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EDUCATIONAL, ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL MIDWIFERY SCHOOL IN KRAKOW DURING THE INTERWAR YEARS OF THE 20th CENTURY

Abstract

The beginning of professional midwifery training in Krakow dates back to the late 18th century (1780) and its institutional structures were, in various ways, connected to the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University. The process of standardization of midwifery education and the introduction of national legal regulation of the profession took place in the interwar period of the 20th century, in the wake of Poland's restoration as an independent state. The institutionalization of midwifery was accompanied by the development of other forms of professional nursery and health care strategies. The aim of this study is to present a comprehensive survey of the activities of the National Midwifery School in Krakow in 1918-1939, a period that was vital for both the consolidation of midwifery and the professional awareness of its practitioners. Even though it was inadequately funded and housed, the School became an influential educational, academic and opinion-making centre, whose history has not yet been adequately researched.

Key words: history of midwifery in Poland, National Midwifery School in Krakow in the 20th century, midwifery education

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF MIDWIFERY EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

In 1918, the year Poland became independent, the Midwifery School of Krakow could look back on a tradition spanning 138 years. Between 1780 and 1895 it was closely

connected with the structures of the Jagiellonian University, while in the years 1896–1917 it functioned as an autonomous institution, though still under the supervision of the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University.¹

After 1918 the School basically carried on as before, though its functioning was subject to the new laws and regulations issued in Warsaw. A section of the St Lazarus Hospital at 17, Kopernika Street, originally part of the gynaecological and obstetric ward, remained the seat of the Krakow Midwifery School.²

In 1920 the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University filed a petition with the Ministry of Public Health that called for the repeal of the Austrian regulations which were still in force at the Krakow Midwifery School and the drafting of a new single rulebook harmonizing the three different midwifery school models – a legacy of the Partitions – which continued to function in Poland. As the fine legal points raised by the petition were being mulled over by the ministry officials, a set of rules and regulations for midwifery schools in Małopolska was prepared by Ada Markowa from the Krakow Midwifery School and Adam Sołowij from the Lwów Midwifery School³. A revised version of these rules were authorized by the Ministry of Public Health in 1920.⁴ The new law brought midwifery schools under the control of the Ministry of Public Health; it also set down the procedure of appointing the Head of the School, the enrolment criteria, the curriculum and the rules for the diploma exam. It imposed on the students the requirement to remain in residence throughout the education period.⁵ More laws reforming midwifery and maternity services were passed in the 1920s. The main legislation regulating midwifery practice and education issued at that time included the President's Midwives Decree of 16 March 1928,⁶ the Minister of Internal Affairs' Regulations pur-

¹ M. Chamcówna, K. Mrozowska, *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1765–1850*, Vol. II, Part I, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Kraków 1965, pp. 42, 51; A.K. Banach, K. Stopka, *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków 2000, pp. 83, 94, 117; *Historia położnictwa i ginekologii w Polsce*, ed. E. Waszyński, Cornetis, Wrocław 2012, pp. 34–35; Z. Gajda, *O ulicy Kopernika w szczególności o Wesolej w ogólności*, Wydawnictwo AA, Kraków 2005, pp. 32, 33, 304; S. Schwarz, *Nauka i nauczanie położnictwa i chorób kobiecych na Krakowskim Wydziale Lekarskim*, [In:] *Sześćsetlecie medycyny krakowskiej*, Vol. II, *Historia katedr*, ed. L. Tochowicz, AM Kraków 1964, pp. 292–295, 297–298, 301–302; J. Rybak, *Historia krakowskiej szkoły położnych 1780–1980*, Drukarnia UJ, Kraków 1981, pp. 7–20; M. Dziedzic, K. Płoch, D. Matuszyk, *Trwanie ponad strukturami*, Alma Mater 2008, No. 100, pp. 94–99; T. Heimrath, *Położnictwo i ginekologia w Polsce*, [In:] *Historia medycyny*, ed. T. Brzeziński, PZWL Warszawa 1988, pp. 461–462.

