

# チャールズ・ウィンズローの公衆衛生の定義について

—— 説明抜きの加筆・修正・削除に関する文献調査：

1—英語文献（米英と国際組織を中心に）——

上野 継 義

一方に思想，他方に言語というようなものは存在しない。言語はわれわれが自分の思想の上にはめる手袋ではない。われわれは考える時，象徴，言葉において考える。それ故，およそ翻訳は原理上不可能なのである。

—— アイザイア・バーリン<sup>1)</sup>

## 目 次

- はじめに—文献調査の目的と範囲
- 1 短い定義と長い定義（セミコロン）
- 2 息の長い文章
- 3 promoting physical health and efficiency
- 4 through organized community efforts
- 5 community infections
- 6 なぜ説明を省いてきたのか

## はじめに——文献調査の目的と範囲

公衆衛生（public health）とは何か。アメリカ公衆衛生運動の指導者 C.E.A. ウィンズロー（Charles-Edward Amory Winslow, 1877-1957）が 1920 年に公表した定義が，この問いに対する古典的かつ標準的な答えとされてきた。原文は次のとおりである。

Public Health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and the development of the social machinery which will ensure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health;

\* 『京都マネジメント・レビュー』第 40 号，2022 年 3 月 1 日発行。

1) アイザイア・バーリン『ロマン主義講義』田中治男訳（岩波書店，2000），66。

organizing these benefits in such fashion as to enable every citizen to realize his birthright of health and longevity. (Winslow 1920b, 30)

この定義は1世紀を超えてくりかえし引用されてきたが、しかし、この間に細かな加筆修正が施され、一字一句忠実に引用されることの少ない定義だということも急いで付け加えておかなければならない。<sup>2)</sup>

定義への加筆修正はなぜなされてきたのだろうか。ひとつは、公衆衛生という学問／専門職業領域に固有の性格のゆえである。公衆衛生のテーマは時代により社会により変化するものゆえ、定義の書き替えは必然的なことである。たとえば、ウィンズロー本人も、1926年のアメリカ公衆衛生協会 (American Public Health Association) の会長講演において、「健康」に精神的側面のあることを加筆しており (Winslow 1926, 1080)、その後多くの文献がそれに倣って定義に修正を施している (Hiscock 1947, 396; Expert Committee, WHO 1952; Terris 1987, 317)。

公衆衛生はまた、人口動態、人びとの生活様式の変化、医療技術の発展、新薬の開発や製薬企業の成長、資本主義経済の発展段階、南北の経済格差、戦争や地域紛争、政変や体制変化など、さまざまな諸条件とかかわりを有している (Vickers 1958, 599; Bettcher et al. 1998; U.S. Surgeon General 2021)。1980年代以降、一国内の経済格差やグローバルな南北格差に起因する健康格差が問題視されるようになったのを契機に、「新しい公衆衛生」を定義する動きがあらわれた (Black 1980)。たとえば、Institute of Medicine による1988年の簡明な定義が「最も影響力のある現代的定義」 (Kirch 2008, 372) として知られており、また WHO が1998年に用意した用語集でも再定義が試みられている (Nutbeam 1998)。

以上は、誠にもっともな書き替え理由だが、ウィンズローの定義はまた、説明抜きで、加筆・修正・削除の手が加えられてきた。この分野の研究者は気づいているはずだが、その理由を説明してこなかった。

本研究の目的は、ウィンズローの公衆衛生の定義について、説明抜きの書き換えがどのようになされてきたのかについて、できる限り網羅的な文献調査をすすめてその理由を探り出すことである。この作業を通じて定義を深く理解するための一助としたい。目下、この定義の歴史的な成立過程を復元する作業をすすめており、本稿は当初そのための準備作業としてはじめたものであるが、いまではこの作業自体に知的興味と学術的な意義を感じている。<sup>3)</sup>

2) ダーラム大学と WHO Europe が主要な定義を一覧表にまとめているが、2011年時点で、ウィンズローの定義を一字一句変更せずにそのまま使っているのは WHO Europe と EC だけである (Durham & WHO Europe 2011, 9-10)。古いところではジェームズ・ペイトの地方自治に関するテキストが正確に引用している (Pate 1954, 407)。

3) 上野継義「人間機械論と公衆衛生の定義——革新主義期アメリカにおける C.-E. A. ウィンズローと人間工学運動——」アメリカ学会編『アメリカ研究』56号 (2022年3月)。この論説の初期草稿は、2021年8月21日、社会政策学会労働史部会で報告の機会を得ました。また、木下順、富澤克美の両先生からは私信にて貴重なコメントをいただきました。

調査範囲は英語文献（主としてアメリカ合衆国、イギリス、国際組織——UN, EC, WHO——の刊行物）と第二世界大戦後のわが国の邦語文献である。本稿はこの作業の第1回目であり、英語文献を採りあげる。<sup>4)</sup>調査した文献は末尾に添付したBibliographyにまとめた。表1はこれらの文献からの抜き書きである。

この手の調査は、重要文献が漏れているのではないかとの不安が絶えずつきまとう。ご教示いただけるなら幸甚に存じます。なお、定義の文言を英語で引用する際は、文頭にあっても、語頭を大文字書きしないこととする。

## 1 短い定義と長い定義（セミコロン）

公衆衛生の定義について、書誌情報を整理しておこう。この定義は、1920年1月2日、セントルイスで開かれたアメリカ科学振興協会（American Association for the Advancement of Science）第2回年次大会でお披露目された。この時の講演「公衆衛生の未開拓領域」は、『サイエンス』誌1920年1月9日号に掲載され、その後すぐに産業医学の専門誌『現代医学』に掲載されている。上に引用した原文は、『現代医学』掲載論文の第1頁にある囲みの中の文章である（図1）。本文にある二箇所の記事を、わずかに加筆して、セミコロンでつなぎ合わせたものである（Winslow 1920b, 183, 188-89）。初出を尊重するなら、『サイエンス』誌を参照指示すべきであるが、こちらには囲みの文章が載っていない（図2）。

ウィンズロー本人が自身の著書に引用しているのは、セミコロンから後ろの文章を省いた「短い定義」である。その出典として『サイエンス』誌と『現代医学』誌の両方を註記している（Winslow 1923）。しかしながら、セミコロンから後の文章には、健康および長寿を人権として位置づける思想が窺われることから、こちらの「長い定義」を引用している文献が多い。

セミコロンを入れると、文章の流れがしっくりしないためであろう、WHOの公衆衛生行政に関する専門家委員会は、筆を入れて、セミコロンを省いている（Expert Committee, WHO 1952, 5-6）。これもまた理由説明抜きの変更の一例であり、わたしはレオナード・シーレの論説でこの事実を知った（Scheele 1953, 3）。アメリカのいくつかの公衆衛生学テキストは、同委員会によって加筆修正されたものをウィンズローの定義として引用している（Hanlon 1950, 20; Turnock 2016, 10）。ウィンズロー本人にしてみれば、セミコロンを入れて、二つの文章をつなぎ合わせたという事実を残したのは、意識的なものだったのではあるまいか。彼は『現代医学』誌の編集委員のひとりだったからである。<sup>5)</sup>

4) 文献の収集と調査は2020年6月に開始した。検討すべき文献の量の面でも、事象の複雑さの点でも容易な作業ではなく、また紙幅の関係もあり、いくつかに分けて発表する。

5) 当時のウィンズローは人事管理運動に深くかかわっており、産業医学の専門誌『現代医学』に編集委員として関わったのもその一環であった。同誌の創刊と編集委員の一覧は、人事管理分野のニューズレターでも紹介された。この専門誌の発行元モダンホスピタル社（Modern Hospital Publishing Co., Inc.）は、産業福利活動を取りあげた専門誌『モダン・ホスピタル』の発行元でもある。“Books and Pamphlets,” *Personnel* 1, no. 6 (June 1919): 8.

PUBLIC HEALTH is The Science and Art		
<i>of</i>	<i>through</i>	<i>for</i>
(1) preventing disease, (2) prolonging life, and (3) promoting health and efficiency	organized community effort	(1) the sanitation of the environment, (2) the control of communicable infections, (3) the education of the individual in personal hygiene, (4) the organization of medical and nursing services for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and (5) the development of the social machinery to insure everyone a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health,
so organizing these benefits as to enable every citizen to realize his birthright of health and longevity.		

図3 公衆衛生の定義の構成図

出典：John J. Hanlon, *Principles of Public Health Administration* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1950), 20.

