

Add Mss 43396i

1

BL01, Add Mss 43396-45750, microfilm,

Add Mss 43396, correspondence with Elizabeth Herbert, 241 folios, 160 pages, Matthew Adam reel 2

incomplete letter, ff2-3, pen

**f2** {archivist: [1848]}

South Cottage

Gt. Malvern

Nov 3

My dearest, I cannot tell you how your hopes & prospects have opened an constant spring of joy in my heart, whenever I think of them. I was not at all sorry either to hear from  $\Sigma$ , that you were an unwilling prisoner for another month in Scotland, as I think a little enforced durance a very good thing to keep you out of mischief & over-exertion, though I know your thoughts are at Wilton with those poor children. Still this is *too* great a blessing to admit of any regrets of any kind to mar it. & you will be the St. Peter's fountain again of joy & peace I once saw those

**f2v**

two fountains in the moonlight  
like a vision in the Revelations.  
there is something so unearthly  
in a Roman moonlight, the scene  
above & the scene below so equally  
unlike this old world, that it  
reminds one of the "new Jerusalem,  
coming down from God out of heaven,  
prepared as a bride adorned  
for her husband". It *is* like a  
"New heaven & a new earth" And  
the spirit, fountains playing, one  
in the moonbeams, & one in the  
shadow of the colonnade. the  
first looked like a bright  
crystal (not hard & impenetrable  
as our earthly crystals, but a  
clear gushing fountain of the  
water of life-the life of Action)  
And the second was like a pure

**[8:652]**

**f3**

pearl, & it hid itself under the deep shadow, & it was, if possible, even more lovely than the other. the life of the Spirit, the retiring contemplative life. ~~wh~~ the Angel of peace & love, while the other was the Angel of joy & glory. St. John was wont to slake his thirst at the one, while S. Paul was drinking deep at the other.

Did you ever see that "cloud of witnesses" crowning the colonnade on either hand, by moonlight - & the light so bright that there seemed no "need of the Sun nor of the moon" to shine in this new city, for there was no night here, but the light seemed to come from the glory of God. & when up those ~~great~~ broad steps, you see the great white temple, you feel almost

**f3v**

as if this were the throne of God.  
& as if it were this, which seemed  
to lighten the whole city, with  
its dazzling front.

[end 8:652]

I had written so far, when your  
dear letter came. A thousand  
thanks for your & Mr. Herbert's  
good news about the happy  
little Scrofulas. & for Mr.  
Davies' satisfactory note -  
I am sure you deserved a  
blessing upon that plan.

I have been thinking a good {the rest of the f has 4 vertical lines drawn  
through it}

deal of your scheme for the  
Infirmary. & I fear you will  
find it a ~~great~~ deal more  
difficult than you expect. I  
think you hardly anticipate  
how much resistance you will  
find within the walls of the

Hospital. It is what I have  
experienced so often. I have

f4 synopsis added by archivist

initialed letter, ff5-7, pen

**f5** {archivist: [1849]}

Lea Hurst  
Matlock  
Sept 4

My dearest,

I hope that Mr. Brace-  
bridge is *much* better from  
Σ's account of him. But I  
trust to find out the same  
with my own eyes before  
very long.

I saw that strange and **[3:244-45]**  
mortified man, with the  
constrained speech, (your Arch  
deacon) under the Amber Gate  
station shed - & heard from  
him that he cd not go to  
you. With his extinguished  
eye & spiritualized mouth -  
his whole ascetic look, he  
{illegible}/stood such a strange contrast

**f5v**

to the mercantile & maternal  
crowd around him, dragging  
& carrying their luggage, live & dead,  
that I stood staring some  
minutes before we spoke.

To me he is the incarnation  
of the Spirit of Duty, as you  
are of the Spirit of Love.  
Well, well, each has its work,  
& each will have its reward -  
& each be made perfect  
with the complement wanting  
to it to make it like Him  
some day.

Papa reproached me with  
my inhospitality in not asking  
him home. I could as soon  
have thought of asking the  
Seventh Vial to dinner.

**f6**

He said he was very well,  
tho' he did not look so.  
Perhaps he calls the highest  
state of mortification health.  
Well, our Lord & St. Paul both  
began their public career with  
the ascetic life. But they  
did not end so. There is  
nothing of the ascetic on the  
cross; nor in the last epistle  
to Timothy.

I am just come home, having  
been to Liverpool with my boy  
after a poor relation there.  
I found a letter from that  
poor Miss French here, giving  
such an account of what ~~that~~  
Miss Sellon is doing in the  
Cholera. She wants clothes more

**f6v**

than any other help, as all  
 the clothes of the Cholera patients  
 are burnt. What a privilege  
 those waste, who run away  
 from Cholera & such like things.  
 I am so glad to hear that the  
 Bishop of Salisbury has done  
 his duty so well. For, (this  
 between ourselves, my dearest  
 in all the dens of disease &  
 disgrace I have been in, the  
 only clergy who deserve the  
 name of *pastors*, are the  
 Roman Catholic. the rest  
 (of all denominations, Church  
 of England, Ch. of Scotland,  
 Dissenters) are only theologians  
 or "tea drinkers." What is the  
 reason?

**f7**

you must want.

[end 3:245]

We have been ten days  
 at Brahan, & 3 weeks at  
 Edinburgh.

This note has been waiting  
 patiently 3 days to be  
 finished - my dearest -  
 which seeing no prospect  
 of, it thinks it best now  
 to go alone without my leave.  
 therefore God bless you & your bab  
 your FN

{f7v, added synopsis by Herbert. }

initialed letter, f8, pen [embossed stationery]

**f8** {archivist:[6 July 1850]} [**8:653**]

Dearest, very dearest

It makes me almost  
too happy to write, when  
I think of your happiness.  
I feel as if I could  
never ask for anything  
more for myself, now  
that you have obtained  
this great blessing. God  
is very good to us, & that  
He may bless you & yours  
is the prayer of your  
ever loving FN

{f9 is blank} {f9v summary, then in FN's hand: } Mrs. Herbert

**f10**, April 14, {arch: 1853} from Mrs. Herbert to FN re a proposed visit.  
Dearest, I have written to Lady C. & here is her answer. I will call for  
you in my Brougham about 12 o'clock D.V. on Saturday next & we will go  
together, yours ever E. Herbert  
April 14.

signed letter, ff11-13, pen

[**14:55-56**]

**f11**

1 Upper Harley St.  
14 October 1854

My dearest

I went to Belgrave Sq.  
this morn, for the chance  
of catching you, or Mr.  
Herbert even, had he  
been in town.

A small private  
expedition of nurses has  
been organized for Scutari -  
& I have been asked  
to command it. I take  
myself out & one nurse.  
Lady Maria Forester  
has given £200 to take  
out three others. We

**f11v**

feed & lodge ourselves there,  
& are to be no expence  
whatever to the country. Lord  
Clarendon has been asked  
by Ld Palmerston to write  
to Ld Stratford for us, &  
has consented. Dr. Andrew  
Smith of the Army Medical  
Board, whom I have  
seen, authorizes us, & gives  
us letters to the Chief  
Medical Officer at Scutari.  
I do not mean to say  
that I believe the Times  
accounts, but I do believe  
that we may be of use  
to the wounded wretches.

Now to business.

(1)

Unless my Ladies' Committee

**f12**

feel that this is a thing  
which appeals to the sym-  
pathies of all, & urge  
me, rather than barely  
consent, I cannot honorably  
break my engagement here.  
And I write to you as  
one of my mistresses.

(2) What does Mr. Herbert  
say to the scheme itself?  
Does he think it will be  
objected to by the authorities?  
Would he give us any  
advice or letters of  
recommendation? And  
are there any stores  
for the Hospital he  
would advise us to take  
out? Dr. Smith says

**f12v**

that nothing is needed.

I enclose a letter from Σ.  
do you think it any use to  
apply to Miss Burdett Coutts?

We start on Tuesday IF  
we go, to catch the Marseilles  
boat of the 21st for Constan-  
tinople, where I leave my  
nurses, thinking the Medical  
Staff at Scutari will be  
more frightened than amused  
at being bombarded by a  
parcel of women, & I cross  
over to Scutari with some  
one from the Embassy to  
present my credentials  
from Dr. Smith, & put  
ourselves at the disposal  
of the Drs.

(3) Would you or some  
one of my Committee write to

**f13**

Ly Stratford to say,  
 "this is not a lady but a  
 real Hospital Nurse", of me.  
 And she has had experience".

My uncle went down this  
 morning to ask my father  
 & mother's consent.

Would there be any use  
 in my applying to the Duke  
 of Newcastle for his authority?

Believe me, dearest  
 in haste

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Perhaps it is better to keep  
 it quite a private thing  
 & not apply to ~~the~~ Govt.  
 qua Govt.

**[end 14:56]**

**ff14-16**, Embley, December 9 1854, typed copy, from Parthe Nightingale to EH  
 re FN's difficulties in the Crimea

**ff17-18**, Saturday, typed copy, Parthe excerpts on reactions in England to  
 events in the Crimea

**f19**, Coolhurst, Horsham, December 19, 1854, copy, from C.S. Dickins to Mrs.  
 Herbert re a letter from the Crimea praising the work FN and the nurses are  
 doing (Charles Scrase Dickens 1830-74, high sheriff, house became St John's  
 College)

signed letter, ff20-22v, pen

**f20** {archivist: [c.28 Dec 1854]} copy 8994/125 **[14:99]**

Dear Mrs. Herbert

In reply to your question as to what Her Majesty can do to testify her sense of the courage ~~of~~ & endurance so abundantly shewn by her sick solders here, - & having seen Col Phipps's letters to Mr. Herbert of Dec 11 & Dec 14 & to Mr. Cumming, - & the bountiful list of gifts, including books, proposed - it only remains for me to suggest that which is at once

**f20v**

exceedingly simple & individually applicable - & also something general and which will come home to the feelings of every one, as well of the Military themselves as of their friends & relatives. The last suggestion which I shall make below will also do honor to the Xtian sympathy of our native land towards those who have fallen.

My suggestions are 1st the Woollen Comforters mentioned in my last, for each man (to be given as

**f21**

he goes up for actual service)

2nd that the Hospital stoppages against the daily pay of the sick soldier should be made equal to the Hospital stoppages against the wounded soldier, provided the sickness be incurred while on duty before the enemy.

My third suggestion is that a Firman should be immediately demanded of the Sultan granting the Military Cemetery at Scutari to the British, & that Her Majesty should send out orders to enclose it by a

**f21v**

stone wall.

There are already, alas!  
about a thousand lying in  
this Cemetery - Nine hundred  
were reported last week - We  
have buried one hundred in  
the last two days - only.

The spot is beautiful, over  
looking the Sea of Marmora -  
& occupies the space between  
the Genl Hospl wall & the  
edge of the sea = cliff.

As to the Hospital stoppages  
the universal rule of the army  
which embraces these Hospitals  
is that the sums deducted  
are - for sick - nine pence  
for wounded { four pence  
                  { halfpenny  
                  per day

the private's pay being one  
shilling per day, ~~increased by~~

**f22**

Consequently the sick man has only three pence a day left for all his expences - If he should happen to be married, he is the worse off, because, the wife being with him, drawing only half rations & lodging in barracks, he has two expenditures instead of one.

Believe me, dear Mrs.

Herbert in haste

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

I wish I had time to tell you all the expressions of thankfulness & tender loyalty which I hear from the soldiers, sick &/or wounded.

**f22v**

when he learns the  
 interest of his Queen  
 upon his behalf & that  
 some of Her thoughts are with  
 him - I will, in my  
 next, tell you some  
 of these touching little  
 speeches, or rather  
 words, for the soldier  
 never makes a speech.  
 {note in another hand at the bottom of the f}  
 These are just come back  
 from Windsor

    Please return them to me  
 What she asks for has  
 been done -

**ff23-24**, Embley, {archivist: [December 1854 - January 1855]}, from Parthe  
 Nightingale re questions that have been raised regarding FN's religious  
 affiliation

signed letter, ff25-25v, pen

**f25**

    Scutari

    26 Feb/55

Dearest Lizzie

    You will understand,  
 from my last letter to Mr.  
 Herbert, that I have  
 asked for six nurses to  
 fill the places of our sick ones  
 (four of them Presbyterians)--  
 also for a Superintendent for  
 Koulalee - as Mary Stanley  
 has announced that Miss  
 Emily Anderson is not  
 competent, & that she  
 herself is going home.  
 We have much sickness  
 among our number, &

**f25v**

the Medical Men have ordered several of our Nuns & Nurses home, as soon as they can be moved: three of the former, & three or four, we do not yet know which number, of the latter - besides one or two of the poor Sellons - one certainly - all of whom are now, alas! in fever.

Ever your affecte  
F Nightingale

**f26**, on above letter, to Liz from Mr. Bracebridge, re some papers to be put before Gladstone; I shall be so much obliged (I believe ...) if you can get the Vaudon's papers before Gladstone. Lord Harrowby asked him to see them--officially first and then to refer to him..... Sir Robt Inglis is in the vicinity is wishing to send them officially first. Florence is really pretty well

initialed letter, ff27-28v, pen

**f27**

Barrack Hospital  
Scutari  
April 2/55

Dearest Lizzie

Many thanks for the seven Nurses, all of whom I think are promising & are already in work here. & Miss Wear, whom I sent on to Koulale by Miss Stanley's [Koulali] order & whom she sent back after a trial of one night. I am now employing her therefore at the Genl Hospl, but not as Supt. All arrived in good health.

**f27v**

I paid Albert Wolf thirty two Pounds. He said you had agreed with him to pay him wages up to his return to England, & £20 journey back. This would have been £35.

viz 5 weeks wages - £15  
Journey . . . . . 20  
£35

I thought this monstrous & compromised the matter, in Dr. Fraser's presence, by giving him £32. viz one month's wages. £12 journey (which is high) 20  
£32

& told him, if I had cheated him, to go to you which he dares not.

**f28**

You have heard of poor Miss Smythe's death at Koulale.

Having had no letter from Ld Panmure, I have written to day to the W. Office to resign Koulale. Miss Stanley starts today, & the twenty-five for Koulale are not arrived. Of course I do not want my eighteen nurses now - ~~he~~ (which were destined for all the Hospitals) having received your eight for Scutari - & Koulale

**f28v**

being about to receive  
twenty-five - which  
will raise their number  
to forty.

Mr. Bracebridge is  
come back from Lingrove  
which fortunately wou  
spare none - otherwise  
we should have been  
swamped, as our  
quarters here are  
still far below our  
needs & we are far  
too much overcrowded  
for health.

Ever yours  
F. N.

{f29 summary}

initialed letter, ff30-31v, pen

**f30** {written in different hand at top left, *Private*}

Bk Hospl Scutari

April 16/55

*Private*

Dearest I am so sorry  
to be obliged to tell you  
that Thompson &  
Anderson, two of the  
Presbyterian Nurses  
from Edinburgh, went  
out drinking with an  
Orderly on Saturday  
night. Anderson was  
brought back dead  
drunk. But Thompson  
I believe to be the  
most hardened offender.  
This was such a catastrophe  
that there was nothing  
to be done but to pack

**f30v**

them off to England  
*directly* - & accordingly  
they sail this morning.  
by the Gottenburg.  
It is a great disappoint-  
ment, as they were  
hardworking good-  
natured women. I  
sent them to the  
Genl Hospl, & alas!  
I find that, under  
any ~~watchful~~ guar-  
dianship less watchful  
than mine, I can  
hardly depend on  
any Nurse. Yet no  
one else is of any use.  
Only one week's

**f31**

wages was due to them,  
which I have not  
given them, of course,  
as by rights they  
ought not to have  
a free passage home.  
There were *no*  
extenuating circumstances.  
Should they come to  
you to have their  
fares paid down to  
Edinbro', you will  
perhaps extend that  
as a matter of mercy,  
but pray do no more.  
They were engaged on  
March 9. You paid  
them ~~till~~ the first Month.  
I discharge them on April 16.

**f31v**

I think the other five promise well. I like Sinclair particularly. Miss Wear is gone to Balaklava, Miss Stanley rejected her at Koulale. I fear she is too eccentric to be of real use.

Will you tell Mr. Herbert that Milton has with-drawn his paper, requiring me to sell the free gifts, with an apology, compelled, I believe, by Ld W. Paulet - & that since Mr. Herbert's letter, to him, he has been much less red:tapy. Ever yours F. N.

{f32 summary}

initialed letter, ff33-34, pen

**f33**

Scutari

April 22/55

Dearest I am truly sorry to bother you about such a matter. But *Mrs. Nurse Thompson's* conduct was so shameless that I think it is but due to public morality that Miss Lockhart, Miss Hope & Lady Gainsboro should know that they have been deceived in her. I understand now that she had been drunk on the passage out. You know that she had not been

**f33v**

here three weeks before the offence occurred for which they were sent home. But the worst is to come. The woman actually escaped from the vessel before she sailed & went ashore at Constantinople & came back drunk. Mr. Bracebridge having gone on board at the last moment with sheets & blankets for them found this out.

The other, poor Anderson, I do think, was misled. She did nothing but cry at going away.

I would gladly save you the trouble of letting Miss

**f34**

Hope, Miss Lockhart & Lady Gainsborough know, if I could.

Our wash-house here has not yet begun!!! It was only finished yesterday. Soyer is getting on. I have staid on here to help on these two things, the cooking and washing. I shall now go up to Balaklava this week with some more nurses, where, if we have any real fighting or an assault, the wounded will be kept. Hitherto there have been but thirty-one wounded at Balaklava. Ever yours  
F.N.

initialed letter, ff35-38, pen

**f35** Scutari  
July 11/55

Dearest Lizzy

Mrs. Noble, who has just left us, I am sorry to say, with broken health, & advised to return home (from the West-Minster Hospl she came) deserves, if any one ever did, a year's salary from the War Office. I told her that I would recommend her to you for this. 1st because she has been one of our best, kindest, most proper, most skilful

**f35v**

Surgical Nurses in the two Hospitals of Balaclava successively. 2nd because she has contracted a complaint from which I fear her perfect recovery is doubtful. I have a real attachment for her. Of all Miss Stanley's party she, Mrs. Shaw Stewart! & Mrs. Robbins (from Birmingham) have turned out the best.

Robertson, the new Purveyor, works wonderfully. It is awful to think what, had he come sooner, & Wreford been displaced sooner, might

**f36**

have been spared -  
He has furnished & stored  
the Hospital with  
every possible needful.  
But, till Lord Wm Paulet,  
the Commandant, &  
Cumming, the Insr. Genl  
are removed, I am not  
afraid of saying that  
no attempt ~~at~~ even  
at a real system  
which will prevent  
a recurrence of our  
calamitous winter,  
should the press of  
sick recur, will be  
made. I do not fear  
saying this, now; you  
are out of office. The  
D. of Newcastle is here, to

**f36v**

whom I have told pretty  
nearly the whole truth.  
Had the broad sketch of  
your Government been  
carried out by the officials  
here, all would have been  
well. But it was not.  
Could we have had Genl  
Jones, vice Ld W. Paulet, as  
Commandant, Dr. Sutherland  
as Medical chief, vice  
Cumming, & Robertson as  
Purveyor then vice, Wreford, nothing  
of what has happened would  
have happened. But there  
is hardly a man here  
excepting Robertson, who is  
not diametrically opposed  
in feeling & action to the  
feeling & action of the Govt,  
the Houses of Parlt, the Queen  
& the country. They are hopeless.  
Now, the great diminution of  
numbers, the magnificent  
profusion of material, a very

**f37**

-2-

active & efficient Purveyor  
make things march & we  
look well. But there is not  
the shadow of real improve-  
ment in system. All are  
just as much wedded to  
everything that was done  
in the Peninsular War as  
ever. But the sinner of  
all was Wreford. & he being  
absent, things *look* better.  
If I could outlive Cumming  
& Ld W. here, I might live  
to see what my soul longs  
for & really I think we  
deserve this. Now I will  
say what I would not,  
except under this pressure,  
& what I would not, if  
you were in Office have said - what  
I will never say to anyone  
else. We pulled ~~through~~  
this Hospital through for 4 months.  
& without us, it would  
have come to a stand-still.

**f37v**

That time may & very likely will come again next winter, should there be another press of sick, anything like the last, should there be a less active Purveyor or should he be thwarted in his endeavours, which I know has been already so much the case that he has threatened to resign.

Since I wrote this, Lord W. Paulet has told me that he will very likely be ordered up to the front. God grant his successor may do something for us.

ever yours FN

**f38**

The direction of Mrs. Noble, should you give her a year's salary, as you proposed for those with broken health, is

Mary Noble  
at Mr. Flexon's  
15 Buckstone St  
Mile End  
Newtown

Will you thank Mr. Herbert very much for a most kind letter which I received from him at Balaclava? It was truly kind. I hope he is recovering.

{f39 is blank} {f39v summary}

signed letter, ff40-45v, pen

**f40**

Castle Hospital

Balaclava

Nov 17/55

My dearest Lizzie

Many thanks for the £1000 information from Wellington, N. Zealand. It is a magnificent tribute from our Colonies - & comes to cheer one's spirits with its kindness, after all the dirt one has to wade thro' here - & the wreck of characters this Crimean war has made.

Now I am going to do a little "dirty work" myself,

It did very much for our peculiar work the having, as our friends, the great men - Lord Raglan, Gen. Estcourt, & the departure of Sir Richard Airey

**ff40v**

have been great losses to *our* cause.

The man who was born Lord Fitzroy Somerset would naturally not be above interesting himself in Hospital matters & a parcel of women - while the man who was born James Simpson would essentially think it *infra dig*. Again, a word from the Quarter Master General was quite enough to expedite the Extra Diet kitchen, the draining, flushing, reading=huts for Convalescents &c &c

Dr. Hall does not think it beneath him to broil me slowly upon the fires of my own Extra Diet kitchen - & to give out that we are private

**f41**

adventurers & to be treated as such.

Remember, please, that this is quite private, that I do not wish to complain of Dr. Hall, who is an able & efficient officer in some ways - & that I think he has been justly provoked by Mr. Bracebridge's "Lecture" in the "Times" about English Medical treatment - with which I utterly dissent both as to its truth, & as to the propriety of saying it, were it true. The French physicians utterly disown it.

I believe that Dr. Hall is going to India. So that what I say now I say quite generally - & only give a particular instance to shew what I mean.

It is this -

**f41v**

In April, I undertook this Hospital - & from that time to this we have cooked *all* the Extra Diets for 500-600 Patients & the *whole* Diets for all the wounded Officers by ourselves in a shed - & till I came up this time, (tho' I sent up a French man=cook, to whom I give £100 pr ann., in July,) I could not get an Extra Diet kitchen built promised me in May, till I came to do it myself viz in October. During the whole of this time, every egg, every bit of butter, jelly, ale & Eau de Cologne which the sick officers have had have been provided out of Mrs. Shaw Stewart's or my private pockets. On Nov 4, I opened My Extra Diet kitchen. but, for 24 hours, I would not bake the Officers' toast in this kitchen,

**f42**

-3-1

because it disconcerted the Extra Diets for 550 Patients. In those 24 hours, the Officers made a complaint to Head Quarters of our "ill-treatment" - in re toast. And Dr. Hall, with the P.M.O. of Balaclava, came down in their wrath & reprimanded the - Cook's Orderly! Whereupon Mrs. Shaw Stewart wrote Dr. Hall a civil formal letter, "requesting that his orders & reprimands might be given to *her*," in order that the business might be properly done. Dr. Hall then published to his inferior Officers that the ladies at the Castle Hospital meant to throw off all subordination to the Medical Officers - & that ~~that~~/this

**f42v**

was the reason he had ~~(illeg)~~/brought the Nuns to the General Hospital, Balaclava\* He also wrote to Mrs. Stewart that it was his ~~business~~ duty to care for the Officers as well as for the men - his paternal care having begun for their toast & then on Nov 7, while he had never enquired how they had been provided for ~~ever~~ at all since April 25. So that they have perhaps profited more by Mrs. Stewart's & my maternal care than by Dr. Hall's paternal one, which never could be persuaded to issue eggs - or any other comfort, till the Purveyor-in-Chief came up himself.

These things are nothing excepting in as much as they thwart the work.

\*He has since announced this officially. FN 26/2/56

**f43**

And, if Mr. Herbert saw no impropriety in it, - whose judgment will be far better in this matter than mine, - a private letter from some high authority to the Commander-in-Chief or Chief of the Staff to the effect that this work is not a silly display of feminine sensibilities but an authorized set of tools - provided to the hand of the Medical Officers to supply extra diets, cleanliness, clean linen & Hospital comforts to the Patients - might greatly further these objects - by enabling us to obtain the "de quoi."

If Mr. Herbert thinks it better not, I am content to work in sotto mano, building my Extra Diet kitchens &c myself. PLEASE don't say anything about our having provided these things at private expence -

**f43v**

The Irish Catholic rebellion & establishment of the thirteen Irish nuns on an independent footing at Balaclava is what I have been expecting all along. & only wonder it did not take place before. It is the old story. Ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth, the chafing against secular supremacy, especially English, on the part of the R. Catholic Irish. I am very sorry for it. For I think it is fraught with mischief. For these Irish nuns are dead against us - I mean England - the way their priests talk is odious. The proportion of R. Catholics & of Irish has increased inconceivably in the army since the late Recruits. Had we more

**f44**

-3-

nuns, it would be very desirable, to diminish disaffection. But *just not* the Irish ones. The wisest thing the W. Office could now do would be to send out a few more of the Bermondsey Nuns\* to join those already at Scutari & counterbalance the influence of the *Irish illeg/ones*, who hate their soberer sisters with the mortal hatred which, I believe, only Nuns & Household Servants CAN feel towards each other.

It reminds me of the Butler who said "I am sure, my Lady, you must have observed, your Ladyship, that for six months I have not repeated after your Ladyship the "Forgive us our  
\*This has been done. FN 21/2/56

**f44v**

trespasses &c" in the Lord's Prayer because I could not forgive Mrs. Baker ( the Housekeeper) nor will I, my Lady, & by the same token it is now six months since I have spoken to her in the Housekeeper's Room."

Dearest Lizzie, do not trouble yourself in this matter. if you think it better not. You don't suppose the impertinence of vulgar officials troubles us much - we get the things done all the same, only a little more slowly. When we have the support at Head Quarters, matters advance faster, that is all - During six months,

**f45**

the Castle Hospital, always the *principal* & now the *only* general Hospital in the Crimea, which has always had more than double the number of Patients of any other Crimean Hospital, has had scarcely any thing done for it in the way of all the Engineering necessities of a Hospital. This is the statement of its own P.M.O. But, you know, it would ruin him to say so.

The real grievance against us is that we are independent of promotion. & therefore of the displeasure of our Chiefs - that we have no prospects to inquire - & that, altho' subordinate to ~~them~~/these Medical Chiefs in office, we are superior to them in ~~title~~/influence & in the chance of being heard at home. It is an anomalous position. But so

**f45v**

is war to us English, anomalous

God bless you -

Thank you

ever yours

F. Nightingale

unsigned letter, ff46-47, pen  
**f46**

-8-

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Jan 19/56

My dearest This is a mere  
letter of business to tell you  
what I have received & what  
not.

saddle - received & handed over  
£3.5.0 [.6?] immediately to Ly A. Blackwd.  
& now to Mrs. Sabin

Chests of received & kept here - not  
Drawers

£3.12.6 being good eno' for Presents very welcome

Soda Water I presume ~~the same as~~ those  
Machines we had before you went

£4.2.6

Games received, & distributed imme-  
Cricket &c diately between Coffee-House &  
£5.8.0 Convalescent Huts

Mangle received & very useful

Wringing received & cannot be used

Machine appears not complete -

£14.0.6 [.0?] visited by Washer-Man  
who says it is useless.

Copying received. I cannot use it; it  
Press necessitates writing on a  
£1.17.0 peculiar paper - only gives me  
a copy for myself - whereas what  
I want most is a copy for *others*.  
& is more trouble to me than actual copying.

**f46v**

2. I do not quite know what these were.

Books, & Prints  
£1.9.0

**A**

These, as I have already said, have never arrived. & we are literally barefoot. No bill of Lading or Invoice was given to Mr. Sabin - none sent to me.

Shoes & Boots  
for Nurses  
£13.0.0

**B**

I therefore could give no description as to whether they came in Case or Bale - And the Authorities give me no hopes { Two "Sardinian"s have been & gone.

The Stockings came in Lady Canning's boxes & are all right No bill came with the Threads & Tapes nor any means of identifying whether they are all right.

Stockings  
£3.4.0  
Threads &  
Tapes  
£15.10.0

**C**

But, as there is nothing like £10 worth ~~stationary~~/stationery, I suspect some of each is gone astray. I know one box Stationery for me (from Stocken's) is gone astray to Crimea. Was that part of your purchase? By far the larger portion

Stationery  
£10  
**D**

**f47**

of the Threads & Tapes came in a box of Lady Canning's. Were these Miss Morton's or mine? As there was no *Bill*, I was obliged to take Miss Morton's, myself, as I did not know what cost £10. & therefore could not charge *her*.

Cheese      The Cheese was much admired.  
£3.0.6 This & some Caps were the only things actually delivered to me by Mr. Sabin.

Gelatine      The 50 lbs Gelatine were only £7.16.0 [7.10?.0?] 22 ½ lbs - I do not know at which end the deficiency arises. Nor should I have known it was to be 50 lbs till your own account arrived.

Will you repeat, as I have done, till you are hoarse, "without *Bill of Lading* and *Invoice* and *List of Contents* (*inside* the box) being sent to me, I had, rather go without the thing, as I probably shall, whether I will or no - for, in all,

**f47v**

probability, half or the whole will go to Archangel."

If you could tell me how the Threads & Tapes were packed & the Stationery, I might ~~re~~ verify them - (& from whom they were bought - whether from Stocken, or whom). As I have neither £10 worth Stationery, nor £15.10.0 worth Threads & Tapes, nor £7.10.0 gelatine.

Is it not provoking to waste all this time & trouble?

Please send me all the information & all the Bills you can In the absence of these, I have taken the whole of Miss Morton's purchases, as I could not put upon her the uncertainty as to what cost what.

ff48-49, Lea Hurst, Matlock, April 13, 1856, copy, from Parthe Nightingale to Mrs. Herbert re FN's return to England

ff50-52, August, 1856, typed copy of letter of Parthe N to EH, re letters, requests and tokens received by FN and her reaction to her experiences in the Crimea

f53, Wilton House, Salisbury, December 19, 1857, from Mrs. Herbert, re a battle being fought by Sidney Herbert; A 1000 grateful thanks Sidney is gone in to the Infirmary to fight the Battle (armed with yr Instructions) this mornng. God bless you & enable you to rest, yours with our whole hearts

initialed letter, ff54-56v, pen  
**f54**

[8:657-58]

Gt. Malvern

Jan 7/58

{[Miss Nightingale] written in different hand}

My very dear soul

I do beg & hope  
that you will not  
trouble your dear  
self in scampering  
after lodgings for  
me.

I supposed that  
you would have to go  
to London for this

**f54v**

very vulgar marriage,  
poor little thing!--  
And I do hope ~~that~~/and  
beg, on the knees of  
my heart, that you  
will not increase  
the fatigue by house-  
hunting for me.

It would make  
me quite miserable.  
And I assure you  
that you are very

**f55**

much out of health.

Farther, I assure  
you that my Uncle  
& Aunt are going  
to town on Monday  
for some business,  
which common minds  
cannot understand,  
& which always begins  
3 weeks before Parlt.  
And they will look  
out -

**f55v**

I was very sorry to  
hear that Mr. Herbert  
had tic in his face.  
It is a "confounded"  
complaint. And I am  
afraid the Inspections  
this cold weather will  
be a kill or cure  
kind of remedy.

However, they are  
better than close rooms.

I have heard a  
very bad account  
from poor Anne Dunsany

**f56**

In re Ventilation, I hope Mr. Herbert will stick to his beam- the best thing ever invented. Capt. Galton is at his old Scientific tricks again.

Now, please, my dearest, do remember what I have said. It really would bring me out of my grave, were I in it, to see

**f56v**

you looking for lodgings for me - I shall never forget all your kindness to me this last year in Burlington St. &, more than that, all you did for me in Harley St - I always consider you & Mr. Herbert are the authors of all the little good I have done in life. Believe me ever yours gratefully.

FN

The "Report" is well "on" for next week.

initialed letter, ff57-58, pen

**f57**

Feb 11/58

My dearest

I do hope that  
Mr. Herbert *will* not  
go out today, even  
if he *can*, which  
I am afraid is  
more than doubtful.

I doubt the  
possibility of getting  
"you" into the next  
Quarter's Reviews.  
"You" must be in the  
summer Nos instead.

**f57v**

But I have not  
lost an hour in  
trying what you wrote  
last night.

*Kingsley* is the man  
for the "*North British*"  
or for "*Fraser*," which  
is more read. I  
incline to asking  
*Kingsley*, ("muscular  
Xtianity," as he is  
called) for "*Fraser*,"  
& *John Hall [Hill?] Burton*  
for the "*North British*."  
*Vaughan*, the editor

**f58**

of the "British Quarterly",  
(an orthodox dissenting  
Review much read  
at Manchester)  
would press the  
subject. And *Ritson*,  
a Canon of Manchester,  
if he could be got  
to write in a Dissenter,  
would be the man  
to do it or Southwood Smith,  
who would not do for the "Westminster".

All these men  
could be had. Mr.  
Kingsley through Mr.  
Clough, & the others

**f58v**

in various ways.

But I would not  
let them be asked  
without Mr. Herbert's  
approbation.

If he gives it,  
the sooner done, the  
better. And, if you  
could send me 6  
Copies of the Report,  
which I cannot yet  
get at the proper  
place, they might  
be sent directly  
in order not to lose time.

Ever yours

F.N.

typed copy of an incomplete letter, f59 [8:659]

**f59**

Copy letter

*Florence Nightingale to Mrs. Sidney Herbert.*

30, Old Burlington Street.

Ascension Day, 1858. {archivist: [13 May]}

Dearest,

I must thank you my own self for your grapes, as I would not trouble Mr. Herbert with carrying them (my thanks to you - "Revd. Mother" (of Bermondsey) whose name you will remember has been and is dangerously ill. She has had all her food from here, and your grapes have almost kept both her and me.

I shall not be sorry if she dies - she is too good for her "place" - a woman in whom is no one earthly failing that I ever could discover.

{archivist, in the margin beside the next two lines, this is struck out by some one other than F. N.}

The high authorities of her own church never could see the difference between

{archivist: N. B. The continuation of this letter is torn off. Illeg}

ff60-60v, Wilton House, Salisbury, January 16, 1859, from Mrs. Herbert re the state of the Hospital at Aldershot and a private initiative to send nurses to Bombay. Dearest, I think you may illeg to read this part of Lady Canning's letter about the Hospitals & Nurses at Allahabad. At the same time she is, I believe, in a fool's Paradise as to the sate of things wh I fear is as bad as bad can be.

I had a letter the other day asking for nurses to go to the Bombay Hospitals, it is a private speculation, not a govt one, undertaken in consequence of the shameless immorality of the present race of nurses out there. ever yours E.H. I am charmed with yr new big Book.

**ff61-62v**, April 17, 1859, printed Wilton House Salisbury EH letter to FN re conditions at Hong Kong, and a forthcoming election. Wilton House Salisbury [printed] My dearest, This is the answer Genl Peel has sent me (to my Hong Kong remonstrance which Sidney thinks you may likewise wish to see.)

The worst of its that the unhappy chaplain has got himself into trouble by remonstrating on behalf of his men & Gleig told me privately he had been removed from a better Station in consequence. Herbert Meade said "the troops died like flies for want of quinine and wine at Hong Kong, tho' there were hogheads of both there which Straubensee wouldn't allow to be issued" & that it was "the talk of the whole fleet", how long is this to go on?

I have sent the "Female Tom Paine" her Pamphlet. But my dear I aint bigotted at all & if I were (in the clinical Sense I mean) an Election would illeg me . Those geese, the Salisbury clergy, are all now canvassing for a man who has announced himself there as "a Conservative High Church Man." & *who stood last year* as a NON-CONFORMIST RADICAL & proposed Sir James Duke AS SUCH! They are such owls!

They have the audacity to tell *me* "how glad they are there is to be no

county contest, as they *couldn't* have voted for my husband this time, after his article had appeared in the "Westminster Review."

"What bad Company we do keep to be sure"! said a droll little Tanner here last week "Why Herbert was a Papist last time & an Atheist this! I wonder how we manage to live with such a neighbour!" ever & ever yours E.H.

signed letter, ff63-64, pen

**f63** {[Miss Nightingale] and [on Sidney's going back to the war office] written in different hand} **[8:660]**

Highgate

June 15/59

Dearest/ I hardly can  
congratulate you.

But you know what

I think about it.

I don't expect even  
him to turn asses into  
wise men or lions  
into Unas. I am  
afraid he has  
inefficient servants  
a disorganized  
Department & a silly

**f63v**

C. in Chief, to deal  
with -

But for all that  
(& all the more because  
of all that,) it is  
a great national  
benefit his undertaking  
it. And ~~illeg~~/certainly  
he is the only man  
who could do it.  
The more difficulty,  
the more necessity  
& the greater the  
duty -- if there is the  
power, of which  
there can be no doubt

**f64**

in this case - I don't  
believe there exists  
a more un-organized  
office than the War  
Office.

I hope you observed  
that while the last  
debate was nothing  
but a vilifying of  
every statesman by  
every other, like so  
many dirty boys -  
no one even made  
the attempt or had  
anything to say  
against Mr. Herbert.  
This is a great public  
acknowledgment.

**f64v**

I have had a message  
 on my conscience for  
 a great many days  
 from Louisa Ashburton  
 to you, tho' why she  
 charged me with it.  
 I can't conceive-which  
 can be best rendered  
 in English that she  
 is very much obliged  
 to you for making her  
 marriage. They are to  
 be at Paris on the 18th -  
 in town for a few days  
 only in July, then down  
 to the Grange with Mrs.  
 S. Mackenzie. ever yours  
 F. Nightingale

ff65-66, 49. Belgrave Square printed, June 16, 1859 from Mrs. Herbert re Sidney Herbert and the War Office. Dearest, Thank you from my heart for your dear note. I know you are glad! if he would but go to the Lords I should be glad too.

As it is, I cannot but recollect his words: "Every day that I keep the War Office with the House of Commons is *one day taken off my life.*" He entirely concurs in your suggestion of this mornng & I am copying yr Circular note for the 4 Pandits.

See how Palmerstonian I've become, that I even make my *P's* like him!  
 Yrs more than ever E.H.

He is at what you call hose "Confounded Politics" at Cambridge House but has begged me to forward the enclosed to you & to ask if you know anything of this man?

**ff67-68**, printed 49 Belgrave Square. August 3, 1859, EH letter to FN re some papers from SH. Dearest Flo, This is the last Evidence but Sid says I sent you *double* copies of the rest & he wants them back, if you can lay yr hand on them so that he might keep one entire set himself.

I am so glad you have got Dufferin Lodge. Do you know I wrote to Constantinople for it to Lady Dufferin, not knowing you could get it without & now I feel as if I had committed an act of impertinent interference. But you will forgive it.

I wonder whether you will give Sidney a bed there some Saturday & Sunday? It saves his life getting out of town to sleep & I am always intriguing to bring it about. yrs ever E.H.  
 Sidy begs me to add that you must consider the Evidence "*Confidential*" for the present.

**ff69-71**, printed 49 Belgrave Square August 8, 1859, EH to FN letter for India House to be sent with forms, asks her to persuade war minister to let a Mrs. Edwards nurse the Garrison hosp at Portsmouth Hospital with another

lady, Sidy afraid she is too high church. Dearest. Here is the letter for the India House to be sent with the forms. Now I've got a job of my own wh can't be done without you. I won't bother you with details. But I want you to persuade the War Minister to let a certain Mrs Edwards go & nurse the Garrison Hospital at Portsmouth with another Lady. Sidy is afraid she is too High Church. I don't think so, because I have had a long talk with her & she objected strongly to the folly of Ml Richard's sisters, who would all come to her "with their pet Priests" & she added "I want them not to pray, but to *work* more & the end of all those pet Priest sis that they go over to Rome & drag their Sisters along with them." I enclose a letter from Dr Bowen the present (working) head of the Medical Dept at the Hospital. (He is a High Church man & uses the word Catholic *not* as Meaning *Roman* Catholic.)

The War Minister wishes to try the experiment but it is nervous. Please strengthen his hands in this matter. If you know Mrs Edwards you will be on m side. She is the "Sister Lydia" of the Bethnal Green Sisters.

*If you approve* the War Minister will do it & if you were to tell Mrs Edwards (if you don't know her) I think you'd approve! yrs ever E.H.

**ff72-73**, August 13, 1859, EH to FN re a meeting of FN with SH and copying for Mrs. H. to do for the members of the Indian Commission. Dearest, Sidney is coming to you today to talk about "Regulations" at a *quarter before four* o'clock. He worked at these all last night. Can you tell me the names of Sidney's *India Commission*?

He has given me a circular letter to copy for each of them & I don't know *who they are*. I send back the Regulations for you to see Sidney's note upon them. He has his Council at the War Office at 11, House of commons & Elcho at 12 (it was counted out last night so he went down for nothing) & Cabinet t 2. ? Other engagements at illeg quarter of an hour after  $\frac{1}{2}$  2, yrs ever E.H.

**ff74-74v**, August 17, 1859, EH to FN re some papers sent for FN's inspection and asking for the names of some Governors of the new General Hospital. Dearest, I hope you are better today, please God. I send you the Brouillon of Sidney's letter to the Duke which I copied for him & SENT with the Regulations that you may see no time is being lost. Please read it now & send it by the Messenger to Sid at the W.O. as he must have the said Brouillon docketed & kept in the W.O. Archive. yrs ever E.H. Sidney says "can Miss N give me the names of some governors for our new General Hospital?"

**ff75-76v**, August 19, 1859 to SH from Lord Rokeby re some suggestions made about Barracks.

**ff77**, printed 49. Belgrave Square, September 16, 1859, from Mrs. H. announcing their return to Belgrave Square and asking to dine with FN on Sunday, Cid's birthday. *The Cid's birthday* Dearest, we are re-established here, thanks to the Chinese Tidings. May we dine with you on Sunday? yrs ever lovingly E.H.

**ff78-79**, October 29, embossed {archivist:[1859]}, re the Herbert's plans. Dearest, I gave your letter to your "Sovereign". It's luck the real one did not illeg cover! We can't come to you tomorrow alas! as we're going home. When we left our guests (of course when the Windsor summons came we had a housefull!) But we shall be back next week D.V. *for good*.

they have asked after you & even grieved to hear you were not better.

The illeg are here & the "Royal Boy" the former very glowing as to foreign policy and no wonder. All is not yet over with poor Lady Granville. But there is no hope. yrs ever E.H.

**ff80-80v**, from Mrs. H. to Miss Carter re a little boy talking. I wrote this down thinking it would amuse dearest Flo, & now the End has made me too sad to go on. I don't know where Reggy even heard of what she has done, as I have never talked to him about her, only to the elder ones. but I wish you could have heard him talking of her to his baby brother- it was such genuine admiration! He chattered all the way home & had remarked *everything*.

I forgot to say yesterday, I had had such a kind little note from Mr Cross but he charges a guinea an hour & I think that is too much for McL a very little boy till he knows a little more. So I must write & tell him so. ever yrs E.H.

**ff81-82v**, November 11, 1859, printed 49 Belgrave Square the report of the conversation of boy f80 **[8:661]**

**ff83-84v**, November 16, 1859, EH to FN re the inadvisability of FN's returning to London, choking atmosphere, Sidney in despair at hearing from Selina yesterday she giving up Hampstead House, we go to Windsor today. Dearest, Sidney was just in despair at hearing from Selina yesterday that you contemplated giving up yr Hampstead house next week. To return into this choking atmosphere during these fogs is certainly most unwise, but in additions, Sidney added "I am very sorry, speaking selfishly, for I shall thus lose y only chance of a ride out into the country once a week which has hitherto done me so much good 7 given me an object for my ride." Selina said "If you will say this to Flo I think it may influence her decision, as it is mainly for your sake that she wants to come to town."

So now you know the truth, dearest. Sidney was afraid of saying so, fearing you might then stay on at Hampstead longer than you liked, but surely anything is better than the Burlington now? & you have such a nice house! ever & ever your E.H. We go to Windsor today

**ff85-86**, Amington Hall, Tamworth, November 21, 1859, from Mrs. H. explaining why she cannot come to FN (Amington Hall owned by A'Courts') Dearest, I am summoned here by telegraph to my dear father who is more than usually unwell, so that I cannot come to you as I had hoped to do today or tomorrow. My stay will depend upon how he is. I have left with Sidney the only sister who understands what work is & she will work for him till I return. ever dearest yours, E.H.

the Cid wasn't satisfied with your looks yesterday. I fear you made an extra effort to see him wh was not good for you. Lady Granville is actually

arrived! & except form being rather pale, no one would guess she had been labouring for a month on the border of the unseen land.

typed copy of signed letter, f87 [8:661]

**f87**

Copy letter from F. N. to Mrs. Sidney Herbert  
March 20/60

Dearest

Hilary Carter told me of what you said about the mens' desire to pray for me - and I believe the Chaplain General has been here about the same thing.

Now I had rather have the mens' prayers than a vote of thanks from the House of Commons - And I think there can be no more precious acknowledgement of service done for them - But I should not like a W O Circular to order them to do it. And then you must also have a WO ~~Circular~~ Almighty GOD to tell him to listen. And you must kill a Queen's messenger to take it.

Altogether I think the men had better be left to pray willingly, please - And I know they do it in some regiments.

This is my feeling about the matter - not because I do not value the prayers of the men but because I value them so much.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

typed copy of signed letter, f88  
**f88**

Copy Letter  
*From Florence Nightingale to Mrs. Sidney Herbert*  
November 25th, '60

Dearest,

I am very sorry not to see Mr. Herbert - more sorry for your anxiety.

I merely send to-day the work he gave us to do, asking you to put in a word for the Hospital for Soldiers' Wives when you can - You can hardly exaggerate the necessity - if you had seen what I have seen in this matter!

2. The question I enclose about Major Gordon, R.E., now in England, it is very desirable to have answered immediately.
3. The Wellington Barrack Day-Rooms are open. It is more necessary than I mean to trouble you with reasons for, that Mr. Herbert, the D. of Cambridge, and Lord Rokeby should walk across the Park some day, and open them formally and in person.

Ever yours,  
(signed) "F.N."

initialed letter, ff89-96, pen [8:662-63]

**f89**

Hampstead NW  
Dec 5/60

Dearest

I cannot help  
writing to you of what  
I think of night &  
day, tho' perhaps I  
ought not to write.  
I. I do trust you  
will make Mr. Herbert  
have farther advice.  
All that he told  
me on Sunday makes  
me only wish this  
the more.

The reason Bence

**f89v**

Jones gives for *not*  
consulting Williams  
appears to me the  
strongest reason for  
doing so.

Williams is an  
old "muff," I know;  
but he is one of the  
cleverest Pathologists  
we have - and he  
has known Mr.  
Herbert a long time,  
which is the main  
reason -

It is difficult  
to me to say why, ~~in~~

**f90**

in so important a matter,  
Bence Jones's opinion  
ought not to be  
considered a *verdict*;  
- altho' the fact of  
there being albumen  
I do not in the least  
doubt; & the necessity  
of Mr. Herbert giving  
up the Ho: of C. is,  
alas! I believe,  
paramount.

But I will try  
to give you the reasons

1. Bence Jones is  
a chemical doctor;  
the best we have.  
But a chemical

**f90v**

Doctor's opinion is  
not always the best.  
I can ~~illig~~/only shew  
this by taking the  
converse. I have  
known B. Jones make  
up a diet for a  
Patient by the purest  
rules of Chemical  
Science - only the  
Patient's stomach  
did not think so.  
And this *only* was  
everything.

Take the converse  
B. Jones tries his

**f91**

-2-

Patient (Mr. Herbert)  
and condemns him  
on *chemical* evidence  
furnished by himself  
(the albumen) I  
want to know how  
many men there  
are, suffering from  
London "Cachexia",  
(which is only a  
fine word for  
ill-health. i.e.  
imperfect nutrition)  
who ~~have~~/would *not* shew  
albumen, if they  
were tried. Why is

**f91v**

nature parting with  
all this albumen?  
Generally because  
she is *helping herself*.

Give her fair  
play to help herself,  
but don't despair  
of her.

2. You do not know  
how strong a temptation  
it is to a conscientious  
Chemical doctor, like  
Bence Jones, to give  
such an opinion  
as he has done -  
Because it would

**f92**

be relieving himself  
of such a terrible  
responsibility, if  
he could (~~illeg~~)/persuade  
Mr. Herbert into  
giving up all work.

You do not  
know how often this  
is done with  
Patients who are  
merchants or  
professional men.  
And what happens?  
Nine times out of  
ten the man dies  
within a year  
after "retiring", as

**f92v**

it is called. This  
is quite a proverb  
I believe that  
leaving political life  
or any life=interest  
*altogether* is more  
likely to kill than  
to cure - always.  
3. You will not  
find that these  
opinions as to  
*mere Chemical*  
doctors, or *mere*  
*Pathological* doctors,  
are unique. The  
best, ~~the~~/those who have most  
common-sense of  
these men, will say  
~~illeg~~/so of themselves.

**f93**

II. I wish Mr. Herbert  
would see Williams,  
~~after~~ the latter ~~is~~/being  
acquainted with  
Bence Jones's opinion  
& in concurrence with  
him. Theyse need  
not meet till after  
they have seen Mr.  
Herbert separately.

If they differ,  
then I do wish  
Mr. Herbert would  
see some doctor of strong  
common sense ~~doctor~~  
himself & let *him*  
settle the difference.

**f93v**

Brodie is the best,  
but Brodie is blind,  
and though I had  
rather have blind  
Brodie than another  
man with his eye=  
sight (for a  
*consultation*) perhaps  
Brodie does not  
think so himself.

Christison is the  
next best; i.e. the  
best Chemical doctor  
with the strongest  
common sense. But  
perhaps Christison  
is not so much

**f94**

acknowledged as to  
make it worth while  
to have him from  
Edinbro'.

Watson is the  
next best. And  
Watson is at hand,  
has got his eyes  
& has an  
acknowledged  
reputation.

What you want  
is somebody to take  
Nature's part.

I do not say  
all this by way of  
comforting you but

**f94v**

because it is the  
truth. I tried to  
tell Mr. Herbert  
this on Sunday.  
But I did not  
feel I made myself  
clear.

I would not  
the least undervalue  
the danger of Mr.  
Herbert going on  
as he is now.

It is imperative  
that he should leave  
the Ho: of C.

I believe it is

**f95** -4-

imperative that  
 when in London,  
 he should sleep  
 just out of town  
 every night, even  
 if he dined in  
 London - Many  
 professional men,  
 who have, of course,  
 not the command  
 of horses & carriages  
 he has, do this,  
 who are compelled  
 to keep up a  
 house in town too.  
 I deprecate Belgrave Sq.

**f95v**

for him - But only  
*sleeping* out of it  
~~town~~ would be a great thing.

[I doubt the  
 rightness of his  
 riding. It irritates  
 just those parts  
 which are now  
 irritable. But this  
 is solely an old  
 Nurse's opinion,  
 and I should  
 be the first to give  
 it up, if Doctors,

**f96**

in *his* case, say "yes"]

The other things  
 I have said are  
 matters of almost  
*universal experience*  
 ever dearest yours  
 F.N.

initialed letter, ff97-102, pen [8:665-66]

**f97**

Hampstead NW  
Dec 13/60

Dearest

I cannot tell you  
how very glad I was  
to hear that Mr.  
Herbert had been  
"out hunting," and  
had "slept like a top"  
after it. Because I  
do believe this settles  
the point as to  
whether *organic*  
mischief ~~ha~~ can have

**f97v**

made any progress  
to signify. I am  
quite persuaded  
that it *cannot*, from  
this good news alone.  
If this were only  
my own opinion, it  
would not matter.  
But I have asked  
this very question often  
of good=sense=doctors  
of the largest  
experience. And  
have never had but

**f98**

one answer -

I wish you would  
tell Mr. Herbert this.

There is another  
danger which people  
in general are very  
little aware of. And  
that is: -that  
Doctors often produce  
the very disease they  
~~afterwards~~ prescribe  
for-& often *nail*  
the disease upon  
the Patient *by assuring*  
*him he has it.*

**f98v**

On the continent,  
Doctors are much more  
aware of this than in  
England -

An European authority,  
a Doctor, wrote to me  
the other day, upon  
reading my little book  
on Nursing, to ask me  
why I had not put  
this very fact in - mentioning  
numerous cases which  
had come within his  
own experience. [So  
have they within  
mine - But I did

**f99**

not mention it, because  
my book is written  
not to Doctors but to  
Nurses -]

The remark is  
especially applicable  
to three classes of disease,  
which I need not  
trouble you with.  
But one is, "diseases  
of the kidneys."

This is why it is  
so dangerous to alter  
a Patient's whole mode  
of life, to impress  
upon him that he is

**f99v**

*doomed* to die by "*that*  
particular disease."

And the strong  
brain is not at all  
more exempt from  
this danger than the  
weak one. On the  
contrary, it often  
lays hold of it with  
greater tenacity.

I wish you would  
tell Mr. Herbert this.

===== Sleep  
fresh air  
regular food  
these are the three

**f100**

grand medicines.

And he MUST put  
himself into the way  
of life to ~~se~~/procure these.

And no medicine  
will do any good, if  
he does not.

I always look  
upon ~~illeg~~/such a Patient as doomed,  
not because he has  
this disease or that,  
but because he *cannot*  
*get natural sleep* -  
natural sleep, during  
which all the repair  
of the body takes place -  
This is what makes it  
really a medicine. If

**f100v**

a Patient is too weak  
to take the exercise,  
fresh air & food,  
necessary to procure  
sleep, *then you may*  
consider anything like  
recovery impossible.

I wish Mr. Herbert  
could avoid *any*  
Rail=road journeying  
at present.

I told  $\Sigma$ , ~~illeg~~/as you  
told me - But she  
will write to you herself.

God bless you  
ever yours F. N.

**f101**

P.S.

In all famines, the one symptom familiar to the Nurse is, the Patient's complaint, "I cannot get any sleep - & it's ~~is~~ the only thing which would do me any good."

No one who has ever heard them can forget the cries of famishing men to the Doctor to give something "to make them sleep."

Now, in rich life, there is much more

**f101v**

famine from imperfect digestion than people at all consider.

And regular food & regular sleep, which depend upon one another, *must* be secured by those habits such as fresh air & exercise which the Patient finds, do, in his own particular case, procure them.

But Doctors often lay an amazing stress upon some particular diet, And they don't

**f102**

consider that "a man  
 can exist as many  
 days without food  
 as he can seconds  
 without air" - and  
 I should add, (only  
 the whole thing is  
 so connected that  
 you cannot *disconnect*  
 it,) that a man  
 may exist the same  
 number of days  
 without food with  
 less damage than he  
 can that number  
 of nights without sleep.

F. N.

**ff103-03v**, printed Tottenham, Savernake Forest, Marlborough, January 1, 1861, EH to FN re her through Miss Martineau, securing a favourable report of SH in the Daily News when his retirement is announced. Dearest, There is one thing I am anxious about. Do you think when this matter of Sid's is declared (wh it must be now in a few days) that you could thro' Miss Martineau or any one else, issue a friendly article in the "Daily News". The hostile tone of that paper towards him for this last year has astonished & vexed me, for it is the paper of all others wh should do him justice.

