cloth, price 3s. 6d.

SECOND EDITION.—Now ready, 4to, 10s. 6d., on toned paper, very elegant.

Bianca. Poems and Ballads. By Edward Brennan.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Fair Rosamond, and other Poems. By B. MONTGOMERIE RANKING (of the Inner Temple). Fcap. 8vo, price 6s.

Strawberry Hill, and other Poems. By Colburn MAYNE, Esq. In strawberry binding, fcap. 8vo, 7s. 6d.

"It is a bright, clever little book, in which we find a great deal of good rhyme, and some genuine and pleasing poetry. There are several charming pictures of the historic group, which we know from Horace Walpole's letters and Sir Joshua's paintings."—*Morning Star*.

Infelicia. Poems by Adah Isaacs Menken. Illustrated with NUMEROUS GRACEFULLY PENCILLED DESIGNS DRAWN ON WOOD, BY ALFRED CONCANEN. Dedicated, by permission, to CHARLES DICKENS, with photographic facsimile of his letter, and a very beautifully engraved portrait of the Authoress. In green and gold, 5s. 6d.

"A pathetic little volume exquisitely got up."—*Sun*.

"It is full of pathos and sentiment, displays a keen appreciation of beauty, and has remarkable earnestness and passion."—*Globe*.

"A loving and delicate care has been bestowed on perhaps the daintiest pages of verse that have been issued for many years."—*Lloyd's News*.

"Few, if any, could have guessed the power and beauty of the thoughts that possessed her soul, and found expression in language at once pure and melodious. . . . Who shall say Menken was not



a poet? Throughout her verse there runs a golden thread of rich and pure poetry."—*Press*.

"There is a passionate richness about many of the poems which is almost startling."—*Sunday Times*.

"What can we say of this gifted and wayward woman, the existence of whose better nature will be suggested for the first time to many by the posthumous disclosure of this book? We do not envy the man who, reading it, has only a sneer for its writer; nor the woman who finds it in her heart to turn away with averted face."—*New York Round Table*.

"An amazing little book, unhappily posthumous, which a distinguished woman has left as a legacy to mankind and the ages."—*Saturday Review*.

Anacreon in English. Attempted in the Metres of the Original. By THOMAS J. ARNOLD. A choice little volume, price 4s.

The Village on the Forth, and other Poems. By PHILIP LATIMER. Just published, elegantly printed, price 3s. 6d.

"Chips from a Rough Log; or, Extracts from a Journal kept on board the good ship 'Parisian,' by HAMILTON D. GUNDRY. Fcap. 8vo, price 3s. 6d., cloth neat.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Poems from the Greek Mythology, and Miscellaneous Poems. By EDMUND OLLIER. This day, cloth neat, 5s.

"What he has written is enough, and more than enough, to give him a high rank amongst the most successful cultivators of the English Muse."—*Globe*.

Poems. Characteristic, Itinerary, and Miscellaneous.

By P. F. ROE. Part I.—Rythmical Etchings of Character. II.—Tracings of Travel. III.—Minor Poems. IV.—Translations. Price 7s. 6d.

Facts and Fancies from the Farm. Poems by James DAWSON. Fcap. 8vo, neatly printed, 2s. 6d.

"Here we have some very pretty and readable poetry—some of it so much above the average as to warrant expectations of something far better, and we shall look forward with interest to the next volume from the same hand."—*Globe*.

The Idolatress, and other Poems. By Dr. James

Wills, Author of "Dramatic Scenes," "The Disembodied," and of various Poetical Contributions to "Blackwood's Magazine." Price 6s.

"One great merit of the 'Idolatress' is to be found in the ability with which the writer has contrasted a spiritual faith and its claims on the conscience, with a material faith that captivates the imagination through the senses."—*Athenæum*, July 11th, 1863.

Lyrics and Bucolics. The Eclogues of Virgil, a

Selection from the Odes of Horace, and the Legend of the Sibyll. Translated by HERBERT NOYES, Esq. An elegant little volume, bound in blue and gold, carmine edges, price 4s. 6d.

By the same Author.—An Idyll of the Weald. With
other Lays and Legends. By HERBERT NOYES, Esq. In uniform binding, price 9s.

The New Poetical Satire.—Horse and Foot; or, Pilgrims to Parnassus. By RICHARD CRAWLEY. "I'll not march through Coventry with them, that's flat." Price 3s. 6d.

