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BABY-FARMING

ON

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AND THE

REGISTRATION OF

58

BY

# J. BRENDON CURGENVEN, M.R.C.S., ETC.

HONORARY SECRETARY TO THE HARVEIAN MEDICAL SOCIETY, AND TO THE ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTING THE EXTENSION OF THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACT OF 1866, ETC., ETC., ETC.,

(Read at a Meeting of the Health Department of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, March 15, 1869.)

"Of all things in life, there should be nothing so preventable, as there is nothing on the face of it so unnatural, as the death of a little child, yet it is of all things in life the commonest, the only thing we really make, as a community, the least effort to prevent."—CHARLES DICKENS.

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# ON BABY-FARMING

#### AND THE

# REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

BABY-FARMING is a phrase new to us until within the last twelve months. It has been coined to indicate the occupation of those who receive infants to nurse or rear by hand, for a payment in money, either made periodically (as weekly or monthly) or in one sum. This is no new occupation, but it has been brought more prominently before the public the last three years, through the investigations of a Committee of the Harveian Medical Society, which I had the honour to propose, and on which I was engaged as Honorary Secretary to the Society. In January, 1867, a deputation from the Society had an interview with the Home Secretary and laid before him twenty recommendations relating to infanticide, illegitimate children and baby-farming; but, owing to the pressure of the Reform question, no action could be taken in the matter at that time. In March, 1867, I read a paper before this Department on "The Waste of Infant Life," in which I showed that the excessive mortality that prevailed amongst hand-fed children in the care of nurses (babyfarmers) was from 75 to 90 per cent. I pointed out the causes which conduced to this great mortality,-the unrestricted traffic with infants, and their shameful treatment and neglect. At the close of the discussion on my paper the following resolution was passed.

"It having been proved that very great mortality exists among illegitimate children in the care of hired nurses, a fact which shows the existence of much ignorance, carelessness, and culpable neglect on the part of these nurses, the Health Department of this Association is of opinion that protection should be accorded by the State to illegitimate children, by requiring that all persons taking charge of them should be registered, or licensed, and placed under the supervision of the Poor Law Medical Officer of the district in which they reside."

The subject having thus been brought before the public, the evils exposed, and the remedy suggested, articles and letters appeared in the medical and daily papers, and in the following year, 1868, the *British Medical Journal* produced a series of able articles on baby-farming, strongly recommending the licensing of the nurses.

This trade or occupation is carried on chiefly by a low class of midwives, who receive single women into their apartments during the lying-in period. From two to four weeks after the birth of the child, the mother leaves, having agreed with the midwife to pay her three to five shillings weekly for taking care of her child. A midwife who does much of a business in this way, soon gets more infants in her hands than she can attend to; she keeps two or three and sometimes as many as six, the rest are placed with baby-farmers. When Mrs. Jaggers was asked, at an inquest on one of her infants, how many she had in her house at that time, she answered "Six, and two little dears that I will never part with. They are two that must be taken care of." The six would probably follow the "forty or sixty that had died in three years." When an illegitimate infant is about three or four weeks old, the midwife or mother places it out to nurse. A home is soon found on reference to the advertising columns of some of the low class London papers. I have now before me eleven advertisements of baby-farmers from one paper, of which the two following are examples.

"CHILD to Nurse wanted, by a respectable Person; every care and attention. A. B., 2, Luton Street, Portman Market."

"CHILD (Nurse) wanted, to dry nurse or from birth; terms moderate; accustomed to children. Mrs. Williams, 192, Seymour Street, Euston."

Some midwives are perfectly regardless of infant life, and do not scruple to destroy the child during birth when it is desired, and a larger fee is obtainable; as one of them said to the writer in the *British Medical Journal*, "she could dispose of the child by neglecting it at birth, and it could then appear as if it was still-born or had died in the birth." These women have no special qualification for their occupation as midwives. They have had no instruction, and it not unfrequently occurs that the life of the mother is sacrificed; as I have had the misfortune to witness, having been called to the assistance of a midwife barely in time to see the poor lying-in woman expire. Ignorant and unscrupulous, such are the women in whose hands hundreds of those who are about to become mothers place their own lives and the lives of their infants. The question of education and registration of midwives is one which I will not enter on here, but I hope to bring that forward at another time.

