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The Elphinstone or church system of relief existed up to 1846; but in that year of misery the citizens demanded a civil form of relief organization. The church parishes rallied and endeavored by union of forces to build up a community system. But after a trial of a year the association was dissolved and a civil organization was effected; and this failed, because it depended on voluntary gifts, and the city had to increase its subsidies, with serious financial complications.

Then the merchant David von der Heydt, an earnest church man, the soul of the whole movement, came upon the scene & induced the City Council in 1850 to



*[Faint, illegible handwriting on aged paper, likely bleed-through from the reverse side. The text is mirrored and difficult to decipher.]*

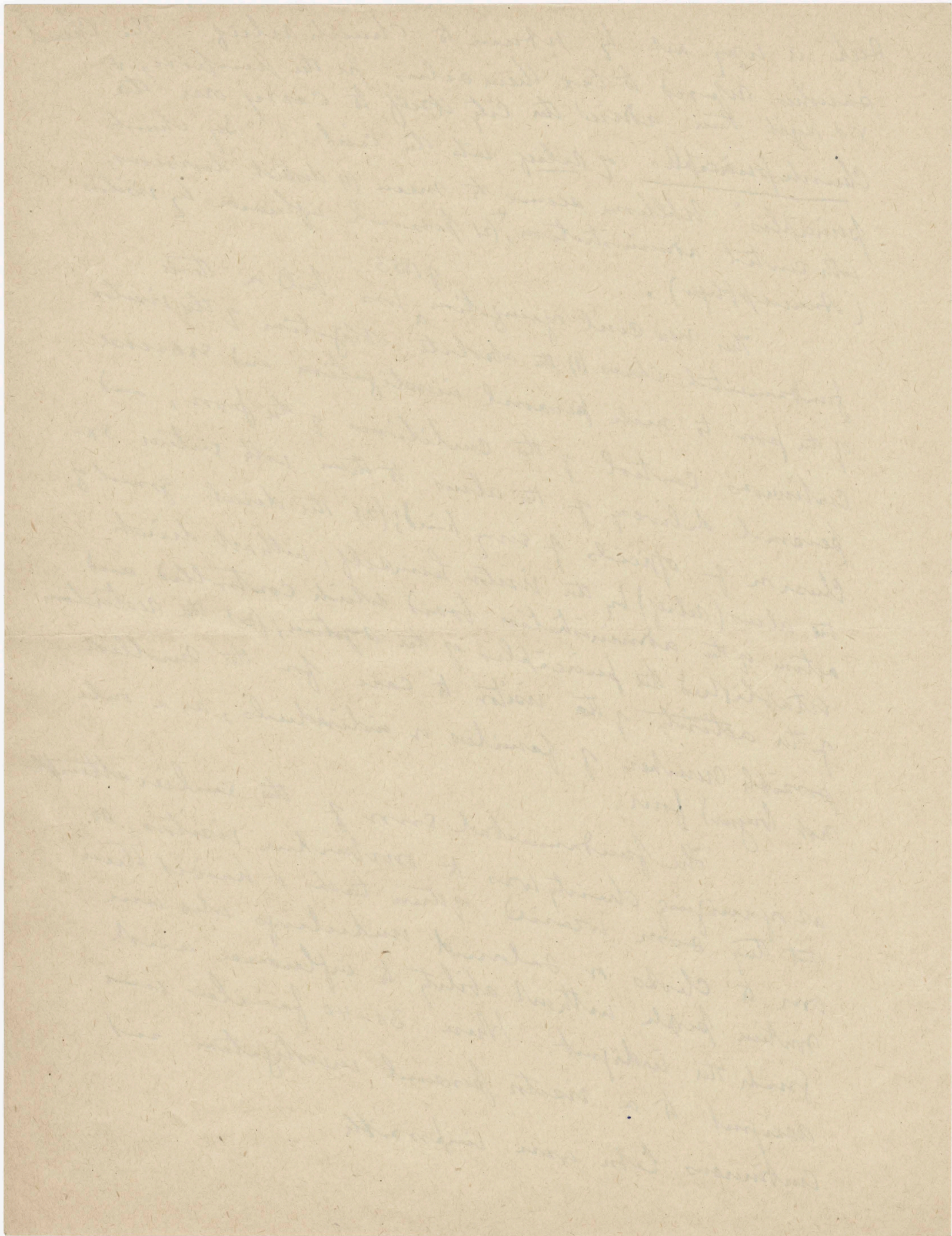


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1853  
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continuous control of the conditions of the poor, and  
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the alms (relief) by the visitor himself, without direct  
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of the activity of the visitor to care for the smallest  
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The fundamental error of the earlier attempts  
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In Elberfeld the visitors, in their regular meetings,  
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The "Elberfeld System", with various modifications suited  
to local circumstances, has gradually been adopted  
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[Summary "Modern Methods of Charity", Chapter on Germany]  
and E. Münsterberg: Die Armenpflege.







General poor laws of Germany.

8

In 1867 (Nov. 1) the North German Federation  
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## GERMAN PUBLIC RELIEF IN NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(Uhlhorn, Die Christliche Liebstätigkeit, I. pp. 449ff.)

At the close of the XVIIIth Century, there was an ebb in the enthusiasm of private charity; the interest awakened by the Illumination (Aufklärung) was not sustained; voluntary associations did not furnish sufficient means nor faithful personal ministrations; they petrified, became formal; their boards were self-perpetuating; not enough new blood; membership

from the upper classes. "In Leipsic, for example, only well established merchants, learned men, artists and retired capitalists could be directors, but no manual workers". (Uhlhorn p. 449.)

This decay invaded the church charity, what little was left, and the local public relief. "Even as late as 1830-40, in German cities, the poor were conducted about by a "Bettelvogt" in order to beg for their bread". The Pietists retained considerable zeal for charity but took no interest in public relief.

The number of the poor increased. The Napoleonic wars impoverished hundreds of thousands; children were left orphans; workmen were crippled or enfeebled by disease; industry and commerce were suspended or ~~in suspended~~ or injured.

Public authority manifested its concern largely in negative and repressive measures. (1) It made the receipt of relief unwelcome and repugnant. Thus the indigent poor were buried in a flat coffin, without church services, in spite of the fact that the poor people believed that a religious service had some value in relation to the salvation of the dead.

"In order to combat such prejudices and to protest against such regulations which revealed defects in charity, Amalie Sieveking, friend of the poor, required that she should







be buried just like the paupers and in the pauper coffin".  
(Uhlhorn p.450).