² State Archives at Spytokowice [hereinafter cited as AP Spytokowice], St Lazarus Hospital in Kraków - Szpital św. Łazarza w Krakowie, Box No. 1428, *Historia szpitala 1855–1939*, typed MS, File 29/1428/2; S. Schwarz, *Nauka...*, p. 297; J. Rybak, *Historia...*, p. 19; K. Płoch, M. Dziedzic, "Uniwersyteckie kształcenie położnych w Krakowie", *Alma Mater* 2011, No. 140, p. 39; *Wiadomości bieżące (ab)*, *Przegląd Lekarski* 1896, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, pp. 4–44; W.P. Kółka, *Klinika Położniczo-Ginekologiczna Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1918–1939*, Kraków 2001, p. 85–90.

³ Archives of the Jagiellonian University [hereinafter cited as AUJ], Midwifery School at the Obstetrics Clinic – Szkoła Położnych przy Klinice Położniczej) 1852–1949. An Opinion of the Dean of the Medical Faculty of the Jagiellonian University on the Project of Midwifery Training (1920) and the Rules and Regulations of Midwifery Schools in Małopolska – *Regulamin Szkół Położnych w Małopolsce z 1920 r.*, File WL II 185.

⁴ *Regulations Concerning Midwifery Education and Employment in National Midwifery Schools in the Former Austrian-administered Parts of Poland*, *Dziennik Praw RP* 1920, No. 98, Item 651.

⁵ *Ibidem*, Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13.

⁶ *DU RP* 1928, No. 34, Item 316; *DU RP* 1934, No. 5, Item 41.

suant to the Presidential Decree of 16 March 1928⁷ and the Minister of Internal Affairs's own Regulations of 2 May 1929 with instructions for midwives.⁸ The presidential Midwives Decree of 16 March 1928 (which included the midwifery code of rules and regulations) defined midwifery as a discrete profession and determined the scope of the midwife's responsibilities. Under its eligibility clause the license to practise midwifery could be granted to Polish citizens, graduates of both state and private midwifery schools (who passed the state diploma examination, as well as graduates of a foreign midwifery school equivalent to a Polish one. The code detailed the competencies and responsibilities of the midwifery profession. The services the midwives were expected to provide included offering hygienic and dietary recommendations during pregnancy and puerperium; assistance and attendance through labour and (uncomplicated) childbirth; first aid in pregnancy, delivery and puerperium; advice and recommendations on postnatal maternity and infant care and feeding.⁹ The Regulations also laid down the organizational framework for midwifery schools and introduced mandatory training courses for practising midwives.¹⁰ The executive provisions of the ministerial Regulations of 1928 dealt at length with the organizational framework of midwifery schools and set a number of standards and requirements concerning school facilities, the teaching staff, the candidates, the curriculum and additional vocational training.¹¹ The focus of the next piece of ministerial legislation, the Regulations of 2 May 1929, was on midwifery practice.¹²

The political change after the First World War was followed by a spate of name changes. The Imperial and Royal Midwifery Clinic (*K.u.K. Hebammenklinik*) became the National Midwifery School in Krakow (*Państwowa Szkoła Położnych*). Because of the connections of the school with Obstetric-Gynecological Hospital of the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University, all former operating regulations were kept, and all orders referring to the organizational framework were issued with approval of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education and the Deputy Chancellor of the Health Department of the Jagiellonian University.¹³

According to the new law code, education in the Krakow Midwifery School, as in all state schools, was free and required prior completion of at least a four-year elementary school or a seven-year secondary school. The one-year education cycle was extended to two years (with an option of a condensed twelve-month cycle that could be opened if circumstances justified it). The eligible candidates were women, aged 21–40 (younger married women could also be admitted), with a certificate attesting their of impeccable morality. In 1928 the age brackets were amended to 18–35. The Head of the School was to be its professor, appointed by the Chief of State, on the initiative of the Minister whose application must be backed by favourable testimonials from the Faculty

⁷ Regulations of the Minister of the Interior from 25 September 1928 pursuant to the President of Poland's Midwives Decree of 16 March 1928. DU RP 1929, No. 2, Item 20.

⁸ *Monitor Polski* 1929, No. 185, Item 448.

⁹ DU RP 1928, No. 34, Item 316 (Articles 1–3); DU RP 1934, No. 5, Item 41.