There are baby-farmers who receive women into their houses, to be attended by a medical man during their lying-in. They merely undertake the duties of nursing the mother and taking charge of the baby afterwards.

Others advertise for "Nurse children;" of these some are indigent but respectable persons, who wish to add a little to their small earnings and who try to do their best by their nurselings. Some are drunken women, who spend the money they get from the parent of the child at the gin-palace, and the little one is soon starved out of existence, to be replaced by another. Again others, to get as much as they can by their business, take several children; deaths rapidly occur amongst them from want of attention and cleanliness; and others advertise for children to adopt, requiring a premium of from 51. to 501. The following are characteristic advertisements of this sort.

"ADOPTION (Entirely).—Respectable Couple wish for an infant as own; age not particular; 71. premium is all required. Address by letter only, A. Z., *Clerkenwell News* Branch Office, 214, Shoreditch, N.E."

"ADOPTION.—A Couple, having no children, wish to adopt a male infant; 40*l*. premium required. Apply F. F., 7, Tonbridge Street, Euston Road; top bell."

The "top bell" indicates that the advertiser occupies the top floor or attics in the house. The writer in the British Medical Journal paid a visit to a "top floor," in the occupation of a baby-farmer, and he there found seven children, varying in age from nine years down to a few weeks; some were "taken to nurse" and others "adopted." The terms of this woman were 5s. a week for nurse children, and 10l. or 15l. for adoption. Adoption by baby-farmers is a very different thing from adoption by those who are not in indigent circumstances, and who adopt the child for the child's sake, and not for a money consideration.

Advertisements like the following are often seen-

"APARTMENTS furnished, for a lady in delicate health. Physician or Midwife found, or baby can be left."

"TEMPORARY retirement, &c., &c."

"APARTMENTS or Bedrooms for Ladies. Resident Midwife, &c."

These advertisers generally get large fees, and have no difficulty in getting babies "adopted."

From what I have said, it can easily be perceived what an extensive traffic in infant life goes on in this country, especially when we bear in mind that upwards of 50,000 illegitimate children are born annually, and fully two-thirds This traffic, too, is of them are "put out to nurse." principally carried on by ignorant and unscrupulous women, ignorant of the proper method of rearing a baby by hand, and unscrupulous of the lives of the infants in their care. The life of a nurse-child is a life of suffering, and its death is too often a death of starvation. It has no power of appeal against its suffering except before a coroner's jury, when the breath of life has fled; yet this power of appeal the State could give, if a medical inspector had authority to see its wasted frame while yet alive. Half a century ago lunatics were treated as wild beasts, chained in horrible dens, ill-used and starved. Dr. Conolly and some philanthropists laboured for a long time before they could induce the Government of that day to take the matter up, and compel a more humane The Lunacy Act was ultimately treatment of lunatics. passed, a more humane treatment of lunatics was made compulsory, and inspectors were appointed to visit all public and private asylums, and every house where a lunatic was received or confined. What the State has done for lunatics it ought to do for nurse-children, for they, as in the case of lunatics, are placed in the care of strangers beyond the supervision of their parents, and for a pecuniary consideration.

It would not add to the force or argument of this paper were I to relate such sensational but typical cases as those of Charlotte Winsor, who, it was stated in evidence, suffocated infants under feather beds; or of Mrs. Jaggers, who, in answer to the coroner said, she could not tell how many children—whether forty or sixty—had been in her keeping within the last three years, how many had been born in her house, nor how many medical men had been called in. The same medical man is not called in too often, for fear of exciting his suspicion that the children were not properly fed and cared for.

Objections may be offered to the removal of all children from workhouses, and to the colonising system which I advocate. There are many reasons, sanitary and social, why children should not be aggregated in workhouses or other institutions. Pauper children living together in a crowded ward are always in feeble health, so that when epidemic diseases prevail amongst them, they prove extremely fatal. As an instance, I will quote from the last annual report of Dr. Clark, on the health of the Union Infirmaries at Leicester. Measles broke out in the schools in February, 1868, and afterwards spread to the children's sick ward and the infant nurseries. "Of seventeen infants under two years of age who were attacked, twelve died (about  $70\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.)"; five died between two and three years of age, but all above three years recovered.