I think he feels the shelving of the step he is about to take more & more every day & so I shd like it to be softened to him if I could in every possible way. We have dreadful weather her, but he has caught no chill as yet.

**ff104-09**, printed Tottenham, Savernake Forest, Marlborough January 3, 1861, EH to FN re the appointment to a Regiment of a General Grey, and the consequent attack on SH by the Daily News. Dearest. The facts as to Genl Grey are simply these. Regiments are generally given in their course. Genl Grey had been passed over 3 or 4 times. Had he been Genl Brown or Smith he would have had it long before, as he was entitled to it from his length of service. *War* service can exist but for men under certain circumstances no one could obtain a regiment = from such service between /15 -/54 except in India. Genl Grey did volunteer for every service that offered in Portugal & in Canada, & did extremely well in both. In fact Sidney says he knows more of military matters than any man of his class he knows. There is a very great difficulty in giving these regiments fairly. You recollect the articles in the "Times" and the "Daily News" about a certain Genl Cox who had been "passed over" after a whole string of "distinguished army services". Well that Genl Cox had certainly been everywhere & gone thro everything, but as it happens, he had done everything *ill*, had embezzled money & altogether was utterly unfit for reward. Yet such was the clamour that he was given a regiment at last.

Now poor Genl Grey had not the opportunities of Gen Cox, but what opportunities he had he made use of & did his duty well. His services were the same in every respect as those of 4 other generals who received regts before him. The only reason why he had been passed over was his place at court. The Duke of Cambridge said that hat was very unjust & that he had volunteered for Crimean service (only I believe the prince consort wouldn't hear of it). Sidney said in reply that he could not deny the abstract justice of his claim but that it would make a "great row" & that he thought it was a case in which a man should be sacrificed to a very natural public feeling.

However, as he could not deny the justice of the thing he yielded & then, as you know, he always does & will, generously took the whole blame upon himself in the House of C. & made an eloquent defence of the case. Now the truth is that it is an absurdity to say .....

initialed letter, ff110-18v, pen [8:669-71]

**f110**

30 O. B. St.  
Jan. 17/61

Dearest/

1. about your houses -  
I have made enquiries  
in Hampstead. My  
*penultimate* house  
in Oak Hill Park is  
to be let on lease  
unfurnished. But,  
as a favor, my  
proprietor, Mr. Neave,  
would let it for a

**f110v**

few months, either  
letting his Agent  
put in furniture,  
or the tenant.

You have seen  
the house - therefore  
I need not describe  
it. But I never  
was in a house  
with so many  
windows & so little  
light - with so  
much exposure &  
so little sun -  
with such a view

**f111**

& so little possibility  
of seeing it.

The largest Bedroom,  
(altho' it has windows  
on two sides,) could  
by no exertions be  
warmed. Nor does  
a ray of sun ever  
enter it. *Ditto* for  
Drawing-room.

A house which  
I should much prefer  
is to be let (close to  
it) at the top of  
Oak Hill Park and

**f111v**

furnished. It is a semi-detached, and sheltered by its twin from the North.

~~The~~ Two of the Sitting-rooms & two bed-rooms over these are really cheerful, with great big windows, not like my den.

The furniture is very scanty but might be added to. And it could be ready in a week or two.

But my grand

**f112**

-2-

objection remains that these bed-room windows look S.S.W.

I think you should make it a *Sine qua non* in a house you mean to inhabit only at night that the windows should look S. or S.E.

The last house I had (Upper Terrace) is also to be let. But I don't think

**f112v**

you would like it.  
It is incurably musty  
and tasted of the  
dust of centuries.

But if I were  
you, I should do as  
the crowned heads  
do :- have a cottage  
where it would be  
impossible to ask  
any one, send two  
servants to live in  
it, and ~~take~~/send a

**f113**

third, if you wanted  
to spend the day.  
It is more difficult  
to find a small  
cottage with large  
rooms than a large  
one with small rooms.  
But other people  
have done it.

Also, I am not  
at all sure that  
Hampstead is  
preferable. Hampstead  
is damp, cold and  
on clay. Wimbledon  
is mild and on

**f113v**

gravel. Wimbledon  
is rather far. But  
Richmond is nearer.  
Many a busy  
professional man  
*walks* out to his  
home at Richmond.  
I believe houses (at  
both) are better built  
than at Hampstead.  
In another direction,  
there is Upper  
Dulwich only about  
half a mile farther  
than Hampstead  
in this. -.

**f114**

All this is quite  
against my own  
interest. Still I do  
believe that Hampstead  
& Highgate, for many  
reasons, are not  
healthy.

~~But first & foremost,~~  
I do hope that Mr.  
Herbert will have  
any house he takes  
"inspected," as he has  
the Barracks. He  
well knows what I  
mean. And Commandg

**f114v**

Officers complained  
that he went "so  
much into detail."  
Now do make ~~him~~/the  
"detail" be "gone into"  
as much ~~into~~ in  
the case of his own  
sleeping place -

And do adhere  
to a S. ~~and~~/or S.E.  
exposure. I do believe  
it is very little use  
sleeping out of town  
without attending  
to these minutiae.

**f115**

The longer I live, the  
more I am amazed at  
the superstitions of the  
cleverest & most  
scientific men.  
Eg. All the people about  
me have an impression  
that I may be right,  
altho' "exaggerated,"  
about my "views," (as  
to sun, light, airing  
always thro' the windows  
& never thro' the doors, &c)  
but that these neglects  
"never can produce" ill-  
health. while they

**f115v**

are in transports of  
terror if they have so  
much as seen a  
person who had  
Scarlet Fever a month  
ago. Hardened credulity  
always goes with  
hardened incredulity  
And the things people  
do believe are much  
more extraordinary  
than those they don't  
believe.

I hope Mr. Herbert  
will not be less careful  
about his house than about  
his Barracks. ever yours F. N.

**f116**

P.S.

If you would send  
me a great heap of  
envelopes, directed to  
you in your new name,  
(as one does to servants)  
I would try to use it  
- perhaps - with you,  
but with Mr. Herbert  
never.

I do so sympathize  
with the children's  
exclamations.  
Though Miss Maude  
evinces a profound

**f116v**

knowledge of human  
nature I should  
not have expected  
in so young a lady.

I had a humble  
letter from D. News,  
in answer to my  
last. *But I don't*  
*expect anything.*

I venture to  
think that the wisest  
people's views on the  
importance of newspapers

**f117**

are exaggerated -  
exaggerated *both ways*.  
In the first place,  
people *don't* form  
their *working* opinions  
upon newspapers -  
their *talking* opinions  
they may. I never  
altered an opinion  
nor an action in  
my life upon anything  
I read in a newspaper.  
"Yes, says Mr. Herbert,  
because you yourself know  
more on that one subject." [see]  
And does not every

**f117v**

body know more on  
their one subject  
than the newspaper?  
And is not that the  
subject upon which  
they have to *act*? It is said  
that nobody *ever*  
altered a vote in  
consequence of *any*  
speech in the Ho: of  
Commons - I believe  
this to be true as to  
newspapers.

On the other hand,  
(& this tells rather  
against me) they  
are the indication of what

**f118**

people *do* think, for they  
are nothing but  
mercantile speculations  
- they ~~never~~ indicate  
only what is the  
current opinion of  
those who buy them  
- but they do not  
create this opinion.  
Just as the great  
expensive glass windows  
of Atkinson, the  
perfumer, ~~is~~, in Bond  
St. only indicate  
that people will  
give 6d more for

**f118v**

their Eau de Cologne  
to buy it in such  
a fine place.

F. N.

{f119 is blank}

initialed letter, ff120-23v, pen [8:671-72]

**f120**

Jan 24/61

Dearest

The cottage with the *little*  
rooms to the *South East*, very  
small indeed but very cheerful,  
(and which I should have taken  
had I not had Mr. Clough's  
children with me) is

Mr. Charles Ellis's  
Heathside Cottage  
North End  
Hampstead

He is an Upholsterer, living at  
21 Bedford St.  
Covent Garden

And, if you want his house, you  
are always recommended to go to  
him direct.

**f120v**

The other cottage is  
Mr. John Woodroffe's  
Fern Cottage

Hampstead Heath

He is the one which I don' t know  
whether he will let - a "lawyer  
& very hard man" - And it is  
said of him that it is no use  
going to any one but the Agent,  
for, if he takes it into his head  
not to let till he goes out of  
town for the autumn, *he won't*  
- neither for love nor money.

I will find out for you  
from *Clowser*, the House Agent, at Hampstead,  
whether you must have tickets  
to "view" the two houses at Oak  
Hill Park - also whether this Mr.  
J. Woodroffe will listen to letting.

**f121**

I have heard of nothing nice  
yet at Wimbledon. But I will  
find out who are the good  
House Agents there -

Should you mind Richmond?

Mr. Herbert knows the house  
I once had at Highgate - the  
Howitts. It was very small &  
certainly more noisy than London.  
And the hill was tremendous.  
But it was the cleanest, cheerfullest,  
gayest little place I have had  
yet. It was the difference between  
being in a gentleman's house &  
a house regularly "to let." The  
Howitts would let it now, if  
asked - What do you think?

ever yours

F. N.

I respectfully invite Lord de Grey's  
attention to the system of "*minuting*"

**f121v**

as pursued

in the time of Philip of Spain  
- when, to a most important  
State document about the  
Armada, that it had been  
in Lisbon *quassi un mes*,  
Philip minutes - "there is only  
one s in *quasi*." And to  
another about Queen Elizabeth's  
presence-chamber in Whitehall,  
where "lice had been discovered,"  
Philip minutes "Perhaps  
they were fleas." I think  
Hawes must be descended  
from that Prince.

I see the Quarterly quotes  
both these. Pray look.

(in the Article on Motley)

F.N.

**f122**

Dearest/ The principal  
House Agent at  
Wimbledon is *Mason*

Putney *Heath* however  
(keeping far away  
from the river) is  
recommended in  
preference. It is  
on gravel, and not  
so bleak as Hampstead  
But the houses are  
few & small. *Waller's*,

**f122v**

close to the station, at Putney, is the place to inquire.

Richmond *Town* is not recommended - sub-soil used up; cause of much fever.

Richmond *Parish* has some good healthy spots. Montague Villas is one. But the great apostle of Sewers lives there.

I will send some more information.

**f123**

about Hampstead tomorrow.

You do not think of that place at Highgate, do you?

If I might suggest, it would be that you send down Pharaoh's Chief butler, a man I always liked, to the two House Agents at Putney & Wimbledon & let him see what

**f123v**

houses there are -

It may be that  
there is nothing  
worth your even  
going to look at.

ever yours

F. N.

Jan 25/61

initialed letter, ff124-25v, pen [8:672-73]

**f124**

Jan 25/61

Dearest

Here is the "card to view" the  
two Oak Hill Park Houses [I had  
the name of "Mrs. Sutherland" put,  
because I thought you might  
not like your plans made known  
to all the House Agents.]

The lodge people at the  
entrance of Oak Hill Park will shew  
the way to the houses.

The advantage of these houses  
is that you can have them directly  
& for any time - tho', with regard  
to mine, they will tell you you  
must take it *on lease* - this is  
not true -

**f124v**

a. I send some other houses at Hampstead,  
But I think it possible they may  
not suit you at all. And it  
might be as well to send your  
Steward first for this purpose.  
Also, two of them are not to be  
had for some weeks.

Please observe *William Paxon*  
as *this* House Agent. [There is  
another "Paxon" also in Hampstead  
& also a House Agent]

3. I find this is a very bad  
time of year for looking for houses.  
The winter people are not out  
& the summer people have not  
begun. So that there is hardly

**f125**

any choice of empty houses now.

Mr. John Woodroffe's

Fern. Cottage, Hampstead Heath.  
which was really pretty, is not  
empty.

You will find a much  
better choice in March.

But 4. You scarcely ever  
get a really fresh & clean  
house from an Agent. It is  
only by a chance (from gentlemen)  
that you succeed. What I  
wanted to find for you was  
the cottage of some luxurious  
old bachelor, e.g. a retired  
Indian - And I thought I  
had succeeded at Wimbledon.

**f125v**

Since I wrote this I have your letter. And by all means, if you can, get the Wimbledon cottage - tho' the long ride would certainly be better later on in the spring.

As for Putney houses looking North, if they do, they probably have some windows looking South. What I complain of in *Hampstead* Houses is that they all look NW, which is very little better than N, and have no windows looking S.E. But the thing is *to look* at them *all* in this view. [I never knew any one who did without being specially charged] ever yours F. N.

initialed letter, ff126-127, pen

**f126**

30 Burln St  
Jan 29/61

Mr. Herbert wished on Sunday that I should inquire whether Tubal Cain or Pondacherry or Kiddapore, the Indian's house which he enviously regarded from the windows of my penultimate house at Hampstead, was to be let.

I am very sorry to say that the nabob

**f126v**

being dead, has  
sold it to a dyer -  
that the dyer,  
living in Davies St.,  
Mrs. Sutherland  
was so good as to go  
herself to him &  
does not find him  
conformable - He  
did not positively  
say No; & is to let  
her know. But  
she thinks him  
quite impervious  
to reason - The dyer's  
name is *Cannon* -

**f127**

She did not mention  
your name of course.  
And I don't know  
how far it is respectable  
to go about, asking  
people to let their  
houses who have  
never thought of it.  
But I think it is  
a question how much  
a personal visit to  
him from you might do.

ever yours.

F. N.

The real name of the  
house, I have ascertained,  
is Kiddapore Hall.

initialed letter, ff128-32, pen [8:674-76]

**f128**

30 O.B. St.

April 10/61

Dearest I wanted very much to have seen you on Tuesday - to have said a little word about "his" health. So now I write. If I am wrong, you know you need only put me behind the fire.

He is a great deal better - of that there is no doubt.

If he would observe five things, he might consult Tom, (the kitten); and it would do just as well as "Ben Jonson" or French.

These are: (some of them he does do already, I know)

1. Eating as much of good

**f128v**

food as he can: (not sauces or acids, such as acid fruit:) and drinking claret.

French tells him to eat beef & beer, because "that makes blood". So did Sganarelle tell the dumb woman to take wine & bread, because that made parrots talk. "Vite: vite: quantité de pain et de vin".

2. Clothing warmly & wearing a flannel belt round the body. This Grainger, who has Albuminuria of a very advanced stage, & fancies he has [illeg] disease of the kidneys, which he has not, lays great stress upon.

**f129**

3. Doing no night-society which he can possibly help. One night's party is worth ten days' disease to him.

4. Sleeping out of doors, that is, out of London.

5. Taking his exercise regularly in the fresh air, especially in the fresh morning air.

If he would do these things, he might never see Ben Johnson again.

Any one who knows "him" would have known that, unless he had died in a week or ten days after B.J.'s fiat, he would never have confidence in him again. B.J. has turned out a false prophet, & therefore "he" will not believe in him.

**f129v**

"He" is, you know, a very bad Patient. I can safely assert that a man in his condition ought not to take Steel without seeing his Dr. every day or at least every other day. It (the Steel) requires intermitting, varying with gentle purgatives &c. [But this seeing his Dr. every day he would never stand.]

Otherwise the Liver is very *likely* to get into the state in which his was at Wilton- a congested state - not "congestion." If a little country apothecary like French, takes up a Patient in this condition, it makes his fortune. Because a dose of medicine gives almost certain & immediate relief.

But you know I am too old

**f130**

-2-

a "cove" to be taken in by French's sayings.

Again, "he" is a very bad Patient: because he is quite capable of taking all his day's medicines at a dose - and because he would not stand the London Dr. coming to see him every day.

If "he" were a manageable Patient, his is just the case that a good Physician delights in - keeping him alive - keeping him in "working order" Because it is a manageable case.

But again, as all highly educated men are (about the body), "he" is superstitious. i.e.

**f130v**

he assigns causes to effects which are not causes at all-some-times only symptoms.

Of one thing I feel more positive than I ever did:

if he were to leave his political interests, *he would die*. I should not wonder if he began to sink at once.

Now, if he really has lost confidence in B.J., it is no use urging him to go on. And if he thinks that in dismissing B.J., he has dismissed the Albumenuria, perhaps it is even better so.

**f131**

But whom will you have?

You have dismissed Williams.

Ben Jonson is certainly one of the most sensible & most masterful men in England, which is what the Patient wants. He got "him" out of the Ho: of C., which is certainly the worst kind of *night-party*, (vide No. 3.)

You know you won't take Tom's advice, which I have given you in five heads, & which would enable you to dispense with all physic. & with which physic will *not* enable you to dispense - which is worse.

You know "he" doctors his Doctor. It is as if he were the Doctor himself

**f131v**

& not the Patient.

With that extraordinary acuteness which he has above all men, which enables him to take up rapidly all the threads of a new subject & put the knot on, he fancies he can do the same thing with Medicine that he does with Politics. Now he can't. Medicine is a mere matter of experience of which we do not yet know the rules.

If I were a Dr, I never would argue with my Patient- because then "he" thinks his argument may be as good as mine. I would say, "*this* is the matter with you. *that* is what you are to do. If you don't do it, send me away."

**f132**

-3-

I think B.J. has been arguing with his Patient.

Now, what is to be done? If you mean to go on with French, would you let me see his Prescriptions? At least I could give you an opinion upon them. You need not take it.

As to an "ox-gall" prescription I once saw of his, having anything to do with the cure of Albumenuria, the thing is absurd. And beer in any quantities will just bring on the state which he says he has rescued the Patient out of. i.e. Liver.

Ben Jonson is very angry that you gave him no account of your Patient while at Wilton.

**f132v**

*Let him be angry, so long as  
the Patient is all right.*

But you know I think you  
were all wrong in not letting  
him know.

As for your Lord Clanwilliam  
& your Mr. Gladstone, I think  
they are more superstitious  
(about the body) than "he" is.

But, for God's sake, never  
adopt any treatment which  
tends to lower the powers of  
life. If I could see your pres-  
criptions, I could at all events  
tell you this.

There are two men about  
whose constitutions (& only two)  
I think I can speak with  
confidence. Because it is impossible  
for a old Nurse like me to see

**f133**

a man every day without learning  
him off by heart. [One is "he", and  
the other is Mr. Clough]

I am sure that, if you shew  
"him" this letter, he will pardon  
my freedom of speech, vû the  
vital importance of the subject.

Believe me  
ever yours

F.N.

You know "he" always sees Drs.  
& Doctoring on the ridiculous side,  
which greatly lessens their useful-  
ness.

I never heard of any mart  
where you could barter one  
disease for another, which is  
what he thinks B.J. has done  
for him.

initialed letter, ff134-37v, pen [8:677-78]

**f134**

May 13/61

Thank you very much for your dear letter.

Don't think I am siding with Ben Jonson. You know he was no recommending of mine. And it is *above all* necessary that you should have confidence in ~~the~~ any man who attends you.

If you have lost your confidence, do pray send him away.

It would be difficult to say, whom else to send for? Because B.J. is known to be one of the best in common sense & practical firmness in his professional ~~matters~~/opinion (I *don't* say in his other ~~s~~ opinions. Because he was

**f134v**

certainly wrong in his "*alarming system*" at first)

As to the little Impostor whether he is wrong or right about his advice, he has quite put himself in the wrong by urging a different treatment, unhinging you, making you think you had lost five weeks & giving so very lugubrious an opinion *to you* - ~~±~~/without going to say it to B.J. first. It is quite contrary to all professional law - to all right. And B.J. would be perfectly justified in refusing to attend you, afterwards.

**f135**

As to the Steel, if "a Herbert could never take Steel," why did Impostor give it him?

Why is he now sent to "Spa or Pymont," both Steel waters. I agree with you that God Almighty's Steel is far better than Savory & Moore's. But if it is the Steel which disagrees, he would not be sent to Steel waters at all.

What makes you such a very bad Patient is that, while you look upon the case as worse than the truth, according to actual experience-- you are disappointed & surprised because what has been done in 30 years is not undone in

**f135v**

5 weeks. For I deny that,  
till you went to Dufferin Lodge,  
any "course of good living" had  
been entered upon, except  
the leaving the Ho: of C.

Add to this that so trying  
a spring has perhaps never  
been known. And that if  
he kept his ground as to the  
*disease* this was all that  
was to be hoped for. *And he  
has kept his ground.* There  
are other reasons to account  
for the weakness.

What I think B.J. has  
done for you (which no one  
else would have done) is  
pulling him out of the H. of C.

**f136**

And compelling him to sleep  
out of town. And this he did  
by his inexorable common  
sense.

As to the Steels, the Cods,  
the Ox-galls & all the rest  
- they are all tarred with  
the same stick - they are  
all tricks to try & make  
nature do by a short cut  
what she says she won't do  
except she be permanently  
put into conditions to do it.

And you know I don't  
care whom (whether ~~medicines~~ B.J. or  
Impostor or Tom) you have,  
so far as medicines are  
concerned.

Brodie is at this moment

**f136v**

in this house - if you would like to see him with B.J., I have no doubt he would give a consultation.

I am glad he has left off the Steel. But that is a thing always done before going to a Steel water.

I think Pymont was the dullest place I ever was in. It was the true picture of German Bürger life. And there used to be no good Doctor there. I think you would like Spa better.

**f137**

B.J. told me last night that he was certainly not worse. And you know he has always been a croaker.

If you are going to leave for Whitsuntide, which I hope you are - please write me one line to say when you will come. And I will take care to be well enough to see you.

The practical result of all this is that you must either repose your confidence in B.J., or *in some one else*, or in B.J. *and* someone else - & having done this, you must give your confidence & trust the rest

**f137v**

to God.

The reason is that very few in the Medical profession have studied this class of diseases. And if you were to send for half a dozen little men, they would each give you a different opinion & prescribe a different remedy - - and this is the true way in which time is lost & Patients are lost.

Yours ever

F.N.

initialed letter, ff138-40v, pen [8:678-79]

**f138**

{printed address:} 30. Old Burlington Street.

W.

May 14/61

Dearest/ Would Thursday  
between 4 & 5 suit  
you? But don't  
think it necessary  
to come then, if it  
does not. It is  
only that I am so  
provoked when you  
come & I am not  
able to see you. It  
is not that I think

**f138v**

it "necessary to  
dress to see" you -  
It is that now when I  
have been doing  
work, I cannot do  
anything more - not even  
sit up in bed. -

But I was fortunate  
enough to be dressed  
& down-stairs  
today, when the  
Cid came - which  
I have not been  
for nearly a fortnight,

**f139**

except just to see  
B. Jonson, ~~wh~~ on  
Sunday, whom I  
wanted to see & to  
scold, tho' you don't  
think so.

Dearest, I am  
sure, he (the Cid)  
thinks, "Oh! she  
does not know how  
weak I feel & how  
much worse in  
general health".

But I do. I  
See it every time I

**f139v**

see him & sorrowfully  
perceive that he *is*  
weaker & thinner.  
And yet I don't  
think him worse  
in general health -  
not materially worse.  
He has not one  
cardinal symptom  
of confirmed disease.  
And therefore altho  
he will always  
require unremitting  
care, I do hope & believe  
he will rally from

**f140**

this weakness.

Dearest, after  
you, who has such  
a stake in his  
life as I have?

It is not because  
I *don't see*. But  
because I think  
there is more ground  
for hope & I have  
more experience  
("out of experience, hope")  
than you have.

It is quite common

**f140v**

to see people who  
when in great  
danger, did not  
feel their weakness  
but when they are  
actually either  
progressing, or  
holding their ground,  
feel weakness  
increasing  
    ever yours  
    F. N.

{f141 is blank}

initialed letter, ff142-43v, pen [8:681]

**f142** {in a different hand: Miss Nightingale on Sidney's health}  
{printed address:} 30. Old Burlington Street.

W.

May 28/61

Dearest

He is better - that  
is *the* thing. God be  
thanked for it.

And if the Devil  
had written the  
prescription, I would  
have fallen down  
& worshipped him.

But you know  
I think the  
arrangement you  
propose viz Hewett

**f142v**

every day (& B.J.  
to come when he  
is sent for) the  
*very best that*  
*could* be made.  
B.J. will have no  
objection. You know  
he made none  
before when it  
was proposed to him.  
Within an hour of  
my receiving your  
note yesterday  
morning, I wrote

**f143**

to him in your sense.  
The Cid *ought* to  
be seen *every day*  
(of that there never  
has been any  
doubt) And now  
he will be seen by  
some one in whom  
you have confidence.  
Hewett has science,  
great experience &  
very excellent good  
sense.  
I trust there  
will be perfect  
firmness in carrying

**f143v**

out this arrangement.  
For remember every  
break of confidence  
is as bad for him  
as falling back for  
months. It always  
is in cases like his.

I do believe he  
is better materially  
as well as apparently.  
God bless you both.

ever yours.

F. N.

initialed letter, ff144-46, pen [8:681-83]

**f144**

May 31/61

Dearest

Dr. Wolff's opinion does  
not say the same to me at  
all that it does to you.

All that it says amounts  
to this:

1. that medicine is of little  
use

2. that Germany is too cold  
& too damp for such cases

3. that a dry warm climate  
is the best.

This is an excellent  
common sense opinion (and  
agrees exactly with mine.  
!!!) But all this we knew  
before.

**f144v**

As to Steel all that he says is that *when* it does not diminish the quantity of Albumen. (Which both the Analysis of the man whom you do trust & of the man whom you do not says that it has, i.e. that the quantity *is* diminished) Bark is better - which also we knew before.

"September" is too early to go to Nice.

As for the German baths, I leave that to wiser heads than mine. i.e. I would go by the opinion you have most confidence in-which is at the present time - Hewett.

I would only repeat now what you must be perfectly sick of hearing me say.

**f145**

There is no great use in  
physic either way. You can't  
help Nature much in that way.

There is no proof that he  
has organic disease. Other than  
incipient. -There is proof that  
he has blood disease- i.e.  
that he ~~has in~~ is in a state  
of thorough London ill-health,  
with poverty of blood, which  
deposits this albumen.  
which physic will neither  
materially add to nor take away.

that organic disease  
may at any time be set up,  
(Whether morbus Brightii or not,  
B.J. himself does not know).  
And his capital error was in  
arguing from the presence  
of albumen - that there was

**f145v**

organic kidney disease.

Your "capital error" is, if I may say so, in thinking that four days will cure him or that four days will kill him. & in being correspondingly elated or despondent.

His rapid improvement at Wilton shews that there is no *confirmed* organic disease. - his continual draw-backs shew that there is not a *confirmed* improvement in the state of general ill-health.

Yet you are either always in the clouds or in the slough of despair about him.

Dearest, what you have to do is to help Nature in every way to remedy this state of the blood. She will

**f146**

only do it as a work of time & in her own way.

Exercise & excitement are both good up to a certain point. But fatigue is always bad. The bill comes in the next morning & has to be paid. The fewer of these bills you run up, the better. For they eat up the capital in the end.

ever yours,

F.N.

**ff147-50v**, Wilton House, Salisbury, printed {archivist: August 4, 1861}, from Catherine Dunmore, re SH's death. My dear Miss Nightingale. Poor Liz is anxious to know how you are. She is sure that you feel for & with her & for us all in the irreparable loss we have sustained. Liz requested Dr Williams to let you know of the heart breaking termination of our anxiety on Friday. He will perhaps have told you that *except* just at the very last moments, it was a peaceful beautiful death, worthy of his beautiful life. But Dr Williams arrived too late to hear his expressions of perfect happiness, his gratitude to God for his happy life, his blessing & his wife & children & to all of us. To the very last he had the same charm, that dear wining smile, that almost playful pretty way of saying everything. There never was any one quite like him there never will be again!

It was such a blessing that we were all her with him, indeed since *Sunday* last, when he landed at Dover where I & the Ailesbury's went to meet him, I have hardly been away from him.

Poor Liz is well in health, wonderfully calm. but at times gives way to bursts of sorrow & tears. I am much with her by day & night. My angel brother almost commended her to my care, for as he said, I had gone thro much sorrow too & would know how to care for her. No words can say what he always was to me but especially after I lost my dear husband. It is a dreary, weary life to me as year by year I lose those dearest to me. But I need not say more to you who knew & appreciated our darling. Will you let me hear, for Liz, how you are. Forgive my writing to you. I have seen you here & in London with Sidney tho I dare say you will not remember me. I trust you are not very suffering now. yours sincerely Catherine Dunmore.

**ff151-52**, Wilton, August 5, 1861, from {illeg Chas L Lapton?} thanking FN on behalf of Lady H. or her letter and forwarding Lady H's promise to write when she is able

**ff153-53v**, August 12, 1861, wide black-edged from Lady Herbert telling FN SH's last words were of her. Dearest. This is the anniversary of our wedding day- 15 years ago.

I send you some of his last words--those to you were "Poor Florence! Poor Florence! our joint work unfinished!" God bless you. E.H.

unsigned note, f154, pen

**f154**

My boy, be honest & true

Don't let them stay  
to the end.

I want you for my sake  
to forget any little  
quarrel or misunderstandg

**ff155-57**, August 15, 1861, thick black-edged printed Wilton House, Salisbury EH to FN re Captain Galton's position at the War Office. Dearest.

Can you let me have by return of post a memo of what it is which Galton wants? It was the one thing he wished to do before leaving office & he wrote about it in his last letter to Mr Baring.

Lord de Grey has asked me to define exactly what Sidney wished Galton's position to be in the office.

My own idea is that Sidney wished him illeg to be coequal under Sir John Burgoyne (or anyone who took Sir John's place\_\_ that all matters relating to Barrack fortifications, casemates.... should be submitted to them. Everything in fact which could possibly relate to Sanitary questions & that they should be responsible *only* to the Secretary of state & not to Hawes, that their decisions should at once be carried out, without passing through any hands but those of the Sec of State or the Parliamentary Under Sec.

But is you will tell me exactly what is best to be said to what he wished I will convey it to Ld de Grey, who promises to carry it out. ever every yours E.H.

f157. P.S. The only reason why what he wished for Galton was not done, was that he waited for an answer from the Treasury which had promised to recommend the very change he proposed in the Report of their Commission & wh he thought would strengthen his hand.

ff158-59, August 16, 1861, printed Wilton House, Salisbury black-edged EH to FN re a copy of the sermon preached at SH's funeral and Lady H's grief at his death. Dearest. I think you may like to read this, the Brouillon of Mr Chermside's funeral sermon upon him. Please return it, as the poor man has no copy.

Dear heart, has he not taken my life too with him? when all his papers are sorted & done, what will there be left for either you or I?

You will answer "the children." I know they ought to be comfort but I suppose I am not naturally fond of children - at any rate, I have never been used to be much with them. He was *my all* & he is gone. yrs ever E.H.

**ff160-61**, August 18, 1861, printed Wilton House Salisbury thick black-edged, EH to FN re notes about SH's work to be forwarded to Lord de Grey. printed Wilton House Salisbury black edged. dearest. I have copied out yr memo, (adding one of his own wh I found on the subject & in the same sense) & have sent it to Ld de Grey.

If you can think of anything else, only tell me & I will forward it in the same way. it is more likely to have effect *now* than later. God help us all. E.H.

I hear the troops want a illeg subscription among themselves to give him a statue. I would that it could be taken up in the right way 7 by the right people. An Artillery soldier came all the way from Aldershot to his funeral.

**ff162-63**, September 10, 1861, printed thick black-edged Wilton House Salisbury. black-edged. re a letter from Lord de Grey and a proposed visit to FN and the Soldiers' Memorial to SH. Dearest, I have been meaning every day to send you this. I feel sure he will hep us if he can. When are you at Hampstead? I am coming to town the end of this month & do so long to see you. It would not do you the harm I did once, there is nothing left for me now to hope or fear. God bless you. E.H.

I liked Dr Farr's speech & I want to talk to you when we meet about the soldiers' memorial to their best man friend.

unsigned note, f163v, pen

**f163**

To be returned  
to F.N.

**ff164-64v**, Studley Royal, Ripon, September 4, 1861, black-edged from Lord de Grey to Lady H re an extract from a letter of FN about Captain Galton and Day rooms. I only received yesterday your letter of the 30th. I am *greatly* obliged to you for sending me the extract from Miss Nightingale's letter--you will understand how deeply parts of it touch me.

It so happened that Galton was staying with us for a night when your letter arrived, and I therefore begged him to send the report on day rooms & trust by Capn Jackson straight to use so that I may illeg.

43396 signed letter, ff165-78v, pen

**f165**

*About the Day Room  
Report &c*

PRIVATE Oct 30/61

[15:449-53]

Dearest/ What you saw  
were only the "Resolutions"  
(At the end of Genl Eyre's  
Report) which *he* had  
in, before you went to  
Spa, in order that he  
might found immediate  
measures upon them  
which he did in  
sending Capt Jackson,  
R.A. (the Gibraltar man)  
to report to him upon  
the facilities at Aldershot.

**f165v**

Since that Genl Eyre's whole Report & Capt Jackson's Aldershot Report have come in & been sent to Lord de Grey. And Capt Jackson has been employed to make another upon Portsmouth (same subject. viz Soldiers' Clubs) not yet finished -

But the Commander in Chief referred Genl Eyre's Report, when he received it,

**f166**

about the end of August, to (of all places in the world), the Council of Military Education, of which, as you know, Genl Knollys', of Aldershot reputation, is President (?)

And this, altho' he, the Comm. in C., made every nomination on Genl Eyre's Committee himself & put in several names of his own accord. So that it was essentially his Commission.

**f166v**

But this is just of  
a piece with all those  
doings which perhaps  
you may remember  
in Genl Peel's time-  
when the "Medical  
Regulations" &c &c &c  
drawn up with the  
utmost care by  
Sidney Herbert himself  
by Alexander, their  
own Director-General  
were submitted for  
revision to a Horse  
Guards Committee, consisting  
of a Purveyor's Clerk,

**f167**

-2-

an inferior Army Surgeon  
&c &c

The Commander in  
Chief was aware that  
Lord Herbert had  
approved the "Resolutions"  
of Genl Eyre's Committee  
before he went to Spa -  
which makes this  
kind of going-on all  
the more unaccountable  
& harassing.

I have since seen  
a letter of Genl Knollys  
to Genl Eyre, tearing  
the Report to pieces &  
upon the most trivial

**f167v**

pretexts - one that  
the Committee do not  
understand what  
was done at Aldershot,  
in the matter of Day=  
rooms - that he, Genl  
Knollys, did everything  
that was right (& a  
great deal more  
than man could do)  
& if they did not  
succeed, it was the  
brutes' own fault &c  
Farther (2) that the *Barrack*  
ought to be the  
"Soldier's" *Home* - & he

**f168**

ought to have no other.  
Farther (3) that he, Genl K.  
disapproves of all  
Soldiers' Institutes *out*  
*of* Barracks - & especially  
of all civilian interference,  
in such - such as  
putting a Civilian  
on the Committee of  
Management &c.

As both Genl Knollys  
& Genl Eyre are unaware  
that this letter was  
shewn to me, I should  
not think it right  
to quote it, excepting  
to yourself & to Lord

**f168v**

de Grey, who ~~ought~~/has a right to be ~~(illeg)~~/made aware of what is going on.

Genl Eyre, who did not write a word of his own Report himself, & does not understand the subject at all (his position at Chatham is so busy an one) wrote to us to know how to answer Genl Knollys' objections.

But unfortunately almost all our Committee men were

**f169**

-3-

out of England (and are so still) and as I knew that, if my hand appeared in it, it would make the matter retrograde instead of advance, I contented myself with begging circuitously that he would wait till the men on the original Committee came back.

And I now tell this long story in order that Lord de Grey, when he sees Genl

**f169v**

Knollys' objections  
officially, may know  
that they can be  
answered & may  
please to wait till  
he can obtain that  
answer from us or  
from any one he may  
think an authority.

As for the original  
Report (the so-called  
Genl Eyre's) it certainly  
is not good. But  
it is *within the truth*.  
It may *safely* be  
acted upon-for

**f170**

every proposition, a  
little venturesome,  
was taken out of it  
by the Officers put on  
the Committee by the  
C. in C.

It is self-contradictory,  
~~which~~ in some passages,  
which is owing to  
this continual process  
of extirpation. But  
we saved the main  
points.

I say it is *within*  
the truth. For it wants  
all those little sharp  
touches and terse

**f170v**

illustrations, which  
he would have put  
in, So that it does  
not at all put a  
picture before the  
reader of what the  
soldier is, his depths  
of vice, & excess, when  
not looked after in  
the way of evening  
amusement, rest, &  
instruction. Nor of  
how easy it is to raise  
him (or how he *has* in some Regimen{ts}  
been raised) by these  
common means.

**f171**

-4-

The way the Report was  
written was this:

Sutherland & I wrote  
it originally. Then every  
word that could imply  
that *everything that*  
*had ever been done*  
*by Officers was not*  
*right* - was taken  
out (of the first proof)  
by the Officers. Then  
it was bandied to &  
fro - And Genl Eyre  
who knew nothing but  
Chatham, listened  
first to one side &  
then to the other, till

**f171v**

nothing was left (in  
the Report) but what  
nobody could deny.

[It was like the case  
of the man who had  
all his black hairs  
& all his grey hairs  
pulled out]

All this is not  
important, except in  
this light - to shew  
Lord de Grey that  
what has been so  
sifted & pulled to pieces  
by Genl Officers *before*  
it went to Genl Knollys,

**f172**

cannot be very dangerous,  
(as tending to "destroy  
the Army as an  
Institution.")

And it seems  
evident that Genl Knollys  
is actuated by an  
idea, a false one,  
that blame was  
intended to be thrown  
on his ~~Military~~  
administration at  
Aldershot.

As for Genl Knollys'  
objections, it is 1. obvious  
that if the Day Rooms were  
not done at Aldershot,

**f172v**

Aldershot has not Day  
Rooms, You may perhaps  
remember the manner  
of the same - and a  
squib which I wrote  
for the newspapers  
upon them & shewed  
to *him* who was my  
dear Master then.  
It was that the recipe  
at Aldershot for making  
Day Rooms was - to take  
an ordinary Barrack-  
room - to take out the  
Bedsteads & put in the  
men with two farthing  
dips & no firing - &  
you have your Day Room.

**f173**

-5-

Of course the men did not go. And it was reported by Genl Knollys at the H. Guards that "the Dayrooms were a failure." This I dare say you will remember. How I remember *his* dear laugh then.

2. The word "Home" I would gladly omit, if it gives offence. Indeed I tried to have it omitted.

But the THING, viz the having a Soldiers' Institute *out of* Barracks, (but,

**f173v**

if they wish it, under the same management & under the same (soldiers') subscription, as the Day Room *in* Barracks - ~~in~~/it is impossible to omit *in Camps & Garrison towns* -. where the soldier, even traversing the camp or town on business, much more when he is out on leave, has literally *nowhere to sit down* *in* either for rest, refreshment or recreation, but those public houses which are, (oh I wish

**f174**

that English people  
 generally knew what they  
 are) - the worst kinds  
 of houses. In isolated Barrks  
 we did not ask for Soldiers Institutes;  
 only for  
 Day Rooms  
*inside.* [Even when Sir G.  
 Lewis was at the Home  
 Office, I applied to him  
 circuitously just to order the Supts.  
 of Police to watch (&  
 get information about)  
 these houses, at Aldershot  
 for the Surrey magistrates,  
 of whom one is my  
 relation. And he would  
 not. So I despair  
 of what he will do now]  
 3. I could tell you  
 things, at Chatham, a

**f174v**

Garrison town, told me  
 by the Commandg Officers  
 themselves, of the way  
 in which men are  
 lured into these houses,  
 which do not observe  
 even the legal forms,  
 which would make  
 your hair stand on end.  
 But where is the use  
 of shocking you, if  
 one can do no good?

The answer men always  
 make is that vice is  
 inseparable from Garrison  
 towns. Certainly, while  
 nothing is done to  
 prevent it.

**f175**

-6-

3. Genl Knollys third objection is to be answered by thus. No Soldiers' Institute out of Barracks has yet been *started* without civilian subsns, hardly any have *gone on* without the same. How are you to get civilian subsns without allowing a civilian on the management? Civilians are none so ready to believe in Military good management as to throw their money into their hands.

**f175v**

But, you see Genl Knollys will have other objections which I may not have the luck to see beforehand. And I hope that Lord de Grey will give us the opportunity of answering them, before he makes up his mind.

There is one other thing which has given me great pain. A large iron hut capable of receiving 1000 men of an evening, but which has twice failed

**f176**

as an Officers' Club, was  
to be let. And I  
offered to take it on  
my own responsibility  
as to paying the rent  
as a Soldiers' Club.  
The C. in C. interfered  
& said that he wished  
it to remain an  
Officers' Club, *although*  
he would have to  
go to the W.O. for a  
grant to maintain  
it, as such, *because*  
he wanted a place  
for his "distinguished  
guests" to breakfast  
in at Aldershot.

**f176v**

This *is* being a *snob*.  
Our Soldiers would have  
paid the current  
expences themselves  
after first starting.  
And the C. in C. knew  
that we were only  
following up my  
dear master's plans.

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

I should mention  
one more thing. Genl  
Knollys says that  
all that we want  
doing has been done

**f177**

[7]

already under the  
name of Soldiers'  
Libraries. Now this  
is an entire misap-  
prehension of the  
question. No one  
would depreciate the  
good done by Soldiers'  
Libraries. But what  
we want to catch  
are not the steady  
men, who will read and stay at  
home, but the idle  
unsteady boys, who can't  
or won't read, who  
want a "free & easy"  
Smoking room, with

**f177v**

harmless games, illustrated  
papers, & a blaze of  
light - or they will  
go to public houses &  
worse places - [The  
effect of light, which  
all these public houses  
give, in attracting  
these untutored sensuous  
natures, is curious]

The touches which  
I wanted to have put  
in to the Report, were  
something of this kind  
viz two thirds of the  
present Reading Room  
accommodation is

**f178**

reported as "not comfortable." What does "not comfortable" mean? Often it means a quite bare room, almost dark. In hardly one single case is the light what you would call sufficient to read by. The same as to warmth. i.e. firing. In many instances, the "Reading Room" was a prison cell, a store room underground, a lock up room, a wash house or even something worse. And they wonder

**f178v**

the men rush out to the public house!!!

Everything however depends on the Commandg Officer. And he, you see, depends on the Horse Guards.

[end 15:453]

F. N.

**ff179-81v**, Studley Royal, Ripon, November 3, 1861, black-edged from Lord de Grey to Lady H., re Soldiers' Dayrooms. I am greatly obliged to you for your last letter & for sending on the one from Miss Nightingale about soldier's day rooms &c. I quite think with you that it will be wise to wait until Capt Galton and Dr Sutherland return before bringing the subject forward, especially as Galton writes me word that he expects to be back by the middle of this month.

In the mean time I will ascertain on my return to London next Thursday how the land lies and ...

Miss Nightingale may rest assured that full opportunity shall be given to reply to any objections raised by Genl Knollys. This, I think, I can undertake, but of course I do not know how far in my secondary position I may be able to influence the ultimate decision.

I propose to keep Miss Nightingale's letter for my assistance, if you do not object.

We are truly grieved to hear of your little girl's illness. I trust that Mentone may do her good I have heard the climate very well spoken of.

My wife desires to send you her best love. It is very good of you to wish to hear from her and she will write with pleasure. We are very glad that George is getting on so well at ....

**ff182-82v**, Tottenham, November 7, thick black-edged from Lady H to FN re her son's illness. Dearest. Only one line today. I found my illeg very ill - violent whooping cough having supervened on inflammation of the chest & croup. I can't foresee when we shall be able to move him! It is most unlucky. Please tell  $\Sigma$  this.

I hope & pray that I may not have done you harm yesterday. It was a real comfort to me to see you-- you do know all I have to bear more than any one else! It is strange, but I think his whole family belief *that he did not love me!*

How I wish they could have heard what you told me yesterday about his speech regarding me.

[at top] God bless you & shorten our time of waiting. E.H.

ff183-84v, 49. Belgrave Square, printed. November 11, 1861, re a paper written by FN on SH's work and the plans for his memorial. Dearest. Will you let me have a copy of the paper you have printed confidentially (& of wh you have give one to Strzelecky) about my darling's work?

It is so well done & so true & I should value it so very much.

I have brought my boy up to town & he is mending tho I cannot move him yet to France. I hope however to go the end of the week.

If you would like to see me again before that, only let me know, & may God bless you. yrs ever E.H.

It has been decided (as to the public meeting) that the residue of the money, after the statue is provided for, is to go for "Herbert exhibitions" to the Medical Students at Fort Pill Medical School. The Army illeg Army Convalescent Hospital should be done by the govt on *the Estimates* & they object to a illeg hospital so this is the only way of reconciling differences of opinion & I think it is a good one--as it will perpetuate his name better. What do you think/

**f185**, May 15, {archivist: 1862}}, EH to FN sending a prescription. printed 49 Belgrave Square black-edged. Here's the Prescription. But please return it or I shall be undone. yrs ever E.H.

{f186 is blank}

unsigned note, f186v, pen

**f186v**

Podopholyne (Morson's)  
gr 1/12

typed copy of initialed letter, f187

**f187**

*COPY*

(Oct. 17, 1862)

(Annotated by Lady Herbert "When I came back from abroad.")

(The rest of the letter had been cut away)

so much in your desolation coming to that Belgrave Sq. once so dear -  
now no longer the same either in spirit or in body. I know what it  
is, for I could not bear even to look down Burlington St. where I  
had seen him so often -

ever yours

F.N.

typed copy of initialed letter, ff188-89 [8:690-91]

**f188**

COPY

Feb. 14/63

(Annotated by Lady Herbert as follows: "on the Duke of Cambridge's feeling about Sidney & on the  
"Diagram of his work which Florence had drawn up.")

4 Cleveland Row  
St. James' S.W.

Dearest

I have no right to expect to hear from you. For you are the good Samaritan who have written last. My strength protests against my writing - which I don't wonder at. For I am of the same opinion myself.

Sometimes I have a little thing I want to tell you - some remembrance ( in some one's heart) of *him*. I had a note from the Duke of Cambridge a few days ago, speaking "of our late dear friend, "you know well how greatly I valued him - for his own noble qualities, "as also for the great good" &c. &c. to the Army and "deploring "that he was so early taken from amongst us." Perhaps these heart felt words are the more expressive as coming from one who usually I suppose does not feel much.

I hope you will be able to tell me that George's cough is *quite* gone. Dr. Williams always asks after this.

I have taken this house in order to be near the W.O. & shall be here till autumn, if I am obliged to live so long. *He* used to laugh at me & say he would give me lodgings over the W.O.

Things are perpetually hanging fire there, mainly owing to that Sir G. Lewis. Sometimes they seem to make some progress. But more often I have not the joy to see his reforms carried on.

**f189**

2.

I have had many touching letters (from professional men chiefly) speaking of the little paper with the Diagram on *him* saying "What a work to have done in a short life time", & "what a memorial that Diagram is to that noble man."

The Queen asked for a copy & gave one of her own accord to P. Louis of Hesse. And in return she sent me *her book*, with such a touching inscription. She always reminds me of the woman in the Greek chorus, with her hands clasped above her head, wailing out her irrepressible despair. I think is far from well. And Mrs. Walter Bracebridge's illness (she is 80) tries her much. I am sorry that Manning is gone to Rome. I am afraid he will worry you sadly. He has lost his nobleness of soul, since the struggle in it was over.

God bless you

For ever yours

F.N.

typed copy of initialed letter, f190 [8:691-92]

**f190**

COPY

(Annotated by Lady Herbert as follows: "on the final completion of *his* Indian Sanitary Commission.")

4 Cleveland Row

S.W.

May 26/63.

Dearest

I offer you a sad welcome to your sad home - But it may be well "come" still for you.

I heard only to-day that you came last week. I thought it was not till this week to be.

I was very sorry to hear of your anxiety about Eton.

I shall be back in London next week. But you must be overwhelmed with business.

I am trying to break a daily Intermittent Fever at Hampstead.

This day week, after four years' heavy work (how much those four years have done!) The Indian Sanitary Commission signed their Report, begun by *him*. There were three days of as sharp fighting as the Americans', to carry a clause which I was determined should be carried on the Report not signed, viz. To have a "working" Commission at home, after the fashion of *his*, to carry out the reforms indicated in the Report.

It is curious that people should think ~~that~~ a Report self-executive, - should not see that, when the Report is finished, the work begins. It was *his* glory to have introduced this new fashion of working Reports. And upon *his* name we carried it.

God bless you

ever yours

(Sgd.) F.N.

typed copy of initialed letter, f191 [8:692]

**f191** {archivist: To Lady Herbert}  
Hampstead N.W.  
Aug. 8/63.

My dearest, very dearest

I was very, very good of you to write to me on that dreadful day - kneeling as you were (& as I was too) at the foot of the Cross. I thought of you all day - I was with me - & every hour - & many hours & days besides. But it is a blessing to feel that you belong to him in all the misery, and he is not in the crypt.

I am here - 7 Oakhill Park - if you can find time to drive down & see me, when you go, or when you come back, thro' London. But I hardly expect it; you must be so busy.

Thanks for the beautiful flowers received the very evening before August 2.

Do you know you sent me flowers the very day before that terrible day two years ago when you left London for Wilton? I shall never forget it - your thinking of me at such a time - And I saw the last sunset on which *his* eyes were fixed.

I have been so ill & so busy - (in answer to your question) the business of the India Commission does not at all intermit - I wrote to Ct. Strzelecki something about it & asked him to tell you - so that I have not been able to write a word that I could put off -

My abominable proprietor turned me out of 4 C. Row. And I was obliged to take a lodging at 2 C. Row, which I have still, but could not stay in long, because of the noise. Otherwise I should be there now -

God bless you ever & ever yours

F.N.

I hope Pembroke is better - how unfortunate those repeated attacks.

Typed copy of initialed letter, f192 [8:693-94]

**f192**

Hampstead N.W.  
Sept. 30/63

Dearest

We carried (at last) the *home* advising India Commission yesterday - not exactly as we wanted - but enough, I trust, to carry out *his* plans, - for, after hard fighting, the Instructions, written by me at Lord de Grey's desire - were passed. We have now to get the three Presidency Commissions in India.

Many many thanks for the Burke - The passage about the "ourang-outang & the tyger", which I wanted, was in Vol. IV - in the speech on Mr. Fox's E. India bill in 1783 - I have used it; & I return the Burke to Andrews' Library to-day.

1000 thanks - (& blessings too- God bless you again & again.

Ever yours & *his*  
F.N.

*He* used always to say, whenever he left me (at Burlington St.) God bless you - And there was something so touching to me in *his* way of saying it that I can never hear or say the words without thinking of him. And I can hardly bear them now.

initialed letter, ff193-94, pen, black-edged stationery [8:694-95]

**f193**

Oak Hill Park  
Hampstead N.W.  
July 19/65

Dearest

I am totally unable to sit up or to talk & I am sure, for the next fortnight at least, I should not be able to see even you, were you so good, as to call. I Have been obliged even to put off an Indian, one of "our" Presidents of Sanitary Commissions, who was engaged to come here to talk with me.

But I have written to Mr. Wyatt, telling him

[T.H. Wyatt]

**f193v**

how gladly I would  
answer in writing  
any points he may  
wish to put, in writing.  
- & how much interested  
I am in the plans -  
& also that I *might*  
be able to see him  
in ten days or a fortnight.  
But I myself have  
very little hope of the  
same.  
I saw my mother on  
Sunday, & have  
scarcely been able to  
breathe since.  
Poor Hilary Carter is dying  
of internal tumour.

**f194**

God bless you  
ever yours,  
F.N.

typed copy of initialed letter, f195 [8:695]

**f195** typed copy of initialed letter, f191

*COPY*

Oak Hill Park  
Hampstead N.W.  
Aug. 2/65

Dearest

I can't let this terrible anniversary pass, without a word to you - terrible I call it because the wreck occasioned by his loss is from year to year more complete - not terrible to *him*, God knows.

I cannot write any more, for I am too ill.

I must keep all my strength for his work. I am almost glad to be so suffering as to feel this day less.

God bless you

ever yours

(Sgd.) F.N.

I feel every day more & more, as I feel his loss every day more & more, how priceless, how noble his memory - how great his service to God - how great the future, of an eternity of service to God, before him.

God did bless him; & God will bless all who follow in his steps -

signed letter, ff196-97, pen, black-edged stationery

**f196**

Hampstead, N.W.  
Aug 14/65

Dearest

I don't know what more I can say than in the enclosed.

It is absolutely impossible for me to see Mr. Wyatt. I cannot talk for 10 minutes without a night of agony.

And alas, alas, it is absolutely impossible for me to see you.

**f196v**

But if Mr. Wyatt wants  
my opinion any  
farther, I would  
give it in writing,  
to the best of my  
ability, in answer  
to any questions  
from him.

I enclose a List of  
the Council of the  
"N. Fund." If you  
like to write to them,  
you have my full  
consent. But I  
cannot do it. They

**f197**

would say at once  
that the trust-deed,  
prepared by Sidney  
Herbert himself, its  
founder, makes it  
expressly illegal, as  
you are aware, to  
alienate the funds  
or any part of them,  
in the way proposed.

God bless you  
ever yours

unsigned notes, ff198-99, pen [for hosp]

**f198**

1. Mr. Wyatt's own plans are *exceedingly* good - (B and C Plans) [I would keep however as close as possible to the accommodation given in the original of Plan A.] The Bath-room between the kitchen & Servants' Bed rooms Plan B, should either be taken away or reserved for Sisters & Servants

I think too the communication between Men's & Women's side would have to be

Two Baths for Patients would be required, one for each side.

2. The half of the original plan, as proposed by Mr. Wyatt Plan A, would be, of course, preferable - But I do not know that I am even at

**f198v**

liberty to say this, as  
even this is above  
the sum at the  
disposal of the  
Committee.

3. The plans prepared  
at the W.O. were  
fully considered, &  
have since been most  
highly approved by  
Medical authority.  
I do not see how  
I can make any  
alteration in them.

4. The style adopted  
was not essential  
but was to make  
the Hospital a  
worthy memorial.

5. The question is  
one of expence. The  
W.O. Estimate was,

**f199**

I believe sent to the Committee & was certainly much lower than the one now named. I presume the cost of building has risen 30 percent in the last few years. No better judge could be found than Mr. Wyatt. By his decision we must abide.

6. The "Nightingale Fund." was purposely tied up by its originator to prevent any expenditure in building. And the whole proceeds *must* by the deed be devoted to training. [end]  
14/8/65

initialed letter, ff200-201, pen black-edged stationery

**f200**

Hampstead N.W. [hosp]  
Aug 15/65

Dearest

It occurred to me that Mr. Wyatt may not have seen the W.O. specification & estimate for the Convalescent Memorial Cottages, which was sent with the plans.

The W.O. entirely disbelieve & [illeg] [doubt?] the statement that the half of that plan

**f200v**

(even including the undoubted rise in building prices) can possibly reach "£5000," as stated in the paper you sent me.

They say it is IMPOSSIBLE, according to our specification. - and that the builder has allowed himself to be led into fears (as to the cost) by the manner of building intended by him

**f201**

being so much more costly than they considered necessary

Of course, it would be absurd to talk of Plans B and C, (which were sent me,) being, a *Memorial*, altho' the cottages are exceedingly good in a sanitary sense.

But I knew not what to say.

ever yours

F.N.

signed letter, ff202-03, pen

**f202**

Hampstead N.W.  
Aug 22/65

Dearest

I send the original plans  
& specification. Yes: if you remember,  
they were expressly sent to me  
on the ground that they would  
only be safe (& not lost) in my  
custody. I was not asked for  
them before, otherwise they would  
have been forth coming. I sent  
for them to 34 South St. yesterday.  
And here they are.