The Pall Mall Gazette has just given two columns of satisfactory criticism upon this work.

Wit and Humour. By the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." In crown 8vo, toned paper, elegant, price 3s. 6d.

. A volume of delightfully humorous Poems, very similar to the mirthful verses of Tom Hood. Readers will not be disappointed with this work.

Songs of the Nativity.—Old English Religious

Ballads and Carols. An entirely new collection of Old Carols, including some never before given in any collection. With Music to the more popular. Edited by W. H. HUSK, Librarian to the Sacred Harmonic Society. In small 4to, with very beautiful floriated borders, in the Renaissance style, cloth gilt, price 12s. 6d.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Lost Beauties of the English Language. Revived
and Revivable in England and America. An Appeal to Authors,
Poets, Clergymen, and Public Speakers. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D.
In crown 8vo, uniform with the "Slang Dictionary," price 6s. 6d.
[In preparation.]

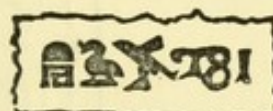
Captain Grose's Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue,
1785. A genuine unmutated Reprint of the First Edition, price 6s.

*** Only a small number of copies of this very vulgar, but very curious, book have been printed for the Collectors of "Street Words" and Colloquialisms, on fine toned paper, half-bound morocco, gilt top.

Slang Dictionary; or, the Vulgar Words, Street
PHRASES, and "FAST" EXPRESSIONS OF HIGH AND LOW SOCIETY;
many with their Etymology, and a few with their History traced.
WITH CURIOUS ILLUSTRATIONS. A New Dictionary of Colloquial
English. Pp. 328, in 8vo, price 6s. 6d., by post, 7s.



See TWO UPON TEN, in
the Dictionary, p. 264.



Egyptian Hieroglyphic verb,
to be drunk, showing the ampu-
tation of a man's leg. See
under BREAKY LEG (viz.
Strong Drink) in the Diction-
ary, p. 81.

One hundred and forty newspapers in this country alone have reviewed with approbation this Dictionary of Colloquial English. "It may be doubted if there exists a more amusing volume in the English language."—SPECTATOR. "Valuable as a work of reference."—SATURDAY REVIEW. "All classes of society will find amusement and instruction in its pages."—TIMES.

Original Edition of the Famous Joe Miller's Jests;

or, the Wit's Vade-Mecum; a Collection of the most brilliant Jests, politest Repartees, most elegant Bons-Mots, and most pleasant short Stories in the English Language. London: printed by T. Read, 1739. An interesting specimen of remarkable facsimile, 8vo, half morocco, price 9s. 6d.

*** ONLY A VERY FEW COPIES OF THIS HUMOROUS AND RACY OLD BOOK HAVE BEEN REPRODUCED.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

In preparation, an entirely

New Book by the late Artemus Ward. Edited by his executors, T. W. Robertson and E. P. Hingston. Illustrated with 35 pictures, taken from his world-renowned Panorama.

Immediately, cloth, very neat, 2s. 6d.

The Works of Charles F. Browne, better known as "ARTEMUS WARD." Portrait by Geflowski, the Sculptor, and fac-similes, &c.

History of Playing Cards. With Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern Games, Conjuring, Fortune-Telling, and Card-Sharping. With Sixty curious illustrations. Skill and Sleight-of-Hand; Gambling



and Calculation; Cartomancy and Cheating; Old Games and Gaming-Houses; Card Revels and Blind Hookey; Piquet and Vingt-et-un; Whist and Cribbage; Old-Fashioned Tricks. Pp. 550, price 7s. 6d.

"A highly-interesting volume."—*Morning Post*.

Cruikshank's Comic Almanack. A complete set, as published in the original numbers from 1835 to 1853. 19 vols., neatly bound in 5 vols., half-morocco, Roxburgh style, £3 3s. Containing MERRY TALES, JESTS, HUMOROUS POETRY, WHIMS, ODDITIES, &c., by THACKERAY, THOMAS HOOD, ALBERT SMITH, and other well-known comic writers. Illustrated with nearly ONE THOUSAND WOODCUTS AND STEEL ENGRAVINGS by the *inimitable* GEORGE CRUIKSHANK and other Artists. *Very scarce.*

Mr. Sprouts his Opinions. The New and Genuine Book of Humour. Uniform with "Artemus Ward." By RICHARD WHITEING. New Shilling Edition now ready.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS.