In the Clerkenwell workhouse during the year from June 3, 1863, to June 3, 1864, twenty-seven children died of infantile cachectic diseases. At Marylebone during the year 1864, sixty children died of these diseases, and at Kensington fifty-The *Lancet* reporter remarks "the only instance in one. which it strikes us that the mortality is to any considerable extent preventable, is with regard to the infants. It is notorious that an enormously high proportion of infants born in the workhouse soon die, and we have come to the conclusion that the unhealthy situations of the nurseries and the want of supervision of the supplementary food, has much to do with this. So great is the abuse of arrowroot and other starchy foods in some houses, that we are sure the greatest harm is done by the use of this improper nutriment for young infants. Cows' milk is insufficiently supplied."

But besides the fact of the great mortality in workhouses, it is now fully recognised that the majority of the children reared as paupers remain paupers all their lives, or, which is worse, become criminals, so that they are always maintained by the parish or county rates. What would be the case if the pauper children were colonised among the families of the honest poor? They would be trained with the poor man's family to honesty and labour, they would be educated in the village or parish schools, and go out into the world ignorant of the pauperising system existing in the present workhouses, ignorant of their pauper origin, and trained to the knowledge that by the sweat of their brow they must earn their bread. They and their nurses would have the supervision of a medical officer, and they would cease to be maintained by the rates at the age of twelve years, being far less likely to return to the workhouse than those reared within its walls, who look upon the house as their home.

I can see no reason why the high rate of mortality of pauper and illegitimate children, ranging as it does from 54 to 90 per cent., should not be reduced to that of legitimate children of the lower classes, from 15 to 30 per cent., by farming or colonising the children with registered nurses under efficient medical supervision. Not only would many lives be saved, but they would be reared up in health and honesty, instead of living a life of pauperism and crime enfeebled in body and mind, begetting degenerated offspring, a race of paupers from generation to generation, and ever increasing the intolerable burden of the rates.

The following is the death-rate of children under five years of age, in relation to the total births :---

England	27	per cent.
Agricultural counties and towns	20	"
Manufacturing counties and towns		"
(men in average or excess)	30 to 35	
	40 to 56	>>
Do. (women in excess)		99
London	32	"
Liverpool	45.5	"
Legitimate children of upper and		
middle classes	11 to 14	>>
Do. Lower		,,
	25 to 30	
classes, towns	20 10 00	"
Do. Do.		
counties	15 to 20	22
Illegitimate children	60 to 90	"
Do. of Wet Nurses in		
Magdalen Convalescent Home	54	
	UT	"
Do. Infants' Home,		
Great Coram Street	68	77
(64 per cent. died of atro	phy)	
Do. Grey Nuns' Hospita	al,	
Montreal		100.00
monucai	00	>>

Foundling Hospitals on the		
Continent	 45 to 75 p	per cent.
France, country districts,		
legitimate	 20	"
Nurse children, illegitimate	 60 to 90	,,

In the last session of Parliament, the Earl of Shaftesbury asked the Lord President of the Council, "whether the attention of the Government had been directed to the system of baby-farming; and, if so, whether they intended to institute any inquiry into the subject? remarking, that in baby-farming, babies were put out to nurse for the purpose of being got rid of, a system that had excited much horror; and such was the state of our laws that they were wholly ineffectual for putting a stop to these practices. The people became familiarised with crime, and thought that the law could not reach them."

The Duke of Marlborough remarked, that "it was, unfortunately, too true that the system of baby-farming existed, under which the grossest crimes might be committed. Persons who desired to get rid of their children put them out to nurse in the charge of those, who, by their neglect, or other methods with which they were familiar, probably brought about the deaths of these poor infants. It was intolerable that such acts as these should be committed in a civilized country, and yet escape without punishment of the law. But the matter was rather one of police than of sanitary investigation. Measures might be adopted for putting an end to so inhuman a practice, either by registering the houses of persons taking these children to nurse, or by a system of licensing, combined with periodical inspection, by properly qualified officers. He was glad the noble earl had asked the question, because this was a subject of great importance. Government would turn their attention to the question during the recess, and he hoped that they would be able to discover means, which, embodied in a Bill, would obviate the dangerous abuses to which attention had been directed."