But, as to the Estimate, of *that*  
unfortunately I have no copy, ~~of~~,  
(neither has the W.O., to whom I  
have sent) illustrating the great  
propriety of having given the plans  
& specification into my keeping,

**f202v**

which are now forth coming, whereas  
the Estimate is not.

The Estimate was written on  
a separate sheet of note paper,  
like a private note.

At the Surveyor's Dept. of the  
W.O., where I sent to enquire, they  
cannot remember the exact amount  
but they state that they are "quite  
"safe in putting the approximate  
"cost at *under* £4000." x x also that  
"the rise in materials & work wages  
"(since the Estimate was sent to you)  
"would make a very small difference  
"indeed in so small a job."

They say, moreover, that "every  
"thing in the plan & specification was  
"in so complete a state that nothing  
"absolutely was wanted except  
"putting the quantities up to tender."  
xx for the whole plan

**f203**

The W.O. begs that, if ~~you~~/they, the  
Committee, decide not to build on  
the plans, they will send them  
& the specification back to me  
for use elsewhere.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff204-05, pen, black-edged stationery [8:695-96]  
**f204**

Hampstead N.W.  
Sept 9/65

Dearest

Tho' scarcely able to write,  
I cannot help suggesting  
to you whether, if not  
done already, you would  
not invite Mr. Thomas,  
the Architect, to this  
Stone laying. He has  
never received any  
remuneration. He  
had an acknowledgment  
from you which  
pleased him so much  
(he even wrote me  
word about it ) And  
I have sometimes

**f204v**

sent him game, as from  
you.

But, so far as I know,  
he has never received  
so much as a line of  
thanks, except from  
you, for what cost him  
weeks of labour - and  
labour which is very  
highly paid in London.  
And he is a poor man.

If his plans are  
accepted, I am sure  
it would give him very  
great pleasure, if you,  
in your own gracious  
way, would have him  
invited to the Laying of

**f205**

the Stone - as Architect.

If they are rejected, I  
really don't know  
whether the invitation  
would be a compliment.

God bless you  
ever yours

F.N.

Hilary Carter died on  
Wednesday morning  
early. I cannot say  
my gratitude to God -  
the suffering had been  
so cruel. but the end  
was peace - all peace  
& rest.

James L. Thomas Esq

Surveyor's Department  
is his address. War Office  
and he is now in Pall Mall S.W.  
London.

Typed copy of signed letter, f206 [8:696]

**f206**

COPY (Annotated by Lady Herbert as follows: On George's Illness before going to the West Indies in the Autumn.")

Feb. 21/67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dearest

I have not written, solely in order not to add another to your already overwhelming troubles -

I am thankful to see your hand-writing again - thankful to know that at least all immediate danger is passed -

I am afraid that you still look forward to a tedious convalescence - still look forward to some difficulty as to knowing what best to do next. But it is well that the winter appears to be past - & that it is at this moment there are no London East wind & fogs.

May God restore him entirely to an useful active life is the earnest prayer of his father's friend.

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

P.S. I have had for 17 nights such an attack on my Chest that I have been able neither to lie down nor to sit up *nor to speak* -

It would not have signified so much but that, as you know, we are never so busy as at this time of year - And *his* work is always sacred to me - always to be carried on in spite of everything -

*Just now* I am afraid to see even your dear face or to speak is impossible to me.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, f207 [8:697]

**f207**

COPY

Sept. 5/67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane  
London, W.

Dearest

Thanks, loving thanks for your news of the "Herbert Home." I wish I could tell you how I rejoice over it. It is so much to have one good thing really done - (I scarcely ever waste a thought upon my imprisonment, thanks to God - But I should have liked to have been able to see that one thing before I die.)

I never look forward for more than a week, but, if possible, when you are in London on the 28th, I shall hope to see you, as you are so good as to propose.

I always long to hear of your children, *his* children, especially of his "Molly" - I am very sorry that George has had another attack. I trust it is past. We are very busy (about the Indian Public Health Service) which has grown out of '*his*' work -

God bless you & yours

ever yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I grieved indeed for you when I heard of Mr. Chermside's too early death. If poor Mrs. Chermside remembers me at all, would you tell her how I think of her - & how I valued & appreciated even the little intercourse I had with him. (He has been but 6 years later than the one he honoured so much.) I pray that God will make her 'brave.'

F.N.

unsigned draft JS hand, ff208-08v, pencil black-edged stationery

**f208** {archivist: [To Lady Herbert] [Jan 68]} JS hand rough

Mrs Neison, widow of Mr. Neison, the actuary who was employed by Lord Herbert on the Army Commission of 1859 has written to me about her son, she says at your suggestion. ~~If~~ In consequence of this I sent her letter which I enclose to Dr. Farr who has written to me as you will see.

The result is that the young man is *likely* & may get on as an actuary, ~~but in person~~ {illeg. illeg. illeg} in some London office. In my present state this appears to me to be all I can do in the matter, and ~~what~~ the next thing is for them to apply to some {illeg other?} office for employment. I could enquire about India if you

**f208v**

like, but it would be wrong to give hope in that direction

**ff209-11v**, 100 Adelaide Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W, Jan 20, 1868  
re a position for her son. Madam.  
on top; Please return to F.N.

**ff212-13v**, 38 Chesham Place, S.W., February 5 1868, from EH re Mrs Neison, and giving news of her family. Dearest. I am in despair at not having a moment to come to you. I am off tomorrow at 6 to join the children in Italy & every moment is engaged till then!

I told poor Mrs Neison she might not write to you as I thought from your knowledge of her husband's work & of Dr Farre, you might be

typed copy of signed letter, f214, original John Wilson Mss

**f214**

COPY

August 1/68

(Annotated by Lady Herbert as follows: 35 South Street,  
 "on my sad anniversary & Herbert Park Lane,  
 "Meade's death.") London, W.

Dearest

**[8:698-99]**

My thoughts always turn to you at the loss, now more terrible to me year by year, which actually will have been 7 years to-morrow.

And now there is another loss which, however smaller in importance, is still most painful - (I remember walking about with those boys, about 10 and 11, at Wilton -) But how noble was his thought of others at the last, - like his Uncle!

I feel now how the extra overwork (I am always overworked) of the last 18 months has told upon me. The fact is: I had to be moved from South St. & to 'disappear" - & even not to have my letters given me - so that I did not receive yours till after you had left London, I believe.

The order has come from Rome to re-open the Hospital of the nuns who served your husband (in Great Ormond St.) Perhaps we are indebted to you for this. But it is not yet, re-opened. They are still haggling about money with the nuns - wanting to cut them down, after having invited them there as a Community, from being a Community. A word from you would set this right.

Revd. Mother at Bermondsey is very suffering -

I grieved to hear how ill you had been at Rome. I hope that has quite passed away.

I never see the beautiful sunset light on the trees without remembering how he noticed it on that last evening this day 7 years. God bless you ever - always yours.

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE. [end 8:699]

Typed copy of incomplete letter, f215 [8:699]

**f215**

COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

Jan. 12/69

Dearest - Indeed I do know how very ill you have been.

There have been those who wished for nothing, neither to die nor to live, except as they fulfilled God's will - who had so strong a feeling of their own lives being one with the will of God as to exclude every other feeling, every care, every hope or fear of living or dying.

How far I am from this - True, it is easier in a contemplative life than in an active strife in God's service, such as you & I have to live - But may we not hope that each year of strife may bring us nearer to this absolute one-ness with God's will, making our active life a "spiritual exercise"? -

I am glad that you have been able to leave London.

I submitted Sister Lane's letter (enclosed) to those of the W.O. who made the working plans of the "Convalescent Home".  
Omitting some uncomplimentary

(The remainder of the letter is missing)

typed copy of signed letter, f216, original on sale John Wilson Manuscripts  
internet [8:699-700]

**f216**

*COPY*

35 South Street  
Park Lane, W.  
Aug. 1/69  
(Eve of Sidney Herbert.)

Dearest

I am sure that you know how I always keep this Eve - the Eve  
of a loss of which I feel more & more every year how 'agonizing' it  
is -

a loss which is national, not personal. Personal losses one  
can bear.

May God bless you & give you joy in your children is the  
unceasing prayer of yours ever

(Sgd) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**ff217-17v**, July 21, 1871, EH to FN with news of the Herbert family. printed  
38 Chesham Place, S.W. thin black-edged

It was indeed a disappoint to me, dearest Flo, when on going to South St  
yesterday with my boy we found you flown. I wanted you so much to see him!

He only returned form the country the day before yesterday or he would have  
come sooner--and now we are on the wing for Ireland & the Festivities there.

I send you an acct of the Wilton ones.

Pembroke spoke very well & with the manly simplicity which was so  
characteristic of his darling father.

God bless you dearest, yrs ever loving M.E. Herbert

typed copy of signed letter, ff218-19 (Annotated by Lady Herbert as follows:  
"on Sid's accident & George's visit to her") [8:703]

**f218**

COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
Nov. 8/71.

Dearest

I heard of the "dear old boy's" accident - & felt so uneasy that I could not help writing to Mr. A'Court, (who is always so good in responding to my cry of news of you). I hope, from his account, that it is not so bad as I had fancied - Still it is quite bad enough - The thought of him seemed to pursue me all thro' the nights.

But I am sure that, like his Father (you know the Sidney blood will always 'out', when there is occasion for it) he will shew that gentleness which is the highest strength & submit to rest & restriction however irksome ☺ for a time.

The constitution, as well as the sight, requires such absolute rest after a blow, like that! It is a 'grande bonne fortune' that he can have it where he is now - among you all.

I was touched by your bringing your noble fellow (of the Fiji shipwreck) to see me - (That very day I had left for my father's.) If God spares me, I should like so much to make his acquaintance some day - (But I never had time to acknowledge your kind visit.)

God bless you & all those children, full of promise - is my unceasing, fervent prayer

In great press of business & illness, but believe me  
ever yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**f219**

-2-

I do not even know whether your boy 'Pembroke' has left you -  
I do not ask you to write - I know your many claims -

typed copy of signed letter, ff220-22 [8:703-04]

**f220**

COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
Jan. 8/74.

I was glad to see your dear hand again -

Yes: my dear Father went home quite suddenly on Monday morning at 8 o'clock: he had got up at his usual early hour: when they ran to him, there was no breath, nothing.

I do not feel his death awful for *him*: it is *his* New Year: it is what he would have chosen - he was quite ready to part with his life: he always wished to go out of the world quietly: it was part of his single-minded character. I think his was the purest mind & most single heart I have ever known:

But it is very dreary not to have seen him once more: that none of us were by him at the last: not a last word or farewell.

But for *him* it is best so. The Almighty Goodness has done with him what was best. No one knows what a break up it is to us: for me especially: I had only just received the idea that I might survive my mother: I never once thought that *I* should survive *him*: I thought he had 10 years of life in him: I perhaps not one.

The funeral is on Saturday: a walking funeral - what *he* would have wished: only the family & the tenants: his cottagers carry him -

One of the very last things he did, tho' ailing, was to see after building fresh rooms to a cottage.

And the night before he died he carved for a large family party, including children, as usual.

No: his death is not awful for *him*: he was the truest

**f221**

-2-

father to all his people & cottagers: not pauperizing them: but wise & careful : helping them to help themselves : even seeing that the wives kept their husbands' houses tidy himself.

There was hardly a pauper on his places: May those who come after him do as well for those he so loved & cared for: He ~~said~~ said a few words, evidently meant as a farewell to us, to one of his nieces that last day - repeated 2 lines about meeting again - which my dear Mother treasures up -

Her grief is sweet & gentle: she begged to go in & "kiss him": but yielded when she was told that it was only his "old garment" there: he was not "there." The grand old head was much changed: tho' death came without the least struggle -

We had been anxious for her, not him: & I had actually had the Invalid Carriage ordered every day for a fortnight to go down to her. He wrote himself to prevent me - on account of my weakness. I had not seen so much of them as usual this last year: work was so heavy in London & I had only been 2 months with them at Lea Hurst.

I shall try to do my work as much as possible & as soon as possible as usual: as he would have had me -

I must go on for a few months or years longer: & try to "finish the work" which God & *Sidney Herbert* "gave me to do."

I never forget *him* for a hour. Nay: I think that every month since August 2 1861 I remember him more -

I wrote to  $\Sigma$ : & sent my letter by a friend: who saw her but could not tell her: & finally left my letter for the Doctor to give

**f222**

-3-

her or not as he judged right - It seems a dreary end for *her*: when the Doctor decides for her what she is to feel & know -

Please tell dear Mrs. Fowler -

I cannot write much : & have so much to write -

God bless you ever:

ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter, ff223-24 [8:705-06]

**f223**

COPY

Embley

Romsey.

Feb. 3/74

Yes: she is gone dearest. She was more than mother to me: and oh that I could not be a daughter to her in her latter times; What should I have been without her? And what would many have been without her?

To one living with her as I have, she was unlike any other being here below: hers was faith: real sympathy with God: as unlike others as a picture of a sunny scene is to the real light & warmth of sunshine: or as this February lamp we call our Sun is to her own Eastern sun of living light in Palestine -

It is my last parting with my past from aught but pain: to her all joy -

And *her* rising-again:

but *she* would not have me say it: so I can only think of that Saturday morning - after the suffering darkness of her last sad months - as of the first time I saw with her: after a bad voyage: (this but a pale likeness of her rising again: heaven will be the happier for her:). the Sun spring out of Eastern seas: not with the chill damp of an English dawn: but rejoicing like a giant to run his course - in the glory of God.

Hers was "another dawn than ours"

But "oh the difference to me." In thought I always lived with her in the days of her sorrows. May we be with her now in thought in the days of her joy!

Other people live together to make each other worse: she

**f224**            2

lived to make others better: such real Christian humility:  
Excepting my dear Father, I never knew any so really humble: & with  
hers: the most active heart & mind & buoyant soul that could well  
be conceived: was it not the more remarkable?

I can but think of her with words which she said almost  
with a divine rapture: To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

Now let us fetch a real blessing from our Father in heaven  
when saying: God bless you and I am ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

I hope to be in London again in 2 or 3 weeks: for I have  
much to do. I came down here to be with my poor mother.  
She wandered (much & painfully) when I first came -  
But now there is sometimes a gleam of divine happiness on  
her face: worth living to see.

For me: the place all "withered since my Father died."

God gives me no time or strength to write much.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, f225 [8:706]

**f225**

35 South St.  
Park Lane, W.  
July 7/74

Dearest: Ld Panmure's death & your note received this morning  
overflowed me with bitter sweet memories.

I have a little more to do than can be done in the 24 hours:  
& ever declining strength to do it with.

This afternoon I had a business appt. (the afternoon you offer  
me) - I could not possibly put off. I have another to-morrow  
afternoon. I have two of our Matrons staying (different nights) in  
the house this week. The seeing our Matrons & Nurses forms a great  
addition to my present fatigues.

And we have had to remove my poor mother from her homes of 56  
years.

As you say, so much has happened - & so few to care for it.

But I could not bear not to see you, if you wish it.

I can scarcely ever make an appointment under a week - to see  
my nearest or dearest, but would gladly see *you* any day at 5 for  
1/4 of an hour that you would now fix, *provided* I knew a day or two  
beforehand. I am full of Indian business: overweighted.

God bless you:

ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I have not a copy by me of my pamphlet on "Life or Death in  
India" (Harrison: 59 Pall Mall:) or would send it you.

F.

signed letter, ff226-29, pen & pencil [8:707-08]

**f226**

{printed address:} 10, South Street, Feb 24/90  
Grosvenor Square, W.

Dearest Indeed that loss,  
unspeakable, irreparable, is  
always before me. But he  
has kindled a fire which  
will never go out, whose life  
~~beneficent~~/giving light & warmth  
is spreading all over the world,  
& will spread. The tree is  
sown in India & is  
beginning to grow - But  
fire & tree all sadly want  
an artificer now, like him  
to take the work in hand.  
And where will such an one  
be found? Perhaps this  
"Life" of him (proposed) may

**f226v**

give the requisite impulse -  
And this is what he  
would have wished.  
God grant that his work,  
with his wonderful insight, & perception,  
his self devotion & laborious-  
ness, - his power, amounting  
to genius, of working out  
practically in administration  
the principles he had, so to  
speak discovered - his power ~~of~~  
so increased by his kindness & courtesy,  
of "multiplying himself,"  
organizing men so that  
they should see with his  
eyes & work with his  
hands, which is genius -

**f227**

~~may be so set forth in  
this book~~ as to create  
a new era & organisation  
for what he did 30 years  
ago - *That* would be  
a work indeed worthy of  
him. Would that I  
could help you in giving,  
you materials for the proposed Life, as you ask      But alas!  
I cannot, I am altogether  
unable, I am sorry to say,  
to do what you wish &  
what I should wish so  
much.

I have no letters from  
him that I could send you.  
His letters while I was in

**f227v**

the Crimean War, were not  
on very important business,  
& not such as one cared to  
preserve.

Afterwards, ~~during~~ there were the  
five years all but a week  
from August 7 1856, the day we came back, to August  
2, 1861 - NOT 'Dies irae', it  
was the day that took him  
home to minister to still  
greater works for his, for  
our Heavenly Father - - -  
you know, who better? how {there is a diagonal line through the next 4  
lines}  
it was - letters do not pass  
between those who see  
each other day after day  
For about two years, or  
three,

**f228**

-2-

I saw him in business, almost

every day - letters do not pass between those who see  
each other day after day ~~and~~ papers

passed continually between  
us even during the years when I did not  
see him often But during the whole period there were no letters none kept  
and not a line

of record or of copy have

I: nor a line of diary.

He sometimes made little headings  
of the Subjects we had to  
discuss - sometimes little  
notes of what we discussed.

But these he always took  
away : & I dare say they  
were not kept beyond the  
next day.

How sorry I am to have  
to say this to you you ~~alone~~/will know

**f228v**

~~can judge you alone,~~  
for I can never forget  
the kindly precious *aid*  
your hand gave to  
all this communication  
~~which without it that~~  
~~generosity & good will of your~~  
~~could not have been~~

**f229**

After this, perhaps you  
may hardly wish to see  
me, as you kindly offer.

My illness has so  
much increased that  
I am scarcely/not equal to  
the work constantly  
increasing upon me.  
And I hardly see any  
one not closely connected  
with that present work.

I hope you are pretty  
well. May all blessings  
attend you. ~~Fare you  
very well~~

ever your old friend  
Florence Nightingale

ff230-33v, Herbert House, Belgrave Square, S.W., March 9, 1890, re the dismissal of St. Thomas' Matron because of her Roman Catholicism. printed Herbert Hose, Belgrave Square S.W. *Private* Dearest Flo. I felt so much on seeing you the other day & it made me forget one thing which I very much wanted to speak to you about as I had PROMISED TO DO SO. [FN red und]

It is about the *Nightingale* [FN red und] nurses at St Thomas! Are you aware that the very nice matron there, who succeeded Mrs Wardroper has been *dismissed* [red und] by the *Nightingale Fund Council* on account of her having become a Catholic, *in spite* of the representations of the Medical authorities? (who value her as she deserves). I remember some years ago a similar instance of bigotry when Mrs *Wardroper refused to train* a Catholic nurse for poor Lady Warrender on acct of her religion. but I thought that was owing to Mrs Wardroper's private prejudices. This, however, is a more serious matter. And no one knows better than you how *entirely* contrary it is to *his* wishes & intentions. *One of the fundamental rules of what was after all his foundation was that there was to be NO DISTINCTION of church.* And yet in *no hospital* [FN red und] in London is that rule so *violated* as even to exclude the training of Catholic nurses. I spoke once to Mr *Bowman* about it & he deplores in as much as I did but attributed it to Mrs Wardroper. Now she is gone it seems as bad as ever! So that I felt you were the only person to whom I could appeal to remedy this *great wrong* which is in direct *contradiction to his plan & purpose*. If I were not a Catholic myself I shd feel it just as strongly now knowing so well *his mind* on the matter.

Ever dearest Flo in tender memory of the past. yr M.E. Herbert  
P.S. I do not speak for Miss *Pringle's* sake whom I do not know except by reputation.

But Lady Evelyn Moreton & Miss Wild Blundell who have had ten years' of hospital training hope to secure her for a new home for *Catholic Surgical Nurses* wh is just illeg to supply a need greatly felt & which the good nuns of the different nursing orders are unable to supply, they never having been properly trained in a hospital.

unsigned note, f234, pen

**f234** -4- {archivist: [March 1890]}

Dearest - I have entered  
fully into these latter particulars some  
of which you know, because  
I am sure that we can  
understand each other  
as I should understand the  
R.C.'s for ~~no~~& in similar cases.

Pardon my unwilling  
delay in answering your  
letter

ff235-37, March 18, 1890, printed Herbert House Belgrave Square s.W. thin  
black-edged EH to FN re the admission of R.C.s to train as Nurses. Dearest.  
NO. You & never can misunderstand one another!

I would only take exception to one statement "that it is notorious that the  
managers of hospitals in Great Britain almost invariably decline to employ  
R.C. Nurses." That that is the case in London is true, except in the case of  
the *London, Middlesex, St George's* & one or two other hospitals. But in the  
big towns in Lancashire it is otherwise.

At the Royal Infirmary at Liverpool *Miss Merreweather* who started the  
training of nurses there a *Miss Baker* who succeeded her received a very large  
number of Catholic nurses, placed there as *head nurses* in many of the most  
important wards & as district nurses in different parts of the town, & was  
specially careful that they should have opportunities of practising their  
religion. But no

ff238-38v, March 19, 1890, EH to FN re a R.C. Lady Superintendent at  
Manchester and *Miss Pringle's* dismissal

signed letter, ff239-40v, pen

[12:414-15]

**f239**

Private March 29/90  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Grosvenor Square. W.

Dearest

No - we can never  
misunderstand one another;  
that is my comfort.

With regard to Miss  
Corballis, I would suggest that  
she should apply to our  
Secretary

Hy Bonham Carter Esq  
5 Hyde Park Square  
W.

in the first instance

or wait until Miss Gordon  
the new Matron at St. Thomas',  
comes (which will be in a  
fortnight) & apply to her:

**f239v**

(Miss Gordon  
Matron  
S. Thomas Hospital  
S.E.)

~~But I am very sorry to say/~~The delay is immaterial as I  
understand that there are no vacancies  
till the end of June - {illeg} She  
must be prepared {illeg illeg to think?} that  
she has the {illeg illeg illeg prospect of an engagement?}  
You will be leaving London  
& England so soon, dearest  
All good attend you, &  
take care of yourself -  
You are so far from well.  
ever yours with great  
love

F. Nightingale

**f240**

With regard to the "London"  
& I believe the other Hospitals  
mentioned, as to employment  
of R.C. Nurses, you are  
aware that the "London" (&  
I believe those others) is ~~or was~~  
in the habit of taking  
Probationers upon payment  
for short periods *without*  
*any obligation as to service*  
& were *under no responsibility*  
to find them employment.

**f240v**

{this f has a diagonal line drawn through it}

With regard to the management  
of S. Thomas' Hospital : I  
am not the responsible  
*authority*, as I dare say  
you know; and other  
questions, as you readily  
admit, have to be  
considered by the Manager,  
besides the wishes or views  
of the Committee of the N.  
Fund.

Fare you very well,  
dearest, on your journey;  
fare you always well.  
Breathe,

F.N.

**f241** pencil EH hand

Dearest Flo Nothing *will* come into my head so good for the purpose at  
Beautiful Gate & Paul preaching in Burnett's Engravings which are a very  
effective kind of scratchy messo tint one lays in housekeepers room & one in  
nursery at Combe & I never tire of them. There are also Holloway's Engravings  
of the same & all the Cartoons they are good but the much larger have not so  
much effect I think on a wall. Burnetts are about 2 f 6 x 1.8. HOLLOWAY'S are  
regular copper plate engravings, good, but rather tame & much more expensive  
unless lately lowered in price than Burnett. Photographs from pictures  
themselves are almost always disfigured to the common eye by cracks in the  
varnish but if you would like a photograph from a good print of the Dresden  
Madonna that can no doubt be had & it is certainly what may be called  
*inspiring*. Shall I write to a painter friend of mine at Manchester to  
choose one of the above, or the two Cartoons at a capital shop there is  
there. I like reading your Matrons engraving enjoying letter. thank you for  
it. [fin]

Add Mss 43397, 333 folios, 219 pages, microfilm, corr on the Crimean War, Adam Matthew reel 3

ff23-66 Frederick  
 ff69-163 Lady Cranworth  
 ff166-204 Bracebridges  
 ff205-74 Lefroy  
 ff275- end Clarke/Mohl

**f1** letter to FN from War Dept, Panmure 3 June 1856; fair hand, 3 June 1856. Madam, As the period is now fast approaching when your generous and disinterested labours will cease, with the occasion which called them forth, I am anxious to make such arrangements as shall be most acceptable to yourself for your return to England, or your voyage to any European port at which you may proceed to land.

I shall be glad, therefore, to know when you propose to leave the Crimea, or the Bosphorus, as the case may be, in order that I may request Sir Charles Wood to instruct the admiral on the station to facilitate and contribute in every possible way to your convenience and comfort during the voyage.

in their contemplating the close of those anxious and trying duties, which you imposed upon yourself solely with a view to alleviate the suffering so Her Majesty's Army in the East, and which you have accomplished with a singleness of purpose beyond all praise, it is not necessary for me to inform you how highly Her Majesty appreciates the services you have rendered to Her Army as Her Majesty has already conveyed to you a signal proof of her gracious approbation.

But I desire now on the behalf of my colleagues and myself, to offer you our most cordial thanks for your humane and generous exertions.

In doing so, I feel confident that I simply express the unanimous feelings of the people of this country.

(I am bound also to express our heartfelt acknowledgments to those Ladies, Protestant and Roman Catholic) who were associated with you in your labours, and who have not shrunk from encountering privations, disease and unhappily in some instances even death itself, in ministering o the relief and consolation of those who have fought and suffered in the late war.... Panmure.

f4 incomplete unsigned letter to My Lord.

**f5** letter from illeg Invermark, Brechin (on Dalhousie estate) to Madam 13 Aug 1856, ack receipt of hers of 8th to Lord Panmure and expresses his hope you are returned in good health after your long & arduous labours. Rest awhile and when I return to town at end of Sept or beg Oct hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

Letter, ff7-8, pen.

**f7r**

30 Old Burlington St. [14:489]

W

Jan 22/57

Dear Lord Panmure

Altho' I hear you

saying "there is that  
"bothering woman come  
"again," I will remind  
you ~~humbly~~ that I  
am staying in town,  
in order to await your  
decision, which you  
informed me (in two  
notes) you meant to  
give when you felt

**f7v**

well enough & when  
you returned to town.

1. as to the Report  
on the Southampton Hospital  
which you directed  
Dr. Sutherland & myself  
to make, whether you  
wish any further steps  
to be taken?

2. as to the "Precis"  
which you directed me  
to make upon general  
subjects connected  
with the Army organi-  
zation & with Army

**f8r**

Hospital organization,  
more particularly. You  
desired me to inform  
you when this should  
be nearly ready, which  
it now is, in order that  
you might write me  
Official Instructions  
to send you what I  
~~now~~ might have ~~almost~~ observed  
~~prepared~~ in the course of my experience in the Crimea.

3. as to the Female  
Nursing in Army  
Hospitals in general,  
of which you did me

**f8v**

the honor to speak to me. I  
have now visited several  
Army Hospitals & would  
give you any information  
you might desire to have.

I would wait upon  
you, if more convenient  
to your Lordship

[end 14:489]

Believe me  
dear Lord Panmure  
faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

f9 Panmure to FN 24 Jan 1857 re her letter yesterday, going to Windsor, re seeing her when back Wednesday, pale blue paper. Dear Miss Nightingale, I got your letter yesterday eveng. I am going to Windsor this forenoon to remain till Monday. I will call upon you on Wednesday, my first opening, at 12 noon. In haste yrs faithfully Panmure

**f10** WO Pall Mall. S.W. pen. 18 Feb 1857 Panmure letter to FN asks for her experience, and on sanitary reqs of army generally, "to ask you to favor me with the results of that experience on matters of so much importance to her Majesty's Army. I need hardly add that shd you do so, they will meet with the most attentive consideration, and that I shall endeavour to further, so far as it lies in my power, the large and generous views wh you entertain on this important subject.

Letter, f11, pen

**f11r**

30 Old Burlington St. [16:247-48]  
London W  
April 8/57

Dear Lord Panmure

When last you were kind enough to afford me the opportunity of some conversation with you about Army ~~Hospitals~~ Medical matters, you may perhaps remember that you allowed me the privilege of reporting to you personally ~~about~~ any thing connected with ~~those~~ existing, Military Hospitals,

**f11v**

which I might see ~~any~~ desirable ~~reason to do so~~ to bring before your notice. You kindly said, apply to me whenever you like.

I have seen the Chatham Hospitals - and, if you still continued to wish it, shall be ready to report some easy & possible improvements to you.

[end 16:248]

Believe me  
dear Lord Panmure  
faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

**f12** Panmure to FN WO 11/April 1857. I have recd your letter and will call at Burlington on Tuesday. ½ p 12, if suits your convenience.

fair copy, signed by Panmure. Knowing as I do how anxiously you devoted yourself to improve the condition of our soldiers, especially with reference to their treatment in hospital, I make no apology for asking your further assistance and advice with the same object. Your personal experience and observations during the late war must have furnished you with much important information relating not only to the medical care and treatment of the sick and wounded, but also to the sanitary requirements of the army generally, and the communication of your opinions upon these subjects cannot fail to prove very valuable.

It is with this view that I now have the honor to ask you to favor me with the results of that experience on matters of such importance to Her majesty's Army. I need hardly add, that should you do so, they will meet with the most attentive consideration, and that I shall endeavour to further, so far as it lies in my power, the large and generous views which you entertain on this important subject....

f13 Panmure to FN 25 Ap 1857. pale blue paper. I will do myself the honour of calling on you on Thursday at 12 if I do not hear from to say that hour is inconvenient. I shall be able to show you the dept instructions to the commission, which I send to Mr Herbert today & I wish also to talk to you about female nurses in our general military hospitals. Yrs faithfully Panmure. 25/Apr/57

**f14** Panmure to FN 27 April 1857 I find I cannot send you the draft of the inst before tomorrow.

ff15-16 printed War Office Pall Mall S.W. B Hawes letter on behalf of Panmure to FN sends by his desire a draft of our proposed med commission Ap 29 1857 WO; I send you by Lord Panmure's desire a draft of our proposed medical commission. I am afraid I must ask you for an speedy reply as to how far you approve of it, or in what respect you would object to any attention.

I think its focuses are large and sufficient to comprehend any branch of the subject.

Ld Panmure therefore to send a copy to the queen immediately. B.H.

**f17** 3 May 1857 Panmure letter to FN sends illeg, has returned her paper on female nursing as it requires. I will trouble you upon the subject hereafter

Draft letter, ff18-19, pen {archivist's date: May 3? 1857}, *Panmure Papers* 2:381, original National Archives of Scotland

## **f18**

Dear Lord Panmure

~~I learnt to You desired~~ directed **[15:149]**  
~~to speak to me last week~~ me last week to make suggestions  
 to yourself as to the organization of  
 Female Nursing in Army

Hospitals. And the  
Director Genl, A.M.D.,  
ordered last week the  
expulsion of Female nurses  
from the Woolwich Artillery  
Hospitals with the  
exception of two, & the  
substitution of the  
Hospital Corps.

May I ask whether

**f18v**

this was by your orders  
& whether you contemplated  
the introduction of Female  
Nursing "after this manner"?

I have composed a  
little pencil sketch, to  
be dedicated, with  
permission, to your Lordship,  
setting forth the orders  
emanating from the S. of S.  
~~for the organization of to introduce~~  
Female Nursinges into Army  
Hospitals, & another  
from the Army Medical Board  
to turn them out.

**f19r**

I enclose a (merely  
tentative & experimental)  
~~sketch of~~ Proposition as to the duties of  
Female Nurses in Army  
Hospitals. I cannot  
expect the S. of S. to enter  
into the details. But I  
may perhaps be favored  
with his ~~ass~~ decision as  
to ultimate steps.

[end]

**F20** Panmure to FN July 7 1857. Private. Dear Miss Nightingale, I am glad you think that the "Patient" is improved. It has had so many doctors for so much consultaiton that I wonder it is not dead & buried long since.

Admitting fully the great credit due to Mr Brunel for his Renkioi hospitals, I as you admit that Capt Laffan has done the very best that could be done for the impossible problems given him to illeg, I really think I must now give .... can't read more

**f22** Instructions for guidance of com appt to draw up regs for army med service and conduct of hosps 13 Nov 1857

**ff23-24** War Office. Private. 3 Oct 1865 embossed WO JJ Frederick to FN With reference to your note of yesterday I beg to enclose for your perusal a cpy of Dr Leith's reply othe Remakrs of the A.S. Committee on his report on the sanitary state of the Bombay ARmy--it has been lent me by Sir Proby Cautley ont he strict understanding that *I make no official use of it and that I return it to him* when ween by the members of the committee who may wish to look it through.

The India Office, he tells me, are anxious to suppress it so that an end may be put to the controversy.

Under these circs I must beg of your to return it to me when you have done

with it in order that I may keep my promise to him.

I duly forwarded your packet to Sir J. Lawrence yesterday & shall be happy to forward any others you may have occasion to send.

encloses copy of Dr Leith's reply to ASC remarks

**f25** JJ Frederick to FN 5 May 1866, forwards list of subjects for discussion at general meeting of ASC, embossed WO

**ff26-30** Report of ASC re Scinde Jan 18 1867

**f31-32** March 11 1867 J.J. Frederick letter to FN on embossed WO at JS request has been to office of directors of convict prisons and has obtained info re convict hosp

**ff33-34** May 8 1868 Frederick letter to FN re applicant for matron, Mrs Parry 43397 f33 with letter of Mary Parry to him

**ff35-36** letter to Sir from 100 London Road, May 7 applies to be matron, Mary Parry.

**ff37-38** June 12 1868 Frederick to FN embossed WO, with list of subjects for ASC and re Mrs Parry

**ff39** Nov 27 1868 letter to FN on embossed WO her letter to J Lawrence has been forwarded by today's mail to India via Marseilles

**ff40-41** 19 Dec 1868 embossed WO JJ Frederick letter to FN see return and note from Dr Massey

**f42-43** Dec 22 1868 JJF letter to FN on embossed WO re her letter recd today copied out her 5 queries re Colchester lying-in hut and took to medical dept, can't answer all here but response will be forwarded by tonight's mail to PMO at Colchester

**ff44-45** Dec 23 1868 JJF letter to FN on embossed WO returns plan of Colchester Hut and tracing, thanks for basket of game recd this morn

**f46** May 23 1870 embossed WO JJF letter to FN copy of com's report on epidemic cholera in India with report ff47-64 dated WO May 20 1870, re Dr Bryden's report on ep cholera in India

**ff47-64** JJ Frederick to FN copy War Office re ASC on ep cholera by J.L. Bryden

**f65** March 21 1890 embossed WO, JJF letter to FN on re her letter recd yesterday wrote Mr Hall on and sends reply re voting for Wainwright, cannot resist appeal of FN

Draft letter, ff66-67, pencil {very shaky writing}

**f66r**

J.J. Frederick Esq April 10/99 [goldie has 19 April]  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

We never forget you - We never can.

We are always wanting you  
You were so large a portion  
of the W.O. - And still ~~so~~ this  
you continue & always will  
continue.

I wish superannuation  
were in the Andaman Island  
It ought to have nothing  
to do with Englishmen.

I could write much  
more. But it is a sore

**f66v**

~~subject with~~ thing for me. to write  
to you on such a subject  
as this.

I cut myself short &  
only ask: will you do  
me the favour to accept  
what I must ~~not~~ call  
a very small thing, ~~because~~ seeing  
~~it is the Bible, because~~  
of the man to whom it is going.

but will you ~~do me~~  
believe that, though I  
am a poor thing, my  
gratitude to you for all

**f67r**

you have done for all  
of us is an ever flowing  
stream cut of the depths  
of my heart as it  
must be out of many  
hearts

Yours ever

FN

Notes, f68, pencil

**f68r**

In ~~memory~~ remembrance of so many years  
of kind co-operation  
from Flor FN  
to Mrs J.J. Frederick

Haymarket C.S. Stores

Miss Irby to Stores  
to have the inscription  
tomorrow (Tuesday)  
Messenger take it to Stores  
to where it came from.  
{written upside down:} Miss Irby {end}

Letter, ff69-70, pen [14:278]

**f69r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospl  
Dec 10/55

Dear Lady Cranworth

In accordance with  
instructions received  
from the Secry of State,  
War Department, I have  
made such a selection  
from the Ladies & Nurses  
at Koulali & Smyrna,  
as I considered desirable  
to retain for the services  
of the Hospitals in the  
East - it being the  
intention of Her M.y's  
Government to appropriate

**f69v**

the Hospital Buildings  
at Koulali & Smyrna  
to troops (with the exception  
of a small nucleus to  
be left at Smyrna for  
a Hospital Establishment)

I beg to state that I  
receive these Ladies &  
Nurses upon the following  
conditions - proposed to me  
by Lady Canning.

viz that it shall be  
considered as an  
experiment. & that,  
should I find myself  
unable to bring these  
Ladies & Nurses under

**f70r**

the same system, by  
which the work has  
been here carried on  
for fourteen months,  
according to the regula-  
tions which I was  
empowered to make -  
whereas, at Koulali &  
Smyrna, under other  
superintendence, other  
rules have been adopted.  
it shall not be deemed  
an unnecessary  
fastidiousness on my  
part, should I request  
permission to send them  
home.

**f70v**

I beg to subjoin a  
List of the Ladies &  
Nurses about to join me  
also, of those who will  
return home immediately

[end 14:278]

Believe me to be,  
dear Lady Cranworth,  
yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

The Lady Cranworth  
&c &c

Letter, ff71-74, pen

**f71r**

Scutari [14:278-79]  
Barrack Hospital  
Dec 22/55

Dear Lady Cranworth

In reply to your very  
kind letter of Dec 10,  
1. the War Office have  
consented to send out  
three Nuns of the  
Bermondsey (English)  
"Sisters of Mercy". a very  
prudent measure, I think,  
combining, as Lord Panmure  
may be reasonably supposed  
to do, the wisdom of the  
serpent with the gentleness,  
is it?, of the dove.

**f71v**

2. my other serpent &  
dove, the General Commanding  
here, - M. General Storcks, -  
has abolished the Palace  
Hospital filling it with troops. - & placed the sick  
Officers at the General  
Hospital Scutari under my tender  
mercies, which I have  
graciously consented to  
exercise upon the following  
conditions, which have been  
all granted. I. that the sick officers  
should be upon a Diet  
Roll, similarly tho' not  
similar to the sick Privates.  
II. that they should be

**f72r**

served by ~~the~~ Orderlies and  
not by servants. III. that  
we should nurse only  
serious cases & not toddle  
about doing odd jobs  
among the "Polloi" The Officers  
are now comfortably  
ensconced under these  
regulations, which they  
do not discern as coming  
from my heavy hand,  
at the General Hospital  
here. Of poor Mrs Moon's  
4 nurses, 1 is dead  
    1 gone home  
    2 I have taken,  
    {very fit women  
    {for the purpose

**f72v**

3. Koulali is extinct -  
turned into a barrack  
for one German Legion - &  
‡ we have taken all the  
Patients - & I, all the Ladies  
& Nurses I could - from  
thence - viz 10. ~~For~~ one  
(I *had* taken 11) was  
invalided home at the  
crisis of engagement.

Of these, 2 Ladies & 3  
Nurses are at the General  
Hospital, Scutari - 1 is  
at the Barrack Hospital,  
Scutari, - 2 I have sent  
up to my two Hospitals  
at Balaclava - 1 Lady &

**f73r**

1 nurse are at my House  
in Scutari.

As *Lady-Sisters*, ~~of Mercy~~  
it is supposed, "*may do anything.*"  
i.e. marry gentlemen who  
stay in their house, & themselves  
stay in the houses of  
unmarried gentlemen,  
I thought it ~~more~~ prudent  
to let a few of the Koulali  
Ladies go home, whom  
I felt I could not  
reduce to my merciless  
working rules. They will  
soon re-appear here as  
the wives of their respective  
husbands, Please do not  
betray me, in this piece  
of diplomacy - meant only for yourself

**f73v**

4. I have two Smyrna Nurses (*by mistake*). I have kept them here at this Hospital. as I feared they would desire more liberty than I could give. I think them very promising. Dr. Hall (Insp. Genl of Hospls) sent for them ("*by mistake*") to the Crimea. I am going to make it a subject of a letter to the War Office. But the poor women must not suffer. They are what they ought to be (quite).f

**f74r**

With regard to Miss Salisbury's case, the General Commanding here & myself can give a statement, which must crush all future patronizing of her case on the part of any but partisans. But what must we call those who, knowing the circumstances viz that she was *proved* to be guilty of embezzlement, *suspected* of something worse, have taken up such a case?

The Cholera has subsided,

**f74v**

thank God.

I do not share the anticipations of those who think we shall not have a sickly winter. But, happily, it cannot be any thing like last winter, for the trench-work is over. Could our English officials, however, but see the roads in the Crimea? One General Officer tells me he thinks "locomotion is not much more easy than last year."

Miss Morton is better, tho' still at my house. Her goodness makes her invaluable.

[end 14:279]

Believe me yours gratefully & faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff75-77, pen

**f75r**

*Private*  
& *Confidential*

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital [14:312-14]  
Jan 14/56

Dear Lady Cranworth

I have to thank you for your three very kind letters of Dec 10, 20 & 21. [Rules] & to ask for Copies of the new Rules, of which you forwarded to me one. that all the Nurses may possess & sign them - also for [Agreement] some more Forms of Agreement, (of which Lady Canning sent me seven only <sup>1</sup>) *like the pattern* - in as much as I have received so many new importations from Smyrna & Koulali, who ought all to sign a new Agreement, both for their security & ours. A business-like footing is especially necessary in such a life-&-death game as ours.

1 Lady Canning had, she told me, more, ready printed, for me.

**f75v**

The three Bermondsey Nuns have been, as you doubtless know, granted me by the War Office - They have not, however, yet arrived

I hope soon to receive the Package of Winter Clothing from Smyrna - I am entirely bare,- having to clothe my old & new sets entirely from my own store, it has completely drained me - I have had no stores either from Koulali or Smyrna as yet. tho' I have had to furnish all the nurses from both those places (who have remained in the East) with the exception of the small "nucleus" at Smyrna.

Many thanks for your sympathy as to my principal & dearest object of raising the character of nurses - I have some few invaluable

**f76r**

ones - first & foremost, my right hand, Mrs Roberts, "Revd Mother" Moore (the Superior of the Bermondsey nuns) Mrs Shaw Steward, Supt at Castle Hospital, Balaclava. These have been my main-stays through this terrible work, which I can truly say I have pulled through alone, opposed by all the officials here & in the Crimea, thwarted & harassed on every side, with traps set for me - & not supported at home, at least, not with a consistent & efficient support. though they will give me plenty of empty praise. Miss Morton & a single-hearted "Sister" Bertha 1\*, have been two others, whom I must also mention for their true devotion to the cause. I could almost wish that these five might receive letters of acknow-  
1 \*a Sellonite

**f76v**

ledgment from home, did I not fear it would be invidious to the rest.

Koulali is entirely broken up and Sister Anne gone home. The place is occupied by the German Legion.

I did not mention Miss Nicoll, from Smyrna, because she did not come to Scutari to stay, like the others, but she did go home with them.

I shall be very glad of my Rules It does appear to me that the Ladies from Koulali & Smyrna have little other idea than that of ~~w~~ riding out with the Chaplains & Officers & none at all of work. They seem a little surprised at my Regulations, but hitherto we have gone on very well. And I will do all in my power to reconcile them to rules, of the necessity of the strictness of which I am every day more convinced Even our late Commandt, Lord Wm Paulet, not celebrated for his prudery, remarked that ladies seemed to come

**f77r**

to Koulali to do that which they could not with propriety do in England.

I shall be very glad to have the *Caps*, Collars, Aprons & Badges which you mention, - especially the former. We are sadly in want of Caps. Could you send me out, at the same time, sprigged muslin to have in store for my [*Ladies Caps*] *Ladies' Caps*, who have consented to wear them. And, if you knew what a place this is - where one can venture so much less than in England instead of more, you would sympathize with my desire to have so much of an uniform as can be recognised.

Lady Canning sent me out [*Nurses Caps*] enough (Mrs. Bracebridge knows what the materials were) to make

**f77v**

2 Best Caps for ~~each of~~ nearly all my old nurses. But I require the same for about 20 more - i.e. 40 caps. I think 1/3 yd sprigged muslin and 4 yds edging was what was allowed by Lady Canning. *It was not quite enough.*<sup>1\*</sup> ~~illeg sentence - crossed out.~~ I shall require this *besides* the Ladies' Caps.

[end 14:314]

Having troubled you with all these details of our wants.

I am, dear Lady Cranworth,  
with many thanks for your kindness  
& support & sympathy  
ever truly & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

1\* 20 yards sprigged muslin  
160 " common lace edging  
not too much for these 40 caps

Letter, ff79-82, pen

**f79r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Jan 31/56

[14:325-27]

My dear Lady Cranworth

Your most kind  
sympathy cheers and  
supports us in our toil  
& harass.

I have not yet  
heard from Lord Cranworth  
about "the Salisbury".

There is a party  
actively & unscrupulously  
at work, circulating her  
*lithographed* statement  
by means of the  
diplomatic channel &  
the Army.

I have not thought

**f79v**

it desirable for our work  
to take any notice. Nor  
have I seen the statement,  
though I understand  
that it is *believed* at  
~~the~~ our Embassy at Contant.e  
& at the Admiral's Office.

I have only seen her  
letter to Lord Panmure -  
in which there was  
nothing but what  
Printers call "fat" - viz.  
the Old Bailey preliminary  
*de rigueur* of her entire  
& unconscious innocence.

But there is nothing  
that people will not believe  
or insinuate.

**f80r**

I have been too busy to attend to these things & the principal harm of them to me is the time they take up, when I am actually called upon to answer. But I cannot refrain from saying, what indeed I cannot say, HOW much I feel your sympathy.

With regard to your other questions, I have received the other three Sisters of Mercy, but have, as yet, kept them in this Hospital, until we have more definite

**f80v**

prospects of peace or war.

2. We take charge of all serious cases amongst the Officers, both here & in the *General Hospital*, which is now their proper domain, tho' some of them prefer this. And we have recently had some seven cases of fever, more particularly at this Hospital, which we have been sitting up with, night & day. I like Cator *particularly* & Dawson is such a good nurse that tho' she is rather "free & easy" with the officers, I hope we shall manage with her.

They are both of them

**f81r**

employed with the Officers -  
I hope that they will both  
stay. I am putting up  
a Tomb-Stone to poor Marks.

The 4th who returned home  
from the officers' band was Lewsey, Mrs. Moore's  
maid.

The ultimate result of  
my "negotiations" with  
Koulali was two ladies

& seven Nurses.

who joined me -

viz Mrs McLeod }  
& Miss McLeod } 2 Ladies  
Mrs McPherson  
Evans  
Maloney  
Stevens  
Howell  
Woodward  
Montague

7 nurses

**f81v**

With regard to the Winter  
Clothing, having received  
my own & that of Koulali,  
I have now fitted out all  
my nurses, whether the old  
ones or those from Koulali  
and Smyrna, with the excep-  
tion of the caps which I  
mentioned in my last  
letter. I have not received  
any warm clothing from  
Smyrna, altho' announced  
to me by Miss LeMesurier.  
But I do not require  
it. having already  
fitted out the

1 Smyrna lady

Miss Ecuyer

& 2 Smyrna Nurses

Mrs Barker

" Edwards

& kept them here.

**f82r**

I have now the Lists (made out) of all the Nurses' Clothing (both old & new Nurses) now with me.

I have the parcel of knitted Jackets sent by Mr. Sabin for Koulali. but not the Koulali Badges.

The Derry Wrappers have been so much disliked that the women will not wear them. I think *one* is quite enough therefore.

The 4 yds grey flannel are *not* enough. The women all like it so much better than their uniform that they wish to make gowns of it. This I have said shall not be, as govt has decreed an uniform

**f82v**

& we must keep to it. Therefore they make petticoats or dressing gowns of it. But 5 yds I think the least which can be of much use.

Both Mrs. & Miss McLeod have now had the whole of their 1 year's clothing. But, at Koulali, they have worn their caps as night caps & parted with some things.

I think these are all the questions answered & believe me

[end 14:327]

dear Lady Cranworth  
ever truly & gratefully your  
Florence Nightingale

f83 War Dept 9 Feb 1856 Hawes to Lady Cranworth re funds placed at her disposal to meet expenses re equipment of nurses with army in the East may be applied to; no decision re period nurses left at Smyrna are likely to remain there, no immediate prospect of their being removed from that station

Letter, ff85-90, pen

[14:331-32]

**f85r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Feb 10/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

I am deeply grieved  
to have to send home  
another of the nurses,  
Mrs. Ann Sinclair,  
for the ~~same~~ offence  
of intoxication.

She was engaged on  
March 9/55, & was first  
at *Scutari* for a couple  
of months, conducting  
herself perfectly well.  
I took her up with me  
to the Castle Hospital,  
*Balaclava*, in May 55

**f85v**

and she conducted herself also  
very well there for some  
time. But when I  
went up again in October,  
she appeared quite an  
altered woman. Repeated  
offences left no doubt  
in my mind. And  
I spoke to her repeatedly  
on the subject - the  
offence being not  
sufficiently decided  
to compel me to dismiss  
her, - but I forgave her,  
warning her that such  
forgiveness could not  
be repeated, for the

**f86r**

sake of the work.

I learn, with deep regret, from Mrs. Shaw Stewart that my warning was not sufficient. & that, on Xmas Eve & Feb 4, Ann Sinclair was again guilty of drunkenness. She is therefore discharged by me & sent home by the "Golden Fleece" this day.

She has been paid by me up to the day of her departure from

**f86v**

Balaclava (her wages being 18/ per week). & has no farther claim on the War Office whatever. She has returned her LAST Winter Clothing, (which she had not long received,) according to the regulation for nurses dismissed for any ~~offence~~ misconduct.1\*

As I was confined to my bed when the ship (the "Melbourne" which brought her from Balaclava, came down here, I could not see her myself on board. I therefore

1\* If she complained of this, or ~~But~~ if she states that she has been deprived of more than this, I will furnish you with the Statement of whatever has been taken from her

**f87r**

[2]

sent her the Order for  
her passage home (per  
"Golden Fleece") by my Aunt,  
to whom she did  
not deny her fault,  
but said, which gave  
me great pleasure,  
that "she was sorry."

I am thus particular  
in stating every detail  
1. because, having learnt  
that it is intended to  
prosecute me, if possible,  
for libel in the case  
of a person dismissed  
by me, Miss Salisbury,  
I find that witnesses  
among the nurses

**f87v**

who return home are  
sought for this purpose.  
The evidence of two,  
Mrs. Sansom & Mrs.  
Wheatstone, has been  
separately taken with  
this view by the  
gentleman who has  
undertaken Miss  
Salisbury's case. Mrs.  
Wheatstone having been  
dismissed for drunken-  
ness, acknowledged by  
herself in writing.  
I think it not unlikely that Mrs.  
Sinclair's evidence will  
now be added to the  
number.

**f88r**

As a measure of necessary police in this hard & painful, altho' most interesting work, I believe it to be my duty, however, not to shrink from giving true characters of those whom I discharge, not only to the "grand & distant" War Office, (which little affects the matter,) but to the last employer of the person discharged. the more so as, to many of these Nurses, being

**f88v**

heartily tired of the Crimea & the East & wishing themselves at home again, their return is *in itself* most welcome. I have, therefore, always made & shall still continue to make it my practice, at my own risk, to give the true cause of discharge

2. May I, therefore, request you kindly to forward this letter to Mrs. Herbert, who will know who recommended Anne Sinclair? It is but just to warn them against what I have so suffered from myself. And this I will never ~~2 or 3 words crossed out~~ evade - Altho' I find that three

**f89r**

[3]

of the ~~letter~~ *four* letters  
I thus considered it  
my duty to write  
concerning Miss Salisbury  
have been made use  
of against me - (the  
fourth being to Lady  
Canning). The grounds  
for a charge of libel  
seem to be laid upon  
these. one at least of which has  
been published in a lithographed statement.1\*

As, however, there  
may be *sixty-four*  
charges of libel laid  
against me, I await  
the result with composure

1 \* which I have not seen, but which  
I learn is extensively circulated both  
here & in England.

**f89v**

& shall continue to "do  
likewise" in a hardened  
manner.

**[end 14:332]**

Believe me,  
dear Lady Cranworth  
ever most truly yours  
Florence Nightingale

**f90r**

Lists of Articles of the last  
Regulation Dress delivered to  
& now returned by Ann Sinclair,  
nurse dismissed for drunkenness,  
Feb 6/56 -----

1 badge, burnt  
1 brown linsey wolsey dress,  
deducted from her wages  
(I repaid her the money  
She wore it only a fortnight).  
3 Derry Wrappers. She  
having had one more  
than the other nurses,  
instead of a cotton gown.  
2 Prs Sleeves  
2 Aprons  
2 Collars  
2 Best Caps - 1 made up  
                  1 unmade

NB Ann Sinclair's clothing  
had been recently completed  
for her by me for the *first year*,  
she having been ~~only~~ with me not  
quite 11 months.

Letter, ff93-95, pen

**f93r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Feb 22/56

[14:340-41]

My dear Lady Cranworth

Thank you very much for the Agreements. You sent me five Copies of my "Original Agreement".

With regard to the change proposed, I see many objections - & whatever arrangement may be made for any future war, I shall deprecate any other for the present.

Instead of weakening my position & control over the Nurses, (or that of any Superintendent) & consider that it requires to be strengthened

I detailed my reasons at some length to Lady Canning who considered that *they were unanswerable.*"

It is perhaps hardly worth while to trouble you with them

**f93v**

again.

Suffice it to say that 1. the principle, ~~of centralizati~~ on which the new Agreement stands, that of centralization, is a vicious one & detrimental to all *practical* good working. (It is in fact the system which has ruined us during this War. Now that we have a few men out here who dare to take upon themselves responsibility, look at the improvement). The grand & distant War Office exercises no influence over the ~~minds~~ imaginations of these women, the most slippery race in existence. They know that the War Office cannot injure their future prospects - that no future employer will go to the "Secretary at War" for a character of them.

**f94r**

To use their own expression, they "snap their fingers" at the War Office.

2. were I to adopt the new "Agreement" proposed by Mr. Hawes, I should have two classes of nurses, the first bound to me, the second to the War Office. It is obvious that this would be productive of every kind of confusion. It is obvious that the latter kind of nurse would be under no authority but that of the Secretary at War, which is a fiction, & that of the Medical Officer, to whom she would then be directly consigned. And the evils of which latter plan were sufficiently apparent, I suppose, since the War Office sent me out. But, according to this latter agreement, I might as well go home as an amateur adventurer. The experience of 16 months has

**f94v**

confirmed & greatly strengthened in me all the above convictions, instead of diminishing them.

And I must beg respectfully, but most firmly to decline any alteration in the original "Agreement" with which I came out.