(2) Two measures, full of danger, was taken by public authority, - the restrictions upon travel and upon freedom to marry. Both were intended to repress vagabondage and pauperism; both increased misery. Where men could not freely go where labor was in demand, they were compelled to beg; and prohibition of marriage only increased the number of illegitimate children for whom no fathers were responsible and no home existed.

Prussia set the example of legislation (p.451):  
in a law of December 31, 1842, the right to travel was recognized and a settlement secured by a residence of three years.

(See here for details, L.Munsterberg, Armengesitzgebung).

The notable reform of poor relief began about 1840. The poor law regulations of 1840, (October 22), were in many features worthy of imitation.

The history of the transformations of poor relief in Hamburg shows an unbroken development from the mediaeval ecclesiastical charity down to the latest reforms.

Various cities (Luneberg in 1840, Lubeck in 1846, etc.) began to experiment with the principles which soon after took shape in Elberfeld. The number of visitors (Armenpfleger) was increased, the administration was simplified, the individual treatment was improved.

Influence of Chalmers.

(See my edition of "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns" for historical explanations).

(Uhlhorn, page 452, says that C.s book on the suffering of the periodical system without a poor-rate for the right management of



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the Poor (1841) translated by Gerlach (Berlin, 1847) as "Die Kirchliche Armenpflege", had great influence. He insisted, as the basis of his Glasgow experience, on personal activity, on the educational factor, on inducing the poor to be thrifty, that poor relief is not merely almsgiving and cannot be measured by what is given, but by the effects on the poor. He failed to arrest the development of public relief, but he succeeded in demonstrating the value of personal influence in a small district under good direction.

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Summary of Methods of Dealing with Mendicancy in Europe,

XVI to XIX Centuries.

The preceding discussion may be summarized briefly in a more general view of the European movement as a whole. General causes produced conditions in many respects similar, and led to kindred measures of repression and of relief; with some modifications due to the Reformation and the different economic and political organizations of the various peoples.

Common causes of Mendicancy,-

War devastated many lands in the XVI and XVII centuries, wasted harvests, destroyed cities, demoralized industry, left widows to care for fatherless children, taught robbery and vagabondage, turned loose hordes of mercenaries accustomed to pillage and rove about in quest of food and brutal pleasure. Italy was overrun by its enemies; the nobility of Germany crushed the peasants with slaughter; the wars between Catholic and Protestant countries made religion itself an instrument of destruction, to satisfy the ambition of princes; France was swept once and again by the flames of sectarian passion and her fair gardens became deserts; the Turks carried the sword to the gates of Vienna and terrorized Europe; wars for the succession to a throne impoverished nations. History reveals the disastrous consequences of human greed, lust for power, selfish and blind love of conquest and domination.

Then as always the loss of harvests by flood, drouth, frost, hail was made all the greater and remediless by the ignorance of physical science and of measures of insurance to divide the burden among many.

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of sanitary principles.

The crowding of towns by the descendants of landless serfs and the growth of industrial centers were phenomena common to many parts of Europe, and from all these causes arose the general plague of mendicancy which compelled statesmen, prelates, and philanthropists to give heed to the cry of distress.

#### Evidences of the continental extent of Mendicancy.-

Charles I, king of Spain, in his codes (of 1523, 1525, 1528, 1534, 1540) complains of the throngs of those who tramp over the land, living on the fruits of the labor of others. As Emperor of Germany (Charles V) the same monarch issued notices against vagabonds who, gravelling under the pretext of asking alms in villages and farming regions, secured money by threats or blows. Henry VIII, King of England (1531), in a state document complained of those who "by the occasion of idleness, mother and root of all vices" recruited the gangs of sturdy beggars who did not hesitate to steal, rob and kill. Francis I, ruler of France (edict of 1536), fulminated against the troupes of strong men who were unwilling to work, who joined companies in various parts of the land and oppressed the people by deeds of violence. His successor, Henry II, in 1558, mentioned the discharged soldiers who were indolent, and, associated with women of vicious manners, lived by begging or theft even in and near Paris itself.

Philip II, of Spain (1565) discovered that the laws previously promulgated did not diminish the multitude of mendicants. At nearly the same time (1573) the Protestant Queen Elizabeth declared that rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars committed robbery and murder, and that they menaced personal safety throughout the realm.

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tranquillity. Documents from Belgium, Switzerland, France, Italy, show that this plague of mendicancy was found in all countries and was not confined to either Protestant or Catholic regions. Our deduction must be that mendicancy was an effect rather of economic conditions than of theological opinions. The Pope of Rome as well as the Protestant deacons of Holland, confronted similar evils born of similar causes. These complaints from rulers of kingdoms and prelates of the churches continued through the whole period from the Reformation to the Revolution, Everywhere cruel measures were applied and everywhere they failed to secure their end.

The crowd of dependents and parasites was a mixed company: the unfortunate sick, infirm, crippled; families reduced to misery by wars, invasions and bad harvests; and with these vagabond and licentious soldiers, marauders, brigands, fortune tellers, thieves, exploiters of maimed and mutilated infants used to excite compassion and extort alms.

Delachaize (quoted by Lallemand, p. 160 T. IV. Pt. 1):

"What avail the ordinances and regulations? The authorities have always been eluded and the beggars remain; they fly at the approach of the storm and at the first calm they reappear,- like those clouds of voracious birds which swoop down upon the harvests, frightened by the discharge of a gun, then return to plunder when the noise has died away."

The Policy of Repression.- We have given illustrations of the methods by which local authorities and legislatures of great states, sought to suppress beggary by severity and intimidation. This policy, in various parts of Europe, included such measures as: exclusion of strangers from the local institutions of relief, corporal punishment for begging, forcible banishment of persistent mendicants, death to those who refused to amend, and legal requirements to citizens







to refuse lodging, fire and food to those who asked alms.

If fear and force could suppress mendicancy surely this policy had a fair trial in Europe. The deterrent theory of punishment was applied until it made the executioners worse citizens than the beggars and tended to extinguish morality.

The theory of exclusion of indigent strangers from the commune was due to the belief that each parish should care for its own poor and to the fact that many dependent persons had no domicile, there being as yet no systematic national system of relief either in church or state.

One principle of legislation was applied over a wide area: the prohibition to beg.