## 2 息の長い文章

ウィンズローの定義は、ピリオドがひとつしかない、息の長い文章で構成されている。一読しただけではすっきり理解できないためであろう、図3のように定義を分節化して図解している研究書がある (Hanlon 1950, 20)。なお、この構成図を載せているのは同書の初版だけで、第2版は本文に箇条書きするかたちに変更された (Hanlon 1960, 23)。

この構成図は、定義の理解に資するところ大であるが、ウィンズローの元の定義と食い違っている箇所が多々ある。上述した WHO 専門家委員会によって加筆修正された定義を使っているほか、言葉を入れ替えているところ (“community infections” → “communicable infections”) や単純なミス (“organized community effort” と単数形になっている; “nursing services” と複数形になっている)、文字の省略 (“promoting physical health and efficiency” から “physical” が抜けている) や冠詞の省略もある (“art” に定冠詞がない)。<sup>6)</sup> 最後の一文 (5) は複数箇所が書き替えられている。どうやら著者ジョン・ハンロンは正確に書き写す気など最初からなかったのではあるまいか。なお、この構成図の文章をそのまま引用し、間違いまで引きついでいる文献がある (Turnock 2016) ほか、たぶんケアレスミスであろう “(3) promoting health and efficiency” を省いている文献もある (Institute of Medicine 1988)。

## 3 promoting physical health and efficiency

ウィンズローは生涯を通じて “efficiency” の語を大切にしてきた。公衆衛生の定義において、この言葉は “health” の語と併記されている。この言い回しは定型句のひとつであり、19世紀から20世紀

6) “art” の定冠詞を欠いている文献はいくつも存在する。Lindeman 1920a; Acheson 1988a; EC 2007; Durham University & WHO Europe 2011; Gatseva & Argirova 2011; Grant 2012; Turnock 2016; WHO Europe 2018.

はじめまでの英米文献に普通に見いだすことができる。この場合の“efficiency”は「活力」の意である。<sup>7)</sup>この言葉の背後に、ウィンズローが革新主義期の人間工学（human engineering）運動に深くかかわっていた事情のあることは、別稿で考察したとおりである。<sup>8)</sup>

ウィンズローにとって“efficiency”は、健康（health）の定義においても、なくてはならないキーワードであり、最愛の言葉のひとつであった。たとえば、大恐慌期に国際連盟の要請で創設された住宅衛生に関する委員会（1937年）の挨拶文では、健康の構成要素として“efficiency”を位置づけている。すなわち、「健康とは単に生き長らえていること以上の意味がある。健康とは元気で、活力があり、生活に満足していることである」と。これに続く文章も含めて、原文を引用しておこう。

Health means more than just staying alive. Health means vigor and efficiency and satisfaction in living. The primary purpose of the home is shelter against the elements and the provision of an inner environment in which man can function to better advantage.<sup>9)</sup>

この言い回しは、第二次世界大戦後、ウィンズローが世界保健機関（WHO）のモノグラフ・シリーズにまとめた報告書でも踏襲されている（the general level of vigour, efficiency, and satisfaction）（Winslow 1951, 31）。

しかしながら、革新主義の時代が遠ざかるにつれて、“efficiency”という言葉は、理解しにくい用語になっていったようだ。そのためもあるろう、この言葉は、ウィンズローの公衆衛生や健康の定義から省かれ、あるいは、別の言葉に置き換えられるようになる。

1988年に、アイルランド生まれの医師・疫学者ドナルド・アチソンは、“efficiency”の語を省いてウィンズローの定義を書き直した（Acheson 1988a）。その後多くの文献（とくにヨーロッパの文献）がアチソンに倣うようになり、“efficiency”の語は使われなくなる（Nutbeam 1998; Hunter, Marks, & Smith 2010, 19; Durham & WHO Europe 2011; Martin-Moreno 2011; WHO Europe 2018）。なお、アチソンの

7) この定型句を用いている20世紀初頭のアメリカ文献をいくつか紹介しておこう。Robert MacDougall, “Mental Efficiency and Health,” *Science*, n.s., 19, no. 493 (June 10, 1904): 893-896; Pauline Goldmark, executive secretary of the Consumers League of New York City, “Hours of Labor in Relation to Industrial Efficiency,” in *Ninth New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, Proceedings, Elmira, New York, November 16-20, 1908* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co, 1909), 129-134; George M. Price, *Hygiene and Public Health* (Philadelphia & New York: Lea & Febiger, 1910), 74, 213, 214; Wilmer Krusen, “National Efficiency through Health,” *Annals* 78 (July 1918): 58-60; Royal Meeker, “What Is the American Standard of Living?” in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, At the Forty-Sixth Annual Session, Held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 1-8, 1919* (Chicago: Rogers & Hall Co., 1920), 164-72. 最後に挙げた労働統計局長ロイヤル・ミッカーの講演はウィンズローに強い印象を与えた。

8) 上野「人間機械論と公衆衛生の定義」；上野継義「人間機械の“efficiency”について——1910年代アメリカの企業広告と科学的な管理運動——」『京都マネジメント・レビュー』39号（2021年9月）：75-87。

9) M. Allen Pond's statement, in “Charles-Edward Amory Winslow: A Memorial,” *American Journal of Public Health* 47, no. 2 (February 1957): 158; “The Winslow Tradition,” *Journal of Public Health Policy* 5, no. 3 (September 1984): 323.

定義をウィンズローの定義だと誤認している文献がある (Culig 2016)。

その後アチソンの定義はワンレス・レポートによってさらに修正されることになるが、やはり“efficiency”の語は省かれている (Wanless 2004, 27)。公衆衛生のテーマが伝染病から喫煙などの生活習慣病に移ったことで、環境改善が人の健康や活力の向上に結びつくという“efficiency”概念 (投入した努力に対する有益な成果の比率)<sup>10)</sup>の前提が崩れたことが背景にあるのではないか。

困ったことに、時代が下るにつれて原典確認が疎かになっており、加えてインターネットの普及とITの発達が安易なコピー&ペーストに拍車をかけている。ワンレス・レポートの定義をウィンズローの定義だとしている学術論文 (Gatseva & Argirova 2011)がある。同様の誤りは専門家協会のウェブサイトやウィキペディアにも散見される。<sup>11)</sup>なかにはワンレス・レポートの定義をアチソンの定義だとしているウェブサイトもある。<sup>12)</sup>

健康の定義においても、“efficiency”の語が外されるようになった。WHO憲章の前文にウィンズローの健康の定義が用いられていると言われているが、“efficiency”の語が省かれている (WHO 1946)。<sup>13)</sup>これも書き換えの一例と言ってよいだろう。これに倣って公衆衛生の定義を書き換えている例もある (Grant 2012)。なお、1950年代から健康を再定義する動きが広がり、さまざまな定義が試みられたが、管見の限り、“efficiency”の語を使っている文章は皆無である。ちなみに、アメリカ看護師協会による近年の看護の定義では“health”と“abilities”の語が併記されている (American Nurses Association 2012)。

このように全体的に見れば、“efficiency”の語が省かれる傾向にある中、“promoting physical health and efficiency”のフレーズから“health”の方を省いている文献がある。ウィルソン・G. スマイリーの公衆衛生行政に関する書物が最初だと思う (Smillie 1936)。同書の定義は、第二次世界大戦後の占領期、わが国の衛生学/公衆衛生学文献に影響を及ぼすことになる。当時の制約された情報環境の中で、ウィンズローの原典に触れるのは困難であり、スマイリーの書からの孫引きで公衆衛生の定義がわが国に紹介された。

10) Harold A. Holmes, *The Test of Efficiency* (Pittsfield, Mass.: The Caxton Society, 1911), 9; H. L. Gantt, “Measuring Efficiency,” *ASME Transactions* 36 (1914), 417-23.

11) Connecticut Public Health Association, “What Is Public Health?” accessed October 1, 2021, <https://www.cpha.info/page/WhatisPublicHealth>; “Public Health,” Wikipedia, accessed October 1, 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public\\_health](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_health).

12) “What Exactly Is Public Health?” Future Learn, accessed October 1, 2021, <https://www.futurelearn.com/info/courses/nursing-and-public-health/0/steps/51744>.

13) WHO憲章の前文によれば、「健康とは、身体的、精神的、社会的に、すべて満たされた状態」であり、「基本的人権のひとつ」だとしている (WHO 1946)。ウィンズロー自身、国際協調を訴える1952年の文章では、WHO憲章前文に倣って“well-being”の語を使っている。すなわち、“the physical and emotional and social well-being of all the peoples of the earth”と。C.-E. A. Winslow, “The Global Problem: Inequality of Opportunity,” *Public Health Reports* 67, no. 4 (April 1952): 318-319.