So far from wishing to alter it, I am about to request that *all* the Agreements, kept by mistake at the War Office, & which ought to have been forwarded to me, of the nurses now with me, should be sent me. It has been productive of great inconvenience the not having these. Mrs. Shaw Stewart has, especially, deeply regretted it. Some I have & some I have not. And the consequence has been that (but this is strictly *private*) where the Agreement has not been producible, the Medical Officers have endeavoured

**f95r**

to allure the woman away, saying that "all the Hospitals were the same". This is old, old experience.

As a Comment upon the system of centralization, I will only add that, had I not given my local Superintendents more authority than the new Agreement would afford, how could they have enforced any order system, or discipline whatever?

I have, however, carefully consulted the individualities, (to use a fashionable word), of my several Sub-Superintendents, & am convinced that any other system is a fundamental mistake. Especially, in so trying a situation as this, where the overwhelming proportion of men to women makes, in fact, the real difficulty of our position. I remain, dear Lady Cranworth, **[end 14:341]**

yours most truly  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, pale blue paper ff96-99, pen

[14:348-49]

**f96r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
5/3/56

Dear Lady Cranworth

I have received the Rules for the Nurses, for which many thanks.

I have also lately received the Koulali winter clothing, from which I was able to complete the garments for my Nurses, new & old. We have now snow on the ground here & deep in the Crimea.

The 20<sup>1</sup>\* Badges have also just arrived. But as they are only marked "Hospital", the Nurses even in the Crimea, at their own request, are to add "Scutari" to them, if we can get worsted (red)

The Smyrna clothing has also just come on here. But I am complete without it. and can dispose of it  
1 not 30

**f96v**

in any way that I am ordered. I have kept it separate - in case it be more convenient to keep Civil & Military clothing apart.

-----  
The extraordinary difference of system observed by Govts, in administering to the wants of Civil & Military Hospitals. the lavish & *spoiling* expensiveness of Renkioi - & the niggardly economy of the Crimea - (Renkioi having already cost £200,000 - nearly - whereas the Castle Hospital at Balaclava - with the same no. of Patients always - & generally a larger no. - has cost about the tenth part) these things make us fancy that there is some mysterious distinction, unintelligible to the Military minds, to be consulted

**f97r**

Lady Stratford has not yet sent me the Officers' Nurses Winter Clothing - but has promised it me. for store \* - I am not at all in want of it - having clothed those ladies out of my own stores immediately after poor Mrs. Moore's death.

None of these had received any wages since Sept 18/55 - one month having being advanced to them up to that date. I have paid up the living ones. But to poor *Marks*, who died, is due (as I have only now been informed) from Sept 18 to Oct 8. the date of her death. This period of 3 weeks, at 18/ pr week, should be paid to her next of kin, whose direction I have not, but which is probably in your books.

\* It has since arrived

**f97v**

I have put up a stone to poor *Mary Marks*, whose resting place had been left unnoticed.

Unless you have already been kind enough to procure the net caps, proposed by Mrs. Bracebridge, please send only the sprigged muslin\* which I asked for & the common daily caps. We have no time & the ladies have no capacity for making up the net caps. & a washing cap is the only kind which will do here. And one too which will easily wash.

Many, many thanks for all your kind sympathy & support, which is felt by me more than I have said or can say.

I can hardly rejoice in Peace But the sufferings of the French are so frightful that I suppose we *must* have it. They are suffering more than we were last year. They have \* for Sunday caps.

**f98r**

now 16,000 sick, 1 in 8. 10,000 down here. Typhus alone kills 50 - 60 per diem in these Hospitals alone. The Medical Men are dying. 3 in one day. So are the Sisters. They themselves tell the same story that we did last year. that want of food & clothing sends down the Patients in a typhoid state, which is propagated by the overcrowded state of the Hospitals.

After a "deal" of negotiation, we made them an Official offer of help, to buy or to accept as they preferred. Medical Men, (for each of theirs has no less than 200 Patients), Port Wine, Arrow Root, Beds & Blankets, Preserved Meats, Sugar. These were the things named by *themselves* as *necessities*. M. Thouvenel, Général Larchez, &

**f98v**

M. Baudens, the Medical Inspector, accepted officially. And now the "Intendance" has stepped in & declined. Their system is worse than ours. I am in a kind of chronic rage (one piece of selfish meanness follows another so fast) like the "niggers" who said "*Same drunk, Massa, same drunk*".

They are actually starving. This we know officially.

The only thing to be done was to step in privately which I did very humbly, & was told that privately things would be accepted.

I accordingly borrowed the Govt steamer, & sent everything we could spare. there being plenty of time to replace it, if

**f99r**

war is to be.

Blankets,	Sugar
Port Wine	Arrow Root
Bordeaux	Coffee & Cocoa
Preserved Meats	Preserves
Warm Clothing	&c &c

Of Doctors I had none & perhaps that is the smallest want.

I am very anxious that the whole of this story should keep out of the Newspapers, as the French openly said that their reason for declining was the above fear. How little magnanimous they are! We accepted everything from them in our calamity this time last year. But, if it were known that I had helped them, they might refuse any more help.

I am not at all repenting of what I have done - which

**f99v**

was done with the full sanction of the General Commanding. But, if there is any fault found, I will replace the Articles.

**[end 14:349]**

I remain  
 dear Lady Cranworth  
 Yours ever faithfully & gratefully  
 Florence Nightingale  
 Lady Cranworth.

Letter, ff100-01, pen

**f100r**

Barrack Hospital

March 20/56

**[14:361-62]**

My dear Lady Cranworth

I write in great haste, (being every moment in expectation of the vessel sailing for the Crimea, by which I am going to take up Nurses for two new Hospitals, belonging to the "Land Transport Corps,") to acknowledge your two most kind letters, of March 7 & the previous one, & to say that immediately on the receipt of the former, I sent off to Renkioi Hospital

63 yds Grey Flannel

55 1/2 " Black Linsey Wolsey

24 " Brown "

just as I received them from

{following written vertically up left side. Continues from bottom of **f101v:**}

Believe me, dear Lady Cranworth, ever most truly

& gratefully yours

F. Nightingale

**f100v**

Smyrna, without having touched them, otherwise than by unpacking & repacking, for they were wet. I have written to Dr. Parkes to send him the Invoice & note of its arrival. I did not at all want it & was very glad to be able to obey your order "tale quale."

I have also received the Box per "Melita," containing Caps for Nurses & Ladies, (Best & Common), Aprons, Badges, Parcels, &c. They were most welcome, have given universal satisfaction, & all are very grateful for the trouble you have taken. The sprigged Muslin was particularly *pleasing*.

**f101r**

Many thanks for your announcement of further arrivals per "~~Peninsula~~" "Imperial" - of which I will not fail to apprise you when they come.

But the "Melita" only arrived the day before yesterday, just as I was starting for the Crimea. But the heavy gales detained our vessel. As well as all others.

I received the Macaulay, Siege of Kars & roll of prints by your kindness by a Queen's Messenger, Major Hall.

When you hear that I have taken to drinking, & think of me enjoying my pipe & gin & water, you will know that it is in accordance with your kind suggestion.

**f101v**

I should have written to the Chancellor to thank him for his very kind letter & shall do so. But I know that he can have no time for me - & therefore I will ask you merely to present my grateful duty till I write myself - to him.

I received the Rules "all right", for which many thanks.

The cold here is intense, snow on the ground, & N. wind flowing across the Steppes, so I think winter clothing will still be accepted at Renkioi.

I ought to have mentioned (& thought that I had done so) that Mrs. Grainger went home at the 11th hour, in consequence of bad health from Koulali, with "Sister Anne" that I therefore only kept 7 Nurses  
2 Ladies

from Koulali.

[end 14:362]

{concludes up side of f100r}

Letter, ff109-10, pen

**f109r**

General Hospital  
Balaclava  
May 19/56

[14:404]

My dear Lady Cranworth

I "take up my pen" with more truth than that ponderous expression usually contains, for when I take up my pen, it is not to lay it down again,- but to have a "Lord Chancellor" work at it.

I have now to give you the true & accurate characters of all those whom I am sending home, Ladies & Nurses.

But first, before I come to this ponderous work, let me say how very glad I am to hear that you are pretty well again - & how very glad I was to receive your three letters.

**f109v**

Pray never mind about the "Agreements" now, as we are all breaking up.

I am sure, if you knew what that breaking up is, - toil as great & not nearly as inspiring as that of 1854,- you would excuse my writing on anything but business.

I am enquiring about all poor Marks's things.

Skinner is a soldier's widow, an Irish washerwoman who has hung about me, ever since I came out. She is quite well now.

If I do not conclude our campaign without saving all my Ladies & Nurses from exposing themselves in print ("oh! that

**f110r**

mine enemy would write a book") I shall think myself quite out-generalled. Don't you conceive it would be quite enough against us to find us "writing a book" about us?

Believe me

dear Lady Cranworth  
yours very truly & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

I almost consider it a duty to add that, upon comparing the dirt, disorder, extravagance & carelessness which the state of this Hospital, when just left by Mrs. Bridgeman & her 11 Nuns, exhibited, - with the working of our poor, despised & (I am sorry to admit it,) too often exposing-themselves-to-be-despised

**f110v**

Nurses, I think that every body,  
 who understands Nursing, must  
 say "rather one Nurse than five  
 Irish Nuns." Undressed bed-sores,  
 dirty linen, dirty Patients who,  
 when too ill to wash themselves,  
 were left unwashed, extravagance  
 & dirt combined, all kinds of  
 unthrift in the Extra Diet Kitchen  
 & reckless indulgence to the  
 Orderlies. These make me wish  
 that, if we come out to *nurse*,  
 we may be nurses & not fancy  
 nuns. And, especially, I wish  
 not to throw off the Nurses like  
 old shoes when they have  
 been sent out with so much  
 fuss now that their work is done

[end 14:404]

**f111** May 22 1856 Maria Parkes letter to Madam re 8 boxes of summer clothing arrived, distributed to staff; Mrs Hughes entitled to lady's dresses; the ladies and nurses much pleased with the clothing, express thanks for selection of the Alpaca dresses

**f113** May 24 1856 Maria Parkes to Madam (Lady Cranworth?) enclosed are characters of nurses subject to approval of Mrs Newman

**f115-18** gives names and characters: Isabella Sto illeg, Sarah Graves, Elizabeth Annil, Annie Blackhall, M.A. Adams, Fanny Warcus, Ann Heley, Sarah Paxton, Margaret Rogers

f119 May 22 1856 from Renkioi

f121 list: Miss Raynes, Frodsham, Mrs Reid, Mrs Clark, James, Vincey, Newman, Halliman, Grove, Godfrey, Annil, Blackall, Warcus Marcus?, Rodgers, Paxton, Adams (slightly different spellings)

Letter, ff122-23, pen

**f122r**

Balaclava June 7 1856

[14:419-20]

My dear Lady Cranworth

Ann Sinclair, dismissed by me  
Feb 7/56, as you were informed at  
the time, for repeated offenses of  
drunkenness, which she did not  
deny, paid by me up to that  
date, her passage home given her  
out of compassion, continues writing  
to me attorney's letters, which I do  
not answer, claiming her further  
expenses from Portsmouth to  
Edinburgh - &c. I trust that the  
War Office, which appears to have  
done its best to sanction the  
embezzlement of its own property  
by its cowardly evasion in re Salisbury,

**f122v**

will not sanction these attempts at extortion on the part of disgraced nurses, or rather not on their part but on that of miserable attorneys.

Charlotte Wilsdon, I regret to say, I was obliged to invalid home May 23. by the advice of the Medical Officers. She is a kind, active, & useful nurse. a strictly sober woman. And, I consider, well entitled to the gratuity of the months' wages, promised by the War Office, & which I venture to solicit you to grant her. I have directed her to apply to you.

We now consist of

22	Crimea	5	Hospitals
16	Scutari	2	"

-----

38 {of whom 14 unpaid}

**f123r**

I saw one of the French Hospitals yesterday. The Mèdecin en chef, unlike our men, had asked me to meet him as a matter of business to compare notes. & because we had once been so fortunate as to assist him with wine. The Typhus cases are still too numerous among the French. Their system of treatment is so curiously different from ours that it is difficult to compare notes, because some comforts which we judge indispensable they consider pernicious. ~~Generally~~ The whole of the Typhus Patients are under canvass. never more than four, generally not more than two in a tent. & the ground is shifted every fortnight. They consider that the freer currents of air (for they "turn up" the whole bottom of the

**f123v**

tent), make canvass preferable.

Generally, the bedding, accommodations, quality of food among the French are far inferior to ours. the cooking, superior to ours (excepting ~~in~~ our Extra Diet Kitchens,) & kindness of Medical Officers to Patient far superior.

The position of the French & English Medical Officers is also singularly different. The former is the slave of the Intendance - but his promotion depends upon an "examination". & there is "Concurrence". With us, he is paramount in his Hospital. But his promotion depends upon a trick, a caprice of the Inspector-General, & the Director-General may be lost by an offensive word, reposted perhaps by an Orderly, & of which he never hears, & which he may never have said. Wonderful system to exist in England! Believe me yours ever truly  
F. Nightingale

Letter, f124, pen

**f124r**

General Hospital  
Balaclava

June 16/56

[14:420]

My dear Lady Cranworth

In sending home 17 Ladies & Nurses by the "Thames", from those of our different War Hospitals which are now closing, it becomes my duty to give you an *abridgement* of each. Nothing but the feeling of my being a Government servant as much as if I were on 1/ per day and rations, (for those who have the happiness to serve the Queen without pay must feel even more bound to her, than those whom she pays) - together with the knowledge of how materially this work has been endangered out here by the careless, false & partial

**ff124v**

characters given to many of those who came out. would induce me to do what almost every one shuns, viz. give a true character to all those Government servants, whether Ladies or Nurses, now discharged. (But I presume that this is a "privileged Document".)

When will people learn that the false & cowardly kindness of giving good characters to bad servants (& nurses especially) is an unprovoked act of cruelty to hundreds of Patients?

[end 14:420]

Believe me ever  
 dear Lady Cranworth  
 yours faithfully & gratefully  
 F. Nightingale

Letter, f125 pen {bottom missing, presumably autograph cut off. VR}

**f125r**

General Hospital  
 Balaclava

June 24/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

Since I wrote to you, I have sent home the following -

All have been settled with. To none is any thing due by the War Office.

I have the pleasure of being able to give them all good characters.

I trust that you keep my characters to yourself - especially where I tell you the peccadilloes of my Unpaid. They are only for you & any one who may, *on business*, ask you for a character of them {rest of line cut off.}  
 (Otherwise they must be sacred) {rest of line cut off.}

Letter, ff127-28, pen

**f127r**

General Hospital  
Balaclava  
June 26/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

I send home per "Ottawa" on July 1 the last (and best) of my band. I shall be dropped at Scutari,- (whence all are gone now but Miss Morton & my aunt),- to settle accounts, pack up stores, & account for all Hospital Linen & property placed under our charge. This will occupy some time. I shall keep only my Aunt & one other woman with me. They are not now living at Government expense nor shall we, but in my own house in Scutari.

Believe me dear Lady Cranworth  
ever yours faithfully & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

f128v, pencil note, not in FN's hand  
letters in this packet  
found loose  
R.N.

Letter, ff129-30, pen

**f129r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
July 7/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

**[14:428]**

My probably last letter to you is merely to say that Elizabeth Logan, Nurse, whom I have sent home by the "Ottawa", is, on the whole, the one I consider the most respectable, and sober, efficient, kind & good of all my nurses - the one I most hope not to lose sight of -

**f129v**

the one I have the  
deepest regard for.  
She wishes for a  
private Situation. If  
she comes to you for  
a character, I think  
you may be perfectly  
safe in recommending  
her. She is an  
excellent Nurse.

[end 14:428]

Believe me

dear Lady Cranworth  
ever most truly yours  
Florence Nightingale

**f130r**

Sir Culling Eardley  
would know Mrs.  
Barker's address, if you  
will kindly take the  
trouble to forward her  
this letter.

Letter, f131, pen

**f131r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
July 14/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

Mrs. Shaw Stewart wishes to re-  
pay the Government for her passage  
home. She has always paid for herself  
& therefore begs me to enclose to you  
a Cheque for Fifty Pounds which you  
will perhaps kindly take the trouble  
to pay into the proper quarter.

I have sent home from  
Balaclava 2 Boxes  
Scutari 15 Boxes  
containing the remainder of the  
Nurses' clothing  
addressed to you  
care of War Office  
London

The List of Contents of the 15 Boxes  
from here I now enclose - that of the  
2 Boxes from Balaclava I sent at the time  
Believe me ever yours gratefully & faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff133-34, pen

**f133r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
July 17/56

[14:432-33]

My dear Lady Cranworth

I have investigated, as far as I am able, i.e. as far as I can find any witnesses left, Lady Wood's charge of "cruelty" against Dawson, Nurse.

In doing so, I am obliged to have recourse to the unsatisfactory method of assertion against assertion - But I must beg leave to say that the only other method of treating such *expost facto* charges is by silence - which is, I believe, the most expressive.

I find that the Principal Medical Officer of the General Hospital, Scutari, had desired my female Superintendent, to keep Lady Wood as much out of her son's room as possible, as he had become worse since her arrival, in consequence of her fidgety attendance.

**f133v**

This is a Medical opinion. It may or may not be a true one.

I find that the Medical Officers, still remaining here who have seen Dawson nurse, consider her as having been too attentive to her Patients, instead of the contrary.

I find that Cator was the chief attendant upon Mr. ~~Dawson~~ Wood by day, - that he never was delirious after Lady Wood arrived (I saw him just before I left for the Crimea which was the very day of his mother's arrival - he certainly was not delirious then) - that his nose was sore & that Dawson was frequently in the habit of putting down his hand & saying, "Now, there's a good gentleman, don't pick it." that she was also ordered to keep him in bed when he was

**f134r**

delirious & trying to get out of bed -  
 also, to keep his hands covered with  
 the bed-clothes, because he had  
 Bronchitis. Her own deposition  
 I subjoin.

My own opinion of Dawson is  
 this - that she has somehow fallen  
 from a higher position in the world  
 by her own fault - that she is under  
 a deep sense of injury from some  
 cause unknown,- that her manner  
 is bitter, disrespectful, provoking  
 to all the female world,- that she flirts  
 undeniably with Officers,- & that  
 she would not be sorry to amend  
 her position that way,- that she  
 does not wish (for some unknown  
 reason) to return home,- that she  
 makes favourites among her Patients,  
 & those who do not like her she

**f134v**

does not like,- that she forgot that  
 Lady Wood was the young man's mother,  
 but otherwise did not behave  
 improperly, i.e in disobedience to  
 Medical orders, to that Patient,- that  
 she is one of the best nurses I ever  
 had but that I would never engage  
 her again for the above-mentioned  
 reasons - & because, at the Palace  
 Hospital, she was used to be a  
 kind of companion to the sick Officers.

I am aware that all that I have  
 said is assertion, most unsatisfactory.  
 But as I have never seen Lady Wood  
 & as I have discharged Dawson for  
 ever & told her so, it is at all events  
 unbiased.

You will receive P.O. Orders from Mrs.  
 & Miss McLeod for £2.14.0, which,  
 during my absence, they had claimed  
*too much*. If they return it to you, it  
 will be mine. For I have only charged  
 the Purveyor with the *right* sum. I am ever

[end 14:433]

dear Lady Cranworth yours very truly  
 F. Nightingale

Letter, f135, pen

**f135r**

My dear Lady Cranworth

I send home per

"Simla" this day

1 Box

1 Bale

directed to you

care of War Office

London

of Nurses Clothing.

I am so sorry to

trouble you with the

enclosed for Mrs. Barker,

Nurse, whose address

Sir Culling Eardley X will

know. Believe me

most truly yours

Scutari F. Nightingale

24/7/56

X Mrs. Barker was sent out  
by Evangelical Association.

F136 Shaw Stewart letter to Ly Cranworth re RC Sisters of Mercy

f138 Hawes letter Aug 23 1856 to Lady Cranworth from War Dept re her note re  
paying FN

f140 receipt

Letter, ff141-42, pen

**f141r**

Lea Hurst. Matlock

Sept 3/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

I cannot tell you how sorry

I am to trouble you - but, having

**f141v**

sent in my List of Nurses to the War Office for the distribution of that unfortunate Sultan's gift, (of which you may *not* never have heard,) five of their addresses I was unable to ascertain. Two I have since learnt

**f142r**

& annexed them above. But I must apply to your Book for the remaining three, Sandhouse, Whitehead, Bull. If you would kindly add these, as above, & send in these five to Sir B. Hawes as being the addresses wanting in my List *which he has* & to which these five *addresses, (not ~~the names~~ which are inserted,*) must be added, I shall be truly grateful.

I am sure that you will excuse me, dear Lady Cranworth, for not saying any word except on business thought I know you believe how truly I have felt your kindness to the unlucky wight called F. Nightingale

f143 Oct 8 1856 Hawes letter to Ly Cranworth re articles from War Dept

f144 Hawes 10 Nov 1856 to Lady Cranworth re nurses clothing

f145 Hawes 21 Nov 1856 to Lady Cranworth re hers of 19th re payments

f146 Kirkland letter to Lady Cranworth 24 Nov 1856 re any further demands

f147 Hawes to Lady Cranworth 19 Dec 1856 re receipts

Letter, ff148-49, pen

**f148r**

Combe Hurst  
Kingston on Thames  
S.W.

[15:147-48]

Dec 21/56

My dear Lady Cranworth

I have written to Sir Benjamin Hawes about a little matter, on which I trust that you will approve me & support me.

I have been down to Woolwich Artillery Hospitals which are nursed by Female Nurses, & found there (this between ourselves), the nurses in a wretched state - ill-paid, under no system, neither fed nor clothed (& only nine of them lodged) in the Building. Yet with all this they are considered much better nurses ~~than~~ (& I have no doubt are) than the Medical Staff Corps, for which Dr. Andrew Smith now wants to turn them out. I should regret this infinitely, the more as I see in them the small end of a wedge to introduce an uniform, tho'

**f148v**

restricted, system of Female Nursing  
in all Military Hospitals, which Dr.  
Andrew Smith tells me he wishes  
to see in the Victoria Hospital near  
Southampton but done by *Nuns!!!*  
(He is a R. Catholic convert. & wants to  
have Mrs. Bridgeman).

The D. of York's School is already  
nursed (satisfactorily) & Haslar  
Hospital (unsatisfactorily) by  
women. but, in both cases, they are anxious  
to keep them.

Till the Woolwich Nurses can be put  
upon a *really* worthy & respectable  
footing, I think it would be (tho' a  
halfway) an astute measure to give  
them this Gov.t clothing which is to  
be given away, at all events. There  
are 29 of them - & the Matron a most  
excellent person, who deploras the state of her nurses.

If you approve, I will be ready  
to make some Rules for its distribution.  
I was quite moved by the kindly but

**f149r**

disorderly appearance of these poor  
Nurses at Woolwich

What do you think?

Believe me ever

Most truly & gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale

Should you approve, would you write  
to Sir Benjamin Hawes to say so? He  
is one much under your influence

f151 Laura Cranworth to FN Dec 27 1856 I am truly sorry to have allowed so many days to pass without replying to your letter. But this has been such a particularly busy and engaged week. I really have not had the time I fully enter into your wishes respecting the Woolwich nurses, indeed it seems the right thing that this govt store of clothing shd be divided amongst the English military hosps which I in my ignorance had imagined to be only supplied with orderlies. I have wr to Sir B Hawes expressing my earnest desire that he shd agree to your proposition for the Woolwich Artillery Hosp and that if there was any use I could be made of under you I shd only be too happy. I only hope that the govt clothing is not yet given away so that if Sir Benj agrees and you wd make some rules for the distr it mt be a beginning to getting these poor nurses put upon a really worthy and respectable footing and keeping all though of these dreadful nuns out of our Dr A Smith's head. I was at Woolwich on Tuesday and heard a tolerable report for the nurses there, at Haslar they are awful I understand. Ever affectionately yours

f153 Hawes to Ly Cranworth Dec 31 1856

Letter, ff155-56, pen

**f155r**

Dec 2/57

[14:546]

My dear Lady Cranworth

When I came home,  
I said I would not  
beg for any one. And  
I am not going to do so  
now. I am only going  
to ask you, *if you like*,  
to mention the following  
particulars to the  
Chancellor, without  
making him think,  
for a moment, that  
his kind protection of  
me involves any  
attention to my recom-

**f155v**

mendation from him.

Mr. Sabin, Senior  
Chaplain during the two  
years we held Scutari,  
is so now at Aldershot.  
There is a little "chap"  
coming to his family.  
Army pay is small.  
But he is so interested  
in the men that he does  
not like to leave them.  
A Canonry or Prebendal  
stall would insure  
intercourse with the  
Church, for which he is  
very anxious, not compel  
him to leave his soldiers,  
& improve his means.

**f156r**

I consider the entire reformation in drunkenness, which took place during our second year at Scutari, when there were 27,000 idle men in the Command, mainly owing to him & Sir Henry Storke - to the Schools, lectures, reading rooms, which Mr. Sabin was chiefly instrumental in bringing about.

He is "high"-ish Church. But as ignorant as most of the "high" Church are of what they mean,

**f156v**

if this is an object.

He is a thorough gentleman, as excellent preacher, & an useful man in all education.

I was shocked to see ~~Arm~~ our *Principal* Chaplain's name "sent in" for a Canonry, *et pour cause*

(The *Principal* Chaplain I mean in the Crimea)

This requires no kind of answer.

[end 14:546]

Believe me ever

dear Lady Cranworth

Yours sincerely & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff157-58, pen

**f157r**

*Confidential* 4 Cleveland Row.  
S.W.

May 1/63

[13:550-51]

Dear Lady Cranworth

The Widow of an  
Indian Officer, now  
devoting herself to  
Hospital work, &  
about to be trained  
in one of our London  
Hospitals, (who  
worked hard at  
charitable works  
in India; & who  
speaks Hindustani

**f157v**

& is accustomed to  
*direct* in India,)  
wishes to know  
whether it is  
possible that, IF  
she is found the  
right sort of person  
after her Hospital  
training here, she  
might be employed  
as Supt at the  
"Memorial" Training  
Institution at  
Calcutta - which

**f158r**

she thinks is at the  
Hospital there. (I wish  
it were so - I am  
afraid it is not].

She begs that her  
name may not be  
mentioned, I believe  
because of the  
disturbance it  
would cause among  
her friends, tho' she  
is quite old enough  
to judge for herself.  
But it is true the  
plan may never  
be carried out.

**f158v**

If therefore you guess  
who it is, pray do  
not seem to know.

I know nothing of  
her personally. But  
she applied to me  
for information &  
advice.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

**[end 13:551]**

f160 typed copy of regs to the Nurses, clothing  
f164 receipt Maison des Soeurs de Notre Dame de la Providence a Constantinople,  
Sister Marie

f166 Storks to Bracebridge April 7 1855 from Smyrna re note, enclosure, accounts

Letter, f168, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f168r**

B.H. Scutari

Sept. 27/55.

I enclose the bill for Curtains - I think I mentioned that I had given Ly Alicia £50 for the Allobroges, which will cover the Curtains £24.16.2 & the Tea £17 - & I have since made over to her (for the use of the women) a present of £10 worth of Tea which I had thro' Lord Napier.

I do not feel that I can make any plan for what I shall do when I do home, if I go home - Unpaid labor has failed here so miserably & *paid* too for that matter that I think a Kaiserswerth, if it grows up in London, must do so by very slow degrees & not with a grand Hospital & a grand Subscription - But indeed I have formed no plans. I feel that I can only go on from day to day, acting upon what the day brings forth -

Dr. Bence Jones has written to me for a plan. People seem to think that I have nothing to do but to sit here & form plans, What madness in me who can not look forward one month to look forward for years - If the public choose to recognize my services & my judgment in this manner, they must leave those services & that judgement unfettered - I will take their money, if I live, to be used in Hospital matters, as I best may judge, & publish my accounts.

F169 receipt

F.N.

Letter, f170, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Bracebridge}

**f170r**

Castle Hospital

Balaclava

Oct. 20/55

A twelve month to-day since my appointment. And how many more twelve months may it not be?

I have cashed Whitehead's cheque from C.H. Bracebridge for £13.8.0 (I do not know how this will figure in our accounts) & torn up your Cheque.

They have 6000 men here employed upon the roads - Reported Victory at the Bug yesterday - Kimburn taken with 1300 prisoners & 60 guns -

Men under arms every morning an hour before day-break expecting an attack from the Heights of Inkermann.

I am in the midst of Water-Closets, Extra Diet Kitchens, Reading Rooms, Baths, Boring for water -

Ever yours

[signed] F.N.

Draft, ff171-75, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Bracebridge} {person who copied it notes that letter isn't signed, but 'on the whole' it is in FN's writing.}

[14:257-60]

**f171r**

Nov 4/55

[1]

Pray do not think of making "yourself a disagreeable enemy" -  
but an active friend -

*Scorbutic Dysentery*

Is it not very unadvisable for us to attack the subject of  
Medical treatment - as regards the foreign system having been "wilfully  
neglected"

1st because it is not our business - & I have expressly denied  
being a Medical Officer - & rejected all applications both of Medical  
men & quacks to have their systems examined.

2nd because it justified all the attacks made against us for  
unwarranted interference & criticism

3rd because I believe it to be utterly unfair -

The French have lost more than we have (*proportionally* even)  
by Dysentery &c by their own shewing - as elicited by me at French  
Head-Quarters the other day - where I visited the Chief Ambulance, in  
company of Dr. Lyons, Dr. Mouatt (P.M.O. of the General Hospital in  
the front), Dr. Hadley & others the first being a Civilian, half a  
Frenchman & an undoubted Pathologist - (In Amputations the French,  
by their own statement, have not saved one-sixth, while we have saved  
one fourth) But I am now speaking of Dysenteric affections - The  
French Inspector General was there - I was immensely struck with him -  
thought him superior even to Lévi - *to any of our men* - And his  
behaviour to & moral influence over his Patients was not to be mention-  
ed in the same day with anything we are able to exercise.

But now mark -

**f172r**

[2]

P.M. Examinations have amply proved that what our troops have suffered from has been a form of Scurvy - brought on by salt rations - want of vegetables - cold & wet &c &c. There has been scarcely a case of Acute Dysentery in the whole campaign - *Scorbutic Dysentery*, involving extensive ulceration, is what has killed our men -

Bryce was allowed a fair & ample trial at Koulali, when he let his Patients die, & finally adopted the English system of practice.

I do not vindicate Mr. Cumming, who, & still more Dr. Hall; have entirely neglected all control over the Medical treatment practised by their subordinates - Indeed I am told that Dr. Hall is no Medical Man at all. But I do believe that to say that the practitioners of the country ought to have been consulted as to the treatment of our troops, because they were familiar with the disease & we were not, is to say that the Minister of War ought to have been left to take Sevastopol.

The disease was the accident of War & entirely new to *them* - And, had our scorbutic skeletons been left to the tender mercies of linseed meal injections & rice water for food, none would have escaped the burial ground of Scutari.

The whole of their treatment was (fairly & honorably, I must say) written down for me by the Constantinopolitan practitioners -

Are we not lessening our influence & putting ourselves into the irresponsibility of opposition, like the "Times", by supporting their well-meaning, but empirical, pretensions?

*Me*

I am in bed with a severe attack of Sciatica - which, minus the pain, which is awful, does not appear to have damaged me much

**f173r**

[3]

I tell you this that you may not cry out, if you see my convalescence in the "Times", how "shocked you are", which really hurts my feelings.

I have now had all this climate can give, Crimean fever, Diarrhoea, Rheumatism, & believe myself thoroughly acclimatized & ready to stand out the War with any man -

I wish I could say the same of noble brave Mrs. Stewart, who, I fear, is breaking up. But faithfulness is so eminently *her* that I hear her Master saying Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things -

War brings one back to the Judaic times - & quite out of the civilized conventional Anglicisms of the 19th century - war makes Deborahs & Absaloms & Achitophels & when, if ever the Magnificat has been true, has it been more so than now? every word of it?

My soul doth magnify the Lord & my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour - For He hath regarded the lowliness of His hand-  
maiden

&amp;c &amp;c &amp;c

To-day is the anniversary of Inkermann - yesterday of our landing at Scutari -

But harder battles than Alma or Inkermann have been fought here - & greater has been the ruin of reputation than of life  
*Water*

Lord Panmure has made your letter of Sept. 3 upon water the subject of a Dispatch to Genl Simpson - which was sent to me -

The stream here was dammed up by July 1, & entirely failed a fortnight after - The stream on the other side the Harbour, (Cossack

**f174r**

[4]

Bay) which was conducted, according to Mr. Rawlinson's orders & under his superintendence, for the supply of the Naval Hospital above Cossack Bay, entirely failed within six weeks after the operation - & from that time to the abandonment of that Hospital, all the water was brought in boats from our side the Harbour.

I hate to give Capt. Keane the advantage of us, who is the most agreeable gentleman & the worst man of business I ever had to do with - He has literally done nothing for this Hospital, *now the most considerable & the (only General) Hospital of the Crimea* X - but shoot wood-cocks for the sick Officers.

Would it not be better for us not to risk information to the War Office (which, gathered in May, & not transmitted till Sept. may have ceased to be true or useful then, -) without verifying it on the spot, which can always be done? It exposes me to the accusation of *vague femininity* of interference.

*General Hospital*

The General Hospital at B'clava has become almost & will become quite a Civil Hospital.

The General Hospital in the Camp is to be given up this week.

The Monastery remains a place to convalesce -

*D & half C* in Barrack Hospital, Scutari, is given up to the Foreign Legion - alas! for a Depot -

General Simpson is, I believe, against us, I don't know why.

Dr. Hall is dead against us, I do know why -

X we are never under 550 Patients -

**f175r**

[5]

I understand that he continues to say, though the fox denies it to me, that I have no right in the Crimea & that all the females here are, ipse facto, emancipated from me -

*Nuns*

It is odd but Genl. Airey has taken the same view, with regard to the Nuns at Genl Hospital, Balaclava - I am glad to be quit of *them* & it & would not take either back on any account. This is not "sour grapes" - I am not fond of using strong language - But Mother Brickbat's conduct has been neither that of a Xtian, a gentle-woman nor even of a woman. I have had a strong lesson against *Irish R. Catholics* - & never will I have dealings with them again - *For "they can lie & I cannot."* If you see well to tell this to Manning accompanying it with the strongest tribute in my power to give to our Revd. Mother of Bermondsey, I have no objection -

At the same time, I am the best personal friends with the Revd. Brickbat, & I have even offered to put up at to poor Winifred, to which she has deigned no reply. But anything to avoid a woman's quarrel, which can be done or submitted to on my part *shall* be done - & submitted to.

**[end 14:260]**

F176 typed copy of George to Bracebridge Dec 1 1855 re meeting and notifying FN's family

**f177** receipt re transport. Bracebridge

f178 receipt

Letter, ff179-82, hand copy, original is RAMC 271/20 copy 8996/7

**f179r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Jan 31/56

[12:118-20]

My dear Mr. Bracebridge

In reply to your letter requesting me to give some sign as to what I wish to have done with the money - about to be raised under the name of the "Nightingale Fund" & as to what purpose it is to be devoted to - I can only say - 1. The people of England say to me by this subscription - "We trust you - we wish you to do us a service" - no love

**f179v**

or confidence can be shown to a human being greater than this - and as such I accept it gratefully and hopefully. I hope I shall never decline any work God & the people of England offer me. But 2. I have no plan at all, I am not new to these things, I am not without experience - and no fear presents itself more strongly to my mind, no certainty of failure more complete - than accompany the idea of beginning any thing of the nature proposed to me -

**f180r**

with a great demonstration -  
a vast preparation - a great  
man perhaps coming down  
to the Hospital - to give the first  
"cup of cold water."

People's expectations are highly  
wrought - they think some great  
thing will be accomplished in  
six months - altho' experience  
shows that it is essentially the  
labour of centuries - they will be  
disappointed to see no apparent  
great change - and at the end  
of twelve month will feel as flat  
about it - as they do on a  
wedding day, at three o'clock,  
after the breakfast is over. But

**f180v**

worse than this, the fellow  
workers who would join me in  
a work which began with excite-  
-ment, public demonstration,  
public popularity, wd be those  
whom vanity, frivolity, or the  
love of excitement would bring -  
& these would, least of all, bring  
about the wonderful results wch  
the public wd be expecting - or  
rather the results wd be very  
"wonderful" the other way.

These are not theories, but experiences  
And is I have a place in me, w.ch  
is not battered out - by the perpetual  
"wear & tear" of mind & body - I  
am now undergoing - it would  
be simply this - to take the poorest

**f181r**

& least organized Hospital in London, & putting myself in there - see what I could do - not touching the "Fund" perhaps for years - not till experience had shown how the Fund might be best available. This is not detracting from the value & importance of the "Fund". to the work. It will be *invaluable* as occasion arises. I have hardly time to write this letter - much less to give the experience which would prove the deductions to be true. But I would only appeal to two recent instances - 1. My strength here lay in coming to Hospitals miserably disorganized, or rather unorganized, & in organizing them.

**f181v**

Had I come to an Institution cut & dry - what could I have done to alter it?  
2. The greater proportion of valuable fellow workers here - came out with the first party - notwithstanding the hurry of selection, when the work was obscure - & laborious & laughed at, and the hardships great - and *not*, with a few priceless exceptions, with the subsequent parties - when the excitement & popularity were great, & love of glory, of gain, & curiosity, all on the alert. I have no objection to what I say thus in private to you, being repeated to those who have so kindly interested themselves in the "Nightin-

**f182r**

-gale Fund" - & sympathize in her work. The first fruits of a long series (as I expect) of the brick & mortar plans of needy or philanthropic adventurers, who wish to get hold of the "Nightingale Fund" have already come in upon me. But I hope our inexorable common sense will not be taken in - one more instance & I have done - Compare the gradual but complete success of Fliedner's at Kaiserswerth, with that of the magnificent and pompous "Bethanien" at Berlin - whose excellent & simple minded foundress was appalled by "the greatness thrust upon her" and which massed her work. I therefore must decline making any plan whatever, even were I not

**f182v**

overwhelmed at present, not with plans, but work.-  
 At the same time - would I could say - (which I cannot) how much I feel the love & confidence of the people of England - in whose service as I have lived - so I shall die. I am dear Mr. Bracebridge  
 most truly yours  
 Florence Nightingale

[end 12:120]

**f183** Pincoffs to Bracebridge 20 Aug 1855 re seeing FN very evening he wrote him, stopped at Lea Hurst; saw duke this mornng. My dear Sir, I have deferred acknowledging your letter of the 13th till I could tell you something more. you know perhaps that I saw Miss Nightingale on the very evening your wrote to me. I had seen her arrival mentioned & stopped on my way to London at Derby for Lea Hurst. Miss N. thought also it would be well to see the duke and wrote to Mr Herbert to ask him to give me also a letter to HRH. Armed with your letter & his I succeeded in seeing the duke this morning; he seemed very pleased with the idea and said he would see what he could do in it. He however also said that he would refer the matter to Dr A. Smith. Now once in those hands we cannot expect the business to proceed fast. I had, as a matter of policy, seen dr Smith, told im of the plan and that I was gong to see the duke. *He did not seem much pleased* with the idea, and said it could only be useful for the pensioners. I have left with the duke an *exposé* of the idea, in which I say that the est for our

soldiers would be desirable *at this present moment on the following grounds;*

1. Humanity and utility, as pensioners who have no claim to medical treatment would be thankful for this mode provided for alleviating their sufferings and 2nd as many valuable soldiers might by their use be restored to the service.

2. In consequence of the late campaign there are many cases of both kind.

3. The India service and that of other tropical and foreign climates annually sends home a great many cases that would be benefitted.

4. Our pensioned officers and those on sick leave are in the habit of benefitting by these waters, *it seems therefore just that soldiers should have a similar chance of recovery.*

5. The experiment may be tried this year still without very considerable expense to government as other parties are desirous of contributing towards an object of such public utility.....

Tulloch, Cheltenham, Harrogate, Buxton... Bath . *the right of the soldier to the same benefit as the officer.*

**f187r**

{following written by correspondent:}

Mancetter Vicarage

Atherstone

Sept. 10th 1856

Mr. Richings present his compliments to Miss Nightingale, and hopes she will do him the favour of accepting a little volume of Sacred Poetry, as a small token of his respect, and as a memento of the pleasure it gave him to see her in Mancetter Church.

{following written by FN:}

Hi! hi! see what *I* get by going to Mancetter. I have not thanked yet. Shall I stipulate, if I receive the book, to have a place kept in the Vault?

What shall I answer to the unparalleled impudence of Disney's letter? I have sent in her name to the War Office for the Sultan's bezants, *but as a Nurse discharged for misconduct* - I used to say to senders of Tracts to Scutari that I have "*distributed*" them whether "*distributed*" into the fire or not I did not say - Shall I say to Disney that I have sent in her name, *how* I need not say.

Letter, ff188-89, typed copy {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}  
**[14:455-56]**

**f188r**

Birk Hall  
 Ballater  
 Oct. 2/56

Would you write to the enclosed McCormac & tell him whatever is the case about his money?

Margaret Williams, the Nurse who had fever, writes to me the enclosed letter. I find by my books that she, Blake, Hunt & Harding went home the same day March 23/55 - that Williams & Blake were paid up to the day of departure & received £5 present, Hunt ditto, received £2 present, Harding ditto, received £6.10 present. I do not remember why the early departures (those, i.e. on account of sickness, not misconduct,) were not paid their wages up to the day of arrival in England - I always did so *afterwards*. But it will not do to admit these posterior claims now - otherwise the other three & more will be coming upon us. I presume that Blake & Williams were supposed to have sufficiently misbehaved, as most certainly *Hunt* had, *not* to have their wages paid up to their arrival in England. But, as both W. & B. were sick, they were condoned with £5. But what to write to Williams, who we really liked, is the question. You know there was a blow up at the house about her, Tuffill & Orderly Eastlake. I would gladly do anything for her privately. But we must not admit her claim upon Govt. (This is not the *first* Margt Williams we sent home, but the warm-hearted, passionate Welshwoman we liked in spite of everything. She was a very innocent woman & not a designing one) Please return me her letter - & please write to her what you think proper & something

**f189r**

[2]

kind from me & tell me what you have written.

I am still enquiring about schools for Robert.

When I come back from here, I shall still want a long spell with you about our private statement of Free Gifts & about a letter to Panmure I now stand pledged to. I am staying on to see him here by Queen's desire

I dare say you & I have a *month's* work before us in these matters

Yours ever

F. Nightingale

Letter, f190, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f190r**

Dearest friend

I only received your note last night too late for the last post. My father is coming up to town from Friday till Monday. I may have engagements next week which I cannot put off. But, whatever day you wish to & can come up, you will not find the hindrance on my side - whether my father is here or not - all other things will be put off by me which can be put off, to give all the available time to doing the *Precis* with you which I can give. Unless you come tomorrow, which I hardly expect, you will write me word definitely when you come & how long you will give, that I may keep the time as free as it is in my power to do.

I am sleeping at 22 Albermarle St. & living at  
30 Old Burlington St  
ever yours affectionately

F. Nightingale

30 Old Burlington St.

Jan. 22/57

I had better just mention that I am so pressed with business that the reason why I should like to know when the two days which you mention as intending to devote to this business will be in order that I may keep them as free from engagements as I can

**f191** Monteagle to Sir, typed copy 3 May 1857. Agreeably to arrangements made in an interview with Miss Florence Nightingale and Mr B Smith, a solicitor has been approved of by her who will prepare a trust deed to be executed between Miss Nightingale and her trustee to provide for the future custody of the funds subscribed till called for by her. The object of the note of the 27 April with which you favoured me will then I hope be fully accomplished.

Letter, f192, typed copy. {original cut & incomplete} {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f192r**

It would be, as you know, *uselessly* distressing my people for me to go to a person I never saw, Mrs. Dixon of Stanstead - I could have but two reasons, valid with them & not grievous, for not doing my work at home, your wanting the water-cure, or the necessity of being near London - Aunt {here a portion is cut}

At present, I have an Interview fixed with Pan for Wednesday the preliminaries to be then settled for a Commission of Inquiry into Army Hospital Organization. I am getting up all the facts I can. Please give me hints. I am very miserable, think he means to shelve us. He has named A. Smith, Hall & Milton - I, Storcks, Lefroy, Herbert, Sutherland (or Alexander) (or Martin). But, like Tulloch, I *must* fight the battle. All this is a secret. Please tell me your thoughts BEFORE Wednesday, & write them legibly. If I could see you, it would be far better. I have written, 9 points for Commission's Enquiry. After the end of this week, I am ready to write with you either at water-cure or Combe, please. I am quite sure you can not write at home. As to water-cure, I don't care which, but Malvern is cold. Believe me, there is a good 6 months' work before me, so says McNeill, 6 weeks before

F.N.

Letter, f193, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f193r**

**[8:534]**

30 B. St

June 6 (1860)

Dearest friend I sent last night to Mr. Bracebridge the whole mass of the Lancashire correspondence. I have since had some more. Every thing at that end is ready - nothing at ours.

I have had a letter from that same Mr. Savage of Nuneaton, asking me "to put him in communication with persons in Lancashire" in order to get employment for Nuneaton people.

I have not yet done so.

The fact is, I have been so "let in" by these Spitalfields people who have entailed upon Mr Adshead & me an immense amount of labor & correspondence without doing anything that I can ask Mr. Adshead for nothing more till I am pretty sure of my people.

I have written to him about Nuneaton.

And I would write to him about sending a man to your Secy of the Land & Building Society Coventry if you feel pretty sure of your man.

I doubt very much whether writing to him from Manchester is of any use.

We have had such a deal of writing.

If you knew two intelligent men among the Operatives themselves who would go to Manchester, I would gladly introduce them to Mr. Adshead & pay their journey.

You will see in a letter from Blackburn that it itself proposes this from Spitalfields

ever your

F.

Letter, f194, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f194r**

**[8:535]**

June 8/60

Dearest friend

It is just like Mr. Bracebridge to go & see about the matter himself. Pray God he may be successful.

I will only add that, in several letters I have had since from Mr. Adshead he has always enjoined "Secrecy for very obvious reasons in this movement."

Whether Mr. Bracebridge has better write to him direct or through me, Mr. Bracebridge is a much better judge than I am. But I would rather, if he does write direct, he should not mention that I have shewn Mr. A's correspondence, altho' there is nothing confidential in it.

Mr. Adshead has always begged me to prevent a "*miscellaneous*" flow into the districts without previous concert & mutual arrangement, "it might most materially interfere" with the willingness of the Lancashire manufacturers, he says.

If therefore all could be transacted *through him* & he (& even I) be kept *cognizant of all*, he would like it better  
ever your

F.

Letter, f195-96, pen. {bottom page}

**[8:535-36]**

**f195r**

London      January 1864

Dearest Mrs. Bracebridge

You know that I always believed it to be God's will for me that I should live & die in Hospitals. When this call He has made upon me for other work stops, & I am no longer able to work, I should

**f195v**

wish to be taken to St. Thomas' Hospital, & to be placed in a bed in a "general" ward (which is what I should have desired, had I come to my end as a Hospital Matron) - And I beg you to be so very good as to see that this my wish is accomplished, whenever the time comes, if you will take the trouble as a true friend which you always have been, are & will be. And this will make me die in peace - because I believe it to be God's will.

Should, however, anything so unforeseen happen as that I should have an acute illness, such as fever, in which removal would be probable death, good nursing at home would give a possibility

**f195r {top page}**

of return to work, then I should think it my duty to ask you to have Mrs. Roberts, who, I know, would come to me at once (& whose address Mr. Whitfield of St. Thomas' Hospital always has) to nurse me at home till the issue was determined. But should the issue be, a period of incapacity of work before death, when removal would no longer frustrate my *chance* of return to work, then I should still wish to go to St. Thomas'. Ever your grateful affectionate Florence Nightingale

f196r, envelope, in Mrs. Bracebridge's hand.

*Private*

*Mrs. Bracebridge*  
in case of F.N. surviving  
me this letter to be given  
to Mrs Sutherland S.B  
at my death

Letter, f197, pen. {cut & incomplete}

**f197r**

To my beloved & revered friends Mr. & Mrs. Charles Holte  
Bracebridge, my more than earthly Father or Mother,  
without whom Scutari or my life could not have been,  
& to whom nothing that I could ever say or do would in  
the least express my thankfulness, I should have left come  
token of my remembrance, had they as I expected survived me.

I renew here the request made in my Will that all my  
letters, papers & Manuscripts with the sole exceptions in my

**f197v** {top portion missing}

Nightingale as & for a codicil to            }  
her last Will in the presence of us        }  
both present at the same time who in her} Florence Nightingale  
presence & in the presence of each other}  
have hereunto subscribed our names as    }  
Witnesses                                        }

    J. Jeffery McKee       Solicitor Clerk to Messrs Janson Cobb  
V. Pearson 41 Finsbury Circus London Solrs  
    Fanny. Dowding.    Servant to Miss Nightingale

Letter, ff198-99, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f198r**

[5:276]

Jan. 28/67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Mr. Bracebridge

I return you this very interesting letter.

I have not done anything yet about writing to the "Times" as you suggested. Before I had that suggestion, the famine in Orissa, -I mean in London-had begun and the Anglo-Greek committee *here* had advertised that they had money enough to last "till March 6."

I am quite sure that at *this* moment, it would be no use my writing to the "Times". If, at the end of February, or the beginning of March, *our* famine has subsided,- that time being the time indicted by the Anglo-Greek Committee here for themselves - it might be useful.

What *I* hear people say is:-

We don't know that the Greek Gov.t is better than the Turkish - we don't know that George is better than Otho - & we more than suspect that all this Cretan insurrection is stirred up by the Greek Govt.

And one man threw in my teeth that the rich Greek merchants in England might buy up the whole island of Crete, if they would.

I don't mention these things as having any opinion of my own about them but as indicated that it would be throwing away what may perhaps later be an opportunity, if I wrote to the "Times" during the present London distress.

What that distress is no one knows except those connected [6:399]

**f199r**

[2]

with the whole Poor law question.

It is not only that there are 20,000 people out of employment at the East End, as is paraded in every newspaper. It is that, in every parish, not less than twice & sometimes *five* times, the usual numbers are on the Poor Law books. It is that all the Workhouses are Hospitals. It is that Ragged Schools, instead of being able to give one meal a day, are in danger of being shut up. And this all over Marylebone, St. Pancras, the Strand, the South of London &c. &c.

I have scarcely a moment to write. I will write about other things in a few days.

We are extremely busy trying, (among other things), for a *whole* measure on Workhouse Infirmeries.

I only write now about the Cretan affair - to explain.

Revd Mother is but ailing.

Sister Gonzaga & co: still persecuted by Manning.

I trust that Cannes is doing you both good.

I enclose 4 (4d) stamps having accidentally discovered that a letter I sent (to Mrs. Bracebridge, I think) & gave the money to pay for, was sent with a (1d) stamp. One is never safe, unless one sticks on the stamps with one's own hand.

You ought to revenge yourselves by never pre-paying a letter to me.

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

Incomplete letter, ff200-01, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge} {first page missing}

**f200r**

circulating privately statements (& garbled statements) in her own defence. I must be able to say that, all I have had to do with the case, has been direct between me & the War Office.

Genl. Storcks & I are not to be made, either directly or indirectly, to circulate a defence of ourselves - *he* being the judge & *I* the prosecutrix, & neither of us the criminal.

If the W.O. wish their verdict to be known in the Crimea or elsewhere, they have hundred of clerks & hundreds of ways of doing it. And it is just as easy to do it from England as from here. Indeed neither my Aunt, nor any one in direct connection with me, shall do it with my knowledge or consent.

Genl. Storcks & Dr. Blackwood are *eagerly* of my opinion & neither will consent to have act nor part in the matter.

I consider it indeed (but this is only by-the-bye) but half an answer. Dr. Blackwood's letter

not entering, (as indeed he was no witness to the robbery but only to the lie,) into the main point - & the W. Office answer being quite beside the mark as to the "desk-"

Why I did not open

{here the letter is cut}

a foolish little chivalrous womanly feeling on my part & that I knew there was money in it.

The wretched woman was then so utterly degraded & humiliated & (literally) grovelling on the earth before us, begging not to be prosecuted & to be sent home *immediately*, "When shall I go? Are you sure I shall go to-morrow?" that no one could feel anything but

**f201r**

[2]

compassion.

Was it a matter of police or was it not? If it were, we were right,- if not, we were wrong. Would not, with any other convicted thief, the papers have been examined?

Don't therefore make me a party to throwing dust into people's eyes about "opening" or "not opening the desk".

Incomplete letter, f202, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f202r**

1. Patten's master condemns him on the score of drink. And my Aunt won't have him, therefore
2. Clover inadmissible on every account
3. I don't think it legitimate to give the rest of my private Fund to Soldiers' Employment Socy. I shall have more than need of it in the Militia.

Incomplete letter, f203, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge}

**f203r**

I want to give them a *good striking* clock, face about 1 1/2ft in diameter, striking hours & half hours, to put up in the Main Guard. But I leave it, size, price & all to you to decide. If they won't put it up, I can't help it. You know what we want - something to be heard all over the Hospital. I will stand the price. It must be a *good* clock.

F. Nightingale

Incomplete letter {third sheet only}, f204, typed copy. {original owned by G.J. Compton Bracebridge} **[8:537]**

**f204r**

Dearest, this long letter, so often interrupted, must come to an end.

Would you not like the Autotypes of the Sistine to come back? This is just the time when they might cheer your imprisonment. Shall I send them back by rail?

If you say 'yes' by your maid, please ask her to tell me how Mr. Bracebridge is & how you are - I feel very anxious. God bless you.

earth seems to matter very little now. But I am all yours  
& ever yours, living or dying, in heart & soul

F.N.

letter, ff205-16, pen

**f205r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
January 11/56

[14:301-11]

Sir

I have carefully considered the letter of Dr. Hall, of Dec 28/55, a Copy of which you have placed in my hands. &, as in several particulars, I am compelled to differ in opinion with him, I will state, for the information of the War Office, the grounds upon which I do so.

Dr. Hall states that the number of Nurses at present employed in the General Hospital at Balaclava is not more than sufficient for proper attendance on the number of sick there. On this point, I have to say that Dr. Hall himself stated to me that four (or at most six) nuns were sufficient for that Establishment, in which opinion I concurred. The number there at present is twelve. And Dr. Hall's own expression to me on this point was "I have been innocently floated into this. I expected four & I have thirteen."X

Dr. Hall now says that the small number of nurses employed during the summer was "a source of grumbling, jealousy & discontent

X One has since died

**f205v**

among the sick." It was in October what he stated to me his opinion that four were enough. & as the average had been always above that number, I must leave it to himself to reconcile the contradiction. Indeed I have a letter from him, in which he states, in reply to one of mine, that Miss Wear & even two would be sufficient.

As to the alleged "grumbling and discontent" on the part of the sick soldiers for insufficient & preferential *nursing*, I must express my strong doubts as to the fact.

I think I can shew the War Office that these doubts are well founded, as it is evident that Dr. Hall's information is derived from the document, which he immediately after quotes, & to which I must refer at considerable length; I mean the "Purveyor's Statement," annexed by Dr. Hall to his letter.

Relying on this "Purveyor's Statement," Dr. Hall reminds the government that the nuns, whom he calls "Sisters of Charity", but who are really nuns, are the least expensive Nurses who can be employed - & on this, & other grounds, he seems to intimate that they ought to be exclusively employed in Military Hospitals.