Usually these regulations were directed first of all against able bodied vagabonds who menaced property, peace and security, but often they forbade all the unfortunate to ask alms. Italy, Spain, France, Germany and England reacted against mendicancy in the same fashion; illustrations from one country serve for all the others. Charles V, Louis XIV, the Convention, Charles II of Spain, the Confederation of Switzerland made trial of the same expedient; priests invoked the aid of the police to stop the cries of beggars who interrupted worship in churches.

Sometimes discrimination was made and the really feeble and disabled beggars were licensed to ask assistance publicly, with some badge or certificate to show that they were authorized. For example, at Berlin, when the asylums were crowded the communal officials issued metal badges which permitted the poor person carrying it to seek bread from door to door. In the XVIII Century in France this practice found advocates. Legal prohibition to give lodging or food to mendicants was commonly enacted, often enforced, and everywhere failed to accomplish the purpose.







Many legislators went further and threatened with fines even those who gave alms, as if they also were guilty of encouraging mendicancy. But so long as there was a popular belief that alms-giving was a good deed, no matter what its effects on the recipient and the public, and so long as there was not adequate and systematic relief for the innocent indigents, it was impossible to enforce such laws.

#### Principle of domicile.-

As early as the VI Century the Council of Tours (567) published the rule that each parish was under obligation to support its own poor, and this rule has been revived in Europe at intervals to this day. A logical application of this principle required that mendicants, certainly if they were strong enough to travel, should be sent back to their native habitat; if they refused to go they were to be beaten and tormented until they were willing to go away. Henry VIII of England, like other monarchs, wasted good advice by adding a sermon to his law and telling this sturdy beggar that he should go home and "there put himself to labor like as a true man oweth to do". The same regulations are found in the archives of every European country, and it is unnecessary to repeat the same thought in various languages.

These measures were, in the main, futile. Pauperism is a state of mind and is not affected by change of place. The vagabonds has no country, no social bonds; to send him on is not to cure him; the custom of banishing paupers leads to exchange of undesirable citizens with added costs of transportation; it does not heal the disease within.

Will still sharper measures of torture and pain effect a remedy? Let us see. When the homeless, wandering poor, many of them







utterly without means of support, pushed by hunger and cold, sought alms they were met by legal threats of corporal punishment, and examples of the enforcement of these laws come to us from all countries.

Here once more no government enjoyed a monopoly of the device, for all put it to experimental tests. If fear of pain would correct the evil Europe would have been purged of mendicancy. Hundreds of years in all lands they subjected the beggar to torture. A few illustrations will answer for all.

Louis XV (1699) threatened mendicants who falsely represented themselves as veteran soldiers, as sick or crippled, with the stocks, the lash and the galleys. Henry VIII commanded that beggars should be exposed to public ridicule in the pillory. Men and women without shame had their hair cut short, but without making them sensible of their faults. Chapters relating details of these penalties, which taxed a diabolical imagination to invent, cause us to dwell in a historical museum of torture. When some author, ignorant of history or incapable of understanding its lessons, advises a return to the whipping post the story of the experiments of centuries in all lands should be enough to counteract his arguments.

It will not do to say these atrocities are the fruits of a given creed or of a system of public legal relief; they are found under all systems, and with all creeds.

#### Imprisonment and galleys.-

Since the dread of stocks and rod did not prevent mendicancy, so long as the beggars were free to move about, it occurred to many potentates to make an experiment with shutting them up in prisons, often with only bread and water for food. It was before the days of sanitary science and theories of reformation. Incarceration in cells, even for a short time, exposed the prisoner to contagion, and a long







term was likely to be a death sentence.

But beggars are even tolerant of idleness and may welcome a house of detention. Therefore it was found desirable to compel the vagabonds to labor. Out of this custom came the discovery of the value of labor as a reformatory factor, and Holland set the example and led the way of improvement. Generations passed, however, before John Howard's efforts waked the modern conscience and established the right principles of administration. In the earlier stages of the method the institutions were unfit for habitation, the labor was often extorted by flogging, and the vagabond might be reduced to slavery under individual employers,- a custom certain to lead to abuse.

Condemnation to toil in the galleys was one of the severe methods employed. The policy of transportation of indigent beggars was a natural result of the failure of bodily chastisement to prevent mendicancy.

The discovery of America and the opening of the colonies<sup>up</sup> in the vast wilderness suggested another device for ridding the Old World of the products of its neglect and vices. Bisons and galleys became crowded; work houses were expensive; why not send those who were useless and burdensome to a far off country? France, Spain and England had colonies; labor was in demand; here were idle men; transportation seemed to statesmen and philanthropists a means of relief. Larochevoucauld voiced a common belief. "Transportation is the extreme penalty which ought to be visited upon mendicants judged to be incorrigible and dangerous. No one will pretend that a state has not the right to transport into distant countries those of its members which it cannot without danger retain at home. The least reflection would destroy all doubt on this point. False. The American colonies did protest against this doctrine and resisted to blood, and successfully.







Queen Elizabeth (1597-8) first practiced this style of philanthropy and the edict was published that "if the rogue so banished shall return again without license, he shall suffer death as in case of felony"; and her successors extended the system to the possessions in the South Pacific Islands. France found an outlet in Martinique, Guadeloupe, San Domingo and other colonies. Hospitals and asylums sent their superfluous and worthless inmates, furnishing clothing, while the government organized the system. Doubtless many of these persons in new surroundings did well, especially when they were carefully protected and directed. Even in the American colonies this was sometimes true.

But, on the whole, the policy was a failure. No self-respecting colony would accept it unless compelled to do so; and the worst of it was that transportation did not even have a tendency to remove the social causes which produced at least one vagabond at home for one that was sent away. While the nation was looking far off for relief it remained blind to the wrong conditions at home. The ferocities of the French Revolution were the expression on the part of the people that these conditions had become intolerable. With all its horrors it broke down the barrier to progress and made a more rational situation possible.

Death.- In our own times regard for the sacredness of life is ohly too feeble, and the death of the poor, especially the needless mortality of the infants of obscure families, does not awaken that universal and real zeal which we should expect from our pretensions to philanthropy. But during the XVI, XVII, and XVIII centuries, torture and death, where vagabonds and lawbreakers were involved, were defended by eminent prelates and statesmen and were embodied in laws which now excite our horror. When, in the sacred name of religion, whole nations carried on war against heretics as such, and difference



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in theological opinion justified wholesale slaughter, it was but natural that penalties against outcasts should be severe in the extreme; and this was the case.