#### 4 through organized community efforts

“community”の語は多義的であり、ウィンズローも複数の意味で用いている。たとえば、第一次世界大戦期に執筆したパブリック・スクール向けの読本『健康的な暮らし』第2巻において、“community”の語は二つの意味で用いられている。というよりは、二つの意味が同時に含意されていると言った方が正鵠を射ている。

ひとつは、「都市」や「タウン」の語と併記されているように、「地域社会」の意であり、そこに居住する住民や人口集団を大まかに指し示している（Winslow 1917, 271, 317）。いまひとつは、公衆衛生キャンペーンにおいて保健教育活動を組織する場としてイメージされており、この場合の“community”という言葉には未実現の理想が織り込まれている（Winslow 1917, 3-4）。すでに存在する何かではなくて、公衆衛生ワーカー（sanitarians）の働きかけ（介入）によって、その構成員（住民）が科学的な保健知識を身につけていく可変的な存在である。あるいはまた、感染症対策のように住民が共通の目標を意識するように働きかけられ、同時に、住民がみずから参画していく過程的かつ発展的な存在である。

公衆衛生の定義にある“through organized community efforts”という台詞の中の“community”は、以上のような二つの視点が同時に含意されており、可変的かつ過程的な性格を有している。このことを意識して、この台詞とその前後を合わせて訳出するならば、公衆衛生ワーカーや住民の「コミュニティに根ざした取り組みを組織することによって」公衆衛生上の諸目標の実現に向かって行動する、という風になるだろう。行動（action）のモメントは、定義中の“the art”の語に表現されている（Durham University & WHO Europe 2011, 13; Martin-Moreno 2011）。

公衆衛生の定義において“organized”という言葉のもつ意味はとても重い（Winslow 1919; Meyer 2020）。<sup>14</sup>「健康」の私的人格と社会的性格とを結びつける働きをするコミュニティ・サービス（Winslow 1920a, 28; Winslow 1953）が組織されているか否かによって、“community”の性格はおおきく変わってくるからである。人の寿命や健康は、日常的な意識の中では、個人的かつ私的なものとして受けとめられているが、コミュニティに根ざした組織的な取り組みによって守られ、改善されるという社会的かつ集団的な性格を併せ持っている。人の寿命や健康は社会や経済のありようと密接なかかわりがあり、社会経済史的な性格を有していると言い換えてもよい（WHO Europe 2011, 21-22）。同時に、“organizing community”の働きには草の根の民主主義を実現していくという意味合いもある。このような意味が“through organized community efforts”のフレーズに織り込まれている。

公衆衛生とはどのような専門職なのか、あるいは、どのような学問なのか。この問いに対する解答もまた、この短いフレーズに表現されている。ウィンズローは別の論説において、この問いに次のように答えている。「公衆衛生は」、学問的にも、専門職の性格としても、「医学や工学の一分野で

14) “Organization for Health,” *Health News: Monthly Bulletin New York State Department of Health*, n.s., 10, no. 4, Full Ser. 31, no. 4 (April 1915): 103.

はなく、コミュニティ・サービスのための専門職なのであり、いくつもの異なる学問領域の協働作業 (cooperative effort) が含まれている」と (Winslow 1923, 1; Winslow 1953, 134. Cf. Parran 1958, 881)。実際、ジョーンズ・ホプキンス大学やウィンズローがその創設にたずさわったイェール大学の公衆衛生学部の場合、教員スタッフのうち医学博士は半数に満たず、他分野の専門家との協働が模索されていた (Gay 1921)。

1980年代以降、“community”の語を使わない定義が広く受け入れられるようになった。ドナルド・アチソンは、“community”の語がアメリカの文脈に依拠した用語だと感じたためであろうか、理由はよく分からないが、これを“society”の語に置き換えている (Acheson 1988a)。この点に関連して、ECの健康格差専門家グループが2007年にまとめた用語集に着目したい。ウィンズローの定義を引用した後で、アチソンの定義に準拠した次のような説明文をつけ加えている。すなわち、「人びと (the population) の健康は、社会 (society) の組織的な取り組みによって理解され、守られ、促進されるがゆえに、公衆衛生はその場合の仕組みなり諸プロセスとして考えられるであろう (may be considered)」と (EC 2007; Durham & WHO Europe 2011, 10)。この一文は、“community”の語を“society”に置き換えたことで失われた意味を補足した文章として読むことができ、間接的ながら、“community”の可変的かつ過程的な性格を説明する文章になっていると考えられる。アチソンによって「書き直された」定義はとくに英国およびヨーロッパの文献で広く受け入れられている (Nutbeam 1998; EC 2007; Hunter, Marks, & Smith 2010, 19; Durham University & WHO Europe 2011; WHO Europe 2018, 12)。

## 5 community infections

定義中に“the control of community infections”という表現がある。“community infections”は珍しい言い回しであり、ほとんど誰も使っていない。一部の研究者は、“communicable diseases”のことだと解釈して、説明抜きに“communicable infections”と言い換えてきた (Hanlon 1950; Hanlon & Pickett 1984; Institute of Medicine 1988)。だが、“infections”一語で感染症の意味があり、redundant expressionの香がただようこのような書き換えには疑念が残る。それにウィンズローは公衆衛生の定義を公にした論文の中で、“communicable diseases”の語と“community infections”を使い分けている。察するに、ウィンズローが定義の執筆にとりかかった頃はスペイン風邪が猛威をふるっていた時期と重なっているゆえ、“community acquired infections”のことを念頭においていたのではないか。別稿で示した私訳では「市中感染症」としてみた。定義が発表されてからちょうど100年目(2020年)、新型コロナウィルス感染症 (COVID-19) の蔓延という世界史的事件を身近に体験して、ウィンズローの定義の重要性について思いを新たにしたい。

## 6 なぜ説明を省いてきたのか

ウィンズローの公衆衛生の定義が、引用に際して、説明抜きで、加筆、修正、削除の手が加えら



れてきたのはなぜか。これは説明がないという事実そのものが、雄弁にその背景事情を物語っているのではないか。この定義があまりにも有名すぎることである。引用に際しては暗黙の国際ルールのようなものがある。広く受け入れられてきたことを讃える顕彰の定型句を冠するのがならわしだ。このような修飾語を添えた手前、正直に分からないとは言いつらい。転記ミスと思しき引用がはなはだ多いのも、有名な定義だからであろう。原典確認を怠り、二次文献からの孫引きで済ませているためである。

最後に、言葉の歴史性や社会性という周知のことがらについて自戒の念を込めて記しておきたい。どのような言葉も歴史的に作られたものであり、一定の社会関係の中で意味が共有される。ウィンズローの定義を読む時、こうした視点がおろそかにされてきたとは言えまいか。一世紀にわたって引用されてきたことそれ自体が、この定義に一種永続性の外観を与え、言葉の歴史性への注意を逸らしてきた感がある。

ウィンズローの定義を彼が生きた革新主義期アメリカの社会経済史的な文脈の中に引き戻し、同時代人の共通感覚で理解する努力が求められている。本稿はそのための準備作業として、いくつかの用語を検討してみた。とくに“efficiency”の語は注意を要する。これはきわめて多義的かつ価値関連的な言葉であり、革新主義期には利害対立の焦点となっていた。<sup>15)</sup> 歴史をさかのぼるならば、現代人の想像を越える用例をいくつも拾い上げることができる。

このたびの文献調査を通じて翻訳の難しさにも改めて思いを致すこととなった。科学的内容を伝える文章は、個々の用語がもつ意味の透明性が高く、他言語への移植は比較的容易であると一般論としては言う。しかしながら、科学の営みも一定の時代と社会の枠組みの中でなされる人間的行為ゆえ、歴史的な諸条件の影響を強く受けている。冒頭に引いた英人政治思想家バーリンの一句を、言葉の歴史性への注意喚起として受けとめ、翻訳の不可能性を意識しつつ翻訳を試みたいものである。

附記 Wilson G. Smillie の書（第3版）は東京大学社会科学研究所のご厚意で閲読することができた。本稿は2019～21年度科学研究費（JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP19K01796）による研究成果の一部です。

15) 革新主義期の能率文献は膨大な量にのぼる。先行研究は、Samuel Haber, *Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), ix-x, 58-60. 革新主義期における“efficiency”概念をめぐる利害対立については、上野継義「人事部創成神話の起源——インダストリアル・エンジニアリング生成史の一断面」アメリカ経済史学会編『アメリカ経済史研究』14号（2015年12月）:1-29.

March, 1920

MODERN MEDICINE

183

## THE UNTILLED FIELDS OF PUBLIC HEALTH\*

BY C.-E. A. WINSLOW, DR. P.H., PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH, YALE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

A SHORT time ago two Yale undergraduates came to my laboratory to consult me in regard to the choice of a career. One of them was the son of a public health administrator of the highest eminence; and they particularly wanted to know something about the field of public health, what it included, what was the nature of the work involved, what were the qualifications required, what the financial rewards, and the more intangible emoluments to be expected by those who might enter upon this career. I told them what I could of the current tendencies which to me seem to make public health one of the most stimulating and attractive openings lying before the college student of the present day; but I found that the answer to their question was by no means a simple one to formulate. The public health movement has been expanding so rapidly that what was "the new public health" fifteen years ago includes only the more conventional interests of the present day.

It seemed to me as I talked with these young men that we need a formulation of current tendencies in the protean field of public health, and an outline of the lines of future development so far as they can safely be forecast. It is essential that the worker in this domain of applied science should see clearly the goal toward which he is aiming, however far ahead of the immediate possibilities of the moment it may appear to be. Above all, it is desirable that we should have a definite and inspiring program to lay before the young men and women of the country who hesitate in the choice of a career. On every hand we hear the question put by an eager young woman to the brilliant head of the Instructive District Nursing Association of Boston: "Miss Beard, I want to go into public health. What is it?" It behooves us to answer this question; for the greatest of all needs in this field is undoubtedly

*Public Health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and the development of the social machinery which will ensure to every individual a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health; organizing these benefits in such fashion as to enable every citizen to realize his birthright of health and longevity.*

the need of a personnel, larger in quantity, and better in quality, than that which has been available in the past.