Since the subject has been brought before Parliament in the House of Lords, and a minister of the late Government, acknowledging its importance, promised that he would endeavour to bring in a Bill embodying the principle of licensing the nurses, as suggested by me, in a debate on infanticide at the Harveian Society, in June, 1866, and on several occasions since, it has become my earnest desire that this Association should frame a measure that shall meet the difficulties of the subject, or draw up a series of recommendations to assist the Government in passing a Bill for the registration of nurses.

It remains for me to suggest the chief points to be embodied in the clauses of such an Act.

It should be an Act for the registration and supervision of nurses—the term *nurses* to be understood to include dry and foster nurses, who receive children into their homes for the purpose of rearing them apart from their parents. Persons adopting children for a money consideration, and not for the child's sake, or their own pleasure and affection, should be included under the Act.

The Act should apply to the whole kingdom, and its registration districts should be the same as the union districts.

The union medical officers should be charged with the duties of registration and supervision of the nurses, and inspection of the children.

Their remuneration should be the registration or licence fees of the nurses, which should be not less than 5s., and payable annually.

N.B.—5s. is the maximum annual payment that medical men get per head for club patients.

The medical officer should keep a register of nurses, and enter therein the following particulars of every person in his district who is acting, or desirous to act, as a nurse, as described in this Act, viz.:—name, age, married or single, residence, occupation, dry or foster nurse. He should require a certificate of character from a minister of religion, or two householders. He should ascertain the healthiness of the house, and the suitability of the occupation; and, in the case of a foster nurse, the sufficient supply of natural nourishment, and health and strength for the rearing of two infants.

He should periodically transmit to a central authority a copy of his register, and keep him informed of all persons desiring to become foster-nurses, as soon as they make application, and he has ascertained that they are fit and proper persons for the duty.

All the children in the care of registered nurses should be registered, and the following particulars given, viz:—name of nurse, name and address of mother, or father, or name of union whence it came, name of child, age when received, sex, legitimate or illegitimate, district of registration of birth and vaccination ;\* nurse paid by mother, father, or union ; diseases it suffers from ; cause of death. If it lives, the age (or date) it leaves the nurse, whence it goes, or occupation it goes to.

The registers of the children should be transmitted to the central office periodically—once a year.

The medical officer should visit each child in his district at least once a month, and if ill, as often as shall be necessary.

The medical officer should instruct the nurses as to the best method of feeding the children, and the kind of food that is most suitable for them.

No person should take a child to nurse, for a pecuniary consideration, apart from its parent or parents, unless that person is registered, or shall become registered within one week from the time of receiving the child, in the register of the union medical officer of the district.

No registered dry-nurse should take charge of more than two children under one year of age, and no foster-nurse should take charge of more than one under that age.

No single or married woman should take the situation of wet-nurse, forsaking her own child, unless her child be placed in charge of a registered nurse.

All registered nurses shall admit the union medical officer to inspect the children and their food, at any time that he shall deem necessary.

The nurses should not give the children any medicines, or soothing or sedative drugs, without the sanction or orders of the medical officer.

All persons acting as dry or foster-nurses, and not registered in accordance with this Act, after one week's notice, given either by the poor-law officer, the medical officer, or the police, should be fined or imprisoned.

All persons forsaking or neglecting their illegitimate offspring, whereby they become chargeable to the parish, should pay all expenses incurred, or be imprisoned, as in the case of legitimate offspring.

Any nurse who through neglect or incompetence proves herself incapable of properly taking care of, and rearing the children entrusted to her, should, on the judgment of the medical officer, have her name struck off the register, and no longer be allowed to act as a nurse.

<sup>\*</sup> It is important to obtain this information, as about 30 per cent. of illegitimate births are not registered, and consequently may, and do, in a great majority of instances, escape vaccination.

If any child in charge of a registered nurse be abandoned by the parent or person responsible for the periodical payment for such child, the child should then be returned to the workhouse of the district where its birth was registered. The workhouse officers should endeavour to find the person responsible for the child; if they succeed, they should make him or her pay the parish for the past and future maintenance of the child; if they do not succeed, they should treat the child as an abandoned child and place it in the charge of a registered nurse at the expense of the parish.