Not only under Henry VIII, but also under Charles V; not only under Queen Anne but also under Francis I and rulers of Spain laws were issued which made the death penalty a warfare against begging. The hangman was a relieving officer in all countries, of various theologies. Especially were the gypsies the object of fear, hatred and deadly persecution by all the nations of Europe. Their persistent mendicancy, trickery and violence must have been provoking, and the people frequently rose against them without waiting the dignified procedure of courts and laws. Here again the employment of cruel measures was as natural to Philip II, as to Henry VIII. The authorities of Swiss Cantons called the people together at times by public order to hunt beggars, to track them like wild beasts, to chase them with lash, to cut off their ears, and if they resisted any one had a right to strike them down.

But such monasteries methods were too cruel to be enforced; unless mendicancy was accompanied by robbery and violence these sanguinary laws were dead letters. It was this fact which Romilly and others used as arguments for reforming the barbarous features of the English criminal law and reducing the applications of capital punishment.

It could not be true to say that intimidation was wholly needless or useless. Fear is always a necessary and wholesome factor in any system of state control of vagabonds. Doubtless many a man abandoned the wandering life and hired out as an agricultural or urban laborer simply because he dreaded punishment.

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all fear of punishment, for it is personal and inevitable while legal penalties may often be enacted; that pity in the onlooker makes him a violator or a cruel order; and that while adequate means of relief are not systematically supplied mendicancy cannot be treated as a crime.

This fact gradually became more clear to thoughtful men, and led to an effort to improve the methods of relief so that there would be no excuse for mendicancy. These experiments with attempts to organize relief on a more rational and satisfactory basis have not even yet been wholly successful. We shall note some of the labors of the centuries under consideration.

European tendencies in improvement of indoor relief, i.e., aid to the indigent in institutions.

Mediaeval organized charity tended to concentration in monasteries, hospices and hospitals and asylums. The hospital service was gradually specialized, at least various divisions were made in the larger institutions. It was natural therefore that after the Reformation, especially in countries which remained faithful to the ancient church, the institution should be of predominant interest.

In order to systematize charity and to make indiscriminate almsgiving unnecessary offices were opened in asylums and benevolent persons were entreated to support these agencies with their gifts.

In these asylums where the needy were collected it was soon discovered that classification, discrimination and separation were desirable. Helpless orphans, sick widows, decrepit old persons could not be treated in the same quarters with sturdy beggars and idle wanderers; and that even honest men often needed instruction and training in productive labor. Thus near the houses of compassion (*casas de misericordia*) in Spanish cities in the XVIII century places



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of condition were erected. It was the beginning of an effort to separate dependents from delinquents and to give to each group its appropriate treatment.

Throughout northern Europe we mark the development of workhouses to test and train and discipline the mendicants. In the book of Luis Vins, this method is treated with much wisdom, and this book had much influence on practical men in both Catholic and Protestant countries.

In Holland we find the development of the correctional institution in its last form. The house of correction (tuchthuys) of Amsterdam dated from 1595.

The English workhouse was the counterpart and supplement of the law for relief of the impotent poor, and was intended to punish vagabonds as well as to serve as an asylum for aged and infirm persons who could not well be assisted at home. Willingness to enter the workhouse was the test of the pauper; if, being able bodied, he refused this discipline his name was erased from the list of persons entitled to relief. Later (end of XVIII Century) poor houses intended for the helpless poor, were authorized (1782), though also called workhouses.

#### Medical Relief since the Reformation.

The history of relief of the sick is a story of devotion lame from ignorance, but also a story of growing light and consequent efficiency.

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Smallpox was fought by inoculation, which was often opposed, and vaccination came only with Jenner's discoveries (1776-1796).

These plagues of death travelled across the continent and invaded Great Britain. In the absence of adequate medical knowledge it is not strange that these mysterious clouds of death, against which science had as yet no defense, caused fright and panic everywhere. Those who could escape fled to the country, often only to carry the mortal germs in their clothing and bodies. Magistrates sometimes deserted their posts and even ministers of religion ran away from their parishes; physicians felt helpless and often excused their flight on the ground that they knew no remedy and to remain in contact with the stricken would be useless and foolhardy.

Criminals out of spite and malice sometimes infected the healthy; and in many cities superstition punished innocent persons, themselves victims of the universal malady, because they were suspected of communicating the pest by ointments or charms. These attacks of dread and superstition belonged to the age and spared neither Protestant nor Catholic. "The increasing passions of crowds are the same, whether in Catholic cities or in the city of Calvin; everywhere the same suspicions without foundation, the same violence, the same massacres". (Lallemand, IV, Pt. 1, p. 68).

The sad picture of suffering, death, cowardice and superstition is relieved by heroic and not rare instances of humanity, religious devotion, extreme self-sacrifice, and control of good sense. Without the help of modern bacteriology certain mitigating and preventive measures were used with growing success.

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The city of Saint-Flour (1564) appointed a "governor of the pest" and gave him dictatorial powers of command. Five of these officials died in a few months. But the post of combat never remained vacant.

The celebrated philanthropist Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, is a type of the faithful prelate. When the pest swept his city (1576) he set an example to his clergy of fidelity and courage. At the same time he advised them to employ such hygienic precautions as the physicians knew how to prescribe. Many a minister of religion died in discharge of his duty. Historians have preserved many names and incidents, but the nameless heroes and heroines, parents, children, neighbors are also deserving of remembrance.

Duty of a priest to the sick.

"The time of pestilence is for the ministers of the Church an occasion of victories and trophies; just as a soldier appears to be unworthy of the sword, who would be unwilling to carry it in the service of his Prince save in times of peace, so the priests would pass for poltroons and mercenaries if they were unwilling to take confessions and administer the sacraments only so long as they were not put to inconvenience and there was nothing to risk for their repose, their health and their life." (Cited by Lallemand, IV, 1, p. 78, from P. Soullier).

But from the moral virtues of the benevolent we must pass to the measures employed to treat the sick and oppose the progress of the pestilence.

Isolation had been used, even in ancient times, as a method of arresting the march of contagion. As early as 1403 the cities of the Adriatic, exposed by trade to the pest, adopted a quarantine, and



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All around the Mediterranean these quarantine stations with their "lazarettos" for detaining travellers during a period of observation were established. Near the close of the XVIII century, John Howard, during his "circumnavigation of charity", visited them and made careful descriptions of them.<sup>(1)</sup>

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Among the regulations are found: prohibitions to admit into the city, without the required cautionary measures, persons, animals or goods which came from suspected places, under penalty of death and confiscation of articles introduced by fraud; vagabonds and others of doubtful character were required to pass around the walls of the city and go on their way; when the pest came near the citizens mounted guard in turn to prevent the entrance of strangers.