Wright's (Thomas, M.A.) History of Domestic

Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages. 1862. Thick small 4to. Illustrated with a great profusion of most interesting woodcuts, drawn and engraved by Fairholt, from the illuminations in contemporary MSS. and other sources. Cloth, bevelled boards, red edges. Sells at 21s. New, 10s. 6d. only.

DIRECT APPLICATION must be made to Mr. Hotten for this Work.

Caxton's Statutes of Henry VII., 1489. Edited,

with Notes and Introduction, by JOHN RAE, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Institution. In remarkable facsimile, from the rare original, small folio,

The earliest known volume of Printed Statutes, and remarkable as being in English. It contains some very curious and primitive Legislation on Trade and Domestic Matters, such as:—

Price of Hats and Caps	Giving of Livery	Correcting Priests
French Wines	Concerning Customs	Against Hunters
Act for Peopling Isle	Fires in London	Marrying a Woman
of Wight	Rebels in the Field	against her Will, &c.
Against Butchers		

Genealogical Collections concerning the Sir-Name of

Baird, and the Families of Auchmedden, Newbyth, and Saughton Hall in particular. With copies of old letters and papers worth preserving, and account of several transactions in this country during the last two centuries. Reprinted from the original MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Price to Subscribers, 10s. 6d. [*Preparing.*]

. The present edition will include an appendix containing a large amount of fresh genealogical information. The work is one possessing general interest, foreign to most Family Histories. No pains will be spared to make the work an accurate and beautiful one. As the impression will be limited strictly to 100 copies, early application must be made to secure them.

ANECDOTES OF THE "LONG PARLIAMENT" OF 1645.

The Mysteries of the Good Old Cause: Sarcastic

Notices of those Members of the Long Parliament that held places, both Civil and Military, contrary to the Self-denying Ordinance of April 3, 1645; with the sums of money and lands they divided among themselves. In 4to, half morocco, choicely printed, price 7s. 6d.

Warrant to Execute Charles I. An Exact Facsimile

of this Important Document in the House of Lords, with the Fifty-nine Signatures of the Regicides, and Corresponding Seals, admirably executed on paper made to imitate the Original Document, 22 in. by 14 in. Price 2s.; by post, 2s. 4d. Handsomely framed and glazed, in carved oak of an antique pattern, 14s. 6d.


Warrant to Execute Mary Queen of Scots. The

Exact Facsimile of this Important Document, including the Signature of Queen Elizabeth and Facsimile of the Great Seal. Safe on roller, 2s.; by post, 2s. 4d. Handsomely framed and glazed, in carved oak of an antique pattern, 14s. 6d.

VERY IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS

Best Guide to Reading Old MSS., Records, &c.—

"Wright's Court Hand Restored; or, Student's Assistant in Reading Old Deeds, Charters, Records, &c." Half morocco, 10s. 6d.

 *A New Edition, corrected, of AN INVALUABLE WORK TO ALL WHO HAVE OCCASION TO CONSULT OLD MSS., DEEDS, CHARTERS, &c. It contains a series of Facsimiles of old MSS. from the time of the Conqueror, Tables of Contractions and Abbreviations, Ancient Surnames, &c.*

Handbook of Family History of the English Counties:

Descriptive Account of 20,000 most Curious and Rare Books, Old Tracts, Ancient Manuscripts, Engravings, and Privately-printed Family Papers, relating to the History of almost every Landed Estate and Old English Family in the Country; interspersed with nearly Two Thousand Original Anecdotes, Topographical and Antiquarian Notes. By JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN. Nearly 350 pages, very neat, price 5s.

***** By far the largest collection of English and Welsh Topography and Family History ever formed. Each article has a small price affixed for the convenience of those who may desire to possess any book or tract that interests them.

Higgins' (Godfrey) Celtic Druids; or, an attempt to

show that the Druids were the Priests of Oriental Colonies, the introducers of the first or Cadmean System of Letters, the Builders of Stonehenge, of Carnac, and other Cyclopean Works in Asia and Europe. 4to, numerous plates of Druid monuments, rare, 32s.

***** The most philosophical digest of the existing information upon the origin of Druidical Worship. Copies have been sold for £7. At the above price the book is ridiculously cheap, compared with the sums of money that have been paid for it very recently. Large paper copy, boards, 45s., very scarce.

DIRECT APPLICATION must be made to procure at these reduced prices.