The value of the Purveyor's statement will presently appear. And,

**f206r**

with respect to this general opinion of Dr. Hall's, I would here mention that Dr. Cunning, also Inspector General of Hospitals, & who had observed the system & it working in these Hospitals, repeatedly expressed to myself his judgment that Nurses were much preferable - & ought, at all events, to be the preponderating element. I suppose I need not say that such is my own opinion.

But, even admitting that Nurses were required at Balaclava & that Nuns were preferable, Dr. Hall knew perfectly well that he had only to apply to me for whatever number or quality he required, which I beg to submit to the War Office would have been the PROPER & regular course.

And now, Sir, for this "Purveyor's Statement". so firmly relied upon by Dr. Hall. but which I cannot consider otherwise than as a tissue of unfounded assertions, wilful perversions &, in some instances, malicious & scandalous libels.

I do not mean these for mere hard words. as I shall now proceed to shew - paragraph by paragraph.

This gentleman says

1.2 "Arrangement was in its infancy. & no fixed appointments appeared to have been assigned to the Nurses, each attending at pleasure thr' the wards."

This is false. I have at this moment,

**f206v**

before me, my first Superintendent's Report from Balaclava, sent to me at my desire (Miss Emma Langston's) & containing, with the no. of each ward, the name of the nurse assigned to it - including even the hours of the *watches*, especially the Night-Watches, as fixed by the Medical Officers themselves. At *no* time did the Nurses "attend at pleasure through the wards"

2. 3. The Superintendence was never, 2. 3. at any time, given to Miss Clough, as Mr. Fitzgerald asserts.

It is difficult to rebut so vague a statement as that "insubordination & discontent were manifested among the nurses." I can only state that Mrs. Shaw Stewart (then Superintendent at the General Hospital, Balaclava - & now at the Castle Hospital, Balaclava) has been always a most valued, trustworthy ~~to~~ & trusted local Superintendent. And, if I am unfit to judge of the competency of a Sub-Superintendent, I am unfit to fulfil the duties assigned to me by the War Office.

Nurse Gibson was undoubtedly drunk, & I recalled her on that account.

Again, "discontent prevailed" is an unsupported assertion, which, I am hardly called upon, I think, to answer.

Mrs. Shaw Stewart's moral control over the nurses has been always most remarkable - & even in the cases where unfortunately, Nurses have been found wanting & dismissed, they have never breathed a word against *her*.

**f207r**

With regard to the withdrawal of Miss Clough, since dead, the circumstances are briefly these. as stated by herself in writing. She came out *with the intention of* joining the 79th Highlanders. (owing to a romantic sentimentalism to which, the poor woman being dead, it is not necessary farther to allude) & of remaining at my Hospital at Balaclava, as one of H. My's Nurses, only so long as to learn the Extra Diet Cooking therein practised by us. She then left without giving any notice of her intention. I heard from Dr. Hall himself his disapprobation of this step. & I learnt, with extreme surprise, that *her* Requisitions upon the Purveyor were answered - she having no more authority from the War Office to draw upon the Purveyor than any other lady who might come out, unauthorized, from England.

Miss Clough did endeavour to induce some of the Nurses, especially Gibson & Disney, to follow her. promising that they should continue to receive the same rate of wages as that given by myself. But these persons had, at least, the worldly wisdom to ask, "Who is to pay us?" and, receiving no satisfactory answer, declined. Miss Clough was attended only by a woman of the 42nd Highlanders & her husband, whom she called her servants - & to whom she promised wages through Dr. Hall. But Dr. Hall declining to put them, subsequently, on the list of Gov.t servants,

**f207v**

their wages were paid, after Miss Clough's death, out of the private pockets of Brir General Cameron & of myself. I have never heard this proceeding of Miss Clough, in establishing herself on the Highland Heights, characterized, by the Crimean authorities, either Military or Medical, as anything but a "mad freak"- & not at all as the result of "disgust" or "discontent". It is but right to poor Miss Clough to add that she spoke of Mrs. Shaw Stewart, who nursed her in her last hours at our Castle Hospital, with the utmost respect, not only *then* but always.

3. With regard to the "*Superseding*" of Mrs. Stewart, alleged by Mr. Fitzgerald - it was at that lady's own request that I sent up another superintendent, Miss Wear, to the General Hospital, Balaclava. Mrs. Stewart, in consequence of a written Requisition to me from Dr. Anderson, then Principal Medical Officer at Balaclava, for her services at the then newly-established Castle Hospital, was transferred to that Hospital by me, with one Nurse & one Extra Diet Cook. The number was increased within a fortnight, also at Dr. Anderson's Requisition, by myself & three Nurses joining them above.

4. This is one of the paragraphs which I have not hesitated to describe

**f208r**

as a malicious & scandalous libel against the good names of five (not only innocent & respectable but) most excellent & devoted women - Mrs Davies, Mrs Noble & Mrs Tuffill were invalided home by the advice of Dr. Hall himself & of Dr. Anderson with broken health. broken by their unremitting devotion to their duty. One of them is now dying. They were three of the best Nurses I ever knew. To their high merits all the Medical Officers, under whom they have served, have given their testimony in very remarkable terms. It is enough, however, to state that *the gentleman himself* who begins this "Confidential Report" with his name ("confidential", I presume, because never meant to be seen by those who could alone refute his base & cruel slander) stated to me, in the presence of Miss Wear, & several other witnesses, his opinion, which was confirmed by Dr. Hall himself, that Mrs. Davies (one of the women stigmatized in his Reports)- "for her *unparalleled* services (sic) ought to receive a pension from Government, & that she was worth twice the wages" which I paid her.

N.B. I recommended two of these women (accused *by name* of misconduct by Mr. Fitzgerald) for a year's wages to the War Office after their return, which they received - others for a lesser sum. And two received each

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the sum of £25 out of our own pockets, which is merely mentioned by me to shew how highly they were valued in public & in private.

It appears almost superfluous after exposing this deliberate falsehood, to examine all the others in this gentleman's "Confidential Report."

Mrs Lawfield is *not* "gone home" at all but is with me at this present time & is a woman of faultless character.

Mrs. Sandhouse went home with no aspersion whatever upon her character, but simply because, in a place where the most efficient nursing is required, I did not consider her so efficient as others. She nursed one of my Lady-Nurses, Miss Emily Anderson, through a severe illness, & was offered a present for her services by Sir Charles Anderson, which, as I learnt from *himself*, she honorably declined.

5. I feel compelled to call attention to this passage which, altho' not so mischievous as others, because the names are not all specified, is, if possible, more basely, because more consciously, false. "Scandal," as this gentleman justly says, "ascribed faults..." Whence this scandal originated now appears. It was my unpleasant duty in November /55 at Balaclava (for the sake of at once repressing this false report, utterly groundless as it was, & of clearing the characters of Dr. Jephson, 1st Dragoon Guards,- who

**f209r**

was justly indignant - & intended an appeal to the Commander of the Forces, - as well as those of two most innocent and excellent women) to appeal to Dr. Hall & Dr. Hadley, now Principal Medical Officers at Balaclava, & to confront the accused with the accusers. The result was, as Dr. Hall & Dr. Hadley had anticipated, to prove the charge not only utterly without foundation but absolutely impossible under the circumstances for all three - of which I have evidence ready to produce before the Commander of the Forces, had it been necessary. The two women, whom Mr. Fitzgerald represents as "dismissed," had been *previously* invalidated home. It was the false accusation which was "dismissed"- and this, the lie which was raked up only to be proved a lie, is now called in by Mr. Fitzgerald as an auxiliary to his array of charges.

Were it not for the sake of clearing the reputations of these women, thus unjustly & *secretly* accused, (~~without~~ depriving them of the power of defending themselves), by a "confidential" enemy, from the filth cast upon them by this gentleman, I could hardly reconcile myself to wading through it.

6. I am weary of these calumnies. But, for truth's sake, I have to state

**f209v**

the real circumstances, tortured by Mr. Fitzgerald into "threats used by a Nurse against Miss Wear's life." Miss Wear, whilst delirious from fever, conceived the very common delusion that the Nurse, attending on her, was intending to poison her. The Medical Officer, Dr. Matthew, changed the Nurse, in order to pacify this state of excitement. He informed me, subsequently, of the reason (I was not at Balaclava at the time) treating it as a fancy of delirium. As, however, it did not disappear, but continued in dislike to the Nurse, I removed her - that is to say, she accompanied a sick Officer home, who believed, as I do, his life to have been saved by her services. I have no knowledge of any other foundation whatever, for the Purveyor's story.

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Thus far the charges are specific. And thus far I have answered them specifically. To the long tissue of vague allegations & unsupported inferences which follows what can be said?

I would simply observe in reply  
1. that Dr. Hall openly expressed his satisfaction with Miss Wear's treatment of the Sardinian Officers in our Hospital. & even when, for reasons which made me not quite satisfied with Miss Wear as a Superintendent, I expressed to him

**f210r**

a doubt as to whether she should remain or not, he alleged her usefulness in these foreign cases as one reason, among others, for retaining her services.

2. In answer to the Purveyor's complaint of there being too few Nurses, I beg to call attention to this circumstance. The number of Nurses, in any Hospital, has always been fixed by the Medical Officer himself. The following clause was drawn up in pursuance of my Instructions, dated Jan 21/55. "A written Requisition for nurses must be forwarded to me from the Medical Officer in charge of any Hospital, to be confirmed by the Inspector-General of Hospitals."

I appeal to the correspondence between Dr. Hall, the Inspector General & myself, & between Dr. Anderson, P.M.O. of Balaclava & myself, relative to the appointments, withdrawals & numbers of Nurses, of which the Purveyor is now complaining, for the truth of this assertion. When the thirteen Nuns went to Balaclava, ~~with me~~, Dr. Hall himself stated to me that he had "expected three or *four*, " & that "*four* were enough," & that he had been "innocently floated into it" viz. the number of ~~13~~ thirteen, a number he had "neither required nor expected." This I have already mentioned in commenting upon

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Dr. Hall's letter, who seems to echo the Purveyor's complaint. I would also add that, at the Castle Hospital, Balaclava, 500 - 600 Patients have been attended by 5 - 7 Nurses. the number considered sufficient by the Medical Officers. while the General Hospital at Balaclava contains only 250 Patients, of whom a large number were convalescents, to be attended by 13 nuns. the Patients also being not *all* Roman Catholics, as need hardly be added.

3. I would call attention to the passage "it should be the duty of a Superintendent to obey the Instructions of the Hospital Authorities & not to criticize or contravene them" in Mr. Fitzgerald's Report,- where he draws the distinction between the relative merits of Nuns & Protestants, as Hospital Attendants - & state merely the fact

I. that all my local Superintendents have had strict written Rules from me, which they have as strictly carried out, to issue no article of food or clothing whatever to Patients, excepting in answer to the Diet Rolls & written Requisitions of the Medical Officer in charge

II that the system of Koulali whence Mrs. Bridgeman came to Balaclava, & her own at Balaclava, have been to issue Extras &c at their

**f211r**

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own discretion to Patients, *without* Requisition from the Medical Officers.

III It was on this very account that the nursing Establishment at Koulali was broken up as a whole. They resigned, on account of the P.M.O. at Koulali insisting on extra Articles of Diet, given by the Ladies being inserted in the Diet Rolls. He found the expenditure & consumption enormous. They declared that this destroyed their usefulness, resigned, & their resignation was accepted.

I draw from these facts two conclusions

1. that the only system by which Female Nursing Establishments can be made of permanent use is that of issuing every Article, whether of food or clothing, upon the written Requisitions *only* of the Medical Officer in charge.
2. that the preference here given to Mrs. Bridgeman's nuns, on account of their subordination to the Medical Officers, is a fiction invented to support a Roman Catholic theory, & not only without foundation, but *in direct opposition* to the truth.

I may add that, while the "ad libitum" distribution of Extras was permitted to no one under my charge - their regular administration even, in answer to the Diet Rolls of the Medical Officers, has been always confined to nuns & Ladies in the Hospital under my care, for the very obvious reason of their superior education ensuring the necessary accuracy.

At the Castle Hospital, Balaclava, Mrs. Shaw Stewart always superintends the issuing of the Extras herself, & always according to this rule.

I am, therefore, apprehensive lest the remark, made by Mr. Fitzgerald, must

**f211v**

be applied in the inverse sense of that in which he intended it viz. that the subordination to the Medical Officers which he *so justly* admires, is found among the Nuns & Ladies under my charge, & *not among Mrs. Bridgeman's Nuns.* I am farther confirmed in this observation by the remark, made to me in October last at Balaclava *by that Mr. Fitzgerald himself,* complaining that the Purveyor-in-Chief had allowed the system among these Nuns at Koulali of giving Extras without Requisitions - & that he "wished it might not be introduced with themselves at Balaclava",- & he farther stated, in terms of unqualified approbation, his sense of the superiority of my system of absolute subordination to the Diet Rolls.

~~I leave it to this~~

I am here forcibly reminded of a piece of advice once given me by an old Irishwoman "Don't quarrel with a certain character. For he can lie & you cannot."

With regard to the "Court of Investigation" story, I am wholly at a loss to what it refers, unless it be the following. I informed Dr. Hall that, in the General Hospital at Balaclava, the dead were occasionally buried without the corpse having been viewed by the Orderly Medical Officers, or the death verified save by a Nurse or an Orderly. His answer was "An Orderly might as well *admit* Patients." He accepted the information & remedied the irregularity.

Mr. Fitzgerald's concluding flourish, Page 7, I confess myself unable to under-

**f212r**

stand, either as to its construction or its meaning. & therefore to answer it. I subjoin this "morceau."

"Lady Nurses - of the disposition & experience of Miss Stewart & Miss Wear, would be equally useful as the Sisters, if the pride & will & independence of action of former years could

be silenced & humble obedience connect & maintain an amicable union between large numbers. Experience shews the preponderance of the former conditions, and the transitory nature of new,- negative & contradictory obligations - of subordination & obedience." (sic)

The tables of Comparative Expenditure I can assert to be false. a number of the Requisitions having been verified by myself.

At the Castle Hospital, from the time of my undertaking it in April up to the present moment, we have cooked & issued the whole of the Diets of the Wounded Officers the whole of the Extras for the Wounded Men. A part of these were derived from our Requisitions upon the Purveyor, here quoted - a part from my own private stores. But the principal Articles in the Purveyor's table of Expenditure for Nurses at the Castle Hospital were solely for Patients. viz.

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Arrow Root	£7. 14. 0
Brandy	3. 4. 0
Port Wine	3. 12. 0
Sherry	1. 10. 0
	-----
	£16. 0. 0

**f212v**

*Nurses' Expenditure*  
*as estimated by Purveyor*      £40. 5. 0  
 Deduct                              16. 0. 0  
 -----  
*Actual Expenditure*              £24. 5. 0  
 as proved by me, F.N.

For the Port Wine which is drunk by the Nurses & solely when they are on the Sick List, is furnished entirely by myself. as well as a part of the Port Wine drunk by the Sick Officers & Men.

Compare the Port Wine Expenditure, stated by the Purveyor himself & to be for the Nuns, at the General Hospital, Balaclava - viz. per month

£9. 0. 0

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It is difficult to account for an Official falsifying a Report in a manner so easily contradicted, except by remembering that it is headed by him "confidential" - And it is difficult to me to think it necessary to continue taking it to pieces thus item by item, after such an exposure of its untrustworthiness.

If I am, however, to do so, I will mention two more items

The allowance of drink to the Nurses in all the Hospitals under my charge has always been

1 1/2 pints Porter per diem  
 or { 1 pint Porter &  
     { 1 glass Marsala  
 or { 1 pint Porter &  
     { 1 oz Brandy.

This was given in writing to Miss Wear at the General Hospital, Balaclava,

**f213r**

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on May 10 1855, authorized by Dr. Anderson, & copied by the then Principal Medical Officer of that Hospital - where, as well as at the Castle Hospital, it became the settled allowance - never deviated from except in cases of sickness - and in the case, correctly stated by the Purveyor, of one Nurse Brooks, dismissed by me on that very account & Miss Wear was requested never to allow it again. Even in her case, it was my wine she drank & not the Purveyor's.

It may be as well to state here, in reply to the Purveyor's sweeping generality as to our expense to Government that the ~~whole of the~~ Wine & Brandy for the Extras - & distributed from our Extra Diet Kitchens and for the consumption of our own Nurses. (issued, however solely, *according to Medical Requisition*, as above stated) has not been at the expense of Government *at all* but at our own. This is the case *in toto* as to our central Establishment, the Barrack Hospital Scutari - *in part* as I have explained, as to the other Hospitals under my charge. The statement has already appeared in the "Blue Book on the Crimean & Scutari Hospitals", & will appear in print up to the present time.

The Expenditure of the General Hospital in June does & did appear to me expensive. And I can only state that, when, upon my mentioning to Dr. Hall that I feared Miss Wear was incompetent as a Superintendent & notwithstanding her

**f213v**

devotion & kindness, had not the necessary control over the Nurses, - & proposing therefore to recall her, which I did in writing to him, he not only negatived that proposition, but, in spite of my written remonstrance & without my knowledge, appointed her to the Monastery Hospital & ~~also~~ sent for two Nurses for her from Smyrna, also without my knowledge. And I, as a concession to the interference of my Principal Medical Authority, against which, however, I must in future protest, retained her in authority at that Hospital.

I leave it to Dr. Hall to explain the discrepancy of his at once basing his conduct as to appointing the Nuns at the General Hospital upon the alleged defects of the previous system under Miss Wear, & compelling me, in deference to his request, to retain that lady

I must also deduct the item

Sherry      £15. 2. 6

Page 14

which was for the *Patients*, from the Purveyor's estimate for the Expenditure of *Nurses* at the General Hospital in June. This farther reduces

£68. 0. 10

deducting      15. 2. 6

-----

to      £52. 18. 4

With regard to the Nuns now at the General Hospital, Balaclava

**f214r**

I myself, through Miss Wear, continued to draw their Requisitions during my stay at Balaclava. Their consumption during one day for twelve was

27 lbs Meat

20 Eggs

6 bottles Port Wine

besides Ham, Potatoes & Bread in proportion.

I must add that all Mrs. Stewart's Requisitions at the Castle Hospital are countersigned by the Principal Medical Officer - while those of Mrs. Bridgeman, at the General Hospital, by some unaccountable difference, are not so countersigned.

The pay of the Nurses is wrongly stated, Mr. Fitzgerald not being cognizant of the facts. I have already stated them in my Report sent home to the War Office, a copy of which I furnished, Sir, to you.

I wish farther to state that Dr. Hall has expressed his satisfaction with the Nurses, not once but repeatedly to me, in writing & in conversation - mentioning some by name for efficiency & food conduct. especially some now stigmatized by Mr. Fitzgerald. He also made a special testimony to their usefulness in one of his Reports to the late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan. to which he directed my attention

**f214v**

when, in the month of November last, I asked him whether he were satisfied with them - the said Report having been published in the "Times".

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And now, Sir, having, in compliance with your Requisition & for the information of the War Office, made the foregoing comments on the letter of Dr. Hall & the "Purveyor's Statement," (which, altho' styled a "*confidential* Report," has been thus embodied in a Letter, not, I presume, confidential but official.) I must add that, on its own intrinsic merits, I should scarcely have considered the "Purveyor's report" worthy of so much of my notice. And I cannot consider that a document of this kind, so adopted by Dr. Hall, either ought to be or can be regarded as of a really "confidential" character. On the contrary, I think I am entitled to be furnished by the War Office with a copy of Mr. Fitzgerald's Paper. as being necessary for me in case of any future Enquiries in Parliament upon this subject.

At all events, I by no means wish that my present communication should be considered confidential in any similar sense.

I simply desire to see my System efficiently carried out. and, having been appointed Superintendent of Nurses in the Hospitals of the British Army serving in the East, by H. My's Gov.t, it was surely to me that "Confidential Reports" ought to have been made,

**f215r**

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whether by Dr. Hall or Mr. Fitzgerald. Indeed what the latter gentleman has to do with the matter, I cannot at all imagine. or how Dr. Hall can consider himself authorized to receive "Confidential Reports" of this character, & suppress them from me. while he relies upon them in his own official communications to the War Office.

I make this observation, irrespective of the still farther grievance that, in the present instance, this "Confidential Report" is utterly at variance not only with the truth but with the truth, as viewed by both Dr. Hall & Mr. Fitzgerald, in their own communications with me.

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On the subject of the Hospitals in the Crimea, let me add, Sir, that I find that the Inspector General, Dr. Hall, has not only appointed Mrs. Bridgeman & twelve Nuns to the General Hospital at Balaclava, - but has since, in conjunction with my Supt at the Monastery Hospital, Miss Wear, upon his & her authority, thro' Mr. Fitzgerald, without any reference to me, written for the two Nurses from Smyrna for that Hospital - viz. on October 29/55, when I was myself present in the Crimea.

I, therefore, must beg you to express to the War Office that I claim to be informed whether I am to continue to appoint the Nurses in the Hospitals under my Superintendence, as I have been instructed to do by the War Office.

If the War Office has since adopted

**f215v**

the opinion of Mr. Fitzgerald that the "local Superintendents should be exclusively under the orders of the Principal Medical Officer of the Army or his subordinate local representative," meaning himself, it is necessary that such a change in the plan upon which I was instructed to act, when I was asked to assume this responsibility, should be notified to me. I will then take ~~it~~ into consideration my future course.

I have followed my Instructions to the letter which, no less than my own judgment, placed me implicitly under the direction of the Medical Authorities as to the treatment of the Patients, medical & dietetic. But the duties of "appointment", "distribution", "selection" &c of the Nurses in the Military Hospitals were definitely committed to me.

If the War department desire me to continue to exercise these functions entrusted to me by themselves, I must request that they will support me in doing so, by notifying to the Inspector-General of Hospitals that he is to second & not to ~~thwart~~ oppose me in the performance of my duties. The incessant difficulties arising from the want of such support consume my time & strength to the impediment of ~~my attention to~~ the work properly belonging to me.

I would, also, beg humbly to

**f216r**

suggest to the War Department that  
my Instructions be communicated  
to the Commander of the Forces by  
~~themselves~~ the War Department itself.

[end 14:311]

I have the honor to be

Sir

your obedt servt

Florence Nightingale

To Lt Colonel Lefroy  
Royal Artillery

Letter, ff217-22, pen

**f217r**

Scutari

Barrack Hospital

6/3/56

My dear Sir

I beg to thank you very much  
for your letter of Feb 18 & its enclosure.  
It makes me wish to keep a Canteen,  
when if ever, I am out of this.

I have never been able to join  
in the popular cry about the reck-  
lessness, sensuality, helplessness of the  
soldier. On the contrary I should say  
(& no woman perhaps has ever seen  
more of the manufacturing &  
agricultural classes of England than  
I have - before I came out here)  
that I have never seen so teachable  
& helpful a class as the Army  
generally.

Give them opportunity promptly  
& securely to send money home - &  
they will use it.

**f217v**

Give them a School & a Lecture & they will come to it.

Give them a book & a game & a Magic Lanthorn & they will leave off drinking.

Give them suffering & they will bear it.

Give them work & they will do it.

I had rather have to do with the Army generally than with any other class I have ever attempted to serve.

And I speak with the *intimate* experience of 18 months which I have had since I "joined the Army" - no woman (or man either) having seen them under such conditions.

And when I compare them with the Medical Staff Corps, the Land Transport Corps, the Army Works Corps, I am struck with the soldier's superiority as a moral & even as an intellectual being.

If officers would but think

**f218r**

thus of their men, how much might not be done for them

But I should be sorry to have to give any experience of the former & (so-called) higher class.

With regard to what you kindly say of me, it will be of immense service to my work to have it officially recognised by the War Department, officially notified to the Commander of the Forces. This should have been done long ago. I have now the responsibility of *refusing* Nurses to Medical Officers, to Commanding Officers, to Chaplains who make requisition for them, prepare huts for them, are ready to receive them, because -- Sir John Hall says that he has never been called upon to recognize me officially. This has been the case

**f218v**

with ~~to~~ the Hospitals of both Wings of the Land Transport Corps. which have been & are still the worst in the Camp.

The private griefs of ~~private~~ Hospitals are, however, now as nothing compared with those of the whole Army - that Army which was, but is no more.

In the presence of Sir John McNeill's cool, correct & dispassionate Report, I feel that what I have to say is worth nothing.

I am in a state of chronic rage, like the "nigger" who, when he was to be flogged the second time, said "*Same drunk, Massa, same drunk.*"

I gave my evidence before the Commission on the "Scutari & Crimean Hospitals." & I being now one of the oldest inhabitants in Scutari & the Crimea, it had some value on that account.

**f219r**

I think I could tell even Sir J. McNeill some facts, having been more behind the scenes, especially the Medical Scenes, than ever be has been.

But, if all were told, what would the "Scribes & Pharisees" be, compared to our British Scribes & P.s. The former, we are told, "devoured widows' houses," & put the "anise & cummin" into their own pockets. But we have *made* the widows & put a great deal more than "anise & cummin" into the pockets of the widow-makers. Sir R. Airey, Col. Gordon, the two Cavalry Lords, Sir John Hall, Mr. Fitzgerald et id genus omne. From this time forth can a K.C.B. ship or a promotion from Horse Guards or War Dept ever be any thing but a title of disgrace.

If you have friends among these men, so have I. But I would

**f219v**

have given up my own father in such a cause.

England has never realized the eight thousand graves at Scutari and more in the Crimea.

But I, who saw the men come down through all that long, long dreadful winter (four thousand sick we received in seventeen days. Dec 17/54 - Jan 3/55. & of these we buried more than the half.) without other covering than a dissy blanket & a pair of old Regimental trousers, when we knew that the stores were teeming with warm clothing - living skeletons, devoured with vermin, ulcerated, hopeless, speechless, dying like the Greeks, as they wrapped their heads in their blankets & spoke never a word, 70 - 80 we lost per diem on the Bosphorus alone up

**f220r**

to Feb 13/55. on which say we buried 85 in one grave without a Register - in that month there were 1000 more burials than deaths registered. Can we hear of the promotion of the men who caused this colossal calamity, we who saw it, without thinking, will the next thing be the "Decline & Fall of the "British "Empire?"

In the list of the Medical C.B.'s, I see but one name among all those many deserving Medical Officers who boldly, at the cost of their own promotion, as it appears, withstood Red Tape, official routine & Dr. Hall, & procured, by one means or another, the necessaries for saving life among their men. With this one exception, all the Medical C.B.s are men of fourth or fifth rate capacity, who have won their little day by truckling to formalities & licking

**f220v**

Dr. Hall's shoes.

Would that the men could speak who dies of Cholera in the puddles of Kalamita Bay, when their zealous & active Medical Officers could not get a grain of medicine out of Dr. Hall, without a Requisition which they could not write.

The 1st Cl. Staff Surgeon who openly & to his face remonstrated with Dr. Hall on this occasion, I look for in vain in the list of Promotions & C.B.s.

But the man who let the sick come down to Balaclava & gave no notice, so that they lay there for 3 hours together in the winter & could not be embarked, he is a C.B. tho' even Lord Raglan was frantic about that neglect.

After all we have done & all we have suffered, this is the glorious

**f221r**

conclusion. At the end of two years, we leave off, having rewarded the authors of our great calamity. & hoped they would do the same next time.

And Lord Panmure gets up in the House of Lords, & with bated breath & whispering humbleness, begs the Cavalry Lords not to be offended.

"The Lord never visits these parts" nor the Horse Guards nor the War Dept apparently. Or if He does, He has taken sides against us.

I should like not to deal in invective, with such a model of marble truth as Sir John McNeill's report before me. But he did not see these things. I did. And none, I believe, to this day, realize them.

I know & feel, personally, that several of these culprits, thus

**f221v**

rewarded, are men of honor, conscience & capacity. But what of that?

If men are to be rewarded in the proportion of the harm they have done, let us proceed to business. I live in hopes to see M. Fitzgerald who, in his little way has done great things, in cutting off supplies from other Hospitals when his store was full, a Peer & hear Lord Panmure speak of "My noble friend". And Dr. Hall will be Baron Red-tape - how well that sounds! - & Andrew Smith must be a "Royal Highness" or "Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," at least.

Even in Sir J. McNeill's most admirable Report, the facts, as stated by Dr. Hall, about the "Linen" & "Lint" at Scutari are put, so as to convey an idea exactly contrary to the truth.

If the people of England would

**f222r**

rise as they did this time last year, when they put ~~out~~ the D. of Newcastle out of office - they were very expeditious about that - & for what?- for ignorantly allowing the ~~same~~ very things which the men who did them are now rewarded for doing. if England would now rise in like manner, we should have some hopes. But what can *this* end in but in having more Sir R. Aireys & Sir J. Halls? See what the public feeling of England evaporated in - in the "Free Gifts" among the women - their feeling found expression in flannel & 'old linen', among the men, in turning out the D. of Newcastle who did not commit the murder.

In a matter where I am fortunately so out of the pale of promotion that I cannot be supposed to have preference or prejudice, I am

**f222v**

unwilling to put forward one grievance which might seem to be personal.

But - a poor little Acting Assistant Surgeon, named Bakewell, publicly writes a letter, which was a true statement in some respects at least if not all, for which he loses his Commission & is dismissed the service, this being slander.

A Fitzgerald who *secretly* incites a malicious libel against a whole department of H. M.y's servants & causes it to be laid "confidentially" before the W. D. organ, is promoted to be Dep. Purveyor in Chief, with his back pay & all his little souls desires. over the heads of excellent & worthy seniors.

I make no apology for taking up your time with subjects about which I believe we must all be full.

Peace, I suppose, we must have whether we will or no. And is our next war to be conducted in like manner? Believe me

very truly yours  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff223-27, pen, copy 8996

**f223r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
March 16/56

**[14:357-59]**

My dear Sir

Though I am just starting for the Crimea & should have been there by this time, had it not been for the gale of wind which has caused our Transport to put back, I must thank you for your kind letter of March 3, & for the act of justice to our work which I am sure I owe to you.

My revered friend & patron, John Hall, K.C.B. has consented to my undertaking the two dirty & neglected "Land Transport Corps" Hospitals, at the earnest request of the 1st Cl. Staff Surgeon in charge, & I was on my way thither.

**f223v**

To find me in G.O. up there will be a great satisfaction to my numerous friends & patrons there, and (now I am serious) will greatly facilitate the work which the W.O. has given me to be done & ~~to~~ will prevent an exhausting & ever-recurring struggle.

With regard to Dr. Hall's false report, if it is his, to the W.O. that I had "renounced all responsibility for the Crimean Hospitals," I am perpetually reminded by him of O'Connell's aphorism "It is a good lie, if it lasts four & twenty hours." But if the W.O. would *think*, this could not last 24 minutes. The W.O. have, at this moment, before them Mrs. Shaw Stewart's letter to me. She is my Superintendent at the most considerable Hospital in the Crimea, the Castle Hospital, & she does not

**f224r**

write to me as if I had nothing to do with them. But the "Budget" is the grand thing, as we are told in the late discussion between Horse Guards, War Departm.t & House of Commons. And the W.O. will have in my "Bill" at Lady Day for two Hospitals in the Crimea, which I have had since the beginning & now for four - leaving out the "General Hospital" at Balaclava.

So that question is at next.

I cannot too much thank you for your kind interest in our work, nor express how much I feel this benefit, in that you are good enough to give me your advice. But, in the matter of the R.C. Nuns, it is entirely in accordance with my own opinion & constant line of conduct throughout. I receive the R.C. assistance here with open arms.

**f224v**

"Rev.d Mother" here is one of my very best helps. The W.O. send out, at my request, more Nuns to be under her. The "Bridgemans" at Balaclava it is true, are the tools of an Irish faction. They have been always called here the "Brickbats". It is wise in the English Government to forward as much as possible the respectable & worthy R.C. work here. The French have greatly increased their influence by doing so. By strengthening the *Irish* R.C.'s here, the Gov.t raise up enemies to themselves,- the Irish R.C. hating the English Gov.t as they do. But, in fear of the Irish Brigade, the Gov.t pass over Fitzgerald's slander & Mrs. Bridgeman's Insurrection.

I have always said that a R.C. can do ~~any~~ everything which we cannot do, lie, steal, murder, slander, because we are afraid of the Roman Catholics. What an advantage it must be!

**f225r**

The incessant, unspeakably laborious struggle which I have had for 17 months will now be greatly saved me by the G.O. in question.

And you need not be afraid that I shall molest the "Brickbats." Above all, I am afraid of their resigning at making martyrs of themselves, which is their grand object. I shall interfere with them in no way whatever. That there should be none but R.C.s in any one Hospital is entirely contrary to my original Instructions from the W.O. & to common principle. But, in this instance, common prudence & feeling ~~makes~~ leave but one course open to me.

For, as a Superintendent of women, I cannot expose any woman, directly under my charge, to the slanders of a scoundrel like Fitzgerald (I really

**f225v**

have looked in the Dictionary for another synonyme {FN's spelling} for Fitzgerald, & have not have been able to find one - being unwilling to use so hard a word) and therefore, while *he* remains in office at Balaclava, only I & the "Brickbats", whom he has taken under his aejis, shall have anything to do with his Hospital proper.

Also, as a practical woman, I think it a pity to give Mr. Fitzgerald the pleasure either of refusing my Requisitions or of falsifying them to the W.O., I shall therefore take up everything with me which my Hospitals will want, leaving it to the Queen to supply such things only as bread & meat &c which I cannot make.

Had this man been one of our persuasion, he would have been brought

**f226r**

to a Court Martial. But it is enough for a man to be a Roman Catholic for the Gov.t to say, "Oh! do pray be quiet, don't tell of his lies. Or you will bring the Roman Catholics down upon us."

Very well. I am content. I had at all events, much rather that Mr. Fitzgerald should speak ill of me than that he should speak well.

I must say one thing more. We have heard, with the greatest astonishment in these Hospitals, of Mr. F. Peel's speech in the Ho. of Commons concerning the state of health in the Crimea & Dr. Hall's exposition of it, which tallies exactly with his letter to you, of which you were kind enough to give me a Copy, asserting that none but Convalescents were sent down to Scutari.

**f226v**

Upon my mentioning this to the Principal Medical Officer of this Hospital, he exclaimed, with genuine feeling, "What a devil of a story!"

The facts of the case are exactly the reverse. The Army in the Crimea is healthy, because all the bad Cases are sent down here. An acute case may, now & then, slip through their fingers, but, if a case does not recover quickly, immediately or as soon as possible it is sent down to Scutari. I do not know whether men with condensed lungs & ulcerated bowels who come down here to die are called by Sir John Hall "Convalescents". But nearly all the cases who do die here are from the Crimea. &, if it were not for these, Scutari would not have a death in a fortnight.

Thus far I would put into the "Times"

**f227r**

if I were in the habit of being my  
 "own Correspondent". But what follows  
 is strictly private. I said to the  
 Dep. Inspector Genl of this Hospital,  
 "And do you mean to ~~let~~ allow these Statements  
 (which, tho' not false, convey an  
 impression absolutely the reverse of  
 the truth), to pass?"

[end 14:359]

He said, "No: I shall write a  
 Statement to the Army Medical Board  
 at home - but it will never be  
 heard of. And, if I were to write a  
 Statement to Dr. Hall, I should only  
 make him my enemy for life. &  
 the enmity & not the truth would  
 be the thing ~~thought of~~ to appear."

So much for our rotten System.

Pray let me thank you again  
 for your kind letter & believe me

My dear Sir

Most faithfully & truly yours  
 Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff228-30, pen

**f228r**

Crimea

April 5/56

My dear Sir

As the old Whig families are  
 said always to have the heir-apparent  
 a Tory, in order to be "in" both ways,  
 so the Roman Catholics always have  
 one set of priests & nuns with  
 the Gov.t & one against it

The split between the "secular"  
 & "regular" priests, ~~as~~ older than Ignatius  
 Loyola, & always repeated in the  
 R.C. Church in one form or other,  
 obtains even in Krim Tartary.

[14:375-76]

Mrs. Bridgeman & her 11 Irish  
 Nuns & the 6 Jesuit Priests here  
 are against us - the secular priests  
 & Bermondsey Nuns for us.

As Peace was imminent,  
 there was no time to lose in  
 Lt. Colonel Lefroy, R.A.

**f228v**

making a martyrdom.

Mrs. Bridgeman & her 11 Nuns have been instructed to resign & go home, in consequence of the "General Order". And this they do next week. I have piped to her & played the Circe, but in vain. I have proposed to her a "Novena" or "nine days' prayer", to reconsider her decision, to which she assented. But also in vain. I was in hopes she would have had a vision. But no.

"Ho imparato un po' del mestiere," as the policeman said to the "ladro", when ~~he~~ picking his the "ladro"'s pockets (in the "Promessi Spose,") so also had I, in the "Novena" matter, "imparato un po' del mestiere"

But it was all of no avail. For, as Mrs. Bridgeman herself informed me, it was a matter

**f229r**

resolved upon months ago.

So "ladro", "Novena", all, has alike failed.

I shall fill their places immediately with Bermondsey Nuns. of whom I brought up some with me.

Two more instances of the R.C. split. 1. The Rev.d Mr. Duffy, Jesuit, has been instructed to refuse confession & therefore Holy Communion to, or even to visit those Bermondsey Nuns, whom I brought with me to one of the Land Transport Hospitals, & he writes to them, among other things, that they are a disgrace to their Church. For none so coarse as an Irish R.C. priest.

2. Cardinal Wiseman has recalled the Senior R.C. priest here, a secular, "under these circumstances."

On the other hand, the Secular priests repudiate the Irish Nuns

**f229v**

& do the civil by the Gov.t & me & the Bermondsey Nuns. & even *Father Cuffe*, who used to call me "Herod" in the Irish papers, now licks my hand, as the Provost Marchal says, "like a good 'un".

"Irish *Regulars* are little else than Rebels," is said here.

Deputy Purveyor-in-Chief Fitzgerald has *forgotten?* the Rations of the Bermondsey Nuns during 10 days. during which I have had to feed them by hook or by crook.

I have written a Despatch to Lord Panmure upon Mrs. Bridgeman's resignation. But I should be truly obliged to you, if you would communicate to him the real circumstances explaining the case. I cannot express to you the sorrow & anxiety it has caused me, nor the pains I have taken to

**f230r**

avert it.

I so deeply regret that the "General Order" should have produced this consequence.

I can only add that I thought most seriously of resigning the "General Hospital", at Balaclava; ~~but it~~ for the sake of peace.

But last year's experience was quite sufficient to prove to me the necessity of the "General Orders" in question. The Gov.t has now put this tool in my hands, & if I laid it down again, the consequences would be my fault, not theirs - viz. the impossibility of preserving discipline or morality among Nurses, if, as soon as they rebelled, I resigned. ~~the~~ or of having one rule for R. Catholics & another for Church of England, like myself. And you expressed, yourself,

**f230v**

much more tersely than I should have done the undesirableness of a Medical Officer appointing one whom the Female Sup.t had thought it necessary to discharge, be she Lady, nun or nurse.

[end 14:376]

Believe me, (in haste as usual  
dear Sir

very truly & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

**f231** May 10 1856. W.D. Lefroy to FN re her letter of 22nd concludes with a sentence wh causes pain, do not do her justice, Tablet, rev mother.

My dear Miss Nightingale. Your letter of the 22nd recd this day concludes with a sentence which has given me the most lively pain. "You do not do me justice" you say. I think I may likely do not, for when God sends a great man or a great woman upon earth it is not given to all who do homage to them to enter into the depth of their motives or the strength of their support, but believe me that so far as my lower nature is capable of it I do justice with all much soul to the greatness of your mission and the glorious fidelity, the self-sacrifice and heroic courage with which you fulfill it. I do believe in virtue and singleminded devotion to a great cause: that even in these days there is such a thing, and I recognize in you one who has taught and is teaching a lesson to Protestantism at large and more particular to the effeminate upper classes of our own country, whose fruits will be reaped long after you have entered into your reward, but I confess that perhaps from our illeg to take the charitable

view of things and partly from an indulgent feelings towards the 'Romanists personally, I was unable to enter fully into your strong feelings in respect to Fitzgerald and his returns. looking upon him as utterly below your indignation, I also thought your energetic denunciation more likely to give me importance than to the contrary, and so used the expressions to which you. I imagine, refer.

As to my enquiry about consumption of food, it was not until some time after my return to England Sir J Hall sent me the returns I quoted. I find a remarkable agreement at all the hospitals. Neglecting numerous items of which the consumption individually is so small that it cannot well be averaged, even as I have done it per thousand men, I find it at Renkioi 509 lbs daily, Smyrna 506 lbs. Castle Hospital 287 lbs and average of all Crimean hospitals 216 lbs. You will observe that in the first there are no Commissariat additions, in the two last there are, but to what precise extent I have not ascertained. your explanation quite satisfies as to the illeg of the food and accounts for its. you express a wish that I had examined you in these subjects, but I need scarcely say that I had no commission to do that, much of what I actually did was voluntary, as an officer of the S of S office I thought it reasonable and proper to make personal enquiries into whatever struck me as important or likely to be the object of his enquiry on my returns and had the ....

Letter, ff235-39, pen {archivist's note: To Lt. Col. Lefroy. Last page torn off? for signature?} draft or copy for 5479/6

**f235r**

General Hospital  
Balaclava  
June 9/56

**[14:414-18]**

My dear Sir

In reply to your letter of May 10, which has only just reached me, & particularly to that part about the Land Transport Corps, where you say "we are much puzzled to account for the excessive mortality of the L.T.C.", I would suggest that there may be some mistake. The Medical Statistics of the L.T.C. are in a state of great confusion, so that it is hardly possible to obtain correct results. I have seen the weekly states for 21 weeks which give an average strength of about 8000. The total number of deaths 242. Mortality to average strength 3 per cent for 21 weeks.

**f235v**

The uncertainty exists in our extraordinary method of keeping Statistics. The average strength in our Returns sometimes excludes natives, sometimes includes them. Now the Native strength is about 3000.

Taking, however, every uncertainty into account, Dr. Sutherland estimates the mortality at 7.2 per cent per annum. not more.

Even this is enormous. But quite to be accounted for. The L.T.C. this last winter were exposed to all the influences which our Army were exposed to the winter before. without organization & with severe labor, bad & uncooked food.\* Even then, had they been recruited from country carters, accustomed to exposure in all weathers, they would have stood it.

\*& no means for cleanliness.

**f236r**

But they were chiefly discarded gentlemen's servants, townspeople; at least one half of them ought never to have come out, being unfit for any work under any circumstances.

Our object being to keep the army in magnificent condition for the supposed coming campaign, the L.T.C. did all the work. They got up at 5 A.M. ~~came~~ watered the mules, came down to Balaclava without breakfast, had no means of drying themselves, no means of cooking their food &c &c. Now that they are organized in Battalions, their mortality is not much more than other people's here.

Sir E. Eyre's "fool's parade" cost 40 men in Hospital. If one snow-storm did ~~that~~ this, the poor L.T.C.'s ~~constant~~ repeated snow-storm might well do what we see.

The soldiers among the L.T.C. did not lose above the average mortality of the Army.

**f236v**

2. I was ~~so~~ struck in going over the French Divisional Ambulance of the Corps de Réserve with the Mèdecin en Chef yesterday at the great contrasts between their system & ours. While the Typhus cases were all under canvass, while the bedding, the bedsteads, the absence of flooring, the diets, the proportion of Medical Officers to Patients were all inferior to ours, he shewed me Medical Statistics which should make us envious. How they keep them appears to me a physical problem. Given one Surgeon to 300 ~~Partie~~ wounded, which he told me was his shan to himself personally during the siege, how they can find time to keep the "Cahiers" they do? Yet these Cahiers present the complete history of each case, viz. the diet, medical treatment, medical observations of each day of each Patient.

[yes, odd]

**f237r**

[2]

In the Report of Renkioi, which you were kind enough to send me & which I read with the greatest interest, you will observe that the defect of its system ~~Statistics~~ is that this daily view of the Patient's dieting cannot be kept on record. I know that Dr. Parkes lamented this. It was the same at Smyrna, the same, to a lesser degree, at Scutari. But, during the pressure there of '54, -'55, I believe it was unavoidable.

I mean that, in acute cases, while encouraging as much as possible every facility for the Surgeons to obtain on Requisition at a moment's notice from our Extra Diet Kitchens the articles of diet suddenly wanted which they must otherwise have waited for till the next day at the General Kitchens, it was a constant battle with me to make them enter these the next day on their Diet Rolls as for yesterday

**f237v**

so as to shew what the Patient's Diet had been. Otherwise the history of his case is manifestly incomplete.

N.B. Owing to the neglect of the Surgeons in doing this, I know that a great deal of these casual Diets will go down in Purveyor's Accounts to our own consumption.

Our best Military Hospital is the Monastery Hospital at St. George's as to organization, cleanliness, &c &c - our best administration without any comparison is 1st Cl. S.S. Dr. Jamieson there. Our worst Military Hospital is this.

But Dr. Jamieson has never been promoted, because it was convenient to lay ~~upon~~ ~~him~~ the blame of the non-transmission of the Varna stores to Scutari upon him, without whom we should never have had them at all. & 2. because he told Mr. Stafford

**f238r**

at Abydos that we had no Port Wine there.

At the Monastery, Castle & some other Hospitals, every Article ~~thus~~ suddenly called for at the Extra Diet Kitchens now goes down in the Diet-Roll the next day.

I have been more careful to enforce, more convinced of the necessity of, military discipline & accuracy than the Doctors themselves.

3- Considering Dr. Jameson {FN's inconsistency of spelling} as our best administrator, I shewed him your Report, and we talked it over together. I even asked him to put down some of the details of his administration (the proof of the pudding & c the proverb is somewhat rusty) which I now enclose. and in most of which I concur. I will ask you to return it to me, because I have had no time to take a copy - And there may come a time, I fear it is not now, when it may be useful.

**238v**

3. Touching the promotion of Medical Officers. The manifest injustice of most of the latter promotions will, I trust, upset the system. But what to put in its place?

One injustice is easily "constaté," that of giving all the honors to Crimean Medical Officers, in preference to those at Scutari, on the plea of their greater risk to life. The fact appears exactly the reverse. The figures given to me have been

	Died at
Scutari	20
Koulali	3
Smyrna	1

-----  
24

Crimea	20
Bulgaria	3
Sick Ship	1

-----  
24

N.B

Three of the Medical Officers who died at Scutari had certainly been in the

**f239r**

[3]

Crimea. some more are doubtful, i.e. may have contracted illness in the Crimea. a very large proportion, however, had never been there. So that the number of deaths being nearly equal - while the actual number of Officers at Scutari was always *much* below the numbers here. proves that the proportion of deaths - in other words, the risk to life, was greater *to the Medical Officers* at Scutari than in the Crimea.

The total no. of Medical Officers invalidated during this Campaign in the Bosphorus Command is 50. Of these, half had been in the Crimea.

The above nos however require verifying. Because, while I have been able to have the figures for the Bosphorus Command officially, I have not in the case of the Crimean numbers.

Letter, ff240-43, pen

**f240r**

Lea Hurst  
Matlock  
August 25/56

My dear Sir

The advice I have to ask is fourfold

1. what shall I say to Lord Panmure,  
to the Queen, & to Sir B. Hawes? The first  
has proposed to see me at the end of  
next month in London - the second at  
the beginning in Scotland - the third writes,  
asking for my "suggestions in a shape to  
"bring our Doctors to consider them & give  
"us sufficient reasons for rejecting them,  
"if they are determined to reject them.  
"It will be hard, no doubt, to compel  
"the Doctors to consider & still harder to  
"accept improvements proceeding from a  
"woman".

In answer to this from Sir B. Hawes,  
I was going, Hibernicè, to ask you a  
question. I need not say that - even  
without knowing the fate of all Memoranda  
and (alas! that we must say it) of  
all Commissioners, IF they are honest  
and able - I should respectfully decline

**f240v**

supplying the proposed "Memorandum" for the reason which Sir B. Hawes himself anticipates. And you who know something of the workings of ~~the~~ our Medical Department in the East will easily anticipate many others - grounded on the one fact that all enlisted against anything I could propose.

2. But I have another reasons. or rather I should like to ask another question. I should wish to be employed in the Military Hospitals of the Peace as I was of the War i.e in the Linen

Cooking

Nursing Depts,

to a certain extent which I could define & which would not exclude but facilitate the instruction of the Orderlies in their business, which indeed was one of the main uses of me in the War-Hospitals, altho' I am aware that the necessity of training the Male Orderlies, M.S.C. has been made one of the principal reasons, (or should I say excuses?) for excluding me.

However that may be, even this would not be my principal reasons for desiring an

**f241r**

official entrance into the Army Hospitals,  
to the cause of reforming which I feel  
myself given for life, directly or indirectly.  
For my principal reason is the *indirect*  
one of having legitimate means of information  
by which I could suggest reforms not  
within my power or province to execute.

Now, should I not cut myself off  
from all chance of ever obtaining  
employment in the Military Hospitals by  
suggesting the necessity of any great reform  
to my Magnates three *now*? It is certain  
that I should, were any of the *Medical*  
Magnates of the Army to have a scent of it?

Would it not be better for me to  
ask humbly & directly for a Female  
Nursing Dep.t in the Army Hospitals,  
which I have little doubt the Queen would  
grant, without making myself more  
obnoxious than I am - or should I state  
boldly the whole case at first?

3. I believe you will answer "you  
would be much better employed in the  
London Civil Hospitals, to which you now  
have access." To this I should beg to  
reply, I am quite convinced that I could

**f241v**

do nothing with the Nightingale Fund at present. No reformer ever began with the conditions with which I am called upon to begin. With the buz-fuz which is about my name at present. I should succeed in nothing else but in collecting about me much of the vain & needy & frivolous elements of England. Indeed the conditions of success have been removed so entirely out of my reach that I am tempted to say to *my* Jason, the Hospital Cause, if it asks "Che mi resta?" - "Io". But "Io" is alone.

If I could not therefore, gain access to the Army Hospitals, I should take some small, remote & poor Hospital for some years where I might indirectly but *not* nominally pursue my object of training women?

4. ~~I entirely~~ If you should decide for my telling the truth & the whole truth to Lord Panmure & the Queen about their War-Hospitals, viz. that not one step has been made in reform or to prevent the scene of '54 being acted all over again in any future War - avoiding, of course, all personal assaults upon

**f242r**

individual Doctors whose conduct is only the result, to themselves, of the system under which they live. I should, in that case, much like to consult with you, whose opinion is necessarily so far better than mine, as to what reforms are desirable & what are practicable?

Without the entire *raising* of the Medical Dep.t there is little to be done. It is evident that I am unfit to discuss their medical merits. But three things are patent to every body

(1). that, while promotion is a question, not even a seniority but of the caprice of our man, they must be slaves & deficient, without any blame to themselves, of that honor & independence which we are accustomed to expect in English men of Science. Their standard both of science & honesty is infinitely low. Whether any system of examination and of "concoirs" as the condition of promotion would remedy this, I am not qualified to decide.

(2.) that they must be better paid & better taught - or no good man will enter or will stay among Army Surgeons.

**f242v**

(3). that a Medical Officer, after having risen to a certain rank, must not cease to do that which he is put there for, in order to do something quite different, i.e. make Requisitions for pots & pans, instead of practising Therapeutics. Without falling into the tyrannous system of the French Intendance, but keeping the Medical Officers always, as he is & *ought* to be, supreme in his own Hospitals (& indeed giving him much more executive power as the Sanitary {FN's sp.} Officers of the Army) it would be easy to take the pots & pans off his hands.

If it is true that the Medical Officer of the Army stands the lowest in Medical Science in all England, there is enough to account for it. I know there are brilliant exceptions. But I know, curiously enough, that the principal exception to this imputation of want of science is the one most anxious to be relieved from the Pots & Pans system. And we have more than one instance of the reverse proposition.

If I could find a mouth-piece, not obnoxious to the same hostility, which the

**f243r**

Army Surgeons naturally feel towards me, "because," as a General Officer told me, "they know they have been *found out*". I would gladly give every suggestion which has occurred to me to be worked up & promulgated for the benefit of the Service. I should have much pleasure in conferring (Memoranda in hand) with

ff244-51 Lefroy to FN Aug 28 1856 from Bideford Devon, re her happy and noiseless return. Dr Jamieson's papers at WO, he has never had interview with the queen, but has had several with Prince Albert re army returns; Gen Storcks entre nous to have a brigade in Ireland, inferior use for such a man, shd be pres of a com to inquire into existing regs long letter, clear

Letter, ff252-53, pen

**f252r**

Atherstone Hall

**[14:446-47]**

Sept 7/56

My dear Sir

Mr. Herbert is now here. He has made me aware of the purport of the conversations which he has had with Prince Albert & the Duke of Cambridge upon the subject of your letter. I have also read the Duke of Cambridge's & Dr. Andrew Smith's letters to Mr. Bracebridge. The latter was in reply to a request of Mr. Bracebridge's to know as soon as Dr. A. Smith had come to a decision. As to the soldiers therefore, I consider that we must wait for official action & that it is not politic to have recourse to the newspapers.

With regard to the Pensioners, I see by your P.S. to your letter to Mr. Bracebridge of Aug. 20, that the

**f252v**

"Mayor of Bath intimates that  
 "30 - 40 Patients may be admitted  
 "into the two Hospitals at a very  
 "small expense". Query whether this  
 would render unnecessary for this  
 autumn the engaging of a house?  
 If not, it may be time enough  
 to take a house, when we have  
 ascertained that we could get  
 10 - 25 Patients. I assume that,  
 even having a house, the men could  
 become out-patients of a Hospital  
 & thereby secure local medical  
 advice.

We calculate the expenses  
 of the men might be 6/ per week,  
 & that it would be advantageous  
 to exact something from themselves.

5/ per week on 20	}	
Patients for 3 months	}	£65
Travelling for 60 men	}	
2 journeys each at 14/	}	£84
House Rent or Lodging	}	£50
Extras	}	£50
Travelling Expenses for Dr.	}	£50
Pincoffs	}	
		-----
		£300

**f253r**

Shewing a Total of £300 for an experiment of 60 men, 20 at a time, for 4 or 5 weeks each.

If you could be induced to devote another 2 or 3 weeks to the subject, I cannot suppose that Lord Panmure would hesitate to give the Instructions for a Circular to the Pensioners, & I know that Col. Tulloch will obey them with the greatest promptitude & attention.

To return once more to the soldiers' question, I cannot but hope that Dr. A. Smith, pressed by the opinion of the Prince & Duke of Cambridge will act upon it - & that he will see the propriety of accepting your services at least at Aix la Chapelle which, after all, will produce the most important result. I am afraid however there is little hope of

**f253v**

their going into the question of other baths this autumn. But if there is an opening, I should be glad to urge it.

I enclose a note to Lord Panmure, if you like to use it.

Believe me

Yours very truly

Florence Nightingale

[end 14:447]

Draft, ff254-59r, pen. {Archivist's date: 19/11/1856}. {NB - draft written in another hand, with FN's annotations.}

(Copy for Miss Nightingale.) {other hand}

Private {another hand}

*School of Military Medicine & Surgery.* {other hand}

*First sketch of its proposed constitution.*

{This column FN's hand}

Amount of scientific information previously acquired does not appear to be fully appreciated in the following sketch. *Nor want of practical knowledge.*

From the certificates of Medical officers, which shew in what Schools they have been it might be shewn in figures to Dr. Smith how many bodies they have dissected, whether they have ever been Dressers of Clinical Clerks; in a word, how much practical knowledge they can have had the opportunity to acquire.