#### Public prayers.

Among the means employed to stay the pestilence was an appeal to the pity of Heaven. The malady being regarded as the chastisement of God for sins, the natural remedy would be to propitiate the divine wrath and secure mercy by penitence and good works. (Lallemand, p. 84). The municipal officials of Grenoble (1545) call on the citizens



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to mend their ways and correct their sins, public and personal, as usury, fornication, adultery, blasphemy, gambling, all lewdness, and ask the magistrates to punish wrong.

The appeal to divine pity took the form of processions and solemn ceremonials, prayers addressed to the saints, vows to build Churches or go on pilgrimages.

October 28, 1633, eighteen persons met at Oberammergau and made a vow to present dramatically every ten years the story of the Passion and from that day the plague was stayed (Lallemand, p. 86). In 1910 one of these sacred plays was presented.

But these very processions and services brought people together in crowds and sometimes increased the ravages of the contagious maladies. Sometimes the disease suddenly relaxed its severity and for a time disappeared, having run its course, killed those who were susceptible and established immunity in those who survived; then the pious ascribed the happy change to their prayers, to miracle. (See Sumner, Folkways. A. D. White, Conflict of Science and Theology).

Bureaus of health.— Hard and cruel experience taught men to organize a corps of defense, medical service, hospital isolation, and measures to keep out infected persons.

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Measures of sanitation taken by these authorities.

The importance of cleanliness was understood in an empirical way, and therefore the city boards of health attempted to clean the streets and have all organic and decaying matter removed; to prohibit the inhabitants to throw such matter into the streets and alleys; to induce them to open their houses morning and evening and burn odorous wood to kill the infection; to secure pure drinking water;



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and so to prevent washing clothing in public fountains; meat and other foods were to be handled carefully to avoid contagion; fires were kept burning in the streets, and smoke was thought to destroy the infection; dogs and cats were killed, being suspected as culprits; while pigs and even pigeons and other domestic animals were condemned to death. Regulations of Dijon (1594-1597) declare that we must, in order to stay the plague, pray God to send us air serene, wholesome and clean; and we must do our part to make it such, so far as we can. Convalescents, barbers and others, who might infect their neighbors, were required to carry a white rod to warn others not to come near them.

Persons infected were either isolated in special hospitals or shut up in their own houses. There was an empirical knowledge of the importance of burning objects which had been in contact with the sick person and fire was quite commonly employed. For less radical disinfection only too much reliance was placed on smelling wine and vinegar. Disinfection by smoke, with or without perfume, was practiced quite generally.

#### Medical service.

Physicians appointed to attend the sick during an epidemic were required to remain in the hospital and give up their regular clients for the time. As we may suppose natural some physicians were cowardly, some were mercenary and demanded exorbitant fees, while others were men of conscience and devotion and took their turn bravely.

Physicians shared many of the superstitions of their age and filled the vacant spaces in their knowledge by fantastic explanations. In the XVI and XVII centuries they still believed in the malign influence of the constellations. According to Laurent Joubert, chancellor of the University of Montpellier in 1574, and one of the learned men of his time, the cause of the pest was a malign and arsenical vapor



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formed in the air by the mixture of corrupt vapors of the earth drawn into the air by the force of constellations and by the encounter of bad stars unfriendly to the vital spirit".

The mental confusion and hopelessness of the medical profession were shown in the remedies they prescribed. As at Avignon, a dose was composed of pearls, corals, ivory, powder of emerald, sugar, laurel, rose.

#### Leprosy.-

This disease, so dreaded in former ages, was so greatly reduced in extent that the measures taken to care for the afflicted lepers were radically modified, and the pest houses taken for other uses.

In the earlier parts of the modern age the mediaeval rules and institutions still existed. The lepers were kept apart from ordinary social intercourse. Many were forced to beg for a living, under restrictions mendicancy was permitted.

The disease seems to have gradually disappeared in central Europe, first of all among people who were well fed and comfortable.

As this malady was reduced, the estates, edifices and funds given in former ages for mitigating the miseries of lepers were frequently subject to abuse; beggars pretended to have the disorder and showed hideous sores to prove it, that they might in idleness enjoy the revenues without work; sometimes the asylums became the scenes of debauch; Then the trustees and nobles appropriated the unused property for private ends. Kings interfered to protect these pious foundations. The Council of Trent (XXV session, decree of reform, Ch. VIII) declared that where the particular class of beneficiaries of a foundation no longer existed that the revenues should be applied to some other pious use as nearly like the original purpose of the founders as possible, taking into account all the conditions



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of time and place. This rule was only in part carried into practice.

With improvements in methods of life, in food supplies, and in knowledge of hygiene this malady has been more and more confined to particular places and is no longer the dread of civilized countries. This is by no means the only instance when science and rational social measures of prevention have made charitable relief needless. Indeed we find in the history of leprosy and the devastating plagues of the middle ages the revelation of a tendency which is full of promise for the future of the race.

Hospitals.-- Mediaeval charity was especially sympathetic in respect to the sick poor and piety established for them numerous hospitals. But not even in the modern age was the hospital clearly separated from the hospice, and many kinds of persons requiring asylum and care were still brought together under one roof. As population grew larger this mingling of people led to serious evils.

The hospitals of Paris in the XVIII century were among the most celebrated. They rendered an important service, but had serious defects in structure; the halls were joined together without proper divisions, and were badly ventilated; the windows were on one side only and placed too high; the spaces were too large to be properly heated; there was too great contact of patients with the public and with the general service; the construction was not such as to render the service easy and economical.

The dominant purpose of ecclesiastical medical relief was the salvation of the soul.- "The salvation of the soul, that is the constant preoccupation which animates the spirits and explains the dealings with the sick. Administrators, physicians, members of orders, chaplains, possess the deep conviction that the unfortunate poor person admitted into the establishment has an immortal soul to save, and that the care of this soul is all the more necessary as the body



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It is difficult to learn how far intolerance and proselyting were actually carried. In some places dissenters were excluded; certainly in many others the hospitals were open to unfortunate persons of all faiths.

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### Indications of regulative principles.