¹⁰ *Ibidem* (Articles 6–14); DU RP 1934, No. 5, Item 41.

¹¹ DU RP 1929, No. 2, Item 20 (§ 9–29).

¹² *Monitor Polski* 1929, No. 185, Item 448.

¹³ AUJ, Szkoła Położnych przy Klinice Położniczej 1852–1949. A stack of letters between the Ministry and the Rector and the Board of the Medical Faculty of the Jagiellonian University concerning the Midwifery School in File WL II 185.

of Medicine and a body of clinical directors. In 1928 this complex procedure was revised in favour of appointment through open competition. From then on the post was to go to an obstetrician with prior experience as assistant lecturer at the school itself or at the Obstetric-Gynecological Hospital for at least 6 years, or to a senior consultant from a public hospital.¹⁴

The Krakow Midwifery School operated on the basis of the binding legal guidelines, though they were adjusted to the needs and the existing realities. In April 1928 Professor Aleksander Rosner, who was the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University, tried to persuade the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment to authorize the opening of a two-year university midwifery school at the Faculty of Medicine attached to Obstetric-Gynecological Hospital. Despite obtaining the Ministry's preliminary approval, the project was never finalized due to, among others, its small scale (the intake was limited to ten students) and failure in securing budgetary funding. Barring such minor setbacks, Poland's midwifery education, strengthened by the legislation of 1928, did quite well until the outbreak of the Second World War.

THE TEACHING STAFF

The staff of the Krakow Midwifery School included its Head (in the rank of professor), at least three assistant lecturers (doctors appointed for two years with a possibility contract extension to ten years) and at least three qualified midwives employed on contracts (ie. midwives whose education matched the current ministerial standards and requirements, and who had passed their diploma exam and taken their professional oath). In 1918-1920, due to disagreements between the management of the Obstetric-Gynecological Hospital and the School, the position of the Head remained vacant. The successor of the deceased Prof. Stanisław Dobrowolski (died 1917) was not appointed until July 1938, on the initiative of the Minister of Social Care, in accordance with current procedures. He was Professor January Julian Wieniawa Zubrzycki, Director of the Obstetric-Gynecological Hospital of the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University.¹⁵ From 1918 till September 1938 Ada Markowa, MD, Assistant Professor at the Krakow Midwifery School (appointed professor in 1923) acted as Director, and later as Head of the School.¹⁶ The assistant lecturers helped the School Professor in conducting classes (especially practical classes), kept hospital records and supervised the midwives' work and students' training. The following medical doctors served as assistants at the School in the interwar period: Eugeniusz Turyna, Gustaw Nowak, Tadeusz

¹⁴ DU RP 1929, No. 2, Item 20 (§15); DU RP 1928, No. 34, Item 316 (Articles 8–9); *Dziennik Praw RP* 1920, No. 98, Item 651 (Articles 2–6).

¹⁵ AUJ, January Zubrzycki's personal file. Letters of the *Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment* (MWRiOP) from 12 July 1938, No. BP-144497/38 to the Rector of the Jagiellonian University; and to the Dean of the Medical Faculty, No. BP-21030/38 and B-14610/39, File SII 619; See also J. Rybak, *Historia...*, p. 21.

¹⁶ State Archives in Kraków [hereinafter cited as AP Kr.], St Lazarus Hospital: Documents, Protocol from a conference concerning St Lazarus Hospital held in the Cracow Voivodship Office on 25 October 1937., p. 1, File 1/183; J. Lisiewicz, A. Markowa, [In:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Vol. XX/1, Folio 84, PAN 1975, pp. 34–35; *Kronika załobna* [Obituaries], *Dziennik Polski* 1963, No. 40, p. 6.