Esholt in Airedale, Yorkshire: the Cistercian Priory

of St. Leonard, Account of, with View of Esholt Hall. Small 4to, 1s. 6d.

London Directory for 1667, the Earliest Known

List of the London Merchants. 12mo, very choicely printed, price 6s. 6d. See Review in the *Times*, Jan. 22.

***** This curious little volume has been reprinted verbatim from one of the only two copies known to be in existence. It contains an Introduction pointing out some of the principal persons mentioned in the list.

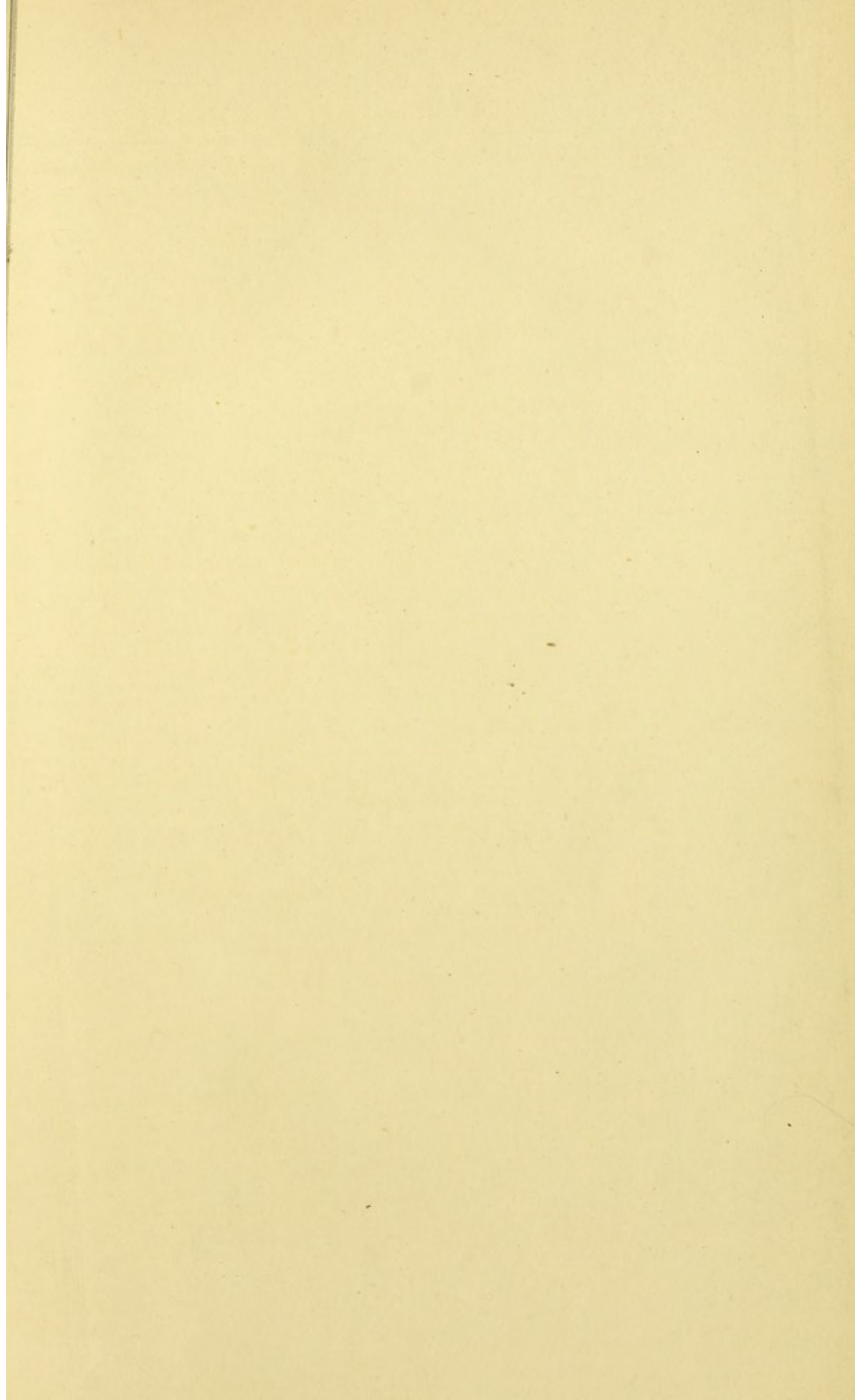
For historical and genealogical purposes the little book is of the greatest value.