We have sought to present the phenomena of destitution and relief in their coexistence in space, their succession in time, and their causal relations. This is the whole task of purely historical description.

Where history ends our sociological interest begins. History is not "philosophy teaching by example", for history does its best work when it presents, in orderly form, the material for social science and philosophy. At the same time the lamp of the world's experience does illumine the path onward, but not without an additional rational process.

It is the task of social philosophy to analyze the tendencies of human life, the motives and ends of the human spirit, and to justify rational purpose. It is the task of practical social science to study the adaptation of means to ends generally accepted as desirable, and present in systematic form that system of means and ends which, in the strongest light of present knowledge, is ready to guide the concerted volition of great communities. The most essential rules of social conduct, thus generalized from experience, are regulative principles.

We may, therefore, conclude this outline of those phenomena of destitution and relief, with a summary statement of regulative principles which seem to be involved in this process; with full consciousness that such a statement should be constantly revised in the light of further analysis, reflection and experimentation, and that much of the evidence for the conclusions must come from contemporary experience not here described. What we claim at this point is the obligation to follow the indications of past experience into the modern laboratory of controlled experiment.



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### Regulative Principles of Relief.

Assuming as accepted the social obligation to mitigate, and, if possible, remove the conditions of human misery, we have at least part of the purpose of relief measures. The historical survey shows that misery is causally connected with an infinite network of outward conditions, social customs and inward character, and cannot be treated in isolation.

Emergency relief may be given with all the promptness possible, without careful inquiry as to character, especially if it be offered by an agency of central registration which can automatically eliminate well known impostors.

For continued relief the fullest possible knowledge of the entire situation is indispensable, as diagnosis is a condition of effective medical treatment.

Such complete knowledge can be obtained only by a central office in which all the relevant facts are collected from every source and held available for any benevolent agent.

Only under a system of state poor law can the people be assured that the means of relief will be collected fairly, in proportion to financial resources of citizens, and in amount adequate to guarantee every indigent person against death from starvation. These measures of relief may be institutions or assistance in the home, but must be under public administration.

The principles of effective relief are the same for public and private agencies.

Private or voluntary charity is desirable to provide for experiments with new methods, and for supplementing public relief when this is necessarily too inflexible and governed by general rules which cannot discriminate and take account of personal idiosyncracies.

Private charity may also introduce personal persuasion and influence when public officials would be hindered by their duty to treat all



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citizens alike and avoid touching on matters of personal and family religious beliefs.

It is highly desirable that public and voluntary relief agencies should come to a good understanding, and should respect each other, and agree upon a policy of division of labor.

#### Policies of Prevention.

Relief of misery has gradually broadened, under the influence of science, into a policy of prevention. When the germ which is a cause of a disease has been isolated it may be removed; preventive medicine has become relatively far more effective than formerly. Preventive methods with destitution have already been shaped into a system,- the "Sozialpolitik" of that nation which has gone forward most effectively in this direction.

Only the most general aspects of this policy can here be indicated: the whole complex of measures for preventing accidents and disease which impoverish so many families; the vast network of institutions for providing a regular and uninterrupted income to the wage earning group,- insurance against loss by accident, sickness, invalidism, old age, unemployment, death of breadwinners; and, finally, the institutions through which the whole population, without distinction can share in the enjoyments and satisfactions of art, science, fellowship and highest expressions of idealism.



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The court of miracles. (XVIII century)

(Lallemant, His. Ch. IV. pt 1. p. 157. Cité Saurat. Antiquités de la ville de Paris. I. liv. V. Cour des Miracles, p. 511).

The beggars by proximity sometimes found ~~common~~ rendezvous in miserable quarters where men & women lived promiscuously in drunken riot on the results of toying during the day. On the street these experts in the arts of toying represented themselves as lame, blind, & dying of hunger, & with their cries, groans & pretended feebleness induced the public to hand to pin their money; but no sooner did they enter these courts than they stripped off their masks, threw away their crutches & at once, as if by miracle became sprightly, jocund & sound. The children born of these promiscuous & immoral encounters were lived up to miserable & uncertain existence & ~~for~~ <sup>regarded</sup> the army of vagabonds, if they lived to adult years.



The Court of Miracles. (XVIII cont.)

(Indulgent, Mr. Ch. IV. p. 22, the same, *Indulgent*  
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the day. On the whole these efforts in the early  
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a system of hunger, & with their own, *Indulgent*  
furthered furthered interest, the further & *Indulgent*  
their own *Indulgent*; but no more had they *Indulgent*  
their own than they stopped off their *Indulgent*  
their own their own & as well, & *Indulgent*  
of *Indulgent* became *Indulgent*, *Indulgent* &  
of *Indulgent* the children poor of their *Indulgent*  
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The course of development in the countries of the Reformed Confession: especially in Switzerland, Holland.

It had been said that among the Reformed churches emphasis was laid on action rather than on contemplation. The Reformed regarded "good works" as a conditio sine qua non of salvation, although these good works were themselves the fruits of free and heavenly grace. In relation to modes of ecclesiastical organization the Reformed churches held that the New Testament type of government should be closely followed, while Luther thought that ~~the~~ mode of government was ~~not~~ ~~be~~ ~~authoritatively laid down in the~~ sacred books, and the church is free to shape its institutions to fit the requirements of any age or nation. The followers of Calvin, therefore, since they found deacons for the care of the poor in the books produced by primitive church, thought they must have deacons in Geneva. The Reformed believed that the church order must be independent of the State, with a system of officials all its own; while the Lutherans did not so sharply divide Church and State, and taught that the social function of the church is especially and essentially to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments, - matters of poor relief being left more to the magistrates.

+ See *Emmrich*  
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As early as 1519, in Zurich, Zwingli directed the attention of the citizens to poor relief, and two men of standing were chosen to manage the business. The plans then resembled those of Nuremberg and Strassburg. Begging was permitted. In 1523 strangers and children were forbidden to beg, but residents might ask alms, on condition that they wore a badge. In 1524 a more complete plan was drawn up. Four almoners and a clerk were appointed by the council to care for the poor. The gifts were chiefly in kind. Strangers and the sick were to be helped by the city.