Ferens, Wojciech Starzewski, Czesław Uhma, Marian Korzelski, Józef Marcinek, Emil Wyrobek, Adam Syrek, Stanisław Janicki, Zygmunt Reguła, Antoni Krzyżak, Mariusz Dąbrowski, Mieczysław Kasprzyk, Józef Kaczor, Adam Papēe, Tadeusz Pisarski, Henryk Reiss, Zofia Ślączkowa, and Maria Solecka. The midwives were required to help the School Professor and assistant lecturers in holding practical classes and running the school. Among them were Antonina Halamowa, K. Nablowa, W. Orderowa, Sara Brustowa, Adela Gałkowa i Antonina Grzegorzczkowa.¹⁷

THE STUDENTS

From 1918 to 1939 a total of 1615 students enrolled in the Krakow Midwifery School (on 21 courses), 1236 of whom completed a one-year, and 379 a two-year educational programme. Out of this number 1443 were women (89.3%), who completed their course of study and obtained midwifery qualifications. For the dropouts the main reason of leaving was a loss of interest in pursuing further education. Cases of students being struck off the list were rather rare; the expulsions were motivated by the student's failing the mock examination to dishonourable conduct (eg. theft, lying, immorality).¹⁸ It can be observed that a great majority of students were married women (as many as 972); of the rest 525 were unmarried, 110 widowed and 8 separated; which constituted respectively 60.2%, 32.5%, 6.8% and 0.5%. A good many of the students came from villages and small towns, mainly from Małopolska and Upper Silesia (90% in 1939); residents of Krakow amounted to a mere 2.2%. The students declared the following religious affiliations: Roman Catholic – 1370, Jewish – 51, Protestant – 8, and Orthodox – 2, which constituted respectively 95.5%, 3.6%, 0.6%, 0.2% and 0.1% of the total number of students. In the school years 1918/10 to 1929/30 the age of students ranged from 18 to 47 years. The age difference between individual students at a single course could reach even 19 years. The two-year courses (from 1930/31) seem to have been more popular with younger women. The data show that the board of admissions did not follow the rules blindly, but was ready to make exceptions for both younger and older women who sought enrolment in the School.¹⁹

THE CURRICULUM

The course of study at the Krakow Midwifery School followed the current regulations and guidelines. Until 1929 the School ran a one-year programme, with a theoretical and a practical component, culminating in the diploma exam.²⁰

¹⁷ AUJ, Chair and Clinic of Midwifery: Documents 1849-1948, Personal files: File WL II 171; AUJ. Personal files 1850-1936, Medical Faculty and the Midwifery Clinic, File S II 832.

¹⁸ Archives of the Krakow Postsecondary Medical School [hereinafter cited as Arch. Kr. Pol. Sz. Med.]. Lists of students of the Imperial and Royal Midwifery School from 1896 onwards.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, Lists of students from 1918-1939.

²⁰ Arch. Kr. Pol. Sz. Med. Lists of students of the Imperial and Royal Midwifery School from 1896 onwards; Protocols of midwifery examinations 1922-1930, Register of Credits 1937/38-1953/54; A. Cekański, "Szkolenie śląskich położnych w Krakowie w XIX i XX wieku", *Alma Mater* 2007, No. 98, p. 36.

In the 1930/31 school year a two-year program was started, and, as the archive materials show, it also consisted of two modules, a theoretical and a practical one. The theoretical module included seventeen subjects: Anatomy and Physiology, General Pathology, General Hygiene, General Bacteriology, Infectious Diseases, Disinfection and Insect Extermination, Medical Substances Used in Obstetrics, Nursing, Dietetics, Pregnancy – Delivery and Puerperium, Complicated and Uncomplicated, First Aid, Infants – General Knowledge and Care, Venereal Diseases and Prostitution, Pregnancy and Delivery Psychosis, Alcoholism and Midwives' Rights and Obligations. Since 1937 the records have been archived in the School Register of Credits, which has grown to the impressive size of 30 x 50 centimetres. The lectures in Obstetrics and Gynaecology were based on original textbooks by Professors Stanisław Dobrowolski and Aleksander Rosner. Practical classes, which included care and examinations of pregnant women, attending to births (at least fifteen), were held in selected training wards indicated in the syllabus. The assessment criteria, which included general progress, behaviour, diligence, and attendance, were designed to put a premium on a balance of knowledge, skills and attitude. Students who violated ethical standards were expelled from school. The grading scheme was initially rather narrow, as only excellent, satisfactory and unsatisfactory grades were used. From 1928 four achievement bands were introduced, good with merit, good, satisfactory and unsatisfactory.²¹ The diploma exam was taken in front of the professor and the examination board appointed for the exam, with an extra examiner delegated by the Medical Faculty of the Jagiellonian University. Such a procedure ensured academic supervision over the level of training, its compliance with procedures used in obstetrics and its compatibility with the syllabus of the Medical Faculty. The function of the delegate examiner was treated very seriously, as it was customary to have the Director of the Hospital or a senior associate professor do the job. Most often it was entrusted to Professor January Zubrzycki, but in 1938, when he was appointed professor at the School and started lecturing on obstetrics, the function of the delegate examiner went to Professor Jerzy Kaulbersz, Director of the Department of Physiology of the Jagiellonian University. The passing of diploma examination entitled a graduate to take the professional oath, obtain a midwife's certificate and practise midwifery on the territory of the Republic of Poland.²²