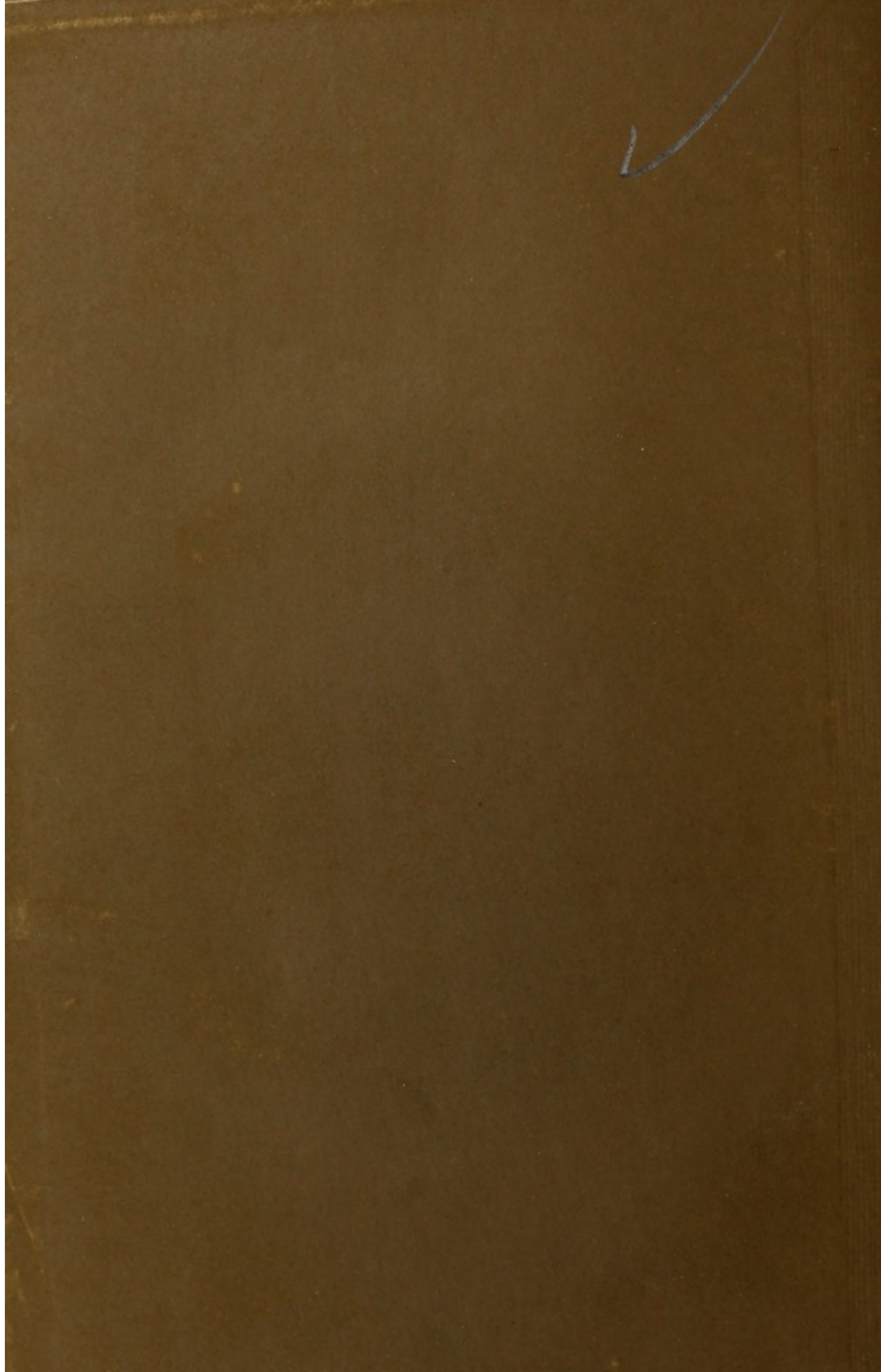
EXACT FACSIMILE, LETTER FOR LETTER, OF THE EXCESSIVELY RARE ORIGINAL,

Much Adoe about Nothing. As it hath been sundrie

times publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, 1600.

***** Small quarto, on fine toned paper, half-bound morocco, Roxburghe style, only 4s. 6d. (Original price, 10s. 6d.)





BOUND BY
BONE & SON
FLEET ST. LONDON E.C.