For these reasons I have determined to devote my address as retiring chairman of the Section on Physiology and Experimental Medicine to a tentative, if necessarily imperfect, formulation of the scope and tendencies of the modern public health campaign.

I spoke of the public health movement as protean, and it is indeed true that the emphasis in this field has shifted with a rapidity almost phantasmagoric.

To a large section of the public I fear that the health authorities are still best known as the people to whom one complains of unpleasant accumulations of rubbish in the back yard of a neighbor,—accumulations which possess those offensive characteristics which somehow can only originate in a neighbor's yard and never in one's own. Sanitation, the maintenance of cleanly and healthful environmental conditions, does indeed represent the first stage in public health. When Sir John Simon initiated the modern public health movement in London three-quarters of a century ago, his primary task was the elimination of the masses of accumulated filth which kept alive the pestilences of the Middle Ages. When General Gorgas undertook the task of making safe and feasible the building of the Panama Canal, he was in the same way confronted with problems that were primarily those of environmental sanitation. The removal of excretal wastes, the purification of sewage, the protection of water supplies, and the elimination of conditions which permit the breeding of insect carriers of disease,—these are always and everywhere the first tasks for the public health expert; and in the early phases of the public health movement in any country it is natural to visualize public health, primarily in terms of sanitation.

There is still much to do in this most fundamental branch of public health. That terrible

\*Read before second annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, St. Louis, Mo., January 2, 1920.

図1 公衆衛生の定義、『現代医学』の第1頁

出典：C.-E. A. Winslow, "The Untilled Fields of Public Health," *Modern Medicine* 2, no. 3 (March 1920): 183.

# SCIENCE

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1920

## THE UNTILLED FIELDS OF PUBLIC HEALTH<sup>1</sup>

### CONTENTS

<i>The American Association for the Advancement of Science:—</i>	
<i>The Untilled Fields of Public Health: PROFESSOR C.-E. A. WINSLOW</i> .....	23
<i>The Organization of Research: PROFESSOR H. P. ARMSBY</i> .....	33
<i>Scientific Events:—</i>	
<i>Conference of British Research Associations; The Medical Strike in Spain; Resolutions of the Anthropological Society of Washington; Biological Surveys of States by the United States Department of Agriculture</i> .....	38
<i>Scientific Notes and News</i> .....	40
<i>University and Educational News</i> .....	43
<i>Discussion and Correspondence:—</i>	
<i>A Splendid Service: J. M. C. Weight of Body moving along Equator: PROFESSOR EDWARD V. HUNTINGTON. An Odd Problem in Mechanics: DR. CARL HERING</i> .....	44
<i>Quotations:—</i>	
<i>SCIENCE and The New Era Printing Company</i> .....	46
<i>Scientific Books:—</i>	
<i>Seward's Fossil Plants: PROFESSOR EDWARD W. BERRY</i> .....	47
<i>The American Association for the Advancement of Science:—</i>	
<i>Report of the St. Louis Meeting: PROFESSOR GEORGE T. MOORE</i> .....	48

A SHORT time ago two Yale undergraduates came to my laboratory to consult me in regard to the choice of a career. One of them was a son of a public health administrator of the highest eminence; and they particularly wanted to know something about the field of public health, what it included, what was the nature of the work involved, what were the qualifications required, and what the financial rewards and the more intangible emoluments to be expected by those who might enter upon this career. I told them what I could of the current tendencies which to me seem to make public health one of the most stimulating and attractive openings lying before the college student of the present day; but I found that the answer to their question was by no means a simple one to formulate. The public health movement has been expanding so rapidly that what was "the New Public Health" fifteen years ago includes only the more conventional interests of the present day.

It seemed to me as I talked with these young men that we needed a formulation of current tendencies in the protean field of public health and an outline of the lines of future development so far as they can safely be forecast. It is essential that the worker in this domain of applied science should see clearly the goal toward which he is aiming, however far ahead of the immediate possibilities of the moment it may appear to be. Above all, it is desirable that we should have a definite and inspiring program to lay before the young men and women of the country who hesitate in the choice of a career. On every hand we hear the question, put by an eager young

<sup>1</sup> Address of the vice-president and chairman of Section K—Physiology and Experimental Medicine—St. Louis, January 2, 1920.

MSS. intended for publication and books, etc., intended for review should be sent to The Editor of Science, Garrison-on-Hudson, N. Y.

表1 公衆衛生分野の英語文献

	出版年	文献（書誌情報）	公衆衛生の定義，説明項目，着目している用語など
1	1920	C.-E. A. Winslow, "The Untilled Fields of Public Health," <i>Modern Medicine</i> 2, no. 3 (March): 183.	Public Health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and the development of the social machinery which will ensure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health; organizing these benefits in such fashion as to enable every citizen to realize his birthright of health and longevity.
2	1920	Amy Hughes, "Reminiscences of Florence Nightingale," <i>Public Health Nurse</i> 7, no. 5 (May): 375.	And let her remember, this servant of the poor, working for them, her Queen, and her God, let her always bear in mind training and efficiency—training, which must continue all her life; efficiency, always increasing with every day, or else it declines with every day; practical efficiency—moral efficiency, too; these go hand in hand.
3	1920	V. May MacDonald, "Mental Health as a Public Health," <i>Public Health Nurse</i> 7, no. 5 (May): 390, 391-92.	[390] It is now many years since a science of general hygiene began to be built up as separate from the science of disease. The laws governing the maintenance of bodily health are now recognized as having a significance as promising for the future as the science which endeavors to fight diseases already contracted. In the service of this science of health many thousands are now enlisted, but strangely enough this science has failed until recently to take any cognizance of the fact that human beings are possessed of minds as well as bodies. [391-92] Public Health Nurses are no longer only instructive bed-side nurses in the home of the poorer classes. They have developed in to community teachers of health. A large part of their efficiency is based on a thorough knowledge of the causes and earliest symptoms of the diseases which they are working to prevent.
4	1920	E. C. Lindeman, "The Relationship of Rural Recreation and the Public Health Nurses," <i>Modern Medicine</i> 2, no. 9 (September): 631.	Before a statement regarding the relationship between recreation and the public health nurse can be justly made it is essential that the full implications of public health be reiterated and stressed. There is perhaps no more adequate definition of public health than that proposed by Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow of the Yale School of Medicine. Public health is the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, . . . This definition includes two functions of public health organization which have a bearing upon the problem of this paper.

5	1923	C.-E. A. Winslow, <i>The Evolution and Significance of the Modern Public Health Campaign</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1 and n2.	[1] Public health is not a concrete intellectual discipline, but a field of social activity. It includes applications of chemistry and bacteriology, of engineering and statistics, of physiology and pathology and epidemiology, and in some measure of sociology, and it builds upon these basic sciences a comprehensive program of community service. [n2] The author has elsewhere attempted to define public health in the following terms, —which will make clear the scope of the movement whose development we shall attempt to trace. “Public Health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and the development of the social machinery which will ensure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health.” <i>The Untilled Fields of Public Health</i> , 1920, <i>Science</i> , N. S., Vol. 51, p. 23; also <i>Modern Medicine</i> , Vol. 2, p. 183.
6	1926	C.-E. A. Winslow, “Public Health at the Crossroads,” <i>American Journal of Public Health</i> 16, no. 11 (November): 1080.	. . . we may take a still wider view and say that the health program must envisage the whole field of the prevention of disease and the promotion of physical and mental health and efficiency.
7	1929	Katharine Tucker, ed., “Activities of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, Inc.,” <i>Public Health Nurse</i> 21 (October): 551.	Public health nursing is an organized community service not for profit, rendered by graduate nurses to the individual, family, and community. This service includes the interpretation and application of medical, sanitary and social procedures for the correction of defects, prevention of disease and the promotion of health, and may include skilled care of the sick in their homes.
8	1935	Winslow’s statement at the time the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association (Quoted in Pond 1957, 158).	“Health means more than just staying alive. Health means vigor and efficiency and satisfaction in living. The primary purpose of the home is shelter against the elements and the provision of an inner environment in which man can function to better advantage. . . . Bad housing, as a matter of practical fact, is profoundly detrimental to health; and the existence of the slum is a health problem of outstanding significance. . . .”
9	1937	C.-E. A. Winslow, “Housing as a Public Health Problem.” <i>American Journal of Public Health</i> 27, no. 1 (January): 56-61.	Health means much more than just staying alive. It means that sort of physical and mental fullness of living which William James had in mind when he said, “Simply to live, move and breathe should be a delight.” . . . We know that an overheated atmosphere decreases efficiency and produces a sense of discomfort.
10	1946	WHO, Preamble to the Constitution of The World Health Organization.	THE STATES Parties to this Constitution declare, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, that the following principles are basic to the happiness, harmonious relations and security of all peoples: Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition.