THE PREMISES

Until the latter half of the 1930s all of the midwifery courses took place at 17 Kopernika Street, where the School had to make do with very little room. It had its office and two classrooms on the second floor, next to the Jagiellonian University Dermatological Hospital, and a few training wards in an allocated part of the first floor. From 1931 to 1937 major renovation work was done at the Third Gynaecological and

²¹ Arch. Kr. Pol. Sz. Med. Lists of students of the Imperial and Royal Midwifery School from 1896 onwards; Protocols of midwifery examinations 1922–1930; Register of Credits 1937/38–1953/54; Regulations of the Ministry of Public Health Concerning Midwifery Education and Employment in National Midwifery Schools in the Former Austrian-administered Parts of Poland, *Dziennik Praw RP* 1920, No. 98, Item 651, Articles 13–17; *DU RP* 1929, No. 2, Item 20 (§17, 18, 21, 22).

²² AUJ, January Zubrzycki's Personal File: Professor Zubrzycki's nominations for the job of delegate examiner in the Kraków Midwifery School, File SII 619; *DU RP* 1929, No. 2, Item 20 (§ 21–23, 26).

Obstetrics Ward and the school rooms, the total cost of which was 450 thousand zlotys. At the same time a wooden barrack was handed over to the school (to be used as a student dormitory). The barrack, built next to St Lazarus Hospital, was converted into a hospital storehouse after the war.²³

In the late 1930s lectures and classes were moved to a new building of the Obstetric-Gynecological Hospital at 23 Kopernika Street. The move, sanctioned by the Dean of the Medical Faculty, took place at the entreaty of Professor January Zubrzycki and with the consent of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. However, long-standing efforts to build new premises for the Kraków Midwifery School and the school dormitory were never successful.²⁴

ADDITIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE SCHOOL

The school also served as examination venue for diploma examinations for graduates of private midwifery schools and for obstetrics training courses for midwives and doctors practising in the country. So for example on 30 June 1926 a diploma examination was held for 21 graduates of a private course organised in Sosnowiec by Doctor Marian Stawiński. The examinees were women aged 22 to 43, all married except two who were widows.²⁵

From 1932 to 1938 there were two-month free training courses held for practising midwives. The syllabus included lectures in obstetrics, presentations, seminars and practical classes (duties) in wards and clinics for pregnant and breastfeeding women, milk delivery points, and crèches. The training was completed by 202 midwives – graduates of various European midwifery schools. From this number, 146 graduated from the Krakow school, 5 from the Lvov school, 2 from the Warsaw and 2 from the Vienna school, 3 from the Miskolc school and one from the Preszburg (Bratislava) school. The vast majority of the participants (195, or 96.5%) were Roman Catholic and the rest (3.5%) were of the Jewish faith. The trainees were aged 25 to 62, but most of them were in their thirties and forties.²⁶

The educational function of the school was skilfully combined with its social and academic activities. On the initiative of the acting director and later professor of the National Midwifery School Ada Markowa, MD, the Krakow branch of the Trade Union of Professional Midwives was set up, and it began editing and publishing (from 1928) an

²³ AP Kr. St Lazarus Hospital: Documents, Protocol from a conference concerning St Lazarus Hospital held in the Cracow Voivodship Office on 25 October 1937., p. 1, File 1/183; AP Kr. UW II. A letter from doc. dr B. Stepowski to the Director of St Lazarus Hospital in Kraków dated 1 Sept. 1947 concerning the conversion of a hospital barrack into a dormitory to be used by the midwifery students, File 2724; S. Schwarz, *Nauka...*, pp. 306–308.