If the registration district of a child cannot be ascertained, it should be taken to the workhouse of the district in which it was abandoned.

The child should not be placed again in the charge of the same nurse, and it should not be known to any but the officials in whose charge an abandoned child is placed.\*

The parents should be allowed to reclaim the abandoned child on paying the expenses incurred by the parish in its maintenance.

The parish may remit a portion of the repayment in any deserving cases, such as those who were compelled to cease their payments to the nurse through poverty or other unavoidable cause.

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All pauper children—orphans and abandoned—should be placed by the parish in charge of registered nurses, by preference with those living in country districts.

The scale of payment to the nurses should be adopted in accordance with the present cost of these children to the parish.

They should be educated at the local schools, and the cost, if any, defrayed by the parish.

At the age of twelve years the parish should no longer pay for their maintenance, except in the case of infirm children, but they should by their labour in the fields or other ways earn their maintenance and continue with their nurse or foster parent until the age of twenty-one years, or until they enter the naval service or any other situation at the sanction of the parish: the parish exercising their guardianship over them until their majority. The home of their nurse is to be considered their home until then, that they may, when out of situation,

<sup>\*</sup> This is necessary to prevent collusion between the parent and nurse.

have a home to go to, instead of returning to the workhouse to add to the number of paupers. The parish should provide them clothing until they are twelve years of age.

In the case of unweaned infants the parish should cause them to be wet-nursed if possible in the workhouse, and as soon as possible place them with foster-nurses, whose addresses could be obtained at the central office.

The births of all illegitimate children born in the workhouse should be registered before the mothers take them out of the house.

There should be a central office in London, or an extra clerk or two could be appointed at the Poor Law Office. To this office the medical officers should send copies of their registers of children and their registers of nurses periodically, that statistics may be compiled; and to this office, also, the names, addresses, &c., of all women desiring to receive fosterchildren should be sent, that on application such nurses could easily and readily be found.

The books kept at the central office should include a register of all medical officers making returns, indexed with reference to the returns, or copies of their registers, that they may be readily found; a register of foster-nurses, and any books that may be necessary for compiling statistics of nurse and foster children.

The expenses that will have to be met by the Government or the Poor Law Board are those of the central office, books, stationery, and a small sum annually to the medical officers to cover postage, &c., unless their official communications can pass unpaid through the Post Office.

#### CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION.

No. 7, March 15, 1869, Mary Ann Smith, the wife of Robert Smith of Warbeck, in the Parish of Burley, Kent, Carpenter, is this day registered as a Dry [foster] nurse, for which she has paid the sum of five shillings.

#### JOHN BROWN,

Canterbury,

Medical Officer of the West district of Canterbury Union.

Register number of child 6.

REGISTER OF

No.	Date.	Name.	Age.		ied, Si Wido		Residence.
	1869.	the second second		M.	s.	w.	
$     \begin{array}{c}       1 \\       2 \\       3 \\       4 \\       5 \\       6 \\       7     \end{array} $	Jan. 15 " 15 " 16 " 20 Feb. 1 " 23 Mar. 15	Hall, Jane Evans, Mary Hemming, Jane Hoad, Sarah Lygon, Ann Collins, Emma Smith, Mary Ann.	$28 \\ 42 \\ 34 \\ 26 \\ 46 \\ 32 \\ 35 \\ 35 \\ $	M. M. M. M. M.		W.      W. 	Hadley, Canterbury 8, Back Lane, Can- terbury Harbledown St. Dunstan's Fordwich Blean Warbeck, Burley