11	1947	Wilson G. Smillie, <i>Public Health Administration in the United States</i> , 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan).	<p>Public health has been defined as “the art and science of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting physical and mental efficiency through organized community effort.” (C.-E. A. Winslow.)</p> <p>Public health administration is the application of public health principles and technics for the benefit of the community, by official or unofficial organizations.</p> <p>In order to determine the obligations of a community in relation to the organization of services for the protection of the health of the individual and the mass, it is essential that we set forth the desirable minimum functions of government that are required to attain proper health protection.</p>
12	1950	John J. Hanlon, <i>Principles of Public Health Administration</i> (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby), 19-20.	<p>One of the most forceful recent advocates of this point of view has been Winslow, who crystallized his thought into what has become perhaps the best-known and most widely accepted definition of public health and of its relationship to other fields.</p> <p>This definition certainly cannot be criticized for lack of comprehensiveness. It includes almost everything in the fields of social service and reform. In addition, it provides a rather complete summary not only of public health and its administration, but also of the sequence of its history and development, as well as present-day and probable future trends.</p>
13	1951	C.-E. A. Winslow, <i>The Cost of Sickness and the Price of Health</i> (Geneva: World Health Organization), 10, 31, 36, 39.	<p>[10] The values of human health are not to be measured in monetary terms alone. The Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization states that the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being.</p> <p>[31] The goals of the public-health programme in the mid-20th century are by no means limited to the control of specific communicable diseases. As the major pestilences, such as malaria, tuberculosis, and syphilis, are brought under control, health planners and health administrators are more and more concerned with the creative aim of raising the general level of vigour, efficiency, and satisfaction by a more positive physiological approach.</p> <p>[36] Another most important—and neglected—factor in personal hygiene is temperature, since human health and efficiency are closely dependent on a proper degree of heat loss to the surrounding atmospheric environment.</p> <p>[39] It is important to note that, in countries where industrialization is being introduced or developed at an accelerated rate, attention to the problem of industrial health is of special importance. The original stimulus to the evolution of the modern public-health campaign came as a reaction to the evils generated by the rapid and unprotected development of industrialization in Great Britain. The mistakes committed in Europe in the 19th century must not be repeated in Asia in the 20th.</p>
14	1952	Expert Committee on Public Health Administration, World Health Organization, <i>First Report</i> , World Health Organization Technical Report Series, no. 55 (Geneva: WHO), 5.	<p>Public health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting mental and physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing services for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and for the development of the social machinery to ensure to every individual a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health, so organizing these benefits as to enable every citizen to realize his birthright of health and longevity.</p>

15	1957	National League for Nursing, <i>Public Health Nursing: Achievements and Goals</i> (New York: the League), 5.	The primary goal of public health nursing is the provision of nursing service so that individuals, families, and the community as a whole will be helped to achieve and maintain optimal health. The primary goal has both qualitative and quantitative aspects — qualitative in the sense that the specific needs of individuals and their families are recognized and met; quantitative in the sense that service is available to all who need it.
16	1958	George Rosen, <i>A History of Public Health</i> (New York: MD Publications, Inc.), 404.	Health education today is one of the most important expressions of the modern theory of community health action. Its value will undoubtedly increase even further as more is learned about human nature and its modifiability. There would seem to be no doubt that the late C.-E.A. Winslow struck to the heart of the matter when he said that the development of health education as a factor in preventive medicine is as important for us today as the germ theory of disease was for public health workers 40 years ago.
17	1958	Geoffrey Vickers, "What Sets the Goals of Public Health?" <i>Lancet</i> no. 7021 (March): 599.	<p>Most obvious is the impact of therapeutic and preventive techniques. Pasteur set the goals of public health for many decades ahead. Every new technique, by opening a possibility, awakens a need—at least in our Western culture, where in matters of health we have highly developed sense that whatever is possible for any should be available to all.</p> <p>Therapeutic and preventive techniques depend on industrial techniques. Apart from the techniques of the pharmaceutical industry, on which all chemotherapy depends, the engineering industry is the main executant of sanitation.</p>
18	1958	Thomas Parran, "The First 12 Years of WHO," <i>Public Health Reports</i> 73, no. 10 (October): 879-80, 881.	<p>[179-80] In July 1946, at the signing of the constitution of the World Health Organization, I said that we were "signing a Magna Carta for health which will bring into being a World Health Organization unique in its scope, authority, and functions." . . .</p> <p>Also, I said, "In our Magna Carta for health, we have ventured to declare that we have a contribution to make to the central world problem of today, which is to help man learn to live harmoniously with his fellow man. In making this proposition, I for one believe that health science must share the task with religion and education."</p> <p>I concluded by saying, "The World Health Organization is, therefore, a collective instrument which will promote physical and mental vigor, prevent and control disease, expand scientific health knowledge, and contribute to the harmony of human relations. In short, it is a powerful instrument forged for peace."</p> <p>[881] Public health has been termed "an applied technology resting upon the joint pillars of natural science and social sciences." During the past century the natural science pillar has been greatly strengthened, but until both the pillars are strong the arch of public health will not be firm.</p>

19	1978	Alma-Ata Declaration, International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma-Ata, USSR.	VI Primary health care is essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community through their full participation and at a cost that the community and country can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of selfreliance and self-determination. It forms an integral part both of the country's health system, of which it is the central function and main focus, and of the overall social and economic development of the community. It is the first level of contact of individuals, the family and community with the national health system bringing health care as close as possible to where people live and work, and constitutes the first element of a continuing health care process.
20	1981	Halfdan Mahler, "The Meaning of Health for All by the Year 2000." <i>World Health Forum</i> 2, no. 1.	Health For All means that health is to be brought within reach of everyone in a given country. And by "health" is meant a personal state of well being, not just the availability of health services – a state of health that enables a person to lead a socially and economically productive life. Health For All implies the removal of the obstacles to health – that is to say, the elimination of malnutrition, ignorance, contaminated drinking water and unhygienic housing – quite as much as it does the solution of purely medical problems such as a lack of doctors, hospital beds, drugs and vaccines. Health For All means that health should be regarded as an objective of economic development and not merely as one of the means of attaining it. Health For All demands, ultimately, literacy for all. Until this becomes reality it demands at least the beginning of an understanding of what health means for every individual. Health For All depends on continued progress in medical care and public health. The health services must be accessible to all through primary health care, in which basic medical help is available in every village, backed up by referral services to more specialised care. Immunisation must similarly achieve universal coverage. Health For All is thus a holistic concept calling for efforts in agriculture, industry, education, housing, and communications, just as much as in medicine and public health. Medical care alone cannot bring health to in hovels. Health for such people requires a whole new way of life and fresh opportunities to provide themselves with a higher standard of living.
21	1987	Milton Terris, "Epidemiology and the Public Health Movement," <i>Journal of Public Health Policy</i> 8, no. 3 (Autumn): 317-18.	Later, Winslow changed "physical health" to "physical and mental health". He made no further changes in his definition. Nor do any need to be made; the specific formulations may be somewhat different today (we would expand treatment to specifically include rehabilitation), but the content remains largely the same.
22	1988	E. D. Acheson, <i>Public Health in England: The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Future Development of the Public Health Function</i> (London: HMSO), 11.	Public health is the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through organized efforts of society. The field pays special attention to the social context of disease and health, and focuses on improving health through society-wide measures like vaccinations, the fluoridation of drinking water, or through policies such as seatbelt and non-smoking laws.



23	1988	Institute of Medicine, Committee for the Study of the Future of Public Health, <i>The Future of Public Health</i> (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press), 1, 39.	<p>[1] This study was undertaken to address a growing perception among the Institute of Medicine membership and others concerned with the health of the public that this nation has lost sight of its public health goals and has allowed the system of public health activities to fall into disarray. Public health is what we, as a society, do collectively to assure the conditions in which people can be healthy. This requires that continuing and emerging threats to the health of the public be successfully countered. These threats include immediate crises, such as the AIDS epidemic; enduring problems, such as injuries and chronic illness; and impending crises foreshadowed by such developments as the toxic by-products of a modern economy.</p> <p>[39] One of the earliest deliberate efforts to define public health's mission is still one of the most frequently cited. According to C. E. A. Winslow (as quoted in Hanlon and Pickett, 1984):</p> <p>Public health is the science and the art of (1) preventing disease, (2) prolonging life, and (3) organized community efforts for (a) the sanitation of the environment, (b) the control of communicable infections, (c) the education of the individual in personal hygiene, (d) the organization of medical and nursing services for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and (e) the development of the social machinery to ensure everyone a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health, so organizing these benefits as to enable every citizen to realize his birthright of health and longevity.</p>
24	1999	Lawrence O. Gostin, Scott Burris and Zita Lazzarini, "The Law and the Public's Health: A Study of Infectious Disease Law in the United States," <i>Columbia Law Review</i> 99, no. 1 (January): 59-128.	<p>By this definition, the health department ought to be the biggest agency in state government. In practice, health agencies must work constantly to create and justify roles in the many governmental and social processes that have significant effects on health.</p> <p>This definition of the activity of public health embraces both public and private sector activities. The work of philanthropies and voluntary organizations has always been extremely important in American public health, but in this article we focus on the work of government agencies.</p>
25	2004	[Wanless Report] D. Wanless, <i>Securing Good Health for the Whole Population: Final Report</i> (Norwich: HMSO), 3, 27.	<p>The definition of public health for this review has been drawn very widely; essentially it considers public health to be "the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through the organised efforts and informed choices of society, organisations, public and private, communities and individuals."</p>