²⁴ AUJ, January Zubrzycki's personal file. Letters of the *Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment* (MWRiOP) from 12 July 1938, No. BP-144497/38 to the Rector of the Jagiellonian University and to the Dean of the Medical Faculty, No. BP-21030/38 and B-14610/39, File SII 619.

²⁵ Arch. Kr. Pol. Sz. Med. Lists of students of the Imperial and Royal Midwifery School from 1896 onwards; A. Cekański, *Szkolenie...*, pp. 36–37.

²⁶ Arch. Kr. Pol. Sz. Med. Lists of students of the Imperial and Royal Midwifery School from 1896 onwards; J. Adamski, "Rozwój położnictwa w Polsce", *Pielęgniarka i Położna* 1961, No. 3, pp. 14–15 and No. 4, pp. 17–18.

information and academic journal *Midwife* intended for practising midwives.²⁷ Its editorial office was at the Midwifery School at 17 Kopernika Street. A lecture room at the same address was used by the Trade Union functionaries and the editors of the journal for their meetings. Ada Markowa was the editor-in-chief of the journal for three years. In 1931, after a cooperation agreement was signed between the Kraków and the Lvov Midwifery Schools, Professor Stanisław Mączewski became co-editor-in-chief of the journal. The editorial committee consisted of doctors and midwives from both schools. The Krakow school team included Henryk Papée, Tadeusz Pisarski, Henryk Reiss, Zofia Ślęczkowska, S. Liebeskind, Jan Niewola, and a number of midwives, among them Antonina Halamowa, Karolina Nablowa, R. Orderowa, R. Pirogowa, Sara Brustowa, Adela Galkowa, Antonina Gregorczykowa. *Midwife* published articles by Ksawery Franciszek Cieszyński PhD, nurse Teresa Kulczyńska, Stanisław Mączewski PhD, Ada Markowa PhD, Jan Fischer PhD, Stanisław Helwin PhD and a good many midwives sharing their experiences. Apart from disseminating professional knowledge, the journal had opinion-making and social function. It was also a source of information about the activities of the Trade Union of Professional Midwives.²⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The management of Midwifery School supported legislative initiatives vital for the development of midwifery schools in Krakow, and despite their considerable independence, they kept up their special relationship with the Obstetric-Gynaecological Hospital. Drawing on its academic achievements helped them to maintain the professional image and quality of their graduates. The publication of the *Midwife* was another educational achievement, which enhanced the professional self-awareness of the midwives.

The history of National Midwifery School in Krakow in the interwar years shows beyond any doubt that it was a dynamic educational, academic and opinion-making institution, despite the complexities of its legal status, cramped premises and inadequate funding.

²⁷ A Maksymowicz, *Zagadnienia zawodowe pielęgniarstwa na tle historycznym*, Warszawa 1977, p. 113.

²⁸ *Położna* (a monthly), Special Edition, 1931, pp. 1–30.

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Summary

The aim of this study is present a comprehensive survey of the activities of the Krakow Midwifery School during the interwar years (1918–1939). It is based on a detailed analysis of primary sources from the archives and a wide range of published materials. In that period the School was headed by Ada Markowa MD and her successor Professor January Zaburzycki. At first the School ran one-year courses, which were replaced by two-year ones in 1928. The Director, who held the school professorship, his assistants and the school midwives were in charge of the academic and the practical components of the curriculum. The School produced a total of 1443 certified midwives and admitted 202 working midwives for further training. It also organized final exams for students of private midwifery schools. Midwifery and gynaecology was taught on the basis of books written by the professors of the School. The teaching staff initiated the establishment of The Trade Union of Professional Midwives and the launching of a monthly magazine *Midwife*. The school was a dynamic educational, academic and opinion-making centre, despite its cramped premises and inadequate funding.