Our civil schools would not admit that they were deficient in practical instruction. But it may be shewn that 5 per cent only can possibly enjoy the opportunity.

{This column other hand}

1. The school should be in a large Garrison, and where surgical cases may be occasionally affected.

Fort Pitt is good and might be increased.

It should be in or near London, because nowhere else can the highest medical talent and special acquirements be commanded,

2. These can only be obtained by the introduction of private friends, owing to the Constitution of these Libraries. The Libraries of the Medico-Chirurgical Society & of the College of Surgeons are close boroughs by their constitution. The Library of 3.

and for the sake of ready access to the museums and Lecture Rooms and Libraries of the great Hospitals.

These considerations point to Woolwich, where a first Military Hospital

f254v

{This column, other hand}  
Hospital exists, as the  
proper locality for the  
School.

{This column FN's hand}.

4. The strength of the  
Medical Department  
on a Peace Establish-  
ment, appears to be  
about as follows:-

Regimental Ranks	
Army	335
Ordnance	50
Staff -	
England -	55
Ireland -	22
Colonies -	128
	205
	---
	590

which may give about  
30 annual appointments,  
(These numbers can be  
corrected hereafter) so  
that, if all the medical  
officers pass through  
the School for 1 year,  
it may average 30  
students.

2 years? especially if use of  
Microscope is to  
be taught.

5. It will be a  
separate

**f255r**

{This column, FN's hand}

No formal Lectures - they have had enough. One Lecture once a week by the Teacher if Medicine quite sufficient.

1. Actual Clinical Instruction in Medicine (including Acoustics, & the use of the Stethoscope) combined with the system of prescribing & the grounds for the student's diagnosis of the disease & belief in the remedy.

2. Actual Clinical Instruction in Surgery - instruction on the dead body in operating, stitching wounds & bandaging.

{This column, other hand} separate question whether Apothecaries, Dispensers, and even Purveyors, should not at some time or other pass through this establish.t. 6. The personal staff must, however, depend but little on the number of students, as the reading subjects of medical science must be generally committed to different hands, however limited the classes.

7. The subjects which appear to cover the ground, and to require such a distinct professor, are these -  
 (1) Theory & practice of medicine  
 (2) Theory and practice of Surgery  
 (3)

f255v

{This column, other hand. Strikeouts & corrections by FN}

~~(3) Materia Medica, Pharmacy, Therapeutics including incidentally Botany and Vegetable Physiology.~~

Apothecaries Department. to compound drugs Botany acquired before Vegetable Physiology taught with the use of the Microscope. {FN's correction}

(4) Epidemics and Army diseases, Sanitary and Preventative science, including incidentally medical statistics and Climatology; including Meteorology.

(5) ~~Medical Physics, Practical Medical Physics (1) natural Philosophy, the use of the microscopes, analytical chemistry, to the extent at least of Chemical tests, and to include incidentally meteorology and Physical Geography.~~

(6) Demonstration of anatomy, including comparative Anatomy and Pathology.

(7) Military Law and administration?

8.

{Following in FN's hand:}  
? Examination of Recruits & Boards  
come under Sanitary head.

{This column FN's hand}

acquired before.  
= acquired in Clinical Instruction of Medicine. As to Pharmacy, let the student learn in the Apothecary Department to compound drugs. Botany acquired before  
Vegetable Physiology taught with the use of the microscope.

Analysis of Food or knowledge of applied Chemistry comes under this head.

included under Physiology previously acquired already acquired comes under (6)

}  
}already acquired  
}special application incorporated with the other courses of practical instruction

}  
}Sanitary Courses  
Use of microscope (5) comes here - i.e under Actual Morbid Anatomy, Applied Pathology - including the use of Tests & of all that detects & elucidates disease. Course supplements to (1) & (ii)

? Examination of Recruits, Boards of Enquiry, Invaliding Boards &c &c &c would come under Sanitary Head

**f256r**

{This column FN's hand}  
 Not a man in first-rate practice wanted - he may be very incompetent to teach - a man with an eminent practice rarely indeed becomes an eminent teacher. Many good men to be found to take the position of Tutor for £300 to £500 per ann.

Army Med.1 Dep.t has been out of the way of the acquirement for teaching.

Should he practice privately? With only 30 students, he might - if limited within a certain district.

? open a Dispensary for poor patients of the place & allow the students practice among them.

No.s 3 & 5 eliminated (?)  
 No. 6 would be not a Lecturer on General Pathology but a Dissector & Practical Post Mortem Examiner.

The only Lectureship would be no. 4.

NB

10 students the largest no. admissible for Clinical Class  
 6 " for Dissecting Class  
 (one body will occupy them for 2 or 3 weeks)

**f256v**

{This column, other hand}  
 are rarely those of men in large practice) unless equally good military men are to be found. Nos. 4 and 7 should in all cases be held by military medical men. £182 to £260 a year would command the best men in the Army

{This column, other hand}  
 8. The expense of this establishment will depend primarily whether the Professors are military men or not. Nos 1 & 2, perhaps, should if possible, be civilians of eminence but, independently of the great expense of bringing men in first-rate practice down from London twice or thrice a week. this would involve the loss of all clinical instruction, which must require, I suppose, residence on the spot, and almost daily visits, so that I apprehend, we must look to the Army Medical Department for them ultimately, if not on starting. Nos ~~3,5~~, 6, will be little more than Lectureships, and may be held by civilians of eminence in these lines respectively (which are

Medical Department, having pay, quarters and military allowances on the spot. From £200 to £400 would also I suppose command the assistance of an high class of Civilian. Say £1.500 a year for salaries, and £1500 for other contingent expenses, not including any

Regimental Pay. of  
Professors or students.  
The

{This column, FN's hand}

Military Medical Man,  
sent to one station & kept  
there, not the man.  
requires a man of general,  
not necessarily medical  
knowledge.

10/ to 14/3

£300 to £500

NB  
after the age of 55  
Tutors should be made  
to retire.  
Call them *Tutors*, not  
Professors.           this    is  
important

**f257r**

{This column, FN's hand}

Pupils should rather receive pay than give fees. 1. it puts them in a more responsible position. 2. they have already paid a large sum in their medical Education - from £400 to £600.

£80 per ann. pay would be sufficient?

This would bring an opposition from all other Medical Schools. It should be merely a School of Probation. And the Pupils should be called not students but Probationers.

**f257v**

{This column, other hand}

mitting some reduction of the local medical staff; but this cannot be carried far without destroying the school. In so large a Garrison, medical men in full duty cannot study and attend to their patients also. The students should, therefore, be aids only, but not on the roster.

10. I should contemplate them half-

{This column, other hand}

The contingencies would be - Lodging money or the first cost of erecting a building to provide quarters for these persons

Fuel, Gas, Stationery. Washing.

Instruments, Specimens and materials of illustration.

Anatomical subjects

Grant in aid of

Library & Museum,

and it would, probably

be possible after a

time to aid the expense

of the whole establish-

ment by Fees from

pupils, making it in

fact, to a small extent,

an open medical School.

9. The whole of the military Professors & students should be in principle available for local medical purposes, thus permitting

yearly admission into the Army Medical Dep.t by competitive examination, not open to all comers, but to gentlemen who can give proof of character, training and fitness for

{This column, FN's hand}  
Teachers of the School should  
be fixtures - the whole  
apparatus of a teaching  
man is quite a fixture, if  
he takes to it. Teaching  
should, therefore, not be  
Army Medical Officers,  
sent to stations, or  
engaged in other duties.

School should be inde-  
pendent of the Garrison.  
depending upon it only  
as a Hospital does upon  
a town for its supply  
of materials.

yearly? as better adap-  
ted to the system of  
teaching.  
This already exists.

**f258r**

**{This column, FN's hand}**

Board of Examiners  
should consist of the  
Teachers - with a few  
civilians taken annually  
from the great London  
Schools. These would  
require a fee.

breaking-in? What  
do the details of  
breaking-in consist of?  
The more they are of  
Medical Men, the less  
of Officers & mess-table  
men, the better.  
Breaking-in better  
done *in* the Hospital,  
if a Military one.

{This column, other hand}  
for appointment, if  
successful.

11. The examiners to be  
independent of the  
Army Medical Dept.,  
but with one or more  
members of that Dept.  
associated.

12. Limits as to age?

13. The successful can-  
didates to be posted to  
Regiments for one year  
for breaking in. At  
the end of that year  
to join at Woolwich  
for the course.

At the end of the  
term of study to be  
examined again and  
received certificates  
according to merit.  
Their final post not  
to be filled until after  
this

**f258v**

{This column, other hand}  
 this second examination,  
 when the Director General  
 of the Medical Depart.,  
 should be governed  
 by the qualifications  
 and merits of each,  
 as to where to place  
 him.

15. Highly honourable  
 certificates should be  
 {FN:} especially {end}  
 recorded as supporting  
 future claims for  
 promotion.

16. The Institution  
 should be under  
 the Director General  
 of the Army Medical Dept.,  
 and a Board of ~~Visitors~~,  
 partly civilian & the  
 Director General of  
 Military Education to  
 be a member of it.

Its

{This column, FN's hand}  
 go to School before you go  
 to duty. Some may not be  
 fitted for regimental duty  
 at all or even to enter  
 the Army. Some may  
 be fitted for other  
 Medical posts in the  
 Army.

Honorary distinctions  
 should be *fellowships*  
 or more lucrative  
 involvement.  
 The most important part of  
 the  
 school would be weekly exami-  
 nations. & records kept of the  
 acquirements of the  
 Probationers  
 by the Tutor in a book, of  
 which  
 said Probationer does not  
 know  
 the contents till the end.  
 Otherwise  
 the Pupil gets the better of  
 the  
 Teacher. The only fair way  
 to the Pupil is keeping this  
 record. A certificate  
 otherwise  
 means nothing but "Mr.  
 So & so has attended my  
 lectures."

School should be inde-  
 pendent. No Director General  
 or any one man can know  
 the requirements of the  
 different teachers.

We have committed  
 a primary mistake in  
 confounding the scientific  
 & administrative functions

**f259r**

{This column, FN}  
in one man, the D.G. Army  
Med.l Dep.t, the consequence  
of which is that the former  
have gone to the bottom.

{Other hand}  
Its correspondence with  
the Secretary of State -  
should be through  
the Director General  
of Military Education.  
{signed} J.H.L.

19/11/56

{FN's hand}  
P.S. A most important  
part of this School  
would be to give Medical  
Officers from the Colonies,  
to whom periodical  
leave of absence should  
be granted specially  
for this purpose, an  
opportunity of renewing  
their knowledge &  
practice & bringing it up to  
the level  
which Civil Medical  
Science raises higher  
every year.

F260 Army Medical School Memo

f262 Dec 16 1856 Lefroy to FN re return from Fenwick Williams, gave him her letter to read, may lead to better things

ff264-70 notes on Lefroy's memo, not FN

Part of letter or draft, ff271-74, pen

[8:92-93]

**f271r**

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street.  
Park Lane. W.  
25/11/64

Dear Gen.l Lefroy

I thank you very much for your kind letter about Miss Kingdon. I confess I am very much divided between fear of her disappointment, certainty that they will be very lucky if they get her, & a kind of feeling that ladies to whom money is not "a object" {FN's sp.} should leave these sorts of places to

**f271v**

ladies to whom it is.

I have a kind of feeling that when one is so fortunate as to be able to work ~~for~~ without salary, one should take the most difficult & repulsive places, such as Hospitals & Workhouses. No: I do not think them more difficult than Education. but certainly they are likely to attract fewer ladies

**f272r**

than Educational Institutions.  
And I never could  
bring myself to enter  
into competition at  
these more attractive  
places with those to  
whom the pecuniary  
benefit was almost a  
matter of life & death.  
& whom nothing but  
the pecuniary necessity  
would induce to face  
the Matronship of a  
Hospital, Workhouse  
or Prison.

But I did not mean  
to take up your time  
with these theories.

**f272v**

My motive for writing  
was about Col. Wilbraham  
& Co.

The matter has been  
referred to me by the  
W.O., this time & several  
times before.

What I say to you I  
have said to no one else.

And my reason for  
doing so is the extreme  
kindness, judgment &  
tact, ~~with~~ to which, as  
I always gratefully  
acknowledge, I owed  
my position in the  
Crimea, which you &

**f273r**

no one else, obtained  
for me.

The matter between  
Col. W. & Mrs. S.S. is  
a matter of "incompatibility  
of tempers." Nothing can  
mend it. She must  
be removed to Woolwich,  
as soon as it is ready,  
& cease to torment him  
by constant proximity.  
She is composed of a  
woman & a man. He  
is made up of a man  
& a woman. Such  
combinations never

**f273v**

agree.

The W.O., with the  
*singular* infelicity which  
is its general characteristic,  
proposed to write to  
Mrs. S.S. to tell her that  
she was ill-tempered,  
that she was rude, &  
that she did mischief  
- *and* to Col. W. to  
advise him to be  
conciliatory, or rather  
to order him -

there not being one  
tittle of evidence that  
he had ever been any  
thing else. (interfering

**f274r**

he has been - most unwisely  
so.)

& the scolding being to  
be administered to Mrs.  
S.S., not to call it a  
threat (which it was)  
without ~~asking~~ so much  
as asking whether she  
had anything to say.

[If she had resigned  
upon this, which she  
was quite certain to  
have done, & her brother  
had read this letter  
in the Ho. of C., it would  
have been a slur on  
the W.O.'s justice for  
ever & a day.]

**f274v**

These letters were private  
letters ~~for~~ from Lord de Grey  
~~hand~~ & were sent to  
me for approval.

Letter, ff275-80, pen. {archivist's note: to Miss Clarke. 1846}  
[8:546-49]

**f275r**

Aug 19. Lea Hurst.

How long, my dearest friend, how long?  
Before I see you again, I shall be on all  
fours, & if I wait much longer, on all  
sixes. When will you come? I am a  
wretch not to have answered your kind  
letters before, but my boy Shore has  
only just left for Brighton, *that seat*  
of learning, from *this*; &, while he is  
with me, all that is mine is his, my  
head & hands & time. I am sorry  
to say that hitherto I have not been  
able to hear of an evangelical governess  
that is not spiteful,- but I have some  
hopes from Mrs. Bracebridge, who is  
coming here today, & who has, heaven  
knows where she got it? a little bit

**f275v**

of Evangelicalism patched in somewhere  
which looks upon her like a smutty  
mark the devil made in switching his  
tail upon a white gown. that was *before*  
he painted his tail pea green. I don't  
deny that it keeps people out of mischief  
sometimes, but so did Balaam's ass.  
& they sit upon it as ill as Balaam  
did on that poor animal. Perhaps  
though you are suited with the requisite ass  
already - if not, I will continue my  
perquisitions. We come South on  
the 1st of September, in order to  
assist the Scientifics at Southamp-  
ton to ennuyer the world on the  
10th & do hope & trust to see

**f276r**

you at Embley before long. The Carters are still on the tramp for a house - houses being, I suppose, like the Fata Morgana, one fancies one sees a few in this populous land, but when one approaches, they apparently vanish away. Aunt Nicholson is getting better at last at Brighton under Laura's tender care. Marianne, like the "squirrel in my pocket" is here, there, everywhere, NOT nowhere. Henry is in Spain. Jack in Ireland. & the rest of the Carters perform the entire cycle of England in 5 years & 10 months, beginning at Liverpool & returning

**f276v**

thither, by way of the seaport towns, in that space of time. My children are distributed upon the same principle. We are practising an hour after breakfast every day standing upon our heads in convulsions about a certain rail road, which is to pass thro' this valley. & which we vow & declare is a Poacher, a Pagan, a Thief, but no *Highwayman* - as it ought to be - how foolish we shall look, if it never comes at all. Heaven avert such a catastrophe. Helen Richardson is just going down into Scotland with her father, who has been ill. But I think you must be tired of all this. for I fancy that you

[Cook 1:47-48]

**f277r**

[2]

live much more in the supernatural than the natural world. I always believe in Homer, & in St. Paul's "cloud of witnesses", & in the old Italian pictures, which have a first story, where the Unseen lives au premier, a two pair back, where the Père Eternel's shadow is half seen peeping out, & a ground floor, where poor mortals live, but still have a connexion with the establishment above stairs. I like those books, where the Invisible communicates freely with the Visible Kingdom, not that they ever come up to one's idea, which is always so much brighter than the execution (for the word is only the shadow cast by the light of the thought) but they are suggestive. I always believe

**277v**

in a multitude of spirits inhabiting the same house with ourselves, we are only the entresol, quite the most insignificant of its lodgers, & too busy with our pursuit of daily bread, too much confined with hard work, & too full of the struggle with the material world, to visit the glorious beings immediately about us. whom we shall see, when the present candle of our earthly reason is put out, which blinds us - just as the candle end, left burning after one is in bed, long prevents us from seeing the world without, lit up by the full moon. It trembles & flickers & sinks into its socket, & then we catch a bright stripe of moonlight shining on the floor, but

**f278r**

it flares up again & the silvery stream is gone "as if it could not be, as if it had not been." & we can see nothing but the candle, & hardly imagine any other light - till at last it goes quite out, & the flood of moonlight rushes into the room, & every pane of the casement window & every ivy leaf without, are stamped, as it were, upon the floor, & a whole world revealed to us, which that flickering candle was the means of concealing from us. This is what Jesus Christ meant, I suppose, when he said that he must go away, in order to be *with* his friends in his spirit - that he would be much nearer to them after death than in the flesh. In the flesh, we were

**f278v**

separated from ~~them~~ our friends by their going into the next room only - a door, a partition divided us. but what can separate two Souls? Often I fancy that we can perceive the presence of a good spirit communicating thoughts to us - are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto us? When Jesus Christ warns us not to despise any one, because that in Heaven their angels do always behold the face of his father, perhaps he thought that our beloved ones, who are gone might be ~~illeg~~ these our "Angels" who must therefore have communion with men. It is here, where a cold & false life of conventionalism & prejudices & frivolity is often all that reaches our outward senses, that we are sometimes baffled in seeing into the life, which lies beneath

**f279r**

~~different~~ it is here, amidst the tempers  
& little vexations which are the shadows  
that dim the brightest intercourse, it is  
here that we fail sometimes in having  
intimate communion with souls, ~~but~~  
& we stop short at the dead coverings.  
but between the soul which is free, & our  
soul, what barrier, what restraint can  
there be? Human sympathy is indeed ne-  
cessary to our happiness of every moment,  
& the absence of it makes an awful void  
in our life. every room becomes a grave,  
& every book we used to read together  
a monument to the one we love. but  
some one says, that we need an idée  
merveilleuse to preserve us from the  
busy devils, which imagination here

**f279v**

is always conjuring up. this idée mer-  
veilleuse, I think, is the idea of the loving  
presence of spirits. those dear ones are  
safe, & yet with us still. for truly do I  
believe that these senses of ours are  
what veil from us, not discover to us,  
the world around (which is sometimes  
revealed to us in dreams, or in moments  
of excitement, as at the point of death, either our own, or a friend's, or by  
mesmerism, or by  
faith) Faith is the real eye & ear of the  
soul. & as it would be impossible to  
describe the harmony & melody of music  
to one who was born deaf, or to make  
a blind man perceive the beauty of  
the effects of colour, so without faith  
the spiritual world is as much a hidden  
one to the soul as the Art of Painting

**f280r**

to the blind man. On a dark night  
the moon, when at last she rises, reveals  
to us, just at our feet, a world of objects,  
of the presence of which we were not aware  
before. We see the river sparkling in  
the moonbeams close beside us, & the  
tall shadows sleeping quietly on the  
grass, & the sharp relief of the architec-  
tural comices, & the strong outline of the  
lights & shades, so well defined that we  
can scarcely believe that a moment ago,  
& we did not see them. What shall  
we say if, one day, the moon rises upon  
our spiritual world, & we see close at  
hand, ready to hold the most intimate  
communion with us, those spirits, whom  
we had loved & mourned as lost to us.  
We are like the blind men by the

**f280v**

way side, & ought to sit & cry, Lord that  
we may receive our sight, &, when we  
do receive it, we shall perhaps find  
that we require no transporting into  
another world, to become aware of the  
immediate presence of an Infinite  
Spirit, & of other lesser ones whom we  
thought gone. What we require is  
sight, not change of place, I believe.

But the Bracebridges are come,  
which must,- O thank your stars! -  
bring this long & stupid lucubration  
to a close. The next shall be more  
interesting, I hope. & less hurried.  
Our best love to Mrs. Clarke, if she  
still remembers us. I shall make Mrs.  
Bracebridge write you a note about  
the Gainsborough's governess. I am ashamed  
of this letter,- good luck! it's three pages!  
but believe me ever yours fervently, lovingly,  
& with a very red face of shame Flo.

Letter, ff281-82, pen. {archivist's note: To Miss Clarke about Mrs Clarke. Sept. 1846.}]

[3:197-98]

**f281r** with embossed emblem: I love thee and it is my love that speaks

My dearest friend I have  
only just heard that our  
dear old friend has at last  
reached the bottom of the  
valley, (the brook Kedron),  
which I believe to be only  
the beginning of the ascent  
on the other side (to the Holy  
City). only the gateway to  
the garden, where we shall  
no longer hunger & thirst,  
but shall be satisfied. the

**f181v**

archway, under which we  
pass, struggling with our  
weakness, & come out, born  
again, & gifted with strength.  
I know how great the blank  
to you will be, but I cannot  
pretend to talk of death  
as a misfortune, for I do  
not feel it so. In the  
dark nights of our lives  
God appears (*now as of old*)  
as a bright light to lead  
us through the wilderness,  
whereas, in the hard glaring  
sunshine of prosperity,

**f282r**

he is to us too often only  
as a cloud, a dim vague  
cloud we scarcely heed -  
or heed only as shadowing  
our fierce blaze of plea-  
sure. True, it still shows  
us the way, but shows it  
like a cloud, threatening  
rain & storm, as we think,  
& therefore unwelcome to  
us. We are in such a  
turmoil here, that I am  
afraid of not writing any  
thing, which will give you

**f282v**

any pleasure, of not writing  
with all my thoughts as  
well as with all my  
heart, but this comes  
straight from my heart to  
thine, dearest friend, which  
will believe me always to be  
yours earnestly, lovingly,  
Flo.

Embley. Friday.

Shall we not see you now  
before you leave England?  
We shall be quite alone after  
this

[end 3:198]

Add Mss 43397 Letter, ff283-88, pen {archivist's date: June 9 1847}

Oxford

Never anything so beautiful  
as this place is looking now  
have I seen abroad or at  
home, my dearest, with its  
flowering Acacias in the midst  
of its streets of Palaces.  
I saunter about the church  
yards & gardens by myself  
before breakfast & wish I  
were a College man.

I wish you could see the  
Astronomical Section - Le  
Verrrier & Adams sitting on  
either side the President,  
like a pair of turtle doves

**f283v**

cooing at their joint star,  
& holding it between them.  
Struve, Herschel, Airy & c & c  
each a lovely Pleiad sound.

Adams gave the history of  
his discovery, of which the  
principal gist was, that,  
as good luck would have it,  
the periodic time of *his* star  
was very nearly exactly  
twice that of Uranus.  
which caused those very  
aggravated & startling im-  
proprieties committed by  
Uranus, without which the  
attention of Astronomers

**f284r**

would not have been directed to the unusual influence under which he was acting, that is, without the pertinacious attraction exerted every two years, almost at the same place, (by Neptune,) owing to the very small alteration of the line of Conjunction.

The party here is much the same as at Southampton, that is, we the ignorant mob, the philosophers better both in quantity & quality.

**f284v**

We work hard - chapel at 8 to one of those glorious services at New College or Magdalen. Sections from 11 to 3. then colleges at Blenheim then lecture away at 8 in the Ratcliff Library. and philosophical tea & muffin at somebody's afterwards Fowlers, Hamilton Grays, Barlows, Bucklands & selves the muffins. Wheatstone, Hallam, Sewell & the great guns the philosophy.

On Sunday we go to church every 2 hours. not being

**f285r**

[2]

able to "do it" without taking  
a "snack by way of a damper"  
at Christ Church on our way  
with a Mr. Buckland, son of  
the Dean's. I asked a little  
bear of 8 [?] months old, which  
he had got chained up at  
his door, in to luncheon. It  
began directly sucking our  
hands. & then proceeded to the  
butter on the table. but the  
butter getting into its head,  
it became obstreperous &  
(on its master making it  
put on its cap & gown!) violent.

**f285v**

After it had behaved like  
a thing possessed, or a Prince  
in the disguise of a bear  
(a thing commonly met with,  
you know, in the Arabian and  
Oxonian regions, Oxonian,  
so called from the river Oxus)  
it was carried out in dis-  
grace. When we came out,  
it was still walking &  
howling on its hind legs,  
gesticulating & remonstrating  
in a state of aggravation &  
nervous excitement. I spoke  
to it, but Papa pulled me

**f286r**

away, for fear it should bite,  
I said, Let alone, I'm going  
to mesmerize it. Mr. Milnes  
followed the suggestion &  
in 1/2 a minute the little  
bear began to yawn, & in  
3 min. was stretched fast  
asleep on the gravel in a  
position, in which its master  
said it never slept naturally.  
After it waked, I was afraid  
it would go into hysterics,  
but after an hour, during  
which it was drunk, it came-  
-to, & in the perfect use of its senses.

**f286v**

A clear case of collusion  
between the infant bear &  
Mr Milnes. Otherwise the  
colluding bear would have  
been a good subject.

Faraday's Lecture was  
admirable on his Dia-Magnet-  
ism. He had a famous  
Electro-magnet, belonging  
to Oxford, which, being of  
the purest iron, *leaves go*  
directly. That one at the  
Royal Institution being only  
of cast iron, it nothing but  
a bad sort of steel, & therefore  
gets magnetised itself &

**f287r**

[3]

retaining the Electricity, will not leave go, directly contact is NOT made with the grove's Battery. The grove's Battery is merely a series of porcelaine cells, filled with nitric Acid & with plates of platine in them - with an inner series of cells, filled with Sulphuric Acid, & not water tight, & with ~~nitric~~ Zinc plates. When the current of magnetism passes, the Oxygen in the Nitric Acid is disengaged, & makes, writing with the Hydrogen in

**f287v**

the Sulphuric Acid, water. & this process generates a considerable amount of Electricity, which *electrifies* the magnet, the moment contact is made with it. I held up an enormous weight, fitted with a ring, by the point of its finger, I mean by the top of its ring, by merely touching - (Faraday could hardly lift it to set it down again.). & then collected a cluster of nails round its head, (like the top of the Monument) but the

**f288r**

beauty of it was that the moment contact ceased with the Battery, every thing fell off like a shower. But you are tired & so am I. The Albertian day was a bore. Lady Hastings showed us her *Crocodilus Hastingsii*, named after her, a doubtful compliment, for the beast has a bad expression of countenance

**f288v**

Sherborne

Dearest, a thousand thanks  
for your efforts for the Dove.  
I hope to hear soon that she  
has settled with the Drec [? Drev?]  
if you can tell me, as I have  
heard of another place for her  
with a Mrs. Arbuthnot, but  
one which would *not* suit  
her, I doubt, as it is with  
children. I am so glad  
you are in my lovely room  
& think of you there & am  
with you there.

Will you tell me how it  
goes with the Dove?

Letter, f289 {archivist's note: To Mad. Mohl (Miss Clarke?). 1847

**f289r**

Dearest friend I find Mrs.  
Bracebridge has made  
another list of commissions  
to be done today, so that  
we shall not be able to be  
with you before 7 o'clock  
this evening, or if you are  
going out tonight, will you  
tell us & we will come at  
5- as I think every  
moment lost which is  
spent away from you.

ever yours FN.

Letter, f290, pen. {archivist's note: To Mad. Mohl (perhaps when Miss Clarke). 1847}

**f290r**

Dearest friend

I hope you received a note from me on Saturday, saying that we should very likely not be in town on Thursday. alas & alas! That we should not see you.

How entirely I do agree with what you say about the Conversation.

I wish we could meet & talk over many things.

ever yours faithfully  
lovingly & overflowingly

FN

Embley. June 15.

Letter, ff292-300, FN pen {Archivist's note: to Madam Mohl 1847} **blue paper**  
**[8:549-50]**

**f292r**

Lea Hurst July 10

My dearest friend, I hardly know where to write to you now, but I hope this will reach you somewhere. We have seen your friend M. Mohl at Oxford & in London, & were very sorry not to see him at Embley, as we proposed to him, but hope that he will come here. Papa & I went with him to the Pentonville Prison (on the Solitary System) in London, & he seemed very busy at Oxford. but my opinion of him is, that he is a thorough *Weltmensch*, who is labouring under a delusion (you know, they say we have all of use one mental delusion, some two - one monomania, which makes us think ourselves other than we are. in some it takes the form of conducting ourselves as tea-pots, in others as Napoleons. one thinks himself a jug another Jesus Christ) now my opinion of your friend is, that he thinks himself very much interested in the Civil Policy of England - whereas he is a thorough man of the world, who is very much bored by every thing but the things of Society.

**f292v**

We too have been seeing the world, the flesh & the devil during the last month. the first ten days of which we spent in London, hearing Jenny Lind. (but it really requires a new language to define her. and meanwhile she must be felt, not talked about.) & doing the Exhibitions - then to Oxford for the British Association - and never any thing so beautiful, as that place was looking, ave I seen abroad or at home - with its flowering Acacias in the midst of its streets of Palaces. I sauntered about the church-yards and gardens before breakfast, & wished I were a College man. The Astronomical Section there was a plum-pudding without the suet. Le Verrier & Adams sate on either side the President, like a pair of turtle doves, cooing at their joint star, & holding it between them. And there were Struve &c &c &c. We worked hard - chapel at 8 to one of those glorious Services. sections from 11 to 3. colleges afterwards - then lecture away at 6. & philosophical tea & muffin at somebody's afterwards. Fowlers, Hamilton

**f293r**

Grays, Bucklands, selves &c the muffins.  
Hallam, Wheatstone, Sewell & the great  
guns of philosophy. By the bye, I must  
tell you, that Mr. Hallam has found out  
that Gladstone is the Beast 666 in  
the Revelations. It came to him one day  
by inspiration in the Athenaeum - he  
tried Pusey & Newman with the Greek  
numerals & the letters of their names, but they wouldn't do.  
besides any body might have thought  
of them, the open beasts,- but then  
it came to him that Gladstone, was  
the hidden, the secret beast - at first  
the epsilon at the end stumped him.  
but, remembering that no Greek nomina-  
tive ends with an epsilon, here he is -  
and no doubt it will cost him heaven  
or his Election, which is if rather [of? see]  
more consequence.

**[5:472-73]**

Υ	3
λ	30
α	1
δ	4
σ	200
τ	300
ο	70
ν	50
η	8

666**[end 5:473]**

**f293v**

which he had got chained up at his door, in to luncheon. It began directly sucking our hands, & then proceeded to the butter on the table. but the butter getting into its head, it became obstreperous, & (on its master making it put on its cap & gown!) violent. After it had behaved like a thing possessed, or a Prince in the disguise of a bear (a thing commonly met with, you know, in the Arabian - or Oxonian - regions) it was carried out in disgrace. When we came out, it was still walking & howling on its hind legs, gesticulating & remonstrating in a state of great aggravation & nervous excitement. I spoke to it, but Papa pulled me away, lest it shd bite. I said, let alone, I'm going to mesmerize it. Mr. Monckton Milnes followed the suggestion, & in 1/2 a min. the infant bear began to yawn, & in 3 min. was stretched fast asleep on the gravel, in a position in which its master said it never slept naturally. A clear case of collusion between the infant bear & Mr. Milnes!

Since Oxford we paid a visit at Lord Sherborne's, whose daughter, Mrs. Plunkett is a great friend of mine, &

**f294r**

at Mrs. Bracebridge's, who is as ever my Ithuriel. She is a through woman of the world, without ever having had a worldly thought - give me the woman, who has built her unworldiness upon the rock of the world, against which the childish boat of mere unconsciousness has gone to pieces. I have known many more intellectual, many more brilliant. but I never know such an union & harmony of opposite qualities, she has the heart of a woman, the judgment of a man - she is practical & poetical - the habits of a man of business, the imagination of an artist - the hand of earth, the soul of heaven - she pursues one object with unfaltering steps, yet is ready with her sympathy to respond to all. She has the steadiness of the conqueror & the lowliness of the servant. She has the energy in action of one, who bears down upon his object as if he had no other aim on earth, & the serenity in failure of one, who feels that he has no work at all of his own to do, & says "I made a mistake. My master has other work for me. that was not mine". or rather she can feel no disappointment, none of that death, which the soul often dies between the destruction of one idea & the taking up of another,- for she has no idea which she is striving to carry out for its own sake

**f294v**

On Thursday we came home, to that dear home, where silence & solitude are such infinite blessings. &, as my mother has no housekeeper, I am up to my chin in linen & glass, which have all a life & a soul to me, given them by my dear old Gale. I am very fond of housekeeping though without that. In this too highly educated, too little active age, it, at least is a practical application of our Theories to something. & yet, in the middle of my lists, my green lists, brown lists, red lists, all my instruments of the Ornamental in Culinary accomplishments, which I cannot even divine the use of (I'm sure that list is badly made). I cannot help asking in my head, Can reasonable people want all this? is all that China, hair, glass, necessary to make man a Progressive animal? is it even good Political Economy - (query for "good" read atheistical Pol. Eco?) to invent wants, in order to supply employment? or ought not, in these times, all expenses to be reproductive? And the best Versailles service says, And a proper stupid answer you'll get, so go & do your accounts. there's one of us cracked.

**f295r**

The Carters are at Embley for the summer, & I trust enjoying it much, all but poor Frances, who does not improve in strength. And Julia is in Bedford Sq. the Nicholsons returned home. except Marianne, who is still in London, as thin, I am sorry to say, as ever. The Sam Smiths are at home. & my boy Shore coming here for the holidays. The Hallams are coming to us - otherwise, I believe, we shall have a pretty quiet summer. We have seen something more of the Archer Clives lately - she, you know, was the V. of whom you said, "Dear me, to think of the creature's having a heart & no legs," she is now married, has two children, & I never saw happiness so stamped on any human creature's face. I like her exceedingly. & admire her husband for disproving the general proposition, that we are to be treated as furniture or a piece of clothes for the man's vanity, while *they* are to be as ugly as they please, & no one is to wonder at any body's marrying *them*. I was in ten

**f295v**

thousand rages at Mr. Hamilton Gray having the impudence to wonder to me "how any man could marry V." he, who himself so much lamer than she, & has married Pols & Pans, you know. the famous Etrurian lion [?]. Why is woman considered by woman *herself* as more of furniture than man? But how few people judge & discern for themselves. When a person says, I judge, for "I." read generally Idleness or Prepossession or Conventionalism judges.

Aunt Patty is at Bath. But I must stop, for you will be tired, & so am I of writing such a long passage. Do tell us where you are, & what you are going to do. I wish we could meet you somewhere - but there is no idea of our going abroad. & I hardly wish it. People have left off talking about Ireland, only because they are tired of the subject. there is every prospect of a good & early harvest, but that will hardly relieve her woes. Adieu, dearest friend, with best love from all here, thine ever, whatever else I am  
1000 thanks for your letter. FN.

Letter, ff296-300, pen. {Archivist's date: 1847} [8:550-55]

**f296r**

Embley. October 13.

[Cook 1:66]

Dearest friend, To think that you are now a two months' wife, & that I have never written to tell you that your piece of news gave me more joy than I ever felt in all my life, except once, no, not even excepting that once, because *that* was a game of Blind-man's-Buff,- & in *your* case you knew even as you were known. I had the news on a Sunday from dear Ju, & it was indeed a Sunday joy & I kept it holy, though not like the city, which was to be in cotton to be looked at ONLY on Sundays. [Cook is different here, see]

I saw you on that day sleeping on the Acarnanian Promontory, with the blue Mediterranean stretched out before you, & the sky of Greece, spanned with a rain bow, bent over all - & by you stood a Guardian Genius with her feet upon the soft moon, wrapped in a rosy veil. & in the folds of the rain bow lay a shadowy spirit, called Life. And Life stretched forth his hand, holding a wreath of rose-buds, exquisite sweet-smelling dewy variegated petals, streaked as it were by the hands of the rosy-

**f296v**

fingered Aurora. with the "purple light of love" & the first bloom of the morning. This is First Love, the Love of the Fancy, said Life. But her i.e your Guardian Genius would not let her take it. And when I looked, I saw that the bud changes, when it opens & unfolds a pale scentless flower. And its beauty was only the Ideal existing in one's own mind - one's own idea of what that bud *ought* to come to. Its name is the Besoin d'Aimer Rose. (See Loudon's Catalogue.)

Next, Life offered a crown of full-blown hot-house pomegranates, gorgeous in colouring, magnificent in their luxuriance, without much fragrance, but all bathed in crimson light. This is the Love of Passion, said Life. But her Guardian Genius would not let her take it. And when I looked, I saw the petals of the beautiful forced exotic falling off with their own weight.

The sleeper's eyes were wet, her summer was far advanced. She sighed to think how soon it would

**f297r**

be gone, when life presented her  
with a wreath from the Oak tree.  
It had not the dewy fragrance of  
the roses, nor the intoxicating beauty  
of the pomegranates - the tree from  
which it was gathered, was grown  
neither in the garden, nor in the  
~~Earth~~ hot-house, but under the open heaven  
& among the everlasting hills.

Take it, said the Guardian Genius,  
it is the strong Love of the Soul -  
the love given in the full force of  
the inquiring & discriminating spirit.  
And she took it, not with the  
innocent unconsciousness with which  
she would have plucked the first -  
her knowledge of life & mankind  
forbade that - nor with the  
passionate eagerness with which  
she would have snatched the second,  
- her powerful & matured intellect  
prevented that - but she humbly  
kneeled down, & the Guardian  
Genius crowned her with it &  
blessed her. She took the gift,  
with not less trust, not less  
tenderness, not less self-devotion,  
not less appreciation of the greatness

**f297v**

of the blessing, that she knew what she had to give in return; but she bent her head to receive it with the seriousness, the earnestness, the solemn self-possession, of one who feels how much she has set upon the die.

how great is the leap she has before her. How shall I take it, she said?

So she awoke, & she saw at the bottom of the cliff a little bark, & at its helm the captain of the craft. And from the cliff she looked before & after, she surveyed the innumerable ports where the boundless sea, the uncertain winds & waves might carry her. She examined her own position. And the Guardian Angel said to her, A vigorous intellect, uncommon powers, instead of diminishing the greatness of the hazard, instead of affording an easier descent, only raise you upon a higher eminence, & give you a wider view of dangers & possibilities. You feel the more, because you think the more - & your prospect is enlarged by the range of that telescope, which an analysing & examining mind has set before your eyes.

She looked, she thought, she weighed.

**f298r**

She listened to the winds. She saw  
the breakers, but not the less did  
she trust the little sail, & the captain  
at the helm, who *commands* the winds  
& waves to carry him whither he will,  
be they ever so contrary, by his skilful  
management. I saw her look once  
more, & then she made the spring.  
She took Sappho's leap, not with  
blind & headlong haste, but with  
deliberate & resolute purpose.

I saw her fling herself from the cliff,  
& lo! her Guardian Genius gave her  
wings & they bore her up till she  
reached the bark. For, as has often  
been said, we must all take Sappho's  
leap, one way or other, before we  
attain to her repose. though some  
take it to death, & some to marriage,  
& some again to a new life even  
in this world. Which of them to the  
better part, God only knows. Popular  
prejudice gives it in favour of  
marriage. Should we not look upon  
marriage, less as an absolute blessing,  
than as a remove into another &  
higher class of this great School room.  
- a promotion - for it *is* a promotion,  
which creates new duties, before which

**f298v**

the coward sometimes shrinks, & gives new lessons, of more advanced knowledge, with more advanced powers to meet them. & a much clearer power of vision to read them. In your new development of life, I take, dearest friend, a right fervent interest, and bless you with a right heartfelt and earnest love.

We are only just returned to Embley, after having passed through London on our way from Derbyshire. News have I none, excepting financial, for no one could talk of any thing in London excepting the horrid quantity of failures in the City, by which almost all England has suffered, more or less. My father came in for a *not* serious loss. Uncle Octavius for a rather more considerable one. The Carters are at Bourne Mouth, near here, by the sea. They spent the summer here. But no doubt you have heard from Hilary. Aunt Joanna is slowly recovering her sprained ankle. I did not see Ju, alas, in town, where she is staying with Uncle Octavius at Bedford Sq. because I was obliged to come out of London that very morning with my father down here. Aunt Jane is still in Scotland with the chicks.

**f299r**

And now for my confessions. I utterly abjure, I entirely renounce & abhor, all that I may have said about M. Robert Mohl, not because he is now your brother-in-law, but because I was so moved & touched by the letters which he wrote after your marriage to Mama; so anxious they were to know more about you, so absorbed in the subject, so eager to prove to us that his brother was *such* a man, he was quite sure to make you happy.

And I have not said half enough either upon that score, not any thing that I feel; how "to marry" is no impersonal verb, upon which I am to congratulate you, but depends entirely upon the Accusative Case which it governs, upon which I do wish you heartfelt & trusting joy. In single life the stage of the Present & the Outward World is so filled with phantoms, the phantoms, not unreal tho' intangible, of Vague Remorse, Fears, dwelling on the threshold of every thing we undertake alone, Dissatisfaction with what is, Restless yearnings for what is not, Cravings after a world of wonders (which *is* but is like the chariots & horses of fire, which Elisha's frightened servant could not see, till his eyes were opened) - the stage of actual life gets so filled with these that

**f299v**

we are almost pushed off the boards & are conscious of only just holding on to the foot lights by our chins. yet even in that very inconvenient position love still precedes joy, as in St. Paul's list, for love laying to sleep these phantoms, (by assuring us of a love so great that we may lay aside all care for our own happiness, not because it is of no consequence to us, ~~but because it~~ whether we are happy or not, as Carlyle says, but because it is of so much consequence to another) - gives that leisure frame to our mind, which opens it at once to joy.

But how impertinently I ramble on. "You see a penitent before you", don't say "I see an impudent scoundrel before me". But when thou seest, & what, more, when thou readest, forgive.

You will not let another year pass without our seeing you. M. Mohl gives us hopes, in his letter to Ju, that you won't, that you will come to England next year for many months, then, dearest friend, we will have a long talk out. If not, we really must come to Paris - & then I shall see you & see the Deaconesses too, whom you so kindly wrote to me about, but of whom I have never heard half enough.

**f300r**

I have just read your Psse de Clèves - it is a jewel, but were you thinking of that, wretch, when you wrote to me? The Nicholsons are all at Waverley again. Marianne, they say, is getting fatter. Some of the party have been in Scotland. Helen Richardson is not very well. But she has the little Reeve with her, & is very happy at Kirklands. The Bracebridges are at home. She rejoiced as much as we did over your event. Parthe is going at the end of Nov.ber to do officiating Verger to a friend of ours, Fanny Hanford, on a like event. Her prospects are likewise so satisfactory, that I can rejoice and sympathize under any form she may choose to marry in. Otherwise I think that the day will come, when it will surprise us as much, to see people dressing up for a marriage as it would to see them put on a fine coat for the Sacrament. Why should the Sacrament or Oath of Marriage be less sacred than any other? Do you remember V. (Mrs. Archer Clive) the woman of whom you said "Only think of her having a heart & no legs"? We have been staying with her, & though my people still keep up a low

**f300v**

murmuring grumble of astonishment in her husband (being singularly subject to the "caprice des yeux") I maintain that it is not at all astonishing. Though there is another great difference between her & all the rest of the world that while all her fellow creatures are always trying to say something clever, she is always trying to say something stupid. Aunt Patty is at Tenby with, though not in the house of, the Allens. Miss Allen is coming here.

Fortunately for you, my paper is at an end. the house being deficient in that article, & not yet unpacked - fortunately too, (as I am writing before breakfast,), I must go, & lay down rules for the laying down of the carpets, instead of chattering on with you so rudely. Why didn't I write before? Because I thought you would rather be let alone at first & that you were on your travels. And now, dearest friend, with ALL our best loves & congratulations to you & your Accusative or nominative Case, believe me yours overflowingly, ever  
yours, Florence Nightingale.  
Excuse haste & "vain repetitions" - I am in the middle of china & linen lists.

Parthe & Mama will write from Embley

Letter, f301, pen {arch: To Madam Mohl. 1847}

[8:555]

**f301r**

Embley. Oct 21. Thursday.

Dearest friend, You will not be more surprised than I am to hear that I am going to Rome with the Bracebridges for three months on Tuesday. Poor old me! We shall be in Paris on *Wednesday evening*, next, the 27th, & I trust that we shall see you on Thursday, as we shall be only two days in Paris. We go straight to Marseille & by sea to Civite Vecchia. I wrote to you at Rue de Grenelle 52, some days ago, but as I have never heard from you, I have an "Ahnung" a *awful fear* that you may not be returned to Paris. It will be too aggravating if I miss you. This was only settled last night, wherefore I put off all I have to say, hoping to meet, & am yours ever in haste and in peace, in presence & in absence Florence N

If you could write one line to me at Poste Restante,  
your address at {end of line cut off}

Letter, ff303-04, pen. {archivist's date: 1851} [8:556-58]

**f303r**

Embley. Feb 7.

Dearest friend That misfortune-  
of-England never-to-be-regretted-  
enough confoundedly-cheap postage  
(excuse me for swearing) which  
wastes all your days in writing  
things you don't want to write to  
people who don't want to hear,  
leaves no time for such friends as  
you. Poor Papa's no better. I  
hope we shall go to Vichy or some  
German Bad in the summer. I  
have no faith in medicine. I heard  
Dr. Fowler say the other day that we  
should none of us die before we saw  
the whole present system of Medicine  
exploded. As people put in the  
"Marriages" the name of the clergyman  
-or-men who married them, I wd  
put in the "Deaths" the name of the  
Dr or Drs who killed them.

Lizzy *Herbert* I have just been  
staying with. to nurse her during  
the manufacture of a third bab.  
She *has* a little girl, (like ~~an~~ Van Dyck's infant  
Christ, foreseeing all the suffering  
of the world. & looking at you  
with its fixed supernatural eyes  
till it breaks into an absent smile.  
I think it will die). Then she has a

**f303v**

boy of 6 months, who looks like a child of 3 years, which doesn't speak. She is now gone up to London to see after her Emigration Scheme. for she must always be a-doing.

Papa is in Derbyshire. the Bracebridges have just left us. But I have no words to speak about her. He is in better spirits, but more lame than usual. They are going to London ~~for~~ till the Great Show, which will drive us all out. As you get your Greek news from *Rangabè*, I don't think I shall give you mine. (You can't believe both). tho' I have plenty. Only this let me say, there's not a soul in Greece that reads Grote.

I am so glad you like him. That chap on Socrates. Why, it's like magic. Some authors, like your Lamartine, give you a picture of a character, a ~~picture~~ daub without an inside. Some, like W. Scott, give you its clothes. Some, like Talfourd, give you its bust, cold & white & beautiful. & some, like Macaulay, give you its Daguerreotype, strong & black & ugly, with every detail. I suppose it's all very fine - but Grote, his Socrates is *real life*. You don't feel as if it was a painting or a bit of art. but as if you had lived with him all your life.

**f304r**

Only compare it with Thirlevall. Why, none of us ever knew Socrates before. There are two Reviews in the "Quarterly" of it by Arthur Stanley. & one in the "Edinburgh" by Frankland [Frankland] Lewis. But I never could read Reviews. We don't know Grote. I wish we did. He is a gentlemanly quiet sort of man. His wife the greatest *queen* you ever saw. but the only woman who knows what we call the Middle Classes. I believe it's a great advantage to our literary men, their mixing so much in politics, as they do. tho' it makes their productions perhaps too little artistic, too much political. I was so pleased to hear Sidney Herbert, whom I always thought a Peel Tory, say the other day that a republic was the ultimate form of all human government. But you & Parthe are born Conservatives (by Conservative meaning one with whom *associations* ~~are~~ tell more than ideals) so I shall keep my politics to myself.

You who are so fond of Homer shd read Col. Mure's Literature of Ancient Greece. there are only the 2 Vols on Homer out. his character of Helen, as the modern fine lady & of Paris are capital. Or if you see the "Edinburgh" & like it, read Edward Bunbury's Review of it. I like Mure, because I heard him maintaining successfully one day against Macaulay that the accentuation of the modern Greeks is like the ancient.

**f304v**

Birch (at the Brit. Mus.) is doing wonders in hieroglyphs. I didn't like Lepsius. tho' he was very civil to us for your sake. but he has no enthusiasm for his trade (so unlike a German) & takes it, much more, as we do, like a trade. The Berlin Museum, fitted up like an Egyptian temple, is a little bit of stage effect. & I can't help believing the stories against him in Egypt of his destroying things for the sake of making his specimens unique. But then his master is such a quack. As you don't believe in Egypt, I shall spare my raptures. I am going over it now with the servants. Poor Pop has been drawing a little lately - but it excites him too much. Mrs. Bracebridge has been with Vermilion & Gabbage doing some sketches of Egypt. but we can't get it hot enough. Go & see, that's all I say to you.

Poor Hester Tutt, whom Mrs. Frewen Turner was so very kind to, is dead.

I suppose you know how the two [Cook 1:56] churches have been convulsing themselves in England in a manner discreditable to themselves & ridiculous to others. The Anglican Ch. screamed & struggled as if they were taking away something of hers. the Catholic Ch. sang & shouted as if she had conquered England. neither the one nor the other has happened. Only a good many people ~~four~~ (in our Church) found out they were Catholics & went to Rome.

Letter ff305-07, pen arch date: 1853 part, Cook 1:129 [1:558-61]

**f305r**

Lea Hurst. April 8 [1853]

My dearest friend You will have heard from Hillie of my dear Grandmother's death & of her fearful sufferings. I shall never be sufficiently grateful that I came, as she allowed me to do many things in the way of moving & changing her, which perhaps she would have allowed no one else to do, & which made her end less suffering. This was the reason why I did not answer your letter sooner,- you will understand. We buried her last Friday & after the funeral Papa & my Aunt & I came here for a few days. But I am going back to Tapton (my Grandmother's) tomorrow, to settle with the poor old servants & wind up affairs. for a week.

Now for my own affairs. In all that you say, I cordially agree, & if you knew what the "fashionable asses" have been doing, their 'offs' & their 'ons', poor fools! & asking Marianne Galton's advice, such a sensible idea! you would say so ten times more. I shall be truly grateful if you will write to Pop ~~they~~ my people know as much of the affair now as I do, which is not much. You see the f.a.s (or a.f.s. which will stand for 'ancient fathers' & be more respectful, as they are all Puseyites the f.a s

**f305v**

want me to come up to London now  
& look at them, & if we suit, to  
come ~~directly~~ very soon into the Sanatorium, which, I am afraid  
will preclude my coming back to Paris,  
especially if you are coming away  
soon, for going there without you  
would unveil all my iniquities, as  
the f.a.s are quite as much afraid  
of the N.C.s, as my people are.

It is no use telling you the history  
of the negotiations, which are enough  
to make a comedy in 50 Acts. They  
may be summed up, as I once heard  
an Irish shoeless boy translate Virgil,  
"Obstupui". I was altogether bothered.  
"steterunt que comae"- & my hair stood  
up like the bristles of a pig.

"vox faucibus haesit & divil a word  
could I say. Welly divil a bit of  
a word can I say except that you  
are very good, dear friend, to take  
so much interest,- & that I shall be  
truly glad if you will write to Pop, dans  
le sens du muscle.

All your advice, which I sent to  
Mrs. Bracebridge, I give my profound-  
est adhesion to. I would gladly  
point the finger of scorn in the liveliest  
manner at the f.a.s, & ride them  
roughshod a round Grosvenor Sq.  
I will even do my very best. but  
I am afraid it is not in me to do it  
as I should wish. It would be only a  
poor feint - a mean Caricature. But I

**f306r**

will practice. & you shall see me.

My people are now at 30 Old Burlington St. where I shall be in another week. please write to them there, & if you can do a little quacking for me to them, the same will be thankfully received, in order that I may come in when I arrive, not with my tail between my legs, but gracefully curved round me, in the way in which Perugino's Devil wears it, in folds round the waist.

I am afraid I *must* live at the place. If I don't it will be a half & half measure, which will satisfy no one. However I shall take care to be perfectly free to clear off, without its being considered a failure, at my own time. I can give you no particulars, dearest friend, because I don't know any. I can only say that, unless I am left a free agent & am to organise the thing myself & not they, I will have nothing to do with it,- But as the thing is yet to be organized, I cannot lay a plan either before you or my people. And that rather perplexes them, as they want to make conditions that I shan't do this or that. If you would "well present" my plans, as you say, to them, it would be an inestimable benefit both to them & to me. That estimable matron, Mrs. Douglas Galton, is doing all she can against the poor little infant. I mean my Sanatorium

**f306v**

not her baby. Hillie will tell you all I know - that it is a Sanatorium for sick governesses, managed by a Committee of fine ladies. But there are no surgeon-students nor improper patients there at all, which is, of course, a great recommendation in the eyes of the Proper. The Patients, or rather the Impatients, for I know what it is to nurse sick ladies, are all pay patients, poor friendless folk in London. I am to have the choosing of the house, the appointment of the Chaplain, & the management of the funds, as the f.a. s are *at present* minded. But Isaiah himself could not prophecy how they will be minded at 8 o'clock this evening. I hope Hillie will stay with you till you come to England. I hear from Abraham himself that she is not wanted at home. I would write to her if I had time. (Aunt Ju is at the Holmwood now).

And now what shall I say, dearest friend, for all your kindness to me? Think anything but that I am indifferent when I do not write. Give my love & thanks to M. Mohl. If you could give me a little impression of your & Hillie's plans, I should be very much obliged. I fear that, if I undertake the f.a s, my people will wish me to spend the intermediate time with them, & so I shan't

**f307r**

2

an account against me for all you have paid for me. & dearest, IF you want any little presents of cutlery, there are some in my little top-drawer (in Tallboy) I believe you must bring all my goods back with you, as, even if I do go back to Paris, I fear it will not be yet. Perhaps you said a word to Parthe about my not having sate to you. If you come to England after Easter (but I hope you will *not*) I may see you in London, pending my negotiations. It was heaven's mercy that I came, & I shall never regret it, *what'eer betide*. Dear Aunt Mai had never seen a death bed before & this was an awful one to begin her experience. The end however was so calm that, tho' I sate at the head, I did not know the exact moment. More when we meet.

Pay my letters, stays, & all my odds & ends, dearest. let not aught stand against me. God bless you.

I would send you some French money I have still by me, if I knew how.

**f307v**

The letter you forwarded to me was to tell me that Canning was on again.

Put my straw bonnet into my carpet bag. And please say all kinds of things for me to dear kind patient Mr. Mohl. Don't leave behind any of the "Budgets" he gave me, which are in the Drawing Room. He bought them his own self for me & made me a present out of his pocket. I was so shocked. When I thought he was only going to borrow them.

Adieu, dearest. I am sorry to give you the trouble of bringing home my goods, or any trouble, this particularly.

Papa is at the Hurst with your people. He has been here - she just recognised him. he returns for the funeral on Friday. I am very glad I did not delay an hour. She knew me always but never took food after I came.

I am sleepy & have much to do. Good night.

ever, dearest, with love & blessing to dear Clarkey, & something to Fraulein Anna, thy old Flo.

I hear M. G's baby is a very little one but not a very bad one.