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Zwingli (1525) influenced the council to forbid begging. Alien pilgrims might pass through the city, but must not beg, and could receive only brief and simple entertainment. Residents who paraded jewels or fine clothing could not live by alms, nor could persons of immoral lives, nor those who neglected the rites of worship. (1)

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Calvin was interested in the poor, but he did not create a separate church system of relief. He found this matter already in the hands of the city council and left it there. The deacons, of whom, according to the ordinances of 1541, there were two kinds, hospital and poor deacons, were appointed by the council after hearing the pastors. In the Institutes, even in the first edition, 1536, Calvin expressed the desire to have church deacons for the poor as in the New Testament.

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The ecclesiastical ordinances of Geneva in 1561.

"The Fourth Order of Church Government, viz., the Deacons.

"There have always been two kinds in the ancient church: the one has been deputed to receive, distribute and conserve the goods of the poor, as well ~~as~~ the daily alms as the possessions, rents, and pensions; the others to care for and attend the sick and administer the daily subsistence of the poor. And to this system it is reasonable that all Christian cities should conform themselves, since we have now made a trial of this and still wish to continue to advance. For we have 'Procureurs' and 'Hospitaliers'. And in order to avoid confusion, one of the four procureurs of the hospital shall be receiver of all the goods there and he shall have a sufficient wage in order that he may perform his office better. "Let the number of procureurs remain four, as it has been; of which one shall have charge of the receipts as has been said; in order that the provisions may become better in time, and also that those who wish to do some charity to the poor, may be more certain that the goods shall not be used otherwise than they had intended. And if the revenue shall not suffice, or there should arise an extraordinary necessity, the Seign~~ie~~urie (the heads of the Municipal government) shall consider plans to relieve the need which there may be. "The election of the procureurs as well as of the hospitaliers shall be conducted like that of the elders and the members of the consistory, and in selecting the rule shall be followed which St. Paul laid down for the deacons in *I Timothy*.

"In regard to the office and authority of the procureurs, we confirm the articles that have before been ordained by us:- in urgent cases and where there is no great difficulty and it is not a

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question of large expense, it is not necessary for all to meet every day, but one or two shall be authorized to act in the absence of the others in any reasonable measure.

"It shall be their duty to watch diligently that the common hospital be well maintained and that it shall be used alike for the sick, the aged who are not able to work, the widows, orphans, and other poor. But the sick shall always be kept in an apartment separated from the others.

"They shall also have charge of the poor who are scattered through the city, and see that they shall return there (to the hospital) at the order of the procureurs.

"Also, in addition to the hospital for transients (~~des passans~~), which it is necessary to maintain, there shall be some special hospitality for those who shall be seen to be worthy of special charity; and in order to do this a room shall be set aside to receive those who shall come to address the procureurs, and the same shall be reserved for that purpose.

"Above all it is recommended that the families of the hospitaliers shall be regulated honestly, and in the fear of God, seeing that they govern the house, dedicated to God.

"The ministers and the commissioners or elders, <sup>with</sup> one of the Lord Syndics, shall make it their care to enquire if in the above administration of the poor there is any fault or failure, in order that they may pray and admonish the Seign~~eur~~ie to put it in order. And in order to do this, every three months, some one of their company with the procureurs, shall visit the hospital to see whether everything is well regulated.

"It shall be necessary also, alike for the poor in the hospital and for those in the city who are unable in this to provide for themselves, that there shall be a separate doctor or surgeon, at the



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expense of the city, who may however practice in the city, but in the meantime shall be considered to have charge of the hospital, and of visiting the other poor.

"And, since there are resident in our hospital, not only old and sick, but also young children, because of their poverty, we have ordered that there shall always be a master for their instruction in good manners, and the elements of letters, and of the Christian doctrine; principally, he shall catechize, teaching the domestics of the said hospital, and he shall conduct the children to school ~~(Fr,~~ 'college').

"In regard to the hospital for contagion, it shall be completely isolated, especially if it shall befall the city to be visited with the scourge of God.

"Besides, to prevent mendicancy, which is contrary to good order, it shall be necessary and so we have also ordained, that the Seigneurie assign some of its officers at the doors of the churches to remove those who might wish to beg. And if they should be impostors, or should be insolent, let them be brought before one of the Syndics. Likewise, for the rest of the time, let the Dixeniers keep watch that the prohibition against all begging be fully observed".

*France*  
The Reformed church in *France* ~~France~~ was greatly influenced by the men of Geneva. The congregation <sup>in</sup> Paris (1562) established regulations. There was a bureau of relief, with four elders, deacons and eight respectable citizens. The deacons collected offerings at the church services. The destitute reported their need to the elder of their quarter, and it was the duty of the deacons and citizens to visit them regularly and report in a weekly meeting. The French Reformed heretics elicited the praise of Bourdaloue in a sermon before Louis XIV. <sup>///</sup>

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*the*  
Section 2. Holland and Lower Rhine.

By their victories on the sea the Hollanders, about the middle of the XV. century (Peace of Copenhagen, 1441), became masters of maritime commerce and held this position until the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England. After a successful struggle against Spain the Dutch provinces formed an independent nation (Peace of Utrecht, 1579) and, through commerce the trading and industrial cities became affluent, while the rural districts were left in poverty. Already in the XVth century municipal administration was well developed and in control of able business men. Various departments of government were organized, as for defense, finance, ~~free~~ taxes, protection of orphans, pauperism. The rural inhabitants were unfairly taxed, were troubled with robbers, and involved in feuds. In this situation they readily listened to anarchistic and fanatical leaders, from which they suffered. Serfdom was disappearing at the beginning of the modern period. The churches, nobility and rich burghers held a great part of the lands and employed tenants. The peasants near the sea frequently  
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suffered from inundations.

The methods of relief inherited from mediaeval times were similar to those of other countries, already described. In the cities were numerous and wealthy institutions, orphanages, hospitals and asylums; and the city government had begun to organize a quasi-public relief system. In the country, where the serf and tenant relations were uncertain and disturbed, the poor were exposed to great distress, only partly relieved by doles.

About 1531, under Charles V, the Ypern plan and the ideas of L. Vives seemed in a fair way to be introduced into Holland. But the political and religious wars put an end to these attempts and a systematic plan of relief was not developed until much later.

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(1) Blok, History of the Dutch People, II, 358.



Section 2. Holland and Lower Rhine.