26	2007	EC, Expert Group on Social Determinants and Health Inequalities, <i>Health Inequalities Glossary</i> , doc 9.	<p><b>Health</b> A state of complete physical, social and mental well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. Health is a resource for everyday life, not the object of living, and is a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources as well as physical capabilities.</p> <p><b>Health inequalities</b> Differences in health status or in the distribution of health determinants between different population groups. For example, differences in mobility between elderly people and younger populations or differences in mortality rates between people from different social classes. It is important to distinguish between inequality in health and inequity. Some health inequalities are attributable to biological variations or free choice and others are attributable to the external environment and conditions mainly outside the control of the individuals concerned. In the first case it may be impossible or ethically or ideologically unacceptable to change the health determinants and so the health inequalities are unavoidable. In the second, the uneven distribution may be unnecessary and avoidable as well as unjust and unfair, so that the resulting health inequalities also lead to inequity in health.</p> <p><b>Public health</b> The science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting mental and physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts. Public health may be considered as structures and processes by which the health of the population is understood, safeguarded and promoted through the organised efforts of society.</p>
27	2008	Wilhelm Kirch, ed., <i>Encyclopedia of Public Health</i> (New York: Springer).	<p>The “new public health” takes into consideration these health inequalities calling for population-based policies that improve the health of the whole population in an equitable way. The evolution is still ongoing, as shown by the diversity of “public health” definitions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Institute of Medicine in 1988, in its report on “The Future of Medicine”, proposed one of the most influential contemporary definitions: . . . . This definition emphasized the mutually shared obligation we all, as society, have, and reinforced the responsibility that governments and communities should take for health.</li> </ul>

28	2010	David J. Hunter, Linda Marks, and Katherine E. Smith, <i>The Public Health System in England</i> (Bristol: Policy Press, University of Bristol), 19.	<p>In 1920, Winslow defined public health as “the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts”. Almost 70 years later, this early definition was echoed in an official inquiry into the public health function in UK, which described public health as: “the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting health through the organized efforts of society” (Acheson, 1988). This definition has enjoyed wide acclaim both in the UK and internationally. It formed the basis of Wanless’s (2004) definition in his government-commissioned review of the state of public health policy and practice in England. Wanless’s argument was that “the organized efforts of society” should be interpreted in their widest sense, including not only government, public and private sector organizations, and communities, “but also the aggregate efforts of individuals in respect of their and their families’ health status” (Wanless, 2004: 27). Extending Acheson’s original definition, he therefore proposed what he regarded as more appropriate definition in keeping with contemporary thinking and government public policy:</p> <p>The science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through the organized efforts <i>and informed choices</i> of society, <i>organizations, public and private, communities and individuals</i>. (Wanless, 2004: 23; italics indicate new words)</p>
29	2011	Durham University and World Health Organization Europe, <i>Strengthening Public Health Capacity and Services in Europe: A Concept Paper</i> . By Linda Marks, David J. Hunter, and Richard Alderslade.	<p>18. This [Winslow’s] definition was adapted by Acheson in 1988, has been widely accepted, and is proposed for adoption:</p> <p>Public health is the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through the organized efforts of society. (Sir Donald Acheson, 1988)</p> <p>19. This definition has important characteristics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is intentionally generic and does not specify particular societal preoccupations for public health outcomes, which might change over time.</li> <li>• It refers to public health as both a science and an art, essentially and always a combination of knowledge and action. Public health must have an evidence base, but action must be taken on the basis of current knowledge however imperfect or incomplete.</li> <li>• The core purposes of public health are to prevent disease, prolong life and promote health.</li> <li>• Public health is an organized societal function.</li> </ul>
30	2011	WHO, Regional Office for Europe. “Developing the New European Policy for Health—Health 2020.” p. 23.	<p>104. Health governance today follows a conceptualization of health as “well-being beyond the absence of disease”, as defined by the World Health Organization in its Constitution, and it is again at the forefront of how we define governance relationships in 21st-century societies. It heralds a new quality of democratization, linked in particular to equality, transparency, participation and representation.</p>

31	2011	M. Huber et al., "How Should We Define Health?" <i>British Medical Journal</i> 343 (July 30): 235-36.	<p>[235] Most criticism of the WHO definition concerns the absoluteness of the word "complete" in relation to wellbeing. The first problem is that it unintentionally contributes to the medicalisation of society. The requirement for complete health "would leave most of us unhealthy most of the time." It therefore supports the tendencies of the medical technology and drug industries, in association with professional organisations, to redefine diseases, expanding the scope of the healthcare system. New screening technologies detect abnormalities at levels that might never cause illness and pharmaceutical companies produce drugs for "conditions" not previously defined as health problems. Thresholds for intervention tend to be lowered—for example, with blood pressure, [236] lipids, and sugar.</p> <p>The discussion of experts at the Dutch conference, however, led to broad support for moving from the present static formulation towards a more dynamic one based on the resilience or capacity to cope and maintain an restore one's integrity, equilibrium, and sense of wellbeing. The preferred view on health was "the ability to adapt and to self manage."</p>
32	2011	Penka D. Gatseva and Mariana Argirova, "Public Health: The Science of Promoting Health," <i>Journal of Public Health</i> 19 (March): 205-6.	<p>Public health is "the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through the organized efforts and informed choices of society, organizations, public and private, communities and individuals" (Winslow 1920). The United Nations' World Health Organization defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." (WHO 1946). Public health plays an important role in disease prevention efforts in both the developing world and in developed countries through local health systems and through international non-governmental organizations.</p>
33	2012	Roy Grant, "A Bridge between Public Health and Primary Care," <i>American Journal of Public Health</i> 102, suppl 3 (June): S304.	<p>In Winslow's classic 1920 definition, public health is the "science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting physical and mental health and well-being." (Winslow CEA. The untilled fields of public health. <i>Science</i>. 1920;51 (1306):23-33.) Public health efforts enhance the capacity of community and society to maintain and improve personal health. By 1940 the role of public health agencies was clarified to include a minimal set of basic functions: maintaining vital statistics, environmental sanitation (e.g., rodent control, housing inspection), controlling communicable disease (immunization, surveillance), improving maternal and child health (prenatal care, home visiting, school nurses), and health education for personal hygiene and guidance on when to seek medical care.</p> <p>Primary health care—an individual's usual source of care for preventive health services, acute care, chronic disease management, specialist referrals—was generally developed outside the operational sphere of local government public health agencies. The major exception was the public health responsibility to provide indigent care. As primary care systems developed in a free market economic context, a dichotomy emerged with public health functions.</p>
34	2012	American Nurses Association, <i>Nursing: Scope and Standards of Practice</i> , 2nd ed. (Silver Spring, MD: ANA), 1.	<p>Nursing is the protection, promotion, and optimization of health and abilities; prevention of illness and injury; facilitation of healing; alleviation of suffering through the diagnosis and treatment of human response; and advocacy in the care of individuals, families, groups, communities, and populations.</p>

35	2014	Steve Kemper, "C.-E. A. Winslow, Who Launched Public Health at Yale a Century Ago, Still Influential Today," <i>Yale Public Health Magazine</i> .	<p>His definition of public health, written in 1920, helped to shape the discipline and is still, 95 years later, cited as the standard . . .</p> <p>On the first page of "The Evolution and Significance of the Modern Public Health Campaign," Winslow described the discipline of public health as "a field of social activity." He added that the discipline should build upon basic sciences to create "a comprehensive program of community service."</p>
36	2014	Johannes Bircher and Shyama Kuruvilla, "Defining Health by Addressing Individual, Social, and Environmental Determinants: New Opportunities for Health Care and Public Health," <i>Journal of Public Health Policy</i> 35, no. 3 (August): 365.	<p>The preamble of the World Health Organization's (WHO) constitution (1946) represents the best known definition of health - a state of "complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity". The preamble also states that: "The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being"; that "Informed opinion and active cooperation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance"; and that "Governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures".</p> <p>The WHO definition sets out aspirational and universal goals without much guidance on how these goals could be realized. It is not clear, for example, how governments should plan the "adequate health and social measures" to improve population health, and the requirements are likely to vary with each country's context. The translation of this definition to individuals' health also poses challenges. For example, individuals with disabilities or non-communicable and chronic conditions may subjectively feel healthy, even though by this definition they might not be considered as such. <i>Health</i>, defined as a broad goal that could mean different things to different people at different times and in different places, may hamper informed and active cooperation to achieve this goal</p>
37	2016	WHO, "Trade, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Health [website]." ( <a href="http://www.who.int:80/trade/glossary/story076/en">http://www.who.int:80/trade/glossary/story076/en</a> , accessed 2016).	<p><b>Public Health:</b> all organized measures (whether public or private) to prevent disease, promote health and prolong life among the population as a whole. Its activities aim to provide conditions in which people can be healthy and they focus on entire populations, not on individual patients or diseases. Thus, public health is concerned with the total system and not only the eradication of a particular disease. The three main public health functions are to: assess and monitor the health of communities and populations at risk to identify health problems and priorities; formulate public policies designed to solve identified local and national health problems and priorities; and assure that all populations have access to appropriate and cost-effective care, including health promotion and disease prevention services.</p>