Letter, ff308-09, pen. [archivist's date: May 1853]. [8:561]

**f308r**

30 Old Burlington St.

May 4 [1853]

Dearest friend

I have not written before,  
because our affairs were not  
settled, & because we thought  
you might arrive in London  
any day. We stay in London  
till the end of next week, 13th or 14th, &  
then *they* return to Embley, &  
I come back to Paris, I *believe*,  
to give myself a little education,  
before I enter upon my  
Sanatorium in *July*.

I'm so sorry that you  
won't be at Paris when I come.  
But, at all events, I shall see  
you here.

I suppose I shall go directly  
to my S. Vincent de Paul place  
Rue Plumet to stay - unless I can keep out

**f308v**

for a few days to see Koh-i-noor,  
Mr. Guillot, (M. Roulin's *médecin*)  
& go & see his things with him,  
as he asked ~~me very~~ me most kindly.  
which would give me more  
opportunity of seeing things  
impartially than going at once  
to my S. Vincent de Paul  
(Des Genettes') place.

However, we will talk  
over all that.

Do you know of any one going  
to Paris about the end of  
next week? It won't do  
for me to go with Miss  
Orton again. Nothing is known  
about that here, please  
remember. But I was asked  
so many questions that I

**f309r**

dare not go with *her* any more.

Please tell me if you know  
of any body.

ever yours, dearest friend,  
gratefully F.N.

You know Hilly & I came to you  
*with the Bruces.*

Letter, ff310-12, pen. [Archivist's date: 1853] **[8:562-66]**

## f310r

Back drawing room!  
at Madame Mohl's!  
Rue du Bac 120  
28 June.

Cook 1:131

My dearest friend, Do you see where  
I am? Here's a "go"! Has Mr Mohl  
told you? Here am I in bed in  
your back drawing-room. Poor  
M. Mohl appears to bear it  
with wonderful equanimity &  
recueillement, like his danseuse.  
Not so I. It is the most  
impertinent, the most surprising,  
the most inopportune thing I  
have ever done. me established  
in a Lady's house in her absence  
to be ill. If Mr. Mohl had any  
sins, I should think I was the  
avenging Phooka appointed to casti-  
gate him - as he has none, I am  
obliged to arrest myself at the  
other supposition that it is for  
my own. It was not my fault  
though really. Here is how the

**f310v**

things have happened.

But first let me tell you, in answer to yours, that I think Chaton Woking a great deal better. Her lip has almost retaken its natural size. & she looks altogether much less scrofulous. Nelken says that she wants her constitution changing by Iodine & Cod's Liver Oil, which he is giving her, & that a little more sea or a little more country, tho' very good for her, are not the essential, but that she will get well here. I think her already looking so much better with the good food & the medicine. Nevertheless I write in good time that you may decide whether I am to bring her, as I must be in England the beginning of *next week*, if I can, & shall be too glad to bring her (& pay her journey & expenses, of course,) if you will let me bring her.

I go into service at my place in London next week, if I possibly can.

**f311r**

Do come & see me there. (1 Upper Harley St). When you come to town.

To explain.

I have had the measles at the Soeurs. And, of all my adventures, of which I have had many & queer, as will be (never) recorded in the X Book of my Wanderings, the dirtiest & the queerest I have ever had has been a measles in the cell of a Soeur de la Charité. They were very kind to me - & dear Mr Mohl wrote to me almost every day, & sent me tea, (which however they would not let me have) and he lastly, in his paternity, would have me back, (where I came yesterday), & established me in the back-drawing room, to my infinite horror, & now I am getting better very fast, & mean to be out again in a day or two. I hope nobody will catch it here. Mr Mohl assured me that both the children had had it. & I had got rid of the eruption & all

**f311v**

that before I came. Mr. Mohl is so kind, & comes to see me & talk, which I suppose is very improper, but I can't help it, & he has been like a father to me & never was *such* a father! I really am so ashamed of all his kindness, & the trouble I give them, that my brazen old face blushes crimson, & I assure you this paper ought to be red. Julie is very kind to me. But I hope not to be long on their hands. As to my calamity itself, it is like the marriage de Mademoiselle, who could have foreseen it? It really was not my fault. There was no measles at any of my posts. & I have had them not 18 months ago, so that, erect in the consciousness of that dignity, I should not have kept out of their way, if I had seen them. The Dr. wd not believe I could have had them before. Well, I'm so ashamed of myself that I shall lock myself up for the rest of my life. & never go nowhere no more. For you see, it's evident Providence, who was always in my way, & who as the Supérieure said, is "*très admirable*", (meaning *wonderful*), in having

**f312r**

done this, does not mean me to come to Paris nor to the Soeurs, having twice made me ill when I was doing so - & given you all this trouble. For me to come to Paris to have the measles a 2nd time is like going to the Grand Desert to die of getting one's feet wet, or anything most unexpected.

I hope you are going to the Hurst, where my people are now. I have heard nothing of Hillie.

And now, enough of me - I am so provoked that Mr. Mohl's benign face enrages me, & I am ever, dearest friend, yours repentantly & very gratefully FN.

Please write to M. Mohl, & comfort him for his disaster. I am so repentant that I can say nothing - which, the Caths tell me, is the "marque" of a true "humiliation". Thank you 1000 times for all your kindness. I come to England next week.

Note/letter, f313, pen. [Archivist's date: 1853?].

**f313r**

There has happened a curious thing just now in England. A clergyman, who thinks the admission of Jews and Catholics into the Ho. of Commons the destruction of the church, refused to read the "prayer for the High Court of Parliament" in our Liturgy, & when compelled to do so, altered it so as to exclude Jews & Catholics in its meaning. (This offence of altering the prayer-book is punishable at our Assizes by the loss of one year's income of the offender) Mr. Bracebridge wrote to the Bishop of Worcester, in whose Diocese he was, about the man having done this. And the Bp replied it did not signify - the first time a Bishop has ever said it did not signify altering the church-service as by law established. Perhaps he was afraid of the man's leaving out next time the "Prayer for the Bishops & Curates". And then, who

**f313v**

knows what might not have happened?- Any how, it looks like the beginning of the end. when we may alter the Constitutional Prayer-book.

Good-bye, M. Mohl. I kiss your kind hands. I did not mean to have given you so much trouble. indeed I didn't.

Remember me to Julie.

your female Szarpira

[The Carters' place, which they have bought, Heston, near Bromley, is very nice, small, but they are going to build. Hillie means to have an Atelier in one of the lodges but I hope that won't prevent her coming to you. All the rest are done or going to Normandy. But Hillie is at home. I have not seen her.]

Letter, ff314-15, pen. Not FN {Arch date: 1857} [perhaps Parthe]

**f314r**

Embley

Feb 13

My dearest Clarkey

Mama has been very poorly as have I, so my letter must be short. Moreover I have sprained my wrist & can hardly write. So this is only business, to say that I have already paid the money & got the receipt. it is for soldiers bathing at some waters, Bourbonne les Bains as I understand. but she is so busy that I know no particulars

**f314v**

she is much obliged to you & hopes  
you have not been troubled. I  
don't think she knows Lady Fox  
[illeg] or wished to introduce  
her in the least to you. it was  
merely a pecuniary transaction  
which had been settled before your  
letter came as that you might so  
have been told before, but I can't  
tell à qui la faute. As Abbé Legendre  
{illeg. several words heavily crossed out} to 7 pm  
notre Dame, d'Orient wrote

**f315r**

money I suspect in the name of  
the French soldiers & so got it.  
if the institution is bad I am very  
sorry. She is persecuted to death  
with beggars of every kind. I have  
a matter of 11 at this moment to  
answer for her, comprehending one  
from Florence Bruges {illeg. rotund?}  
{illeg. Nagerès?} & Us - it is hideous, &  
some very distressing ~~bettors~~ among  
them make my heart ache, but it is  
pouring water into papiers percés, & we

**f315v**

don't generally send it - ~~works~~ ever my fortnights work -  
3 poetries to answer, sermons from  
America, 4 Bazaars which want her,!!! name 4  
a present from Edinburgh. A man  
asking for "settings for a bust", another  
for a photograph to publish in a  
series - several for autographs. One from "a  
young Lady" no name no direction.  
but we never answer these so she  
isn't the worse off. (one from America  
directed Miss Nightingale England).  
several requests for dedications.  
book published for her "fund". a  
furiously Protestant pamphlet. a  
quite-in-the-contrary ditto. a request  
to visit a Hospital. nurse letters &  
soldiers ditto but these I don't answer but  
forward to her who is with  
{written vertically up right side:}  
the dear Aunt Mai. Ever & ever yours, dear friend

ff317-18 J. Mohl to FN [11 June 1859]  
re arrangements for Mrs Stewart, he will do her bidding

Saturday evening [11 June 1859]

My dear Flo. I have just got  
your letter and will do your bidding  
on Monday, which is a high fetish day, the saints  
are prohibited from doing a good  
work. My own private opinion is that  
Mrs Stewart would have done her own  
business better in applying in person, and  
those letters in hand, to the old and savage  
neighbour of the sun Babylon, but as you  
may have good reasons for your way of doing  
the thing, and particularly as it is a poor  
way of performing a commission by giving  
an advice, so I will even try my poor  
eloquence on the old ladies, particularly Mrs ?  
Guarat, because your Superior is a poor  
illeg who had some trouble of recollecting  
you and identifying you with the sick illeg  
body in the house, which I saw her on Mrs  
Stewart's first arrival. I will tell at the end  
of this scrawl how I have fared with the old  
critter. Has the Superior of the hotel de  
Dieu ...

Hopes to go to England

{Incomplete} letter, ff319-20, pen

[8:566-67]

**f319r**

115 Park St W.

July 30/64

My dear Madame Mohl

I am afraid it would  
be a long way out of  
your way. Or could you  
come to me on August 5  
between Whitfield & Cold  
Overton?

I shall be by that  
time at the old place,  
7 Oakhill Park

Hampstead N.W.

It will be duller that  
ever for you, for I am now so  
feeble that I cannot

**f319v**

talk for more than 15 or  
20 min: at a time,  
without disqualifying  
myself for all work.  
And I shall have nobody with me.

I have much to  
discuss in your letter, in  
which, du reste, I entirely  
agree.

"Concentrativeness" has  
its terrible revenges, however, as  
well as its benefits. And  
the non-concentratives,  
tho' they do little, suffer  
little, I am convinced.

I would not have  
anybody I loved enter  
upon my life & its sufferings,  
no, not for anything.

**f320r**

You will be doing me a  
favour, if you come to me.  
August 2 is a terrible  
anniversary to me. And  
I shall not have my  
usual solace, for Mrs.  
Bracebridge has always  
come to spend that day  
with me. And I am  
sure she would have  
come this year, but I  
could not tell whether  
I should be able to get  
Sir I. Lawrence's things  
off by that time.

It does me good to  
be with you, as with  
Mrs. Clive - because it  
reduces individual

**f320v**

struggles to general  
 formulae - it does me  
 harm, intensely alone as  
 I am, to be with people  
 who do the reverse.  
 But it is incorrect to  
 say, as Mrs. Clive does,  
 that I "*will not let*  
*people help me*" - or,  
 as others do, that "no one  
 can help me". Any body  
 could have helped me  
 who knew how to read  
 & write & what o'clock  
 it is.

I did not have your  
 letter announcing your arrival,  
 (directed to South St.) till 3 weeks  
 after. So it was entirely by the  
 light of nature I knew of your  
 arrival. I have a great deal to

{Incomplete} letter, f321, pen

[8:567]

**f321r**

7 Oakhill Park  
 Hampstead N.W.  
 Aug 23/64

Yes, yes: dearest Madame  
 Mohl. I expect you  
 the first day you can  
 come - to stay as long  
 as you can bear the  
 dulness.

Only let me know  
 "the date" as soon as  
 you can - not for  
 your sake but mine.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

I have no time to write.  
 But your letter has  
 given me much to say.

**f321v**

I entirely agree with you  
 that I would "teach a  
 girl instead of the piano  
 - only to give to others as  
 much as they give to me".  
 But don't you see, you are  
 a philosopher, if you can  
 lay out your affections  
 in that way like a game  
 at cards. I who am a  
 work-a-day body, mine  
 are gone out of my power because I have  
 no time to measure &  
 cut out & take my yard  
 measure & begin again.

I don't believe Sappho, or  
 Ariadne or Dido, (who by  
 the way were but poor  
 love-sick bodies) ever

{Incomplete?} letter, ff322-23, pen {Arch note: early 1860s. Mme Mohl's cats}  
**[8:567-68]**

**f322r**

About the expected kits.

I expect to have  
 them, all but one, which  
 I understand Lydia  
 Shore is to have, & one  
 which Mrs Watson is  
 to have.

But tell Mrs Watson  
 that I am very sorry  
 poor Tom is left behind,  
 because Mrs. Tom is  
 the only cat of that

kind I have ever  
 had who is faithful  
 to her Tom. You see

**f322v**

that I can't get any  
pure breed kittens  
out of my other cats,  
tho' I take no end  
of pains to marry  
them well. But they  
won't have the husbands  
I choose, while they  
take up with low  
Toms, of recent  
extraction, out of the mews.

If old Tom is  
lost, or gets wild,  
as I am afraid he  
will do, left alone at

**f323r**

Embley, or if Mrs.  
Tom learns that he  
is not to be her only  
husband, adieu to  
our breed of long  
tails.

Not only have my  
Pussie's kits no long  
feathery tails but  
they have no long  
feathery ears - but  
ears like cropped  
bull dogs. & tails like  
rats.

F.N.

f324 Mary Mohl incomplete letter, to whom?

**f327** Letter of Mary Mohl to FN

Thursday 26 Nov [1868]

Dearest Flo

I intended to send you the money  
I owe you by Lady Augusta and  
I quite forgot, when she went. She remained 8 days only  
with us and the day before her going away  
I preached a little wisdom to her, I call  
it wisdom because her illeg it rather  
doubted by several, my spouse was much  
astounded and when in law or at seeing her  
history and illeg Mary Stanley as if  
she was very fond of her when I know  
she can't abide her and she is the illeg  
in her cups. And I said very cautiously to her that  
M.S. herself might opened that she was  
feeling I put i on her very affectionate habits  
and said so but whether right or wrong  
M.S. is sure to make something of it, I have  
studied the creature and astounded that one so illeg intelligent

rt col  
should be so sharp when her passions  
are concerned, will you be so good  
as to answer me nettement this question, did Sidney  
Herbert do every thing and say any  
thing to persuade her M.S. to go to  
Scutari or Crimea. She M.S. says so and did you  
let her know as Hilly told me that  
there was no room and that she had  
better *not* go for when I am appealed  
to on these questions I don't know  
what to answer having only Hilly's asser  
tion if I thought Lady Herbert would tell  
truth I would rather ask her than you  
when it illeg I have no notion of  
not speaking the truth and of  
sparing the goat and the cabbage as they  
say having not illeg but when I am told  
a thing I believe false I choose to say so at once

V

to a whole army if necessary  
I am very sorry you have lost  
the cat, I have a gold bit Kilgan [?]  
whose name is longer and will have  
a very fine tail but its face is not  
near so pretty as yours. I think it more intelligent  
its colour is white and I little  
tortoise shell, I like the tiger  
marks and colour better, but by many  
it would be called a great beauty and  
it is very clean

If you wish for it I will  
coax some one to take it  
Annie Chapman may perhaps do it  
as she is near; write as soon as  
you can and tell me the sum I  
owe you that I may give it to her.  
My dear sister is better, can't walk  
but went in her go cart to the piano  
and sang and played her favourite tunes.  
I almost cried for joy when one day illeg  
wrote it, her singing was to my taste  
the most beautiful I ever heard and her  
touch on the piano unequalled by all the  
fine players I have heard  
when she was two years old my father who  
played on the organ tho he had never been taught  
played her a tune in a nice key and she cried but  
she sang the tune after hearing it.  
she was a gifted player and never knew it  
yours ever  
Mary Mohl

Incomplete} draft, ff328-29, pencil

**f328r**

[3]

Myself is so unlike myself in different moods! As a wise person said. And *herself* is so unlike *herself* in the two different circumstances I have mentioned. that, as I have often heard you say that the sort of expressions I have related do not occur *when you are with her*, it may be worth while for you to consider my hint. (the hint of observation.)

One thing more, I will venture to add:-

You have often said to me, 'Mind 'I don't blame. I only *constater*.' ('ie constaté) And when I have said, we must go farther than merely 'constater' you have said, I gave you the Word 'constater'. That is true. But many are & you are more irritated by merely 'constatant' than, if you

**f329r**

did call it wrong. And you do not go farther to a principle.

If I had merely 'constaté' in the Crimean War, I should have gone mad. (more than gone irritated).

Possibly, if you are afraid of this falling into other hands, it might be as well to burn it *or return it to me*.

ever your loving

F.

Embley Sept./69

ff330-31, draft, pencil. {Archivist's note: with papers of 1870. This is a draft for a letter to M. Mohl Nov. 1869.}

**f330r**

Every year (in the Home Army) we have 729 men alive who would have been dead -. & 5184 men on active duty who would have been "constantly sick" in bed.

We have (unfortunately for the Hospitals) about 400 Patients fewer than the Hospl was built for & 500 fewer than the 'requisition' (for sick accommodation) was made for

Taken on the last 2 years, the Death-rate of Bombay (Civil, Military & native) is lower than that of London. the healthiest city of Europe. The Death-rate of Calcutta is lower than that of Liverpool & Manchester. (salubrious watering place

But even this is not the greatest victory. The Municipal Commissioner of Bombay writes that the "huddled native masses" "clamorously invoke" the aid of the "Health Dept.", if but one death from Cholera or Small-pox occurs. formerly half of them might be swept away & the other half think it all right. now they attribute these Deaths to dirt, foul water & the like - & openly declare them 'preventible' No hope for future civilization has been recorded like this since India came under British rule I wish the Pr. Council were as intelligent & progressive as the "Bombay masses".

But they are not.

**f331**

I am rather scandalized at your liking Max Müller Also: it makes me mad to see you translating "Nirvana" annihilation which is a quite immoral error- Is it true that our friend of the yellow book has written to Max Müller to say that the "Three Beedaghats" (the Tripitaka)? Are to be printed in Pali for us to translate into Burmese & English! Also: what is the exact meaning or derivation of the word in Pali or in Burmese which we render 'Religion'?--If the Buddhist Religion has no God, the word is not, I suppose, derived from the same idea (of 'tie' to God)?-- And what is the meaning of the word in Sanskrit?

**f332** J. Mohl letter, underlining probably FN, in orange pencil

**[4:497-98]**

I have tried to find a manageable formula for my very simple idea about treating historically of the different religions, but have been perpetually interrupted and find the thing difficult enough because if illeg into details against my illeg. You look at the absolute value and result of religion in the idea of a perfect God, and try to see how each approaches this ideal. But this won't do for a *historical* exposition of religions, because they do not form a continuous development, as a science does, which one can follow in a straight line.

Religions arise from two, or perhaps three, fundamentally different ideas of the world of being, and perhaps none of them

**f332v**

has carried out its own fundamental idea without a deviation because they found on their road a difficulty which they got over by an inconsequence. *Look at the Jews, evidently their God created a perfect world, but then came the difficulty of the too evident imperfection of it, and this they got over by the story of the apple and later by borrowing the devil from the Persians where he was indigenous and logical,* because they recognised the coexistence of a brute matter, which the spirit was to conquer gradually. But it is no use trying to make myself intelligible in a few words. I will try to do it as soon as I have some quiet hours. I wish I had followed out my plan of writing a book on the Gnostics, because they had mixed up all the fundamental ideas of every religion, and so you can analyze them and as in chemistry reproduce the original elements.

**f333** FN hand, note

"Look at the Jews--evidently their God created a perfect world."

But did he?--is not 'Perfect' a making complete thro' struggle or at least work, involving evil, a going *through*--going throu what?--effort & mistake & suffering as well as good & enjoyment. Is not this the only true definition of 'Perfect'-- And is it not really better answered to by Eve's story than by the Creation & Eden story?

"Borrowing the Devil from the Persians where he was indigenous & logical."

Yes: but would it not be possible because it is true that one writing now (*not* 'historically') upon 'Religions' might show the real 'logic' of all these notions about the Devil, viz that he, the Devil, is not really Evil, in the sense of Absolute Evil, but that he is the only way to Perfection (the "servant of God") - or rather an absolute essential of the way to Perfection--without which Perfection could not be--in that 'perfect' is the working through or the working out good. It is not innocence. Practically we acknowledge this every day of our lives. For how can patience or courage or any form of heroism be unless there are trials to overcome, difficulties to exercise us? These are: the Devil. But the Devil is a virtue-working Devil, for all --tho' we are often fatigued of him.

Add Mss 43398, 218 folios, 50 pages, CORRESPONDENCE OF Florence Nightingale & W FARR; microfilm, mainly incoming, Adam Matthew reel 3

f1 letter of Major Graham from General Reg Office Somerset House 6 Jan 1857 to FN; Major Graham presents his complts to Miss Nightingale and forewards for her use some printed Tables and a Memm by Dr Farr on the Mortality in Hospitals in England, which he hopes will convey the information desired by Miss Nightingale.

*Medical* cases are more frequent probably in the Paris Hospitals from the absence in that Capital of union workhouse infirmaries and dispensaries to which the poor in London have access.

Dr Farr appears to think that the number of Out-patients & persons attended to by dispensaries is possibly four times the number of the inpatients in London general hospitals.

f2 Farr to FN 5 Jan 1857 stylized print. The mortality in the London general hospitals is shown in the annual rates of tables to have been in 1851 to have been 5,9 deaths on every 100 cases treated or nearly 1 death in 13 cases.

The rate of Mortality was higher (9.0) than this rate some years ago in the London hospitals. In the English county hospitals the rate of mortality was at the same time 3.8 deaths on 100 cases treated.

The rate of mortality in hospitals generally increases as the number of patients increases. The above returns refer only to the inpatients of hospitals.

The military hospitals receive all the cases of illness that occur which might be more correctly compared with the *in and out* patients of hospitals or dispensaries than to the *in* patients of hospitals. The return of the deaths among *out* patients however is imperfect.

After examining many other returns I come to the conclusion that Miss Nightingale may safely assume that the aggregate mortality of inpatients in the London hospitals is correctly represented by the illeg tables. [end stylized]

signed W. Farr  
1857 January 5th

ff3-4; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; written below the address, in pencil and a different hand is: "[p. 8 Jan. 1857]" and below this: "January".

### f3

Combe Hurst  
Kingston on Thames  
S.W.

[16:500-01]

My dear Sir

I am not going to worry you. This is only to be a "Retainer".

I have received from the Registrar-Gen<sup>1</sup> the Mortality Statistics of the London Hospitals, which are very much the same as what I had been led to expect from the private Returns

I have. You would,  
however, derive great

**f3v**

joy & satisfaction from  
them, (as I should say  
if I were writing a  
*Chadwickiad*) for the  
one fact they point  
out is that the mortality  
increases as the number  
of Patients. There are  
some differences between  
the Hospitals which,  
however, can only be  
explained by some  
taking in worse cases  
than others.

7.59 deaths on every  
100 cases treated is the

**f4**

general rate in General  
Hospitals, 9.38 in  
Workhouses, 11.48 in  
"Special" Hospitals.

The rest of my  
agreeable information  
I defer till I have  
the pleasure of seeing  
you again.

I shall go up to town  
early next week to stay,  
as I cannot be away  
longer.

I am sure that  
you will be glad to  
hear that I have

**f4v**

prospect of active  
employment, as this  
pen & ink employment  
drives me mad, and  
I am sure, if the love  
of God & mankind

entail much pen & ink  
work for a continuance  
I, for one, would not  
go on loving them -

(I have a wretched slave from Vacher's working with me at 1/ per hour which I consider cheap).

I hope you are better & will remember to let me know when you come back. Believe me faithfully,  
F. Nightingale

[end 16:501]

f5 Farr letter to FN from GRO 9 Feb 1857. Dear Miss Nightingale, I enclose two vols of the Journal of the Stat Soc. and one copy of McCulloch's Stat.

They will give you a general idea of the cases treated in the London hospitals and some general information on the statistics of the army and navy, which I am anxious that you should see.

When you have done with these vols we will send a messenger for them and I shall perhaps have to trouble you with two or three other papers on the same subject--if I succeed in finding them. I have the honor to be...

f6 Farr letter to FN 14 Feb 1857 re mortality of men living in healthy districts, London.

Dear Miss Nightingale, The annual rate of mortality among men living in the healthy districts of England at the age 20-40 is 8 in 1000. In London the rate of mortality is rather more than 11 in 1000 among men of the same ages.

Any rate of mortality exceeding 8 in 1000 at the ages you mention [wd be excessive] illeg preventible.

I have in the same inquiry about the times of admission into the London hospitals. There are regular admission days - in which patients enter with Governor's letters. But whenever there is room in the Hospital an acute case - a "good" case is admitted without difficulty on any day. The large Hos have illegs

I understand that the *Newcastle* (upon Tyne) Infirmary is illeg and ventilated on sound principles. Have you any information on the subject?

It will always give us the greatest pleasure to render you an assistance I can in promoting the health of the army. We shall ask your assistance in return in the attempts that are now being made to improve the health of the civil population. It is in the House the Home that sound principles will work most salutarily, and the effective agents must be the women of the country. I think that a small, quiet, society of ladies might suggest many valuable practical rules -- & might contrive better ways than we know of making those rules work.

F8 Farr letter July 7 57

Dear Miss Nightingale, Many thanks for your Hours which I know you have checked most assiduously. I hope to profit by your remarks and commentaries in the course of the perusal.

The aim of the returns should be to show the annual rate of mortality in the army for as many years back as the returns go, distinguishing (1) officers and (2) men, year by year also the numbers added to and removed in other ways, than by death from the army should be distinguished on the returns which would contain columns as follows [columns/box]

A similar table would show the same facts on officers.

Upon comparing the mortality thus determined with the mortality of the healthy

population, & of the officers mortality, the mortality would be found to be excessive in the army among the common soldiers.

The next step would be to determine the course of this excess, at that (1) ages (2) year of services & even (3) year of discharge it occurs. Then the *diseases* by which it is caused should be shown, also the diseases which give rise to the sickness in the army --at each age. The mortality at the several *stations*--foreign & home should be shown in the returns; & if possible the effect of barracks variously *crowded* should be stated. This could be done in illeg cases, the effect of dieting in various climates, of water quality might also be shown. The effect of social conditions as to the family etc. Must be evident. The quantity of different active drugs consumed annually per man, & for sick illeg should also be determined.

The *personnel* of the medical officers would supply an ample field of statistics and some account should be given of the use made of their reports of their contributions to science, their payments and other matters.

Although I have not yet fully considered the subject to comply with your request I give a rough outline of the kind of results which should be got from returns. I reserve other suggestions.

I shall be glad to review the other papers and will at any time be ready to render any assistance. Although I have not the honor to be on this commission I shall always consider it a duty to assist you in any way in carrying out the national object to which your life has been devoted for the improvement of the British soldier. I have the honor to be...

f9 Farr notes

ff10-11 Farr to FN 16 May 1857. Dear Miss Nightingale, I have read with much profit your admirable observations.

It is like light shining in a dark place. You might when you have completed your task give some preliminary explanation for the sake of the *ignorant* reader. And it would facilitate the comprehension of your plans if you wd *under distinct* classes

- (1) first briefly describe things as they exist army medical dept hosps.
- (2) point out their obvious defects, as you do.
- (3) give descriptions of the defects as shown in the war
- (4) illeg your personal proceedings
- (5) describe your proposed reforms (1) of hosp government, (2) hospital economy, (3) purveying department, (4) medical department; (5) reforms of a sanitary nature, (6) reforms as they affect the commanding officers.

Nothing is more difficult to describe than *machinery in motion*, and when that machinery is *living* the description is not rendered easier. A distinct arrangement and the separation of everything showing defects, in all machinery which you promise to discard will make your new sample arrangement stand out clearly before the eye of the reader.

In fine I beg to thank you for the perusal of the paper which appears to me to be admirable in the parts I best understood.....

PS Upon the query we are making in general & I hope to be able to wait upon you in a day or two.

f12 Farr to FN 21 May 1857 from GRO I have read this sheet with much care and much interest. The just indignation is expressed with natural eloquence. I have ventured to point out every fault I could find, but my criticisms are only made so freely

because I know you will treat them merely as suggestions with the due number of ??? after them in your own careful revision of the whole work."

f13 Farr to FN Sunday [21 June 1857] pink paper. I enclose a few notes, which I think will point out some of the important sources of evidence to be elicited from our worthy and excellent friend Sir Alexander - profusely style, I fear, in the note by his old title.

But you will be kind enough to put that all right. I regret that as you do not come round by us, on your return, as we should endeavor to offer you some of the nectar which I know you do not disdain.

I am more than very anxious to see the mortality of our brave army reduced to half its present amount. It is a thing beyond all doubt to be done.

f14 Farr to FN 1 Melina Place, St John's Wood [ca 17 July 1857] Can you get the *strength* of the army --or rather of the *part* supplying illeg & *Deaths* for the period over which your table extends? If we had the *strength* at any three, four or five parts of time we might calculate the rates of mortality by different diseases.

The following passage from Goethe may serve as our motto:: Man hat behauptet die welt werde durch Zahlen regiert; das aber weiss ich, dass die zahlen uns belehren ob sie gut oder schlecht regiert wird. It has been held that the world is governed by numbers; be that as it may, this I know that numbers teach us whether the world is *well or ill governed*.

The mortality among the composition of illeg ... during the 7 years 1850-6 was a the rate of 7.9 per 1000...

P.S. If I go to the illeg About the sanitary state of the Austrian army of that I believe we know nothing. If he wishes this to be done, he had better mention it. So that the government might tell me to do it.

f16 Farr to FN [July 1857]

I enclose four pages of the questions which I am now writing and shall complete tomorrow at home, where I shall remain during the afternoon and evening.

If Sutherland would call on me, I would go over the matter with him.

I shall consider your suggestion about the calculation; and will endeavor to explain the true method clearly to you. The method which Hall first introduced is strange, and is singularly calculated to mislead. It is to be regretted that Dr Sutherland did not point this out in the Report, but he may well say that he borrowed the method from the enemy, and that as far as his argument was concerned, it did not favor his argument.

encloses 4 pages of questions, will complete at home, asks Sutherland to call, wd go over, re a strange method of calculation.

f18 Farr to FN [July 1857]. I enclose the Report on the *Times* Fund which is based on my plan, with I think applicable to all large manufacturing of concern.

The Reg Gen 16th an Report Appendix XXXV contains an account of a new plan of "Life Insurance, Health Insurance & Annuity for the classes living on wages and salaries."

If you have not copies of these reports, write a line to illeg & the Reg Gen will send them to you as you will probably derive some assistance from these papers, in preparing your own paper.

The mortality among the Times printers was 8 in 1000 during the five years 1850-

4. I will get the returns down to the present time.

f20 Farr to FN 21 July 1857 If Mr S. Herbert wishes the Tulloch returns corrected for differences in age in the several troops, I will get it done for him, provided he will write a line for it officially...I may be able to look in this evening 6-7 o'clock.

f21 Farr to FN before 23 July 1857. I regret very much that you have been so unwell but see symptoms of recovery in your hand of writing.

The tables have just been completed, & there was not time to copy them. Neither have we made any calculations such as I intend to. You will however see the nature of the diseases under the different circumstances. Do with them what you wish.

I send a proof of our "transport" paper for Dr Alexander. It has just reached us.

Before you condemn you must read by version of the "five" ages. I fear that we cannot aspire to hope for man -- 100 years of athletic life, as illegs there must also be a twilight in the evening, the Natural life: the soul by it sinks away or rises - leaves some fading light in the body, what is unnatural is the cessation, the disfunction of life in the middle of its career, or before its work is done. I just see disease This philosophical illeg you , as the theory of the worldly life is connected to the sanitary question.

Ff22-23 Farr to FN [23 July 1857] I enclose two tables and a note on the *methods* of calculating mortality in hospital. I put the note for *your* study, demonstrating the formula taken for granted in your reply.

After I saw you I got wet and worse, so that busy as I was I was driven to admit the necessity of entering hospital, with a view to economy of life.

I received your two notes this evening, and am most anxious to see your evidence. But I am writing our own Mortality, which like time ^ tide waits for no man, sick or well.

If you are driving out, Regents' Park, by Lord's, & will look in upon me this evening, or at any time between 6 & 9 o'clock I should like very much to go through your evidence with you & to find as much fault as I can.

The calculation for the period from Oct 15 to Jan 31st will reach you by 4 o'clock. I will do Feb for you afterwards. I find that I did not keep the facts.

f24 Farr to FN 1 Aug 1857 from GRO We have all been so excessively busy today that I have not been able to do anything for you & I shall not be able to call upon you today. But on Monday I hope to be able to work for you. I enclose our Mortality.

f25 Farr to FN 4 Aug 1857 from GRO, asks to introduce Mr Hastings, with Ld Brougham founding a very important public inst; he will explain if you will see him

f26 Farr to FN 8 Aug 1857 from GRO. The strength of the army is not given for the months April 1854 to end of March 1855, only for the subsequent months in Dr S's table. Yet it is evident that the table of monthly mortality must have been deduced from a table of monthly strength.

We have expected the calculations for the given months & the results agree pretty well with those in the printed table.

I have had a note from illeg & have authorized it, you would wish.

I shall send you the army table clarified illeg I hope today.

I shall not be at the office next week, but my address will be 1 Melina Place, Grove End Road, St John's Wood.

On a trip he made to Vienna in 1857 he "laid the foundation" for getting mortality data on Continental armies. E: letter 28 September 1857, Add Mss 43398 f27.

ff27 Farr to FN 28 Sept 1857 from GRO. I have returned from Vienna and am anxious to know how you are, as I am told that you have not been well. Is this true?

I have obtained some information. I have laid the foundation for getting more, about the Continental armies, their mortality & their medical organization. I have also some books to show you. But I enter into no details at present, and only hope to hear that you have perfectly recovered from the fatigues of the summer, and have escaped unscathed from the perils of Malvern.

f28 letter from Brussels, Min of Interior in French, Heuschling 1 Oct 1857

f29 Farr to FN 12 Oct 1857 from GRO. I promised to go to Birmingham & start this evening. I should be very glad if you could go down to meet you there, but as I know how you are occupied, I cannot hope to see you, although there will be means of usefulness, even at Birmingham.

I have received a letter from the War Dept requesting me to act on the committee of Statistics, which I shall be very glad to do, as it will be a practical committee likely to lead to good.

Will you kindly tell Mr Herbert that I shall be at his service any day next week. In the meantime, It would be well to ask him to send me (1) a blank copy of all the statistical forms now in use (2) a copy of the same filled up; (3) a copy of all the statistical reports published by the Medical Dept of the army and by the Dr A Tulloch.

I shall also wish to see some of the officers who make the present returns, at the hospitals &c in London, quietly, and without any fuss or parade. Perhaps he could procure me the permission or introductions required. I shall also look into any barracks and hospitals at the same time.

As soon as I return I shall wait upon you....

f31 Farr to FN [Oct 1857] I write a line to tell you that we have sent off forms to Chatham Aldershot and Gr Guards notwithstanding all the hindrances that the

season, the printers, and the illeg of the Prss Royal have interposed!

Ere long I hope to be able to send you some account of the results of our arrangements.

We have had some fighting. Alexander is here and is as staunch as usual. No obstacle has been thrown in the way. Mr Herbert looks well. I saw him on Friday morning, Sutherland I have not seen but I read over the regulations at his request.

The Report will I hope be out in a day or two, and if then your papers will be no longer under impressment.

When we received a wound in the dark we generally suspect the hand from which it came -- so you must not be surprized if on receiving fine birds sometime after from a mysterious source, I could not but imagine that we were in some way or other indebted to you for them. Your friends, you know, are always suspecting you of doing some good or other, either openly or by stealth, and you must submit to the inevitable consequences.

I trust that you are getting rapidly better and recovering from your fatiguing campaign, although you are near our watery friends, and also near a lady who certainly does distil most delicious poison as I can bear witness.

I enclose a copy of our last weekly table, in its new and amended form. Which we shall probably use for the army returns, subject to criticism.

f33 Farr to FN Nov 3 1857 from GRO, pen. I have written to Mr Herbert stating that I should be glad to know what *statistical returns* are made in the adjutant general's and other departments, of the army, also that it is my intention to go to Aldershot to see the returns working in a sort of camp, I hope to do all this during the week.

Will you be good enough to lend me the copy of *classification* of Crimean diseases, as I wish to throw others into the same form, for the purpose of comparison.

I saw Mrs Allen [?] the other day, and have just received a note which I enclose.

It struck me when I heard that she was in London from her brother that she might be very useful in some department of your edifice of trained and training nurses, when it is set in motion.

I knew her very well when she was at the Shewsbury Infirmary - illegs. She was quick, intelligent and informed and good I believe in every respect, not lacking in depth. I have heard nothing but good of her since; and she looks little changed. Her change of faith is a mystery to me, but I suspect the illeg must have got hold of her mind when it was n a state of grief and depression and she told me that had some idea of becoming a sister of Charity and that there were obstacles in the way. Illeg her course of life ... but if you can kindly see her and ask her any questions that you think important, she would no doubt give your further information. Your discerning spirit will I have no doubt see at once what her qualities of mind are and whether I am deceived in thinking that she might be made very useful.... PS I have written to Dr A and have merely said that you will keep her in mind but that it is probable nothing immediate might offer.

F35 letter to Farr Nov 3 1857 from St James Pl, Hampstead Rd

f37 Farr to FN Nov 11 1857 GRO, This *speech* is the best that was ever written on diagrams or on the army.

I can only express my opinion briefly on it. Illeg. The facts before him could

not have written or illeg a better.

The details appear to me to be quite correct, but when I recover from the effect of the display of the great appalling subject I have in diagrams before me I will look into them again. It is however the perspective of writing with diagrams and tables before you, to render any reference to them by the reader unnecessary. This you have done.

f39 Farr to FN Nov 26 1857 GRO, We have calculated a new table showing the decrement in 10,000 men from the age of 20-40 for you; and illeg favor of your inspiration . I this morning had a visit from a new form of diagram, which will I hope pay you a visit tomorrow, humbly asking for one of our illeg and descriptions.

Mr Herbert is to call here tomorrow

f40 Farr to FN Xmas Day 1857 I thank you for the six copies of your precious oration, illustrated, to be placed next in merit and utility to Milton's on unlicensed Printing" your *heart* is now, I know, at ease, and you will be able to enjoy your holiday, while the *virus* taking effect on all the royal and other organs it will be interesting to watch all this at a distance. Will you have the goodness to send the Registrar General a copy. The paper is good, and it is on the whole got up well. The commission statistics will be again at your service and Dr Sutherland's. He should look at the organization of the Netley [?] academy. Vienna is certainly now one of the first medical schools, although you refuse to go and study or rather teach there. We shall persevere and shall, I hope, not break down. Where is Dr Sutherland to be found? Ask him to be good enough to look in on me sometime. We shall consult and fly to you, be assured, if we stump into any inextricable difficulty. In the meantime, you must not forget my task, that is to take such athletic exercise as will enable you to walk comfortably to the top of the sacred mountain over Mt Logan [Mclagan?] or any other of your own selection, provided it be not nigh *Blanc*.

You must permit me to wish you and Mrs Smith whose kindness I shall not forget, although she does grieve me on one point, i.e. in not admitting unqualifiedly my doctrine of the "five" illeg, thus almost impeach the infallibility of the Crimean commission.... 1857 Christmas day in the evening.

f41 typed copy of letter, original 5474/1  
COPY

Gt. Malvern  
Feb. 5/58

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your two kind notes -

I contemplated this morning with intense satisfaction the first-fruits of your labors - the first publication of any Return regarding the health of our Army.

I am coming up to town next week, when I hope to have the pleasure of crawling at your feet a little more for a few more favors - La reconnaissance n'est qu'un vif sentiment des bienfaits futurs - as I have often told you -

One thing is I want to ask you about a Provident Fund. But my scheme is not yet ready.

The "Spanish Troops" are at Paris. They have been here -

And may perhaps be to be seen at Burlington St. some times in the course of the spring. Their new address is 41 New Finchley Road, near you -

I shall not bother about the Return now which you have been so good as to send me -

By & bye -

Believe me

ever faithfully yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f42 Farr to FN [12 Feb 1858] I keep your charming blue book, and shall read it through today. I will see you on the subject today or early tomorrow morning. If the savant will illegs.. Mr Clode, it will facilitate the work. I shall go round by Mr Herbert's to take the blue book with me to the office.

If the present destructive and deplorable army management does not surrender, at dissection, under your "fire" from the illeg it must be held to be impregnable in the present state of the science of attack.

For the convoy of provision which you have illegs

I congratulate you on the conduct of your labors.

f44 Farr to FN Feb 23 1858 GRO I have given one of the copies of your work to Major Graham, and have kept 2 copies. I propose to give one to Mr Clode, one to James Lewis, one to F.J. Williams, and they would consider it a favor if you would kindly consent to sign the same. Mr Hammack has assisted us more or less....

I think more seriously than ever of the institute for nurses, of whom exclusive of 39139 nurses in domestic service, and 2882 midwifery, 25466 were returned at the census of 1851 as nurses of profession. The numbers of different ages are shown on the opposite page. To increase the *efficiency* of this class, and to make a few of them disciples of the true doctrines of health, would be a great national work.

[list]

f46 Farr to FN Feb 24 1858 GRO your troops here are much obliged for the invaluable presents, will call shortly, sends 12 RG reports

f47 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" [check where address is] original 5474/2

f47

COPY

(March 1858)

Private

Dear Dr. Farr,

It is my misfortune to be a sandwich between two eminent men - Our "Regulations" have hung fire, and I have not been able to prepare a scheme of duties for the new "Army Medical Council," because Dr. Farr would not write the *Statistical-Reporting Regulations*, until Dr. Sutherland had written the Sanitary ones - & Dr. Sutherland would not write the Sanitary-Reporting "Regulations," until Dr. Farr Had written the statistical ones.

Dr. Sutherland has however the merit of having given in first, and has dictated (or condescended to approve) the enclosed - And, if Dr. Farr would now issue his commands or Regulations for *Statistical-Reporting*, he would much advance the interests of his devoted and grateful admirer

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

30 Burlington St.

March 2/58.

We are anxious to steal a march upon the new War Secretary & prepare a scheme for him, before he has had time to appoint *that* Hall successor to the retiring Smith -

This Mr. Herbert has engaged to urge upon him.

F.N.

f48 Farr to FN 25 March 1858 GRO We have been engaged on the forms for the appendix. I have been obliged to add something to those already sent to you, for the officers and for the wounded in battle.

All the matters for the appendix will all be in the hands of Mr Drury tomorrow, he has some already, one quarter part of it.

We propose to omit the heads of tables and forms in the appendix. Blue book size, and to give you in addition book forms of the exact size for working. So that due measures might be clearly understood to be easily carried out.

We cannot provide for every singularity and peculiarity, that may arise, but we shall lay down all the leading rules by which the minor questions will be governed.

I have not yet received the draft report from Mr Drury and have had to take measures to repel the attack of the eater company and yesterday I had to inspect their works. I am happy to say that the Reg General has written two good letters on the subject and that my mind is now *quiet*. But it will be a fight to be continued for dirty water has many and pure water has few friends. Like Dr Havel's strange illeg some men strive and grow fat on dirty water while they starve on the "crystal stream" hence their anguish. Illeg You see how naturally I make you the confident of my *troubles*.

The sweet music which you have recently been regaled with must be the result of your report and will I trust prove as restorative as the groans elicited from the famous "bears"

f50 Farr to FN 13 April 1858 GRO I enclose a copy of the nosology which I have received this morning, and shall feel obliged if you would place it in Dr Sutherland's hands for suggestion and criticism.

I have written to Taylor and Maclachlan for their notions about distinctions [?] to be recorded in Register of invalids. It must be kept but I do not see how it is to be done. The process of *discharging* soldiers must be systematized and each case must be registered. I hope soon to get light, if it does not come I must apply to you for help. I have sent to the printers and Mr Hammack if he can well extract some of his teeth which will I suppose fall out of themselves in time, according to the Hindu authority cited by the learned Max Muller [?] in the illeg. But we are too fond of surgical operations to leave printer's things take their natural, slow course.

f52 Farr to FN Ap 16 1858 GRO. I send you by bearer (1) all the forms which that "wretched man" the printer has omitted. He has not sent the most important of the forms, neither has he sent my "last chapter."

(2) your copy of the regulation follow illeg.

(3) a "most scarce" copy of the Reg Gen 4th Report for the special edification of Sutherland. He will see the classification discussed - in the appendix also in passage at army appendix between the R.C. of Phys Edinburgh & your illeg .... hard to read

f53 Farr to FN Ap 22 1858 GRO I enclose two copies of the weekly table containing two great libels - which I recommend to the attention of your chief sanitary officer as worthy of his imitation in that line.

New note for your diagrams submitted for approbation!

"The *radial lines* show the *rates of mortality*; the *dark area* represents the *culpability* of the authority, which in an army increases (at least as fast) as *the square of the rate of mortality*.

f54v FN pen note [ref to Queen Victoria?]

It is no use cramming her with figures. I could shew her some pictures.

She will want to know what Ld P is to do about Guards'

You have not proposed that.

What with Portman?

f55 Farr to FN Ap 24 1858 GRO I trust that you are better, as you ought to feel this west wind - the sepoys word, the life bringing word more congenial to your nature than the robust Kingsley's illeg

I sent you a "crumb" of comfort last night. To be six, illegs

I called upon Mr Herbert and left my card. He was in bed, by command, of Williams, I fear, but thinks that he will derive benefit from the change of weather.

I have been half dead through the week myself, but will be better & am writing our quarterly. We must burn out to the last, and unless our ashes leave a few

sparks of fire for the sake of the living.

f57 Farr to FN May 5 1858 GRO pen. Yesterday they sent us some of our forms, printed wrongly, and we had to send them back.

Your shall have copies as soon as we get them.

The first reform in the army should commence at the printers. Stupid printers wast everybody's *time* and *exasperate their souls*. We never did any good, all we got rid of McCulloch's herd and made him give us Spottiswoode or Clowg.

I enclose your regulations, with a few notes. You have our draft report, and I enclose the only amendments which I have since made. I am fortifying my position with many notes.

f58 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/3

COPY

30 Old Burlington St.  
May 6/58.

Dear Dr. Farr

Your "soul" is "exasperated," but mine is frantic. Home-sickness is a malady of the Army, but mine is *Form*-sickness. It would have been cheap to me, for it would have saved 3 months to my life, to have had all the Commission business printed myself.

Now Whitsuntide is almost here & and we have nothing done -

As for that Drewry, I hate him with a "mortal & undying hatred."

In conclusion, I send you your "Forms," which I received with joy this afternoon - & also a copy of our "Regulations," of which you have already one, but I fear you may have lost it - and I humbly beg you to be kind enough to look over it (the pencil marks are Alexander's) and bring it back to me to-morrow morning with your corrections, that I may send it to Press. Any further corrections, when the Forms are finally decided upon, may still be made in the Revise -

We are delighted with the new Form of the Medical Certificate Book & think the whole more beautiful than the original -

If you could come in here to-morrow at 11, Dr. Sutherland shall meet you - But, whatever you do, don't deprive me of "all my little ones," but let me have them back to-morrow *tali quali*.

Sincerely yours  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

f59 Farr to FN May 10 1858 GRO. As you are going to refer to all our Forms in the Regulations, we will print them all in outline at least. They are relettered, which will, I fear, give you trouble.

I beg that you will present the accompanying blushing red illeg discharge book. To F.N. for the use of F.N. Illegs as a humble illeg

f61 Farr to FN May 15 1858, 1 Melina Place, St John's Wood. I enclose the results of my diplomatic mission. The return has not yet arrived, but you have I trust that you are better, but fear that we teased you somewhat this morning, which makes me ashamed of the diplomacy on which I might otherwise have congratulated myself.

Hoping that you will indulge in due repose and that you may rise renewing your strength like I fear I must say an eagle! I am your faithful servant. PS I obtained much info from our Manchester friend, the coroner, and think he will work for you on the *sacred* cause.

f62 Farr to FN June 5 1858 GRO. I wish you to see the enclosed--before it reaches Mr Herbert, as you will learn from it how we now stand.

I thought illeg be taken to illeg publication of a weekly-- otherwise it will be suppressed--strangled--declared impolitic--impossible; *flank* movements must be guarded against, as we know our military friends consider them favourite moves.

Hoping that you are quite well,

f63 Farr to FN June 6 1858. You illegs how much I suffered by the "unchristian act" which deprived me of my chief source of strength and consolation.

I hope to be able to give on the whole a good account of the affair. We have only lost *one* form, & while on the one hand we have sustained some injuries we have on the other gained some improvements which is generally the case in all work, upon which Cos. are engaged. They never do anything very bad, nor very good.

I am glad that you attacked the "coming" director general in front. The old classification was only well for a *non* medical illeg, but it will not do for the *army* MEDICAL department, to endorse it, when the whole thing is under revision.

The true principle is *adopt the same classification as is employed in the civil returns* FOR THE SAKE OF COMPARISON, unless you can show some evident advantage or sanitary ground from deviating from the national forms.

Assez. But I am glad that you made Sutherland write as HE was quoted by *Balfour* in support, and my only defence against Dr Sutherland illeg was to quote him *also* on my side. Tell him that he is like Goethe, I must tell you *why* when I have the pleasure of seeing you and him.

The children are on the whole going on as favorably as they can, under the disagreeable and uncertain disease, thank God! I suppose that we shall see all the "pundits" have to say. I have not seen Thomson but think that we will not, like the rest of the tribe, stick in the mud which is mischievous in so many ways.

You do not say a word of your own health, which is like a vote of want of confidence. But I hope for the best as I partly agree with Neison as to the vital efficacy of work. Good works.

f65 Farr to FN nd encloses report and list of forms as was; you will soon see it after the battle of Belgravia and will see what losses your "noble" forms have sustained in the battle

f66 Farr to FN July 20 1858 GRO forwards for her acceptance copy of report, re sending official copies to sec of state, re *Lancet* editor will insert his article

f68 Farr to FN July 26 1858 GRO encloses results of a search, for constantly sick

ff69 A Tulloch to Farr 16 July [1858] to show to what extent doctors differ encloses copy of letter from Balfour, asked to point out the most palpable defects; he answered the arrangement of the diseases as at present proposed

f70 Farr to FN Aug 2 1858 GRO recd *Examiner* thanks, recognized the "Roman" hand, re her being at Malvern, called at Burl St. Tuesday but the "bird" was flown, fight not over, will send her quarterly

ff72-74 Farr to FN Aug 10 1858 1 Melina Pl. You know how much we prize your accompanying approbation. It is like the famous "reconnaissance" in one respect, and will, I hope, be justified by *future* work in the great cause, which we are bound by sacred vows to promote to our lives' end.

With respect to Simon & Greenwood, we are accumulating as you know materials on the half-manufactured state to which we gave Greenwood access, making him to some extent acquainted with our ways. He wished to get materials for his lectures, we were engaged in a great enquiry into occupations, in which we propose to show the deaths from each of the major diseases, at different ages (decennial 15-25) among the men and women following various occupations. (e.g.) We compare the *way miners* with the dying miners at each age, and in this way get very striking results. It was precisely the course we followed in our army enquiry, by which our other work was arrested.

Greenhow said jokingly that they must 'take the wind out of our sails' and Mr Simon and he imagine they have done with accuracy, and the proportion of children and of adults of different ages varies greatly in the several districts of the county, and consequently the proportional number of diseases particular periods of life varies from this cause. The true method compares the deaths by each disease at each age (0-5) (5-10) (10-15) (15-25) & to the *living* at *those ages* respectively in each district.

(2) The inquiry into occupations (Greenhow see p 49) is very loose, as the whole population of particular districts is dealt with, and the "other" population interferes largely with the result.

We compare the mortality, e.g. of the Merthyr Tydfil "*miners*" with the mortality of the rest of the population of that district.

(3) at pp 17-18 you will see what he says of zymotic diseases, in the first part of the Reg General's Report, the mortality from each disease is shown for town and country distinctly, the relative mortality is calculated yet Greenwood says (p 19) of what use to point out \*?" And such information had *never been promised!*)

I have merely glanced through Greenhow. We often get served in this way. And I generally take no notice of it. But I wish you to know the facts in this particular instance, as you have been "vexed" by the Philistines, and although we are glad to see the gospel preached "by anybody," still it must be the gospel, and you have apparently detected laxes in the Board of Health fold.

I am now writing on violent deaths, which are illeg and may be largely prevented. We are waging.

\* I suggested that famous enquiry into the influence of water on which Simon reported & for which he gets the credit. I see in a German publication (confidential)

How illeg the corners and the justice --more or less.

I am tired of writing and hope this week to go to gather some fresh vigor "round the wreck" in Shropshire, my country.

Let me have the pleasure of learning that you are well--& that your illeg has recovered all its brightness as (I fear) the warfare is not over and I know the spirit retains its fire. I have not seen Sutherland.

Since your occultation at Malvern, but evident that he will reappear in the reason.

Major Graham got poisoned by sitting by the Serpentine. He is now much better. And I beg him not to repeat the experiment. As we are satisfied of the effects of dirty water

P.S. You will see from the foregoing that the publication which you had the goodness to send me must be considered as the result of a "prospecting" expedition, as they call it in the gold country. It may furnish some indications such work by a statistical department may fairly be called "scampish" - in the language of the trade, a sixth only of the districts are taken, all occupations are dealt with collectively to show the effects of *one* & age is neglected. But I believe that Greenwood meant well and it is not unnatural for men to overrate their own work and to underrate other people's. All this is written for you alone. As if I attack the man, I must do it mildly, otherwise it might injure him unnecessarily.

Simon's oration is as usual well written.

FN pen note at bottom:

#### **f74**

All sanitary precautions are therefore, to be undervalued: infantine epidemics to be declared inevitable & quarantine to be substituted for Sanitary improvement.

Dr Farr is coming out with an account which is to have all the truth ~~of that~~ of what this Report has all the error.

f75 Farr to FN Sept 16 1858 GRO. I send you by post today the last new novel! containing the particulars of 68554 fatal tragedy enacted on the fair fields of England. We must ask your imagination to supply the colony, incidently what room for Savivors!

I have seen Baly again, and he promises to let me know positively what Barth will do. I have put your papers in hand and they will shortly be ready.

Have you thought further of the trust foundation or school?

I shall probably leave you again for 4 or 5 days on Wednesday next.

I hope that you are enjoying yourself and breathing *vital* air at Malvern....

P.S. The Reg Gen's report will be "out" in a day or two as a Parliamentary Paper, but they gave us no copies under their new regulations.

f77 Farr to FN Sept 20 1858 GRO. I have sent one of your forms to Baly--who has promised us the *Barthmasses*.

I enclose a letter which I have just recd from the Hon Mrs Singleton [?] She is a very zealous promoter of Mr Westlake's dispensary and although she is, I believe, about 40 years of age, she frequently visits him, I believe, and is well acquainted with the thing and its utility. He has collected £50 for it, and is anxious to do more. I understand that he has as many as 90 patrons & is doing a great deal of good. Under his treatment the patients can walk about. The consequence of what I hear, I propose to look at the matter further, and will talk to you about it further, I told Mrs S that I knew you would be glad to hear from her on the subject, if she choose to write to you, and her note is the result.