By their victories on the sea the Hollanders, about the middle of the XV. century (Peace of Copenhagen, 1441), became masters of maritime commerce and held this position until the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England. After a successful struggle against Spain the Dutch provinces formed an independent nation (Peace of Utrecht, 1579) and, through commerce the trading and industrial cities became affluent, while the rural districts were left in poverty. Already in the XVth century municipal administration was well developed and in control of able business men. Various departments of government were organized, as for defense, finance, free taxes, protection of orphans, pauperism. The rural inhabitants were unfairly taxed, were troubled with robbers, and involved in feuds. In this situation they readily listened to romantic and fanatical leaders, from which they suffered. Serfdom was disappearing at the beginning of the modern period. The churches, nobility and rich burghers held a great part of the lands and employed tenants. The peasants near the sea frequently suffered from inundations.

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With the spiritual invasion of Calvinism a new basis for poor relief was found (about 1560). The doctrines which influenced the form of ecclesiastical charity we have already stated; the writings of Calvin and <sup>a</sup>Lasco are ~~are~~<sup>among</sup> the chief literary monuments of this theological system which made a strong appeal to the rising democratic sentiment of the Netherlands.

<sup>+</sup> Sent the fact <sup>?</sup> Probably the city and the church came to a kind of understanding. The institutions often had endowments and were invested with a public character. Naturally their property and income came under legal control. On the other hand the congregations of co-religionists, - Reformed, Lutheran, Anabaptists, Jews, Catholics, - formed family groups in which the fraternal feeling was strong, and the churches wished to give their dependent members help without appeal to the public. In this way "outdoor relief" became ecclesiastical and indoor relief was more public. But there was no absolute division; the churches also established their own orphanages and asylums.

Congregational charity was organized by the Reformed at Emden in 1571, at The Hague in 1574, and at Amsterdam in 1578. In the next century the Walloon and Lutheran churches followed this type; the Remonstrants in 1630; the Catholics and the Jews in the XVIII century.

#### Public Institutions in Holland in the XVII century.

In the "Accounts of Thomas Contarini", a Venetian envoy who visited the country in 1610, we have a glimpse of interesting aspects of charity at that time: <sup>(1)</sup> Nowhere in the world was so large a production in proportion to the numbers of the people. Every one was at work. Vagabonds, idlers and do-nothings, such as must be in every community, were caught up by the authorities and made to earn their

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bread...There were no beggars, few paupers, no insolently luxurious and ostensibly idle class. The modesty, thrift and simple elegance of the housekeeping, even among the wealthy was noticed by travelers in surprise...There had been many monasteries, convents, ecclesiastical establishments of all kinds in the country before the great war between Holland and the Inquisition. These had as a matter of course been confiscated as the strife went on. The buildings, farms and funds, even the property of the Church, had not, however, been seized upon, as in other Protestant lands, by rapacious monarchs and distributed among the nobles according to ~~thy~~ caprice.....but the ancient ecclesiastical establishments of the free Netherlands were changed into eleemosynary institutions, admirably organized and administered with wisdom and economy, where orphans of the poor, widows of those slain in battles for freedom by land and sea, and the aged and infirm, who had deserved well of the Republic in the days of their strength, were educated or cherished at the expense of the public, thus endowed from the spoils of the Church".

A German traveller has praised the philanthropic works of the  
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Hollanders in the XVII century. Thus Benthems: "Our most worthy Savior has impressed on his followers love to the needy before all other duties. Therefore must I give attention to this virtue before all else, since I meet signs of its flourishing state among the Netherlanders... If men could ever by good works deserve heaven, then the Hollanders would have the best hope of divine mercy. I have imagined here that I was on the streets of ancient Jerusalem, where no beggar was to be seen. Poor orphans live in comfort; widows left in poverty gain by the loss of their husbands, and aged persons suffer no loss, because younger men serve their needs. God cannot let these works of love go

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Deaconesses were also recognized, an important beginning of a great movement for giving women an honorable and official position in church life.  
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To gain a foothold in presence of the Spaniards the new sect had to cultivate heroism and mutual help, under able leadership. The country had developed industries and some had acquired wealth. Parishes were organized for relief and the deacons sought to train beggars to work, while the helpless were aided from funds collected at church. Institutions were built for the sick and aged. We have already in the <sup>XVI</sup> 16th century the beginnings of prison reform, in which Holland led the world. The penitentiary for men at Amsterdam dates in from 1595 and 1596 a spinning house for women was opened. Workhouses were established to train the beggars who disliked to work. Money was raised by collections, by municipal contributions and by lotteries (as in the erection of a hospital for the insane in 1596). In Amsterdam there was an orphanage for 1500-1600 children. Deaconesses and women nurses were employed in ministrations to the feeble and sick. Homeless and neglected children were supported, educated and trained to useful industry.

The strong organization of churches for the relief of their own members became inadequate toward the close of the XVIII century when the number of the poor increased, many of whom were not members of any church. The tendency toward a national poor law, after various

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hindrances and fluctuations of public sentiment, found expression in the acts of 1854 and 1870. Various attempts have been made to secure better coordination of relief agencies and public supervision of church and private charities. This effort has been resisted by the churches which felt that the State was invading a territory which properly belonged to them.

Uhlhorn III, 159.  
Cf. Krohne, Gefängniskunde.

In countries where the Reformed were aliens and exposed to persecution the antagonism of the public and of the legal authorities compelled them to organize a system of relief purely ecclesiastical. The Netherland Reformed church in London drew up church regulations which became a model. In each congregation there must be, according to the unchangeable authority of the Scriptures two kinds of servants, Presbyters and Deacons. The election of deacons follows a fast day, in which the congregation assembles in the morning to hear a sermon on the office of deacon and pray for a blessing on the election. Nominations came from the people; the choice itself was made by a council of elders and deacons. Those elected were induced into office with solemn ceremonies.

Driven out of England under Mary these churches settled in East Friesland and the lower Rhine region. The deacons were distinguished as those who served the poor at home and those who cared for the sick.

The Reformed Churches of the Lower Rhine were in constant correspondence with the other Calvinistic bodies in Switzerland, Holland and England. With considerable differences in the methods of electing deacons and deaconesses (congregational, by cooptation etc.) they all agreed upon the essential principle that the congregation should regard itself as a kind of family, in which the weaker members must



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Ulrich III, 1559.  
St. Krone, Göttingen.

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(1) Ed. Simons, "Die älteste evangelische Gemeindefürsorge am Niederrhein und ihre Bedeutung für unsere Zeit". Bielefeld, 1894.



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(1) Ed. Simon, "Die älteste evangelische Gemeinde in  
Niederrhein und ihre Bedeutung für unsere Zeit". Bonn, 1894.