38	2016	Bernard J. Turnock, <i>Public Health: What It Is and How It Works</i> , 6th ed. (Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett), 12-13.	<p>[Quoting Hanlon (1950, 20)]</p> <p>There is much to consider in Winslow's definition. The phrases, "science and art," "organized community effort," and "birthright of health and longevity" capture the substance and aims of public health. Winslow's catalog of methods illuminates the scope of the endeavor, embracing public health's initial targeting of infections and environmental risks, as well as current activities related to the organization, financing, and accountability of medical care services. His allusion to the "social machinery to insure everyone a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health" speaks to the relationship between social conditions and health in all societies.</p> <p>A prominent British industrialist, Geoffrey Vickers, provided an interesting addition to this mix more than a half century ago while serving as Secretary of the Medical Research Council. In identifying the forces that set the agenda for public health, Vickers noted, "The landmarks of political, economic, and social history are the moments when some condition passed from the category of the given into the category of the intolerable. I believe that the history of public health might well be written as a record of successive re-delinings of the unacceptable."</p>
39	2017	Daniel Sledge, <i>Health Divided: Public Health and Individual Medicine in the Making of the Modern American</i> (Lawrence: State University Press of Kansas), 10, 84.	<p>[10] C.-E.A. Winslow had challenged the division of health policy into population-based and individual-based realms.</p> <p>[84] "In the past," Winslow wrote in 1920, "a sharp line was drawn between the measures taken by public health authorities to check the spread of epidemic disease and the daily routine of the practitioner in the treatment of the individual case." The first "was public health, the second private medicine." Increasingly, however, it was becoming "harder to draw such a sharp line, more difficult to say where public health should end and private medicine begin."</p>
40	2018	WHO, <i>Essential Public Health Functions, Health Systems, and Health Security: Developing Conceptual Clarity and a WHO Roadmap for Action</i> , 4.	<p>Context of essential public health functions</p> <p>Although there has been a general consensus about the basic conceptual features of public health since Winslow, its practical boundaries in government, the private sector and throughout society have proven much more flexible. In the early 20th century, the functions assigned to public health agencies were basically confined to environmental sanitation, control of communicable diseases and hygiene. Over the course of the century, the field gradually expanded its remit to include areas such as health promotion, control of noncommunicable diseases (NCDs) and access to primary care, which has led to overlap with the health care sector (e.g. nutrition, maternal and child health and screening programmes) and other sectors of government and society (environment, agriculture, education, industry and urban planning, to name just a few).</p>

41	2018	WHO Europe, <i>Facing the Future: Opportunities and Challenges for 21st-Century Public Health in Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals and the Health 2020 Policy Framework</i> , 12	An outcome of equitable improvements in health and well-being 56. At the core of the concept of public health is the human right to health, which governments have a duty and responsibility to pursue under international law. Governments are required to establish the equitable promotion of health and wellbeing as a function of governance for health, and to do this they need to provide functioning public health capacities and services and a functioning health system. 57. In this context, how are public health and its contribution to the equitable improvement of health and well-being to be defined precisely? This paper uses the definition of public health first put forward by Winslow in 1920, adapted by Acheson in 1988, and used in both Health 2020 and EAP-PHS, namely “the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting health through the organized efforts of society”.
42	2021	U.S. Surgeon General, “Changing Conceptions of Public Health,” in Reports of the Surgeon General.	Together, the reports of the past four decades have expanded the very meaning of public health. They show that the definition of public health is not fixed but has changed over time, and changed the practice of medicine, as well, to include areas such as human behavior and mental health. That fact has broad implications for our understanding of health and risk, personal pleasure and social norms, science and moral standards, and individual freedoms and public policy.

註：カギ括弧内の数字は頁数を示している。

### Bibliography

- Acheson, Ernest Donald. 1988a. *Public Health in England: The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Future Development of the Public Health Function*. London: HMSO. Available from GOV.UK, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/independent-inquiry-into-inequalities-in-health-report>.
- . 1988b. “On the State of the Public Health: The Fourth Duncan Lecture.” *Public Health* 102, no. 5 (September): 431-37. Lecture delivered at the University of Liverpool, February 11, 1987.
- . 1998. *Inequalities in Health: Report of an Independent Inquiry*. London: HMSO.
- Allin, Sara, Elias Mossialos, Martin Mckee, Walter Holland. 2005. “The Wanless Report and decision-Making in Public Health.” *Journal of Public Health* 27, no. 2 (July): 133-34.
- Alma-Ata Declaration. 1978. International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma-Ata, USSR, 6-12 September.
- Allmark, Peter. 2005. “Health, Happiness and Health Promotion.” *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 22, no. 1: 1-15.
- American Nurses Association. 2012. *Nursing: Scope and Standards of Practice*. 2nd ed. Silver Spring, MD: ANA.
- Bettcher, Douglas W., Steve Sapirie, and Eric H. T. Goon. 1998. “Essential Public Health Functions: Results of the International Delphi Study.” *World Health Statistics Quarterly* 51, no. 1: 44-54. Available from <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/55726>. Within the World Health Organization (WHO), the development of the first list of essential public health functions (EPHFs) in 1997 was driven in large part by the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the subsequent breakdown of basic population health services in the region.

- Bircher, Johannes, and Shyama Kuruvilla. 2014. "Defining Health by Addressing Individual, Social, and Environmental Determinants: New Opportunities for Health Care and Public Health." *Journal of Public Health Policy* 35, no. 3 (August): 363-86. MGDs (Millennium Development Goals) の目標達成が困難視される中で健康の定義を見直している。現代社会にあつては、健康の増進は極めて複雑な試みであり、さまざまな関係者の協働を促進する社会関係的な視点を織り込んで定義し直す必要があるという。
- Black, Douglas. 1980. *Inequalities in Health*. London: Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS), August.
- Chisholm, B. 1948. "Organization for World Health." *Mental Hygiene* 32: 364-71.
- Culig, Josip. 2016. "Prevention Is a Key Element of Public Mental Health [editorial]." *Psychiatria Danubina* 28, no. 4: 321-22.
- Duffy, John. 1992. *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Durham University and World Health Organization Europe. 2011. *Strengthening Public Health Capacity and Services in Europe: A Concept Paper*. By Linda Marks, David J. Hunter, and Richard Alderslade.
- EC [European Commission], Expert Group on Social Determinants and Health Inequalities. 2007. *Health Inequalities Glossary*, doc 9. May 7, 2007.
- Expert Committee on Public Health Administration, World Health Organization. 1952. *First Report*. World Health Organization Technical Report Series, no. 55. Geneva: WHO, November.
- Freeman, Michael, ed. 2010. *The Ethics of Public Health*, 2 vols. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. The international library of medicine, ethics and law: series editor, Michael D. Freeman.
- Gatseva, Penka D., and Mariana Argirova. 2011. "Public Health: The Science of Promoting Health [editorial]." *Journal of Public Health* 19, no. 3 (March): 205-6.
- Gay, Frederic P. 1921. "Whose Business is the Public Health?" *Science* 54, no. 1391 (August 26): 159-62.
- Gostin, Lawrence O., Scott Burris and Zita Lazzarini. 1999. "The Law and the Public's Health: A Study of Infectious Disease Law in the United States." *Columbia Law Review* 99, no. 1 (January): 59-128.
- . *Public Health Law: Power, Duty, Restraint*. 2008. 2nd ed. University of California Press and Milbank Memorial Fund.
- Grant, Roy. 2012. "A Bridge between Public Health and Primary Care [Editor's Choice]." *American Journal of Public Health* 102, suppl. 3 (June): S304. Available from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/issues/215590/>.
- Hanlon, John Joseph. 1950. *Principles of Public Health Administration*. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby.
- . 1960. *Principles of Public Health Administration*. [2nd ed.] St. Louis: C. V. Mosby. 714 p.
- , and George Eastman Pickett. 1984. *Public Health: Administration and Practice*. 8th ed. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby.
- Hillery, George A., Jr. 1955. "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement." *Rural Sociology* 20, 111-123.
- Hiscock, Ira V. 1947. "Public Health at Yale." *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 19, no. 4 (March): 393-98.
- . 1953. "Changing Concepts in Public Health." *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 26, no. 3 (December): 224-32.
- Huber, Machteld, et al. 2011. "How Should We Define Health?" *British Medical Journal* 343 (July 30): 235-37. WHO 憲章前文にある健康の定義を批判的に考察し、代案を提示する方向で検討を重ねている。
- Hughes, Amy. 1920. "Reminiscences of Florence Nightingale." *Public Health Nurse* 7, no. 5 (May): 371-75.