# REGISTER OF

	Date. 1869.	Name of Nurse and her Register No.		Name and Address of Mother, Father, or Union the Child is from.	Name of Child.	Age.	Sex.		Legiti- mate or Illegiti- mate.		
No.							м.	F.	L.	I.	
1	Jan. 6	Hemming, Jane	3	Mary Nichols,7 Cork St., Westminster .	Nichols, Robt.	2 mo.	м.	-	-	I.	
2	" 10	Evans, Mary .	2	Strand Union, Lon- don, W.C	Jones, James	14 mo.	м.	-	-	I.	
3	" 16	Hoad, Sarah .	4	John Hurst, 2 Castle St., Canterbury	Hurst, Mary .	6 wks.	1/	F.	L.	1	
4	,, 28	Lygen, Ann .	5	Canterbury Union, Kent	Hunter, John	8 yrs.	м.	-	0.	- 1	
5	Feb. 20	Collins, Emma	6	Ellen Stanley, 11 Old St., Marylebone .	Stanley, Ellen	6 mo.	-	F.	-	I.	
6	Mar.12	Smith, Mary Ann	7	Jane Jones, 22 Star St., Paddington .	Jones, William	2 mo.	м.	-	-	1.	
	1. Crauli	the Press		andro on dan Mi Annala							
7	" 15	Hall, Jane	1	James Blackett, 4 Royal Crescent, Notting Hill	Blackett, Edith	4 wks	-	F.	L.	-	
				*					1		

# NURSES.

Occupation of Husband		Dry	or Foster	Nurse.	Dates of	Register No.		
	or Nurse.	D,	F.	Age of her Child.	Renewal of Licence.	of Children in her charge.		
	Farm labourer	19- 19	F.	3 weeks	1	7		
	Small toy shopCarpenterWheelwrightPost OfficeSeamstressCarpenter	D. D. D. D. D. D.	11111	11111	11111	$2 \\ 1 \\ 3 \\ 4 \\ 5 \\ 6$		

# CHILDREN.

and the second se	District of Registration of Birth and Vaccination.	Vaccinated or not Vaccinated.	By whom the Nurse is paid.	Diseases the Child suffers from.	Cause of and Da		If the Child lives, state the Age it leaves the Nurse, whence it goes, or the occupation it goes to.	Remarks.
and the second se	St. Margaret's,			possile out	04 20			
	Westminster	v.	Mother	Eczema		-	-	-
No. of Concession, Name	St. Clement's, Strand, W.C.	ν.	Union	Measles, Bron- chitis	Bronchitis	Feb. 20		Badly nour- ished when received by the nurse.
	West District, Canterbury .	N.V.	Father	Thrush	-	-	-	Mother died third day after labour.
	Maidstone	N.V.	Union	Scarlet Fever		-	Given in charge of an aunt, Mary Hun- ter, Bex- loy, Kent.	Child healthy, had received no education,
A CONTRACTOR OF	St. Mary, Mary- lebone	v.	Mother		-	-	Returned to Maryle- bone Union at the age of 8 mo.	Mother ceased her payments.
	St. John, Pad- dington	v.	Mother	-	-	L		Child had been three weeks with Mary Harper, re- g istered nurse, 2 Market St., Edgware Rd.
Contraction of the local division of the loc	St. Mary, Ken- sington	N.V.	Father		-	-	-	Mother unfit through ill- ness to nurse her child.

### FORM OF LETTER TO THE REGISTRAR OF BIRSHS OF THE CHILD'S REGISTRATION DISTRICT.

Address :— Canterbury. Date :— March 15th, 1869.

SIR,—I have this day registered an *illegitimate* nurse-child, whose birth is said to have been registered by you in the month of *January*, 1869. His name is *William Jones*, and he is said to be the child of *Jane Jones*, residing at 22, *Star Street*, *Paddington*. Is this child on your register, and has his vaccination been registered?

Yours, &c.,

#### JOHN BROWN,

Medical Officer of the West District of Canterbury Union.

To James Robins, Registrar of Births, &c., St. John's District, Paddington.

### FORM OF LETTER, ANSWER OF REGISTRAR OF BIRTHS, &C., TO THE UNION MEDICAL OFFICER.

SIR,—I find that the birth of the *illegitimate* child, William Jones, son of Jane Jones, residing at 22, Star Street, Paddington, at the date of birth was [not] registered on the 20th of January, 1869, and his [non] successful vaccination was [not] registered on the 6th of March, 1869.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES ROBINS,

Registrar of Births, &c. St. John's District, Paddington.

To John Brown, Esq., Medical Officer of the West District of Canterbury Union.