- Hunter, David J., Linda Marks, and Katherine E. Smith. 2010. *The Public Health System in England*. Bristol: Policy Press, University of Bristol.
- Institute of Medicine. Committee for the Study of the Future of Public Health. 1988. *The Future of Public Health*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press. Available from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK218218/>.
- . 2002. *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- . 2003. *The Future of the Public's Health in the 21st Century*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Jenkin, Patrick. 1980. "Black Report Foreword: Report of the Working Group on Inequalities in Health." *Socialist Health Association*, August 6, 1980. Accessed October 1, 2021, <https://www.sochealth.co.uk/national-health-service/public-health-and-wellbeing/poverty-and-inequality/the-black-report-1980/black-report-foreword/>.
- Kemper, Steve. 2014. "C.-E. A. Winslow, Who Launched Public Health at Yale a Century Ago, Still Influential Today." *Yale Public Health Magazine*, Fall 2014 - Sprint 2015.
- Killoran, Amanda, and Michael P. Kelly, eds. 2010. *Evidence-based Public Health: Effectiveness and Efficiency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kirch, Wilhelm, ed. 2008. *Encyclopedia of Public Health*. New York: Springer.
- Larson, James S. 1996. "The World Health Organization's Definition of Health: Social versus Spiritual Health." *Social Indicators Research* 38, no. 2 (June): 181-192. WHO 憲章前文にある健康の定義を批判的に考察している。
- Lindeman, Eduard C. 1920. "The Relationship of Rural Recreation and the Public Health Nurses." *Modern Medicine* 2, no. 9 (September): 631-33.
- . 1920b. *Recreation and Rural Health*. Teacher's Leaflet, no. 7. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- MacDonald, V. May. 1920. "Mental Health as a Public Health." *Public Health Nurse* 7, no. 5 (May): 390-96.
- Mahler, Halfdan. 1981. "The Meaning of Health for All by the Year 2000." *World Health Forum* 2, no. 1: 5-22.
- Martin-Moreno, Jose M. 2011. "A Systematic Approach to Public Health Operations and Services: Towards Positive Coordination with Health Care and Other Services." Slides for presentation. WHO Europe.
- Meyer, Ernest Christopher. 1920. "Community Medicine and Public Health." *American Journal of Public Health* 10, no. 6 (June): 489-97.
- National League for Nursing. Department of Public Health Nursing. 1957. *Public Health Nursing: Achievements and Goals*. New York: the League.
- Nutbeam D. 1998. *Health Promotion Glossary*. Geneva, World Health Organization.
- Parran, Thomas. 1958. "The First 12 Years of WHO." *Public Health Reports* 73, no. 10 (October): 879-83.
- Pate, James E. 1954. *Local Government and Administration*. New York: American Book Company.
- Pond, M. Allen. 1957. "Foe of the Slum." In "Charles-Edward Amory Winslow: A Memorial." *American Journal of Public Health* 47, no. 2 (February): 158.
- Rosen, George. 1958. *A History of Public Health*. New York: MD Publications, Inc.

- Scheele, Leonard A. 1953. "Public Health Statesmanship." *Public Health Reports* 68, no. 1 (January): 1-11.
- Sledge, Daniel. 2017. *Health Divided: Public Health and Individual Medicine in the Making of the Modern American*. Lawrence: State University Press of Kansas.
- Smillie, Wilson George. 1935. *Public Health Administration in the United States*. New York: Macmillan. 458 p.
- . 1940. *Public Health Administration in the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan. 533 p.
- . 1947. *Public Health Administration in the United States*. 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan. 637 p. [W.G. スマイリー 『アメリカに於ける公衆衛生行政』 曾田長宗, 有本邦太郎, 山口正義, 大磯敏雄共訳. 第一出版株式会社, 1950. 758 p. 昭和25年7月15日発行.]
- Stearns, Peter N. 2012. "The History of Happiness." *Harvard Business Review* 90, nos. 1-2 (January-February): 104-9, 153. Available from <https://hbr.org/2012/01/the-history-of-happiness> (accessed July 15, 2021).
- Stewart, Jill, ed. 2017. *Pioneers in Public Health: Lessons from History*. London: Routledge.
- Terris, Milton. 1987. "Epidemiology and the Public Health Movement." *Journal of Public Health Policy* 8, no. 3 (Autumn): 315-29.
- Tulchinsky, Theodore H., and Elena A. Varavikova. 2009. *The New Public Health*, 2nd ed. With foreword by John Last. Elsevier/Academic Press.
- Tucker, Katharine, ed. 1929. "Activities of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, Inc." *Public Health Nurse* 21 (October): 550-54.
- Turnock, Bernard J. 2016. *Public Health: What It Is and How It Works*. 6th ed. Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett.
- Umberson, Debra, and Jennifer Karas Montez. 2010. "Social Relationships and Health: A Flashpoint for Health Policy." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 51, extra Issue: What Do We Know? Key Findings from 50 Years of Medical Sociology. S54-S66. Available from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i20798309>.
- U.S. Surgeon General. 2021 [?]. "Changing Conceptions of Public Health." In Reports of the Surgeon General. U.S. National Library of Medicine. Accessed August 23, 2021, <https://profiles.nlm.nih.gov/spotlight/nn/feature/conceptn>.
- Vickers, Geoffrey. 1958. "What Sets the Goals of Public Health?" *Lancet* no. 7021 (March 22, 1958): 599-604; *New England Journal of Medicine* 258 (March 20, 1958): 589-96. An address presented at a public-health forum at the School of Public Health, Harvard University, on November 26, 1957.
- Wanless, Derek. 2004. *Securing Good Health for the Whole Population: Final Report*. Norwich: Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO). Available from [http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/consultations\\_and\\_legislation/wanless/consult\\_wanless04\\_final.cfm](http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/consultations_and_legislation/wanless/consult_wanless04_final.cfm).
- Winslow, C.-E.A. 1915. "Organizing a Community for Public Health." *Health News: Monthly Bulletin New York State Department of Health*, n.s., 10, no. 4, full ser. 31, no. 4 (April): 109-11.
- . 1917. *Healthy Living, Book Two: Principles of Personal and Community Hygiene*. New York: C. E. Merrill Co.
- . 1919. "Organizing Medical Service." *Modern Medicine* 1, no. 1 (May): 55.
- . 1920a. "The Untilled Fields of Public Health." *Science* 51, no. 1306 (January 9): 23-33.

- . 1920b. "The Untilled Fields of Public Health." *Modern Medicine* 2, no. 3 (March): 183-91.
- . 1922. "Into What Specialized Fields Will Public-Health Work Be Differentiated in the Future and in What Colleges and Professional Schools Will Men for These Various Fields Be Trained?" in *Transactions of the Conference on the Future of Public Health in the United States and the Education of Sanitarians, Held at Washington, D.C., March 14 and 15, 1922, Under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service*, Public Health Bulletin, no. 126 (Washington, D.C.: GPO), 59-64.
- . 1923. *The Evolution and Significance of the Modern Public Health Campaign*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1926. "Public Health at the Crossroads." Presidential address delivered before the American Public Health Association at the 55th Annual Meeting at Buffalo, New York, October 11, 1926. In *American Journal of Public Health* 16, no. 11 (November 1926): 1080.
- . 1937. "Housing as a Public Health Problem." *American Journal of Public Health* 27, no. 1 (January): 56-61.
- . 1951. *The Cost of Sickness and the Price of Health*. World Health Organization Monograph Series, no. 7. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- . 1953. *The Accreditation of North American Schools of Public Health*. New York: APHA.
- World Health Organization. 1946. *Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization*. The Constitution was adopted by the International Health Conference held in New York from 19 June to 22 July 1946, signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Off. Rec. Wld Hlth Org., 2, 100), and entered into force on 7 April 1948. Amendments adopted by the Twenty-sixth, Twenty-ninth, Thirty-ninth and Fifty-first World Health Assemblies (resolutions WHA26.37, WHA29.38, WHA39.6 and WHA51.23) came into force on 3 February 1977, 20 January 1984, 11 July 1994 and 15 September 2005 respectively and are incorporated in the present text. —WHO, *Basic Document*, 45th edition, Supplement, October 2006.
- . 2016. "Trade, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Health [website]." (<http://www.who.int:80/trade/glossary/story076/en>, accessed 2016). Quoted in WHO 2018, 46.
- . 2018. *Essential Public Health Functions, Health Systems, and Health Security: Developing Conceptual Clarity and a WHO Roadmap for Action*.
- . Regional Office for Europe. 2011. "Developing the New European Policy for Health—Health 2020." First meeting of the European Health Policy Forum for High-Level Government Officials, Andorra la Vella, Andorra, March 9-11, 2011.
- . Regional Office for Europe. 2018. *Facing the Future: Opportunities and Challenges for 21st-Century Public Health in Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals and the Health 2020 Policy Framework* (June).

C.-E. A. Winslow's Definition of Public Health:  
A Literature Review on the Revisions of  
the Definition without Explanation  
(Part 1)

Tsuguyoshi Ueno

**ABSTRACT**

C.-E.A. Winslow's definition of public health, written in 1920, has been cited as standard worldwide, but it has been rarely quoted word by word faithfully. Last year (2020) was the 100th anniversary of this definition. During this period, the definition has undergone minor revisions.

Why has the definition been added or modified? Firstly, since we should have reconsidered the goals and themes of public health in the changing climate of social and economic milieu, it is inevitable to rewrite the definition.

Secondly, Winslow's definition has been modified, added, and deleted without explanation. Researchers in this specialized field should have been aware of these revisions but have not explained why. This literature review collects scholarly articles and textbooks on this case and explores the reason.