Mr Herbert is, I am glad to see, come to town. I hope that he is in great vigor. He sent me the enclosed with two letters signed "Trevelyan" and "Hardinge" founded evidently on misconceptions. Mr Hammack has drawn up a memorandum for Mr Herbert in reply and the argument--if Mr Herbert can put some pressure on Gen Peel wd probably be considered convincing at the Treasury. The letter is I think at the *War Office* or the Treasury nearly at the same time that they refused to pay me illeg paid Mr H as secretary to the Dissenters Register Commission. I will not trouble you with this matter, but will only ask you to back Mr Herbert, and we shall then beat them.

I send you a copy of the Reg Gen 19th Report, wh contains a paragraph about the army and some other points, which I wish you to glance at. Can you return it by post unpaid, when done with?

Sufficient for the day is the "evil" not the *good* therof. So I say and more

f79 Farr to FN 20 Sept 1858. You will be overwhelmed, in your quiet retreat, by the papers which I sent yesterday. I sent Mr Hammack's memorandum (of which a copy was dispatched to Mr Herbert) as I wished you to see how the case stood. Can you kindly return the said illeg to Mr Hammack at your leisure?

I have promised to go to Horspool and will take your paper if you will entrust it to my care. I was much pleased with the "Builder" two articles. I shall be at Deal Post Office until Tuesday next and return to the office....

f80 Farr to FN Sept 29 1858. GRO I thank you for all the trouble which you have so kindly taken.

I regretted to see the account of Mr Herbert's loss of his sister, if like him must have been amiable.

We shall be delighted to see you in London on Saturday. I called and enquired about your paper, which gave great satisfaction. Will you not go to Horspool?

I go chiefly to contradict the effect of such exhibitions as Neison made at Leeds, where his fallacies ought to have been exposed on the spot.

Greenhow and he puzzle themselves, and other people, by dealing with individual districts, in the absence of local knowledge.

When you put (1) a *large number* of dense and (2) of *thinly people districts* together, you get rid of the anomalies, and obtain invariable results. Thus, I have shown over and over again that the mortality of pulmonary diseases, and of consumption, is raised enormously in dense districts.

I go back to the R.G. third Report, and show that in London , pop. 1594890 in

1831, and in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Tilts) pop 1599 024 the deaths by consumption and pulmonary disease were London 27486 and country 17215 in the two years 1858-9.

I take the districts of seven other counties (pop 1,656,455) and find the deaths by cons & pulmon dis were 17,457 while the death in 24 town districts (pop 1,484,402) were 129,678 in the same two years!

Putting in two groups of town districts and the two groups of country districts together, and correcting for increase of population, this is the result [table follows]

The mortality by cons and pulmon dis is raised 52 percent by the increase of I illeg density alone.

This is a result by the rough method, in which differences of age are not taken into account. I shall settle the question by the more exact method--very shortly. I hope soon to be able to show you the results.

In the meantime I have only seen the *Times* report and do not know exactly what the subtle Neison has precisely been driving at, in his mischievous pranks. I heard a French lady once speaking very disparagingly of Louis Philippe, and denigrating his avarice in special ways: "He is a *Cupide*." By the same analogy we may I think say of my other friend, He is a *Stupide* that truth should be tried and set free, but the people should not be puzzled.

I will "look up" Westlake's affair in the course of a day or two, and will then with your approbation send him your illeg ask the

f82 Farr to FN Oct 5 1858 GRO. Many thanks for your paper, which I have put in hand.

Your two papers were referred to me, & I have reported on them, recommending that they be read in full on the ground of their intrinsic excellence.

They are capably written and will do much good.

You use "strong language" about contagion, but none too strong about quarantine.

f83 Farr to FN Oct 16 1858. Your papers were read to large audiences--and although not written to tickle the ear of the multitude, were well received and excited deep attention. We all bore our attention to their excellence, at the end of the oration, it was felt that we ought to do all we could to make known in the right quarters & illeg re her luminous hospital gospel, which will cure more sick than were ever healed by all the saints in the Roman calendar, where notwithstanding we refuse most pertinaciously to place you.

Mr Bracebridge moved & I seconded a motion which we shall support today at the meeting of council to the effect that the papers should be printed by the Council and circulated.

The president, who attended, was evidently struck by your attack on contagion, and laughed heartily at the quarantine grove.

I return to town on Monday, and will then report more fully our section has been well attended, and we have had some *good* papers. We have talked a good deal and have put some good ideas, I hope, into certain heads....

P.S. Many people thought you were coming to read your own papers. For the reason I wish you had. But the audience would have been overwhelming and there would have been an alarming fear of illeg.

Miss Carpenter was in her section, and I hear spoke very well. But she, like the doctors, of the illegs by the illegs so that she illeg anything but this bel angelico riso, and a . I had to come to the rescue of poor Mss Twining, who has

actually illeg by Poor Law Guardians and the champion. W Cowper was almost illeg. I stifled him by my famous doctrine about the mismanagement of goods, of all illeg under the charge of man, not excepting workhouses and completed discomfort and illeg by asking what would be the illeg of their own households, if they were managed exclusively by their illeg, how the workhouse is managed by "Boards" of the said body. And the opinion was decided in favor of letting the light of inspectors by ladies into their wards.

f85 Farr to FN Oct 23 1858. Many thanks for your kind presents, which if the illeg were not the most ungrateful fellow in the work, I shd have acknowledged before. I say this without really intending any disrespect to that potent monarch.

I enclose the two or three statements which I made in reference to your paper. You will kindly bear in mind that they were unpremeditated and occurred to me at the moment. The last was spoken with a definite object, as you will perceive.

f86 Farr memo of FN paper and discussion. Supplementary report of the Times. Wednesday. Miss Nightingale's first paper was read to a crowded audience. The president of the association, Earl of Shaftesbury, being in the chair. Illeg WF: that the paper and the its sequel which is to be read tomorrow will engage the earnest attention of the section. It deals with some most difficult questions which will probably give rise to discussion. Miss Nightingale directs our attention to the means we have of investigating the influence of hospitals on the patients, and exposes the fallacies by which superficial arguments are likely to be misled. We shall be better prepared to appreciate her enlightened views tomorrow after the second paper has been read. Since her return from the East, Miss Nightingale has devoted herself with unstinting industry to the study of sanitary questions. In her evidence before the army commission and in this paper she has employed the true statistical methods of observation and calculation. It were well if the enquirors would imitate her example and employ illeg methods to arrive at correct results.

Mr Bracebridge spoke as to the ventilation of the Scutari hospitals and bore by testimony to the value of the paper.

Thursday. The section met in the large concert room, which illeg a large audience who listened with close attention to Miss Nightingale's second paper. After it had been read

WF: It is impossible to overrate the importance of the subject which has been so humorously discussed in these two papers. Hospitals are peculiarly Christian institutions. They owe their origin to Christianity and to the charity which it inculcated. In the Middle ages, they were asylums for the sick and infirm and lepers which then existed in great numbers. In th 16th century the great London hospitals were opened for patients, who were subsequently treated by surgeons and physicians. Davey was one of the physicians of St Bartholomew's Hospital, illeg was surgeon to St Thomas's . In the beginning of the last century the large county hospitals were erected. And in the present day thousands of the best classes of the laboring poor are treated within their walls. They have been the centres of the great medical schools, where young surgeons have studied disease. These the symptoms of maladies have been observed in life and their results have been traced in the bodies of the dead. They have been great schools of pathology. Miss Nightingale's paper opens a new era before our eyes. If her plans are carried out the student will see more cures effected and in her expressive language will learn to heal the sick. For it is a most edifying of all sights to see the sick cured. Hitherto the utility of hospitals as curative institutions has been exceedingly

equivocal. You have erysipelas in large hospitals. You have actually diseases here which exist nowhere else: diseases named after hospitals - hospital gangrene, hospital erysipelas, hospital pyemia, hospital fever, all the old hospitals were badly constructed. Miss Nightingale has enumerated their leading defects. The reform of those old structures is by no means an easy task and, as Miss Nightingale has told us, new hospitals in the course of erection on unsound principles. The evil is great, pressing and increasing and it appears to me that the national association is called upon to make the most energetic exertions to meet and quell it.

These papers display very strikingly the practical character of Miss Nightingale's mind. She has visited hospitals. She has lived in hospitals and she has now submitted to the section illeg of plans which have been illeg at her sagacity. Those plans are not mere paper plans. They may be worked out, they may all be erected in buildings and be turned directly into administrative action.

I should regret to see a very large number of the sick poor taken from their homes and their friends in sickness, as I think it desirable that in general the sick should remain as stated and that our efforts should be mainly directed to improving sanitary conditions of dwellings. But for many of the sick in our large cities, and also in the country, hospitals are required; and it is our duty to render those hospitals healthy abodes, which will, I think be most effectually done by carrying out Miss Nightingale's plans. To do this the papers should e largely circulated among the medical officers, the governors and the illeg of all existing hospitals.

Mr Bracebridge begged to correct Dr F on one point. Miss Nightingale had not only a practical but a philosophic mind. She had applied the principles of the inductive philosophy to the object and had thus placed it in its true light. He then spoke to some of the details and related illustrative facts drawn from his own experiences in the East.

Mr B moved and WF seconded the resolution to the effect that the papers should be separately printed and circulated by the association among all the hospital authorities of the United Kingdom.

The Earl of Shaftesbury said it was impossible to hear the papers without being struck with admiration. They reflected the greatest honor on this most remarkable lady, and he illeg that we shd see her views carried out. &c &c &c Chadwick said some good words.

For Kowloon, see Times.

f92 Farr to FN Nov 16 1858 GRO. The *Statistical Society* meets tonight at 8 o'clock, the president in the chair (Lord Stanley).

Will you allow yourself to be proposed as a member and thus break down the barrier? You know that in Florence ladies have worthily filled academical seats. And let me remind of your orthodox maxim, put socratically: what is the difference in intellect between the two halves of the human race?

I trust that you will suffer no more from this East wind, which is raging so fiercely.

f93 Farr to FN Nov 17 1858 GRO. The Statistical affair is in progress, no reference was made altogether to the great "mermaid" question as indeed there was no ground. The *nomen*, F.N. Simply announced in the way of business was of course received as it always is, and ever deserves to be, by your "countrymen and lovers" all.

I trust that you are or soon will be yourself again.

I enclose Tulloch's letters. He gives up his *Home Station*. One strong point and must abandon the other at discretion. It is the key of the illeg. The object abroad is to show the differences here from the hardy state of things at home. And how can this be done but by adhering to the same classification?

f95 Farr to FN nd. I send you the *Med chirurg Transactions*, in which you will find much to interest you, and much to regret.

Look over illeg I have marked a few passages with pencil.

Have the goodness to return the volume as soon as you have done with it.

Let me thank you for the present of yesterday, which was, as I hope I am, duly grateful.

f96 Farr to FN [Nov 1858]. I am thankful for your gift and congratulate you on this crowning work.

Let us hope that the good seed will spring up and bear fruit under God's blessing.

I send by messenger the last relict, I fear, of my paper on hospitals which I commend to your consideration. I think you must have inspired Mr Morley.

I will send any new hospital statistics I succeed in finding to you.

But, I intend to break in on your privacy -- soon and to entreat you to go like an excellent progressive the F.N. of the 14th Century portrayed by G Chaucer on pilgrimage to my Healthy Places.

f98 Farr to FN Dec 24 1858 GRO. I beg to thank you for a magnificent Christmas present, "A Contribution to the Sanitary History of the British Army".

The notes and all the fine touches are admirably put in from the "Observe pamphlet" to the "battle of heroes".

I trust that you will give yourself a holiday, and shall, on the strength of this, wish you "a merry Christmas and a *Happy New Year*."

On Tuesday I am down to Lord Shaftesbury's and hope to discuss some of the points of our charter with him.

f100 Farr to FN Jan 5 1859. 1 Malvina Pl. I trust that you have deserved benefit from your visit to Malvern, where on my return I learnt that you had flown.

We are living here at the bottom of a sea of fog, saturated with "unburnt blacks" on whose behalf I request many vows for domestic hearths no longer do their duty, and it is evident that something must be done, we must get you to take part in the movement. The cloud compeller Lord Palmerston is already engaged.

I do not hope under these circumstances to see you in town soon. went over sanitary matters at Ld Shaftesbury's, he heartily engaged in the cause; Palmerston was there is convinced of importance of sanitary measures at home, and in India; re her hospital papers!

f102 Farr to FN Jan 9 1859 on day he read her paper on hospitals; re quarantine geese can only be dealt with effectively in your dashing style of charge; diseased action is transmissible from body to body only under certain conditions; made only 2 or 3 verbal corrections; sent to Sutherland; re reading of the commandment: thou shalt not take tea; re rabbis Hammack will see Hastings about paper

f104 Farr to FN Jan 15 1859 GRO has recd her pamphlets; Hammack preparing an

article on it, to amend the erroneous impression produced by the previous article in the *Morning Star*

f105 Farr to FN [18 Jan 1859] has recd her present and re Sutherland

f106 Farr to FN Jan 22 1859 GRO re Hammack has written a good notice of the paper for the *Morning Star* and called on editor, and have another notice promised; he plagues her, and her other periodicals

f107 Farr to FN Jan 29 1859 GRO

f109 Farr to FN Feb 4 1859 asks her to request sec of state to tell him how she is, re the pamphlet

f110 Farr to FN Feb 10 1859 thanks for her considerable note altho she did not answer the question of most concern, hopes to send her more newspaper articles

f111 Farr to FN Feb 17 1859 watchman! never dreamt of the insidious advance of the enemy, re public health com, quarantine

f115 typed copy of letter February 20<sup>th</sup> 1859 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" There is also a copy (f116) of a press cutting originally enclosed with this letter to Dr. Farr. It concerns the presentation by the members of the British Meteorological Society "to Dr. Barker, of Bedford" of "a handsome striking skeleton clock, upon a marble plinth".}

**f115** original 5474/4 [date is probably Feb 21/ written over] **[16:521]**  
COPY

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
Feb 20/59.

My dear Dr. Farr,

As you see I am back in the land (not of figs but) of soots -  
And I beg to report myself to you by the same token & humbly to hope  
that you will come and see me -

I am entirely enchanted by your Summary of the *Weeklies* for  
'58 & especially by the Paragraph about the "2000 medical men" & the  
"midnight rush."

Could you tell us whether you can give us the Mortality  
Returns of the School-masters & mistresses of the Schools which  
receive the Privy Council grant, separate from the others? The  
Census, I suppose, does not distinguish?

I enclose a Paragraph from a newspaper, which please read.  
Is this done since Trevelyan left the Office? And if so, would it  
not be the time to press for more? to ask for a wider circulation of  
your Reports?

Many thanks for all you have done for us in the way of  
newspaper articles. I had *not* sent a green "Contribution" to the  
"Times." If you would do it, our gratitude would be the greater -  
And I will send you some more copies, if you say Yes. Otherwise I  
am ashamed to trouble you -

If you could look in upon me on your way home from the Office  
this evening, you would find Dr. Sutherland here - between 5 & 6  
o'clock -

Yours ever most truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**[end]**

f117 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/5  
[16:777]

**f117**

COPY

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
Feb 25/59.

My dear Dr. Farr,

I have sent a *Leader* to the "Builder" (which has been accepted) about St. Thomas' removal - I think it best not to try the Medical papers, because they will be up in arms about their Schools! But you know best - On the other side the sheet you will find the facts about St. Thomas' written by Dr. Sutherland. Do please put a

Paragraph into the "Times" or some other of the great luminaries. We lost Netley, let us win St. Thomas's.

I fear I must ask you to put off your kind visit to me till Monday.

[16:521]

Have you done anything about the scheme of Hospital Statistics for the *universe*?

In reading any Medical book about Nursing, I am always struck by the advance that *common* sense has made lately upon *medical* sense.

If I were a mother, I should dismiss a nurse (for doing what Dr. West recommends as very great lights -) as being in very great darkness.

[end]

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f118** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" [handwr 8033/1]  
COPY

Feb. 26/59.

May I beg to inclose two tickets (for Mrs. Dr. Blackwell's Lectures) for Mrs. Farr & your daughter, if they would like to go - Remember - I am not responsible for Mrs. Dr's proprieties for such very young lady as your daughter - I don't know how you feel about those things - For I am old & hardened -

Yours sincerely,  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I have had too painful an experience of mankind - & should reverse your maxim thus - *Quand "la pudeur s'est réfugiée sur les lèvres", c'est parcequ' "elle s'est enfuie du couer."*

Such is my experience of the Army.

When a person talks about his conscience or his sacrifices, I know he is incurably selfish - when he offers to take his oath he never touches spirits, I know he is incurably drunken, when he is particularly prudish as to what women should do or not do, I know he is incurably bad.

F.N.

f119 Farr to FN March 20 1859 re hosp forms

f122 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/6

**f122**

COPY

Highgate

June 2/59.

My dear Sir

Your Commission was gazetted on May 31 & Mr. Herbert is in town -

As it will be necessary to obtain the Statistics of Sickness, Mortality & Invaliding of the Indian Army from the Medical Boards there, would not some of the proposed forms for the Army Medical Dep. be better than any other, filled up for each station with the Diseases annually for a period say of 10 years? Or would it be necessary to provide others?

We must of course have the most minute Statistics - both for Soldiers & Officers in the Queen's, Company's and native troops - And these we should get by this method for 10 years.

I suppose the Medical Boards have the Presidency Medical Book Records - Would it be necessary to get the returns for each Corps separately?

Would it not be important to ge {sic} the ages - age & time of service at Death or Invaliding?

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f123 Farr to Mrs Smith June 2 1859 GRO always considered FN's letters confidential; this morn with regret found all of them; re JS looking through medical returns

f125 Farr to FN June 4 1859 GRO re hint re India, with JS note on back

f126 Farr to FN June 8 1859 thanks for suggested form of table; has got a collection of tables from IO; sent her a corrected table, incl deaths in battle

f129 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/7

**f129**

COPY

Highgate

June 13/59.

Dear Dr. Farr,

I have never thanked you for the corrected Crimean tables, including the Deaths in Battle -

I sent two copies of my "Notes on Hospitals" for Messrs. Clode & Hammick to the G.R.O. would you express to them my gratitude for the Nurse Tables, of which the fruits are there, as you will perhaps point out to them - And should any body else at your Office have contributed to that labor, would you kindly tell me, as the least I can do is to send them copies to shew that the labor has not been quite wasted -

Perhaps too again I am reckoning on "bienfaits futurs", as Page 2 of the same book records (in a Note) our want of Hospital Forms -

Dr. Aitken has told me of three Hospitals in Scotland where they would gladly accept & use - Glasgow, Edinburgh & Dundee, if the Forms were sent to them.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I have had the erring page 30 reprinted.

It is a curious specimen of Printers' corrections (?) Both the 1st Proof & the Revise were right, as I find on reference - The Printers put in the error of their own heads for the "Press" copies.

f130 Farr to FN July 25 1859 from GRO. I return the illeg evidence. They are very good.

The questions in this section must vary a good deal so as to suit the capacity according to the famous Dr Turgeneff's [?] maxim.

The parole evidence will be directly useful in bringing out the *opinions* of desk men, who will not always be able to give the statistical "reason why."

I enclose the letter of Mr Herbert to you.

I called the other day at the Med Dept and have illeg of my reports for study. I have also argued with Mr Herbert's authority dived into the mysteries of the adjutant general's returns, I now understand & we shall be able to turn them to account. I have not yet called at the War Office.

I enclose a note which I have received from a very worthy Frenchman. Mrs Hodge, the wife of an army illeg has got a good many votes the poor and very respectable women--whom I recollect very well.

If you should be kind enough to render them any assistance in their canvass, it would have a good effect if you did it, as a recognition of the value of Mr Hodge's service in the field of army statistics. The address is

W.B. Hodge, S.W. 5 Whitehall.

Thanks for the "green thing", which I will answer ere long, our annual is this year in the hands of the printers I have materials for a statement of the facts in the case, which go to show that, if the medical science of the country is worth anything, the registration of deaths has the benefit of it, at the most favorable time, namely *at the end of the case*--the unfortunate patient if the *green* statement

be true, illeg healed in the early stages of a disease , which is not known after death.

In my opinion, although pathology is important, its indication in the majority of cases, serve as illeg of cautionary reasoning.

f132 Farr to FN July 29 1859 on embossed GRO. The whole system is a most extravagant waste of time and money, but people cannot say will not get out of the groove.

Will you allow me to say, that I am quite ashamed of having implicated you in so many of these cares, which you could select better yourself--but that I shall be cautious in future.

In the meantime, I will request Dr Beaumage to transmit her kind check to the poor lady who is undoubtedly a very deserving person.

f134 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/9

**f134**

COPY

30 Old Burlington St.

Aug. 3/59.

Dear Dr. Farr,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Yes s.

We have not yet mastered sufficiently the processes of arithmetic to ascertain how many copies will be wanted. But, as soon as we do, we will send to you for your approval.

We should like to know whether any progress has been made in ascertaining how much of the information can be obtained at home, & which, if any, of the Forms can be filled up at the Adg. Gen's, Army Med. Depts or elsewhere at home.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f135** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/10

COPY

Montague Grove

Hampstead

Aug. 31/59

Dear Dr. Farr

J. Stuart Mill says that "the impunity of calumny" has, produced in the world's history worse effects than almost any thing else. I say the "impunity of" error has &c. I am entirely anti-Fenelon. {The acute accents here are marked in pencil.} Quietism, whether in religion or in the world's business is my repugnance - It is nothing but laziness.

I sent you the attack on the R.G.'s accuracy in the green thing by Aspland, which I will be bound you never answered. Now I did - (i.e. in M.S. to Aspland). He sent my answer to Rumsey of Cheltenham, the author of those Sanitary propositions which you know - who chose to write to me about it. And I have had a very hot

correspondence with him -

I send it you - (Dr. Sutherland was so good to as to copy my answers, as you will see -) You need not read it. But please send it me back. It is always good in case one is attacked for what one has said, to know what it was -

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Sir C. Wood, Mr. Herbert tells me to-day, "has got a Surgeon", after much search, who is to do your Forms at the India Ho:

I send in to town every day. And whatever you please to send to 30 Burlington St. for Dr. Sutherland or me suffers no delay.

F.N.

f136 Farr to FN Sept 3 1859 thanks for her letter and its appendix; refreshing, breathed the air of the place in Chatham; you are right on the fighting principle; error was long; has letter of Prinsep of India House, will call on; Mrs Farr and he were yesterday with Bonham Carter, thanks for agreeable acquaintance

f138 Farr to FN 13 Sept 1859 on embossed Gen Reg Office thanks for her note; wants to go to Bradford to fight the battle out on this spot; Rumsey does not get over...foreign returns; Stat congress looms

**f140** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/11

COPY

Montague Grove  
Hampstead  
Sept. 14/59.

Dear Dr. Farr,

I sent you "Form" on Monday morning to Mr. Prinsep by Dr. Sutherland's orders, after shewing it to Mr. Herbert on Sunday. The servant said he did not see Mr. Prinsep, who was gone to you, but "a gentleman" took it from him & said it was "all right."

I am glad Prinsep is to be out of the way by marriage or otherwise. He is a stupid fellow and Mr. Hornidge serves us much better.

A propos to *Hospital Statistical Forms*

2. We made up a copy of the eight forms you sent us for Remaining, Admissions, Discharges, Deaths, Remaining &c.&c and sent them to St. Thomas's Hospital - but have not been able to get them filled up -

Have you any data in the G.R. Office of the London Hospitals which could be rendered available for filling up these? to any extent? Or could you from all you know of the London Hospitals tell me which would be most likely to give the information or any part of it?

St. Thomas's appears to keep it's Statistics more for the sake of checking obstreperous patients - which is an object certainly but not a scientific one -

I should like to have done something at Bradford about them - and laid the way for a vote of the more magnificent Stat. Cong.

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f141 Farr to FN Sept 21 1859 embossed Gen Reg Office seen Sutherland, re Balfour's suggestions with draft forms

f144 Farr to FN Oct 5 1859 embossed GRO has written Sutherland re her forms and India people; re a stiff note to Sir C. Wood; surely of importance to get at the results of past experience and put them in the way of prompting obs; Wood knows nothing of the work

f145 Farr to FN Oct 8 1859 GRO sent corrected list of diseases to JS and today the forms; goes to Bradford Monday, hopes then to work up the India, will come up to Hampstead if she is able to see him

f147 Farr to FN Oct 18 1859 embossed GRO encloses a contribution to her hosp paper, expects soon to see Sir C. Wood, will tell results of the sectional work

f149 Farr to FN Oct 30 1859 embossed GRO through her intervention have been able to float the India returns; all that was necessary was to connect the copper and zinc plates, Baker and Hornidge to get; asks her to ask for Balfour's weekly return No. 1; has recd her last note, re stational forms

**f150** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/12

*COPY*

Hampstead N.W.  
Oct. 31/59.

Dear Dr. Farr

Sir C. Wood has informed me that he has seen you & that "you are satisfied." Does your "satisfaction" include the Statistics of Disease & Mortality at each STATION throughout India?

I ask this because our Sanitary questions on the Stations are either gone or on their way to going to India.

And the Replies to them will be of little use unless we have the Stational Statistics.

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I have never heard anything but a meagre newspaper report of the tussle between you & Rumsey at Bradford.

I hope you were not killed.

F.N.

f150 Farr to FN Nov 10 1859 GRO Sir C. Wood told her he Farr was satisfied; Wood a worthy Scot, patient ear, open to receive applics of everybody; re forms here

f153 Farr to FN Nov 12 1859 GRO encloses written engagement re undertakng work

**f154** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/13

*COPY*

Oak Hill House  
Frognaal  
Hampstead N.W.  
Nov. 14/59.

Dear Dr. Farr,

The India House accepts *your* clerks with transport. Mr. Hornridge will write to you as soon as ever Sir G. Clerk has sanctioned it in writing. He did so sanction it to-day in words.

Please come here as much *before* 7 as possible to-morrow. That is on *my* account. You shall have dinner at 7.

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f155 Farr to FN Nov 23 1859 embossed GRO glad she has troubled the waters of that stagnant pool the India House; have not yet sent our 2 men permission to work there

f157 Farr to FN [25 Nov 1859] JS will tell her they made progress yesterday

f158 FN note pen

Give a List of Barracks  
 Qy to take out the column  
 Total treated  
 & substitute  
 Average Daily Sick  
 to adopt a better  
 classification of Diseases  
 To enquire what advantage  
 is derived form the  
 Columns of Increase &  
 Decrease  
 And why the Rate per Annum  
 of Sick Admitted is not  
 entered according to the  
 heading  
 Bengal Sick Treated 61 percent  
 244 per ann  
 what in the name of  
 wonder is it entered  
 "1 in 1.6" for?  
 Madras 56 per ch  
 224 per ann  
 Bombay 732 percent  
 294 per ann

f158v

Deduction from Indian Returns  
 given in T's note is that  
 acclimatization has "no  
 perceptible advantage" in  
 India, "even when troops are  
 le

f161 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/14

**f161**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.  
Dec. 6/59.

Dear Dr. Farr

In consequence of your intemperate desire to have the Indian Medical Service Regulations, we have applied at the Great House for copies. And the answer is that they have only one Office copy & and if we want any we must send to India.

Knowing their weakness, we had (in our "Queries",) previously sent to two hundred Stations in India for copies of all "Regulations," and we hope the result will satisfy your literary appetite.

Please let, me, for my own satisfaction, deposit the enclosed slip of paper in your hands.

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f162 Farr to FN Jan 7 1860 has a small new year's gift for her, will present personally, tables, show what we are doing; going today to India House

**f164** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/15  
COPY

Oak Hill House  
Frognal  
Hampstead, N.W.  
Jan 9/60.

My dear Dr. Farr,

I am exceedingly anxious, as you may suppose, to see your charming New Year's gift.

But I would much rather have it shewn to me by you. And I do not like to ask you to come up here - as I am coming to town *incessantly* - when I hope to see you - If, however, for the sake of not delaying, you would send them me by post, I would take care that they returned to you within 24 hours. And Dr. Sutherland should see them in that time -

But do not you think that they had better be printed *immediately* for *immediate* circulation?

And if so I would waive my pleasure of seeing them - especially those Returns shewing the Deaths, Admissions, Diseases & Loss of Efficiency at each Station.

Your four Clerks have been sanctioned at the Treasury.  
Mr. Herbert comes back to town this week.

Yours ever sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I send this note by a servant that you may if you think well, send back by the Returns by him.

**f165** Farr to FN Jan 12 1860 GRO thanks for her charming new year's gift, re collection of medical returns

f167 Farr to FN Jan 31 1860 from embossed GRO will attend to her wishes, a good deal of work done, useful; will send it when she reaches town or call with it; we every day admire the notes more; they will do boundless good to all degrees and classes

f168 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/16

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Jan. 31/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

St. Thomas's, University College & St. Mary's Hospitals have sent in their Statistics - which I send you -

After a conversation which Dr. Sutherland and I had about them, I asked him to write the enclosed.

If you are kind enough to reduce the results out of the Forms and to send them back to us, I should wish to be allowed to remunerate any Extra work which it may give your men -

I don't expect any more to come in -altho' Guy's has promised - And Mr. Paget, of Bartholomew's writes me word that they have set up a Registrar - adopted these Forms, (which they sent for), and he hopes in 6 months to send me the Results!

I will shew you some more very curious correspondence about it when we meet - and a really good letter from St. Thomas's Registrar -

Yours ever sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I hope to be in town on Friday.

ff168-69 typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/17

**f168**

**[16:368-69]**

COPY

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
April 2/60.

My Dear Dr. Farr,

Imprimis: Mr. Herbert will speak to Sir B. Hawes about your being *misinformed* (to any extent you like) at the W.O., as to their Estimates & Accounts. And any day that you like to call upon Sir B. at the W.O., he will "put you in communication" with the necessary *misinformants*.

2. He, Mr. Herbert, will speak to Milner Gibson about putting Sutherland on to the Commission for the International Congress, (in order to hedge Simon)

3. He does not feel "a call" for the Royal Society at present, he says; he is too busy; but he hopes (when less busy) that "the call" will come.

4. He would be very much obliged to you to write up his new Army Medical School in the "Lancet." Because he expects a "row" when the estimates come on (3 weeks hence) & wishes to be able to quote from the Civil Medical papers - And as he has supported us, (Anti-Commander-in-Chief,) we ought to support him.

5. He looked over all your Indian Commission papers, - was not at all staggered by the expence, - is to write to Dr. Balfour to desire him to fill up the Forms you send (for Returns of Indian Queen's troops) & to desire him to call for extra assistance for doing so -

But as this is more Sutherland's business than mine, I shall leave him to tell you about it, & return to your little Portfolio.

**f170**

6. Sutherland, in looking over your Disease List for my Hospital Statistics (*prospective*) asks you the following questions; upon which I ask, why did not you ask them yourself when Dr. Farr was here, to which the answer is not so clear -

Believe me

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f170 Farr to FN April 3 1860 embossed GRO re her note on the order of items; Sir Benjamin; will send the forms to Balfour and ask to see him; re the Hospital, and Reg Gen, with list

**f175** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/18

COPY

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
April 21/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

I feel so very strongly about this Census bill that I cannot help writing to you of how much importance it would be, as bearing on all questions of the Public health, to have a column in the Enumeration paper in which should be entered the number of sick people in each house with the Diseases -

In this way we should have a Return of the whole Sick & Diseases in the United Kingdom for one spring day, which would give a good average idea of the Sanitary state of all classes of the population.

The Mortuary Returns take no cognizance of a large amount of disease which rarely proves fatal, but which nevertheless represents a vast loss of efficiency in the population. How important to bring this out for once, as was done in the Irish Census of 1851.

Why should a compulsory Sick return be more obnoxious than a compulsory Death Return?

The public benefit would infinitely outweigh any petty inconvenience in filling up these Returns. And, when taken with the Sick Returns of Hospitals, Asylums, Workhouses &c, they would afford insight into problems of great importance -

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f176 Farr to FN April 24 1860 embossed GRO writing to Levy on the sickness subject and home accomm; encloses memo of Hammack on; Levi theory is

f178 Farr to FN April 25 1860 embossed GRO encloses small table, re Reg Gen's reports, districts of England with list of births and deaths by district

**f180** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/19

COPY

30 Old Burlington St.  
April 28/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

I have written to Sir George Lewis about your Census Bill - making large {the "l" and "a" are printed over each other} use of Mr. Hammick's Paper, which I now return -

Ought not his House Inquiry to include

1. cellar or basement dwellings
2. back to back houses (windows in front only or back & front) ?

If you would like to come and talk, ought it not to be with dinner? I believe Tuesday is your evening in town. If you would dine here on that day, Sutherland should come & settle Army Statistics with you.

Yours very truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

We are going to register the savages (through the D. of Newcastle). And, if you will come, I will shew you those scrofulous Returns -

f181 Farr to FN May 8 1860 embossed GRO returns instructional letter, very good and clear; you have "won the victory" over the descendant of St George, hitherto been held invincible, owing to his armour being of the toughest; we cd get the diseases on the voluntary pr by nice arrs; hopes to come round this eve

**f183** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/20

COPY

30 Old Burlington St.  
May 10/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

At the eleventh hour Sir George Lewis writes,

"Both the points mentioned were duly considered before the  
"Census Bill was introduced. It was thought that the  
"question of health or sickness was too indeterminate to  
"be made the subject of a question to each individual.  
"The absence of any fixed standard makes it certain that  
"the answers would not be based on a uniform principle &  
"that the result obtained would be inaccurate.

"With regard to an enumeration of houses, it was  
"thought that this is not a proper subject to be included  
"in a Census of population.

"I was aware that an enumeration of houses had been  
"included in the Irish Census, but the information which  
"I received led me to the conclusion that the result is not  
"peculiarly instructive."

If you could furnish me with any decisive answers to these  
allegations, I would still try. But, as they will not answer the  
main allegation (implied) "Mr. Waddington does not like to take the  
trouble," I have not much hope of success-

(Sgd.) F.N.

{The rest of this letter is printed single line spaced, whereas the preceding part  
is double spaced}

All this, being interpreted means, "*Mr. Waddington* does not  
like to take the trouble." The letter is an exact fac-simile of  
scores which I have from Airey, Filder, Andrew Smith & alas! Lord  
Raglan. It is a "Horse Guards" letter. If you think that anything  
more can be done pray say so. I'm your man

(Sgd.) F.N.

f184 Farr to FN May 10 1860 embossed GRO an undercurrent somewhere, fight will be  
in Lords, col for cause of death thank God we have a House of Lords, asks her to  
write her views to Ld Shaftesbury; he wd do it

f185 Farr to FN May 11 1860 GRO re increase of births and deaths in a district  
implies that the circuit of life is shortened

**f186** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/21

COPY

30 Old Burlington St.  
May 12/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

The Census Bill did not go into Committee last night, as you know. It is put off till Tuesday, when they expect a debate upon it, Mr. Baines & Mr. Caird having both amendments upon it - Under these circumstances, if you think anything more can be done in the Commons, pray command me,

I wrote both to Lord Grey & to Lord Shaftesbury yesterday.

The former answers as you see -

If the Bill goes up to the "Lords" on Wednesday, it might still be before Lord Grey goes to Germany.

And, in that case, would you call upon him, taking with you a written statement, (not in your own hand-writing,) for him to make use of in the Lords? And "put him up to things",

I will write to him & tell him you will call, if you give me leave, on the day, when we see the appearance of the Bill on the Notice Paper of the Ho: of Lords -

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

**f190** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/22

COPY

May 31/60                    **[16:541]**

Dear Dr. Farr,

Mr. Herbert has sent me the enclosed, with the remark "in answer to your letter." "Probably Dr. Farr would be able to obviate the objection."

Dr. Sutherland is gone to Inspections. he saw Dr. Balfour yesterday who told him his grievance - And as I understood Dr. S, he, Dr. S, agreed with him.

I asked Dr. S. to write to you. But I have no doubt he did not make it intelligible what he wanted viz : as I understood, that you should not pledge the W.O. to adopt the Congress's conclusions, when your own were likely to be so much more well-founded - **[16:542]**

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

f187 Farr to FN May 13 1860. Southlands, Bromley Kent. I return Lord Grey's letter. At the proper time I will wait upon him if you think it expedient. At the proper time too, you illeg tell him your reasons for urging the inquiry.

(1) It is of great importance to ascertain how much suffering and infirmity there is in the country (a) from all causes; (b) from causes which it may be discovered admit of removal;

(2) The object is to ascertain only the sickness or infirmity which prevents the laboring population from following their logement, from entering friendly societies or if members of the same entitled to relief. It would be of use to the members of

such societies and would, with their experience already gained assist in framing illeg tables, for the them as. The tables existing are by no means satisfactory.

(3) The returns would be procured--it is believed with the aid of the medical profession. This would give results which even if partially incorrect, would still enable us to compare, the relative amount of sickness at different ages, in different localities and in different trades and professions.

(4) For sanitary purposes, it cold be complementary of the information supposed by the returns of mortality and fatal disease.

So much for sickness returns, which were recommended for their utility by the first Statistical Congress, presided over by Quetelet.

The importance of accurate information about the House accommodation of the country is obvious It has a most important bearing on the sanitary and social condition of the people. You can illeg this better than any of us from personal observation.

It is strange that in this country, where so much is decided by authority the authority chosen would always be the one that has least information on any particular subject.

The illeg of all of us who have attended to these subject, I know something about the Cowpers has never had the slightest weight with the government, which he only sought to make the Census as well possible by placing it entire under the control of a minister who knows less of the matter than perhaps any other. I asked for wages, sickness, house accommodation, but George Lewis gives us "Religious denomination," an idle matter, useless and highly offensive to some people.

What would a letter from you to Lord Palmerston do? He is quite capable of understanding the subject.

But I almost repent, having written to you on this business as I see how much it augments your overwhelming wear-&-tear and work. I ought rather to say "Rest."

f191 Farr letter to FN May 31 1860 GRO. We will propose our *own forms*; and where we have decided on any after due deliberation we will incorporate them in the program bodily.

I talked the Indian forms other with Sutherland.

We will put nothing military on the program of which Mr Herbert does not approve; should a majority of congress decide adversely, our govt is not bound to accept the adverse decision. At the congress, we are "masters of the situation," which Balfour does not quite understand. I will endeavor to see him, as I want him to aid and abet.

Your hospital form goes to press today .

**f193** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/23

COPY

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
June 21/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

If these rooms can be of any use to you & Dr. Hammick during the time of the Congress, pray command them -

One room shall always be yours -

(You may want to have some place where you can bring people in to breakfast, lunch or dine, or write a letter.

And breakfast you can always have -)

It is more than probable that you may have both rooms all to yourselves all day - if you like.

My cousin who is a first rate linguist will be delighted to do the honours in French, German, or Italian to your friends.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f194 Farr to FN June 22 1860 embossed GRO thanks for kind offer, re rooms, breakfast, re foreign delegates

f195 Farr to FN June 26 1860 embossed GRO will send list of names soon, thanks Dr Balfour; did SH refuse to allow his name to be on the commiss on grounds of his engagement? or how was it his name was not on the list with other ministers?, Farr has written to W Cowper anent, thanks for note

f196 Farr to FN June 29 1860 embossed GRO have done hospitals; you will have the classif from Spottiswoode's; 250 ordered for distribution; will you write a few lines on record of care in hosps and on their analysis for insertion in the Sanitary section

**f197** letter, pen "[July 13 or 12. 1860]" and below this, "33"}

Would Dr. Farr  
bring Engel, Quetelet  
& any other he  
likes to breakfast  
here to morrow &  
talk over matters.  
We will breakfast  
as late as he likes.  
And I should like to see Quetelet  
Berg  
Visschers  
Engel

Separately at any hour each  
with appoints.

f198 Farr to FN no re Legoyt Engel excellent men

f199 Farr to FN July 15 1860 embossed GRO infinitely obliged to FN for great  
kindness to members of the congress; Sweden, Denm, Quetelet, Hendriks re breakfast  
with her, sent her proof, transl,

**f201** typed copy of letter: "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/24

COPY

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
Aug. 6/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

Would you request Major Graham to write to Mr. Herbert to  
say that, as the new Army Regulations have been in force since  
*October* last, & as (by them) a Return of Deaths in the Army is to  
be made quarterly to the R.G., Major Graham requests Mr. Herbert to  
direct that the Regulation be complied with, as no Return has yet  
been furnished to the G.R.O.

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I consider Engel & myself ill-used individuals. He asks me  
to write to the Princess Royal - Sutherland says nothing ought to be  
done till the Prussian Embassy here is requested to act. Dr. Farr  
makes no answer - And poor Engel, an unbusiness like *savant*, is  
quaking meanwhile in his shoes at Berlin, without any *renseignement*  
whatever.

**ff202-03** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/25

COPY

Upper Terrace  
Hampstead.  
Sept. 6/60.

My dear Dr. Farr

There was a leading Article in the "Medical Times" of Aug. 25, and a letter from a Dr. Tripe in that of Sept. 1, in which there were adverse views & Misrepresentations as to the nature & objects of the "*Hospital* Statistical Forms."

I know what the Provincial Hospitals are - For them the "Medical Times" is a Bible. They will say, oh! the Profession have rejected these Forms. They will think because the M. Times is not answered, it cannot be answered - and those who have already applied for the Forms will not adopt them -

O'Connell said a lie which lasted 24 hours was worth making. My experience of life is quite the same.

I think you should answer the M. Times :-

1. as regards the Nomenclature. It has already been adopted at previous meetings of the Congress - It cannot be altered.

2. as regards the classification

The most cursory examination of the Forms would have shewn the objectors that, in as far as the Forms were concerned, the Classification is intended to facilitate the process of recording & to diminish the length of the Disease List by one half.

3. Dr. Tripe's averment that the Forms were not fully discussed is not correct. They were under discussion for one day & part of another. They were more discussed than any other subject

**f203**

before the Section.

4. Any reduction of the number of Diseases on the List, would in the first place, be to surrender the ground already taken by the Congress at previous meetings and 2. to surrender scientific accuracy on the plea of trouble.

The time may come when all Diseases may be reduced under one name. But at present improved means of diagnosis rather tend to increase scientifically the almost endless varieties of diseased action in different organs. And we must have better reasons for diminishing the list of "ills that flesh is heir to" than any that have yet appeared against these Forms which rather, it is to be hoped, will before long be in use in all Hospitals.

Sincerely yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f204** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/26

COPY

A. Jackson's Esq.

Upper Terrace -

Hampstead, N.W.

Sept. 16/60. [16:546]

Dear Dr. Farr

I hear that the Liverpool Town Council has taken deep offence at something you have said.

Newlands, McGowan & others are going to try their hands again at Glasgow to prove, not only that your Statistics are all wrong - but that Liverpool, with cesspits & middens, is the healthiest town in England.

As I understand, this is not the old story raked up again - but something new -

I hope you are to be in Glasgow - to refute it - therefore -

I have heard *nothing* from you about *anything* -

I wish that my letter about Engel to the Pr. Royal could have been written before the Pr. Consort went there; who for his credit, would have urged it. But I fear that is too late now. The Queen starts this week.

I wish the Hospital Statistics Forms could have been out before the Glasgow Meetings. Already I think the Objections in the Med. Times have told against them in the provincial mind - [end]

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f205** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/27

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 7/60. [16:551]

Dear Dr. Farr

I was exceedingly edified by your letter to the "Medical Times" upon Hospital Statistical Forms - I think it is the very best thing I have ever seen of yours *in that line*. And that is saying a great deal.

They will answer it, if they have any pluck -

Thank you very much for the enclosed.

Balfour is cross.

Poor Old Quetelet. His letters are very characteristic of himself -

I have had a perfect war of correspondence with Muhry. Some day I hope to shew it you. In the meanwhile, I keep to my opinion that they have to learn the very A B C of *practical* Sanitary science. Muhry throws at me all the long-forgotten prejudices of thirty years ago in England by way of arguments.

I have received from Brussels (? from Henschling) several pamphlets about this & late Congresses. [Henschling]

I see Ld Brougham says that all Politics must rest upon Statistics -

ever truly yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f206 Farr to FN Oct 11 1860 embossed GRO re St Thomas' and reports, Dr Stone's table; thanks for her note

**f207** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/28

COPY

Oct. 11/60. [16:551]

Dear Dr. Farr

On looking over the book you have just sent me, I find the decision of the Vienna Congress at P. 235 (in Capitals.) which settles the principle upon which classification is to be carried out, viz. "in reference to the bearing on Statistics, Medicine and the Public Health."

You have only to shew that your classification fulfills these conditions and that the others do not.

I have applied at St. Thomas's for Dr. Stone's papers &c.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

**ff208-09** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/29

COPY

Hampstead N.W. [16:552]

Oct. 20/60.

Dear Dr. Farr,

Dr. Stone has not shewn the slightest sign of life as to sending me his Hospital paper, altho' he has promised it every day during the last week - My own idea is that we have seen the last of it we ever shall see.

I enclose a Note of his which apparently grants the whole case viz. that he has attacked your scheme without having one to propose of his own.

He wil {sic}, answer your letter of to-day though, depend upon it. And then I think you should bring out your whole serious rejoinder.

Mr Tripe's letter of to-day grants all we want -

And indeed there has never been any serious objection made, excepting - "this will take trouble and labour." And we answer, "Yes, we want correctness which certainly does imply labour. And it is because you have not given it, that we have no Hospital Statistics worth having."

You see that the Paris Hospitals are bestirring themselves to organize *their* Statistics. And now is the time for M. Legoyt to bestir himself & see your classification adopted.

I return the two reports with many thanks.

They are highly satisfactory in this sense - P. 235

1857.

Some months ago, I got inserted into the leading Medical journals of Paris and Article on the proposed Hospital Registration. And you see that they are at work -

**f209**

Look at P. 383 of to-day's Medical Times.

Dr. Sutherland shewed me your correspondence about Stark & Co: And he is going to send you an answer.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f210** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/30

*COPY*

Mr. A. Jackson's

Upper Terrace

Hampstead, N.W.

Oct. 22/60. [16:552-53]

Dear Dr. Farr

If this is not a quack, what is?

Should you be walking over Hampstead Heath some day, & would look in here, you might perhaps find the sacred trust lying on the table.

It is certainly not the work of a "Scientific Nosologist."

For all such purposes, it would do just as well if arranged according to the letters of the Alphabet.

As a practical Nurse, it stirs my strongest feelings of indignation - ignoring as it does all causation, and treating diseases as if they were accidents (to organs)

I shall tell Dr. Stone that though I may (perhaps) keep his secret, yet the joke is much too good an one to be kept - the quack attacking & not choosing to be attacked in return -

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f211** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/31

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 23/60. [16:553]

Dear Dr. Farr,

I was exceedingly amused, with Dr. Laycocks's allusion (in his letter to you) to "a person of the name of Trevelyan," who had deprived him of your Weekly Statistics.

You will perhaps remember that the last thing before Trevelyan went out of the Treasury, I had a correspondence with him on this very subject. And he said I had made out my case. But he could not rescind his resolution.

On Sunday I asked Mr. Herbert whether he would lay the case before Mr. Gladstone (To this gentleman the undoing what "a person of the name of Trevelyan" has done will be a strong inducement -)

To make an effective case, will you get for me

1. the Weekly circulation of the London Weekly return at the time it was distributed gratuitously from your Office
2. the Weekly Nos. sold at present
3. the Weekly Nos. at present gratuitously distributed.

Mr. Herbert says that the postage is what the Treasury will object to!

Yours sincerely

F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f212** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/32

COPY

Mr. A. Jackson's

Upper Terrace,

Hampstead, N.W.

Oct. 25/60.

Dear Dr. Farr

If you could come here to look at the wonderful trust tomorrow, (Friday) we have a dinner & bed to offer you & my father is here.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f213 Farr to FN Nov 15 18860 embossed GRO. Blue paper. I have received the enclosed note from Dr Norton Shaw, and I think it probable that if *Mühry's paper*, is worth anything, it will receive for your recommendation fair attention at the Geographical Society. r

f214 Norton Shaw to Farr Nov 14/60 anything rec by authorities as high as FN and yourself will always receive due attention; whether the paper will be trans or not must depend upon the referee and not me

f215 Farr to FN Dec 4 1860 embossed GRO. I send you a proof of our proceedings at the general meetings for your approval or disapproval, before sending it to press.

Have the goodness to read the day's proceedings containing your letter in English and French, and favor us with any errata in the report which strike your keen eye.

I saw Ld Stanley at the a. dinner of the Royal Society and he asked how the Indian Inquiry was going on. He says that his says that his illeg com work is done and if asked by Lord Herbert would I think take the presidency of the commission. You will, therefore, bear in mind that you have probably a reserve, if required.

Hoping you are coming through the dismal weather. P.S. Please return proof as soon as done with. We go to press immediately.

**ff217** typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/33

COPY

Hampstead N.W.  
Dec. 5/60.

My dear Dr. Farr,

As you have been so kind as to stand god-father to Muhry's paper at the R. Geographical Soc<sup>y</sup>., I hereby trouble you farther with the said paper, together with his letter, - without any comment of my own.

It might be as well to call to the attention of the Geog. Soc. to the request contained in the the {sic} last page of Dr. Muhry's letter to me -

Or perhaps you will think it better just to let the paper follow the usual course -

(It seems to me almost more adapted to the Royal Soc<sup>y</sup>. than to the Geog. Soc<sup>y</sup>.)

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f218 Farr to FN Dec 7 1860. Your note which I incautiously plunged into like an unhappy mariner, a circular storm--*hurricane*, TORNADO, with its close "NOT (1) savagely" and the return of the Report, untouched, uncorrected, unblest with the denunciation of the Congress, and the bile of illeg, shoddy or worse, cannot be answered off hand. One requires time to breathe and reflect. But you might expect an attack on all your favorite outwork, at no distant period.

I sent on illeg paper, which is apparently good, to Dr Norton Shaw, with his note and work the request that he would see that it was fairly considered.

Many thanks for the box and its contents, which will be duly appreciated.  
[end of vol]

Add Mss 43399, 239 folios, 59 pages, microfilm, CORRESPONDENCE OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE & W FARR, mainly typed; the only originals are ff25, originals in 5474 Add Mss 43399; typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr"

**f1**

COPY

30 Old Burlington St.

Jan. 9/61.

Dear Dr. Farr,

Would you be so good as to look at the enclosed (returning them to me) & tell me whether you think it is of any use asking for the imperfect information therein offered?

2. I had another enquiry from a London Hospital last week, asking if my scheme of Hospital Statistics were *not* OUT *YET!!!*

3. Mr. Herbert's failing health (he has disease of the kidneys) & retirement from the Ho: of Commons which has cost him a severer struggle and greater pang than anybody knows of - of course makes a great difference to us - altho', at the earnest request of those who know him best, he retains Office - Lord Stanley has been offered & accepted the Indian Commission. And we are making haste to do as much as we can before he comes on - But anxiety has made me more unfit than I was before - Mr. Herbert ( I cannot bear to call him by his new name, nor will I) is just as eager about things however as ever

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/35

**f2**

COPY

30 O B. St [16:558]

Mar 14/61.

Why, my dear Dr. Farr, are you not the greatest imposter that ever was? What did I wait for my paper from July till March for, except to have the names & opinions of all the wise men appended to it, which goes so far in this country? If it were not for the honor of the thing, I had a great deal lieber have printed it myself in July. The Hospitals who wrote to me for it then, & have been waiting for it ever since, will think that I am laughing at them, if I send them this naked skeleton now -

But, as life has its natural term, even according to you, would you tell me how many years it will take to have printed the adoption by the Pundits and their several additions to it? And don't you think that I had better have it done at my own expense?

Yours sincerely ever altho' in extreme old age

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/36  
f3

COPY

30 Old Burlington Street,  
W.

London

March 21/61 [16:559]

My dear Dr. Farr

Is it an "eternal law" that McCulloch should print my papers?  
Then I submit.

But would you allow me (there are "perturbations" even in  
"eternal laws") to print the recommendations of the Congress on my  
own account?

To do this, I must have the page of the Report which refers  
to them.

I observe you have as little "expectation of life" to see the  
Report done as I have - But it may turn out otherwise - ("Averages"  
you know I have denounced.)

I *eagerly snatch* at your offer to send "copies to the  
"principle Hospitals - with a note signed by the Secretaries of the  
"Congress."

Because, you see, that is all which makes the paper likely  
to be practically followed - viz. the adhesion of the Congress.  
Otherwise I might just as well have printed the paper on my own  
account last December twelvemonth,

I meant, with your assistance & Dr. Sutherland's, to have prepared & printed  
Hospital Books (for distribution) to *carry out* the  
system -

But this is your busy year. Dr. Sutherland is capricious  
(in all his work.) And I am *non compos* -

Yours ever sincerely,

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

typed copy of letter has been written in pencil above the typed "Good Friday";  
"Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/37

**f4**

COPY

30 Old Burlington Street,  
W.  
March 29<sup>th</sup> {pencil}  
Good Friday /61

My dear Dr. Farr

I send proofs of your letter & of the famous (famous for its antiquity) page -

Please say both whether they will do & how you wish them to be "put up."

I think they should be incorporated together with the paper & not look as if they were slipped in - If you could verify the "page" by the Report, as you make yourself responsible for the paper, it would be better.

I like your Census sermon much. It is one of the best public papers I have seen. I wish other sermons were as much to the purpose -

I retain you to dinner on Wednesday. And Urim & Thummim shall come to meet you - But pray come (for me) as much before 6 o'clock as you can -

I do wish we could have composed some Hospital books for the Statistics - Several Superintendents of Nurses have told me how glad they should be to make the "Sisters" keep such Returns - When I told Dr. Sutherland, he was all agog; & went off upon the Rights of "Man. Now I don't want this to interfere with the "rights" of the Registrars at all. They must do the official Returning business, if it is ever done, according to this system, of course. But I don't see why the poor *women* should not have the practice, merely for

**f5**

practice, - by no means for official purposes - if it is good for *them* - Only we must compose Hospital books for *them* (Entries - or Ledger books) -

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F.N.

{Add Mss 43399; letter, ff6-7; pen; JS hand, "[March 1861]"

**f6**

Your letter does not remove any objections. I cannot but regret that the first years statistics of the Army should be so far behind what could be desired, and what was intended by the Statistical Commission which followed on the Royal Commission. We shall only at the best have an imperfect summary. Is it too late even now to have regimental tables. We do not want comparisons. We want facts. "facta, facta facta" is the motto which ought to stand at the head of all statistical work. If we cannot have all the facts, let us on all events have all the reliable fact we can. I must confess to not being satisfied with the prospect for these years report. Again I must repeat my objections to intermingling causation with statistics. It might be to a certain extent admissible if you had no ~~statistical~~ sanitary head. But you have one, & his report should be quite separate. The statistician has nothing to do with causation: he is almost certain in the present state of knowledge to err. Even you are wrong about the dates

**f6v**

of sanitary improvements which began to be actively pushed forwards [?] ~~in 18~~ early 1858, throughout the London district. Still I do not say you should [illeg] these. It is ~~not~~ no part of your duty, but I do say that it is only increasing error to [illeg] other ~~presumed~~ presumed causes of increased healthiness & to leave them out. You complain that your report could ~~by~~ be dry. The dryer the better. Statistics should be the driest of all ~~books~~ reading. What I complain of is that on reading your report I am conscious of receiving a wrong impression, because your details are not sufficiently dry & sufficiently extensive. You will see that my conception of the future Army Medical Statistics differs essentially from yours, as your idea differs essentially from that of the Statistical Commission whose recommendations ought in my opinion to be rigidly followed & they

**f7**

cannot be rigidly followed the fullest reasons ought to be given.

typed copy of letter pencil: "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/39

**f8**

COPY

30 Old Burlington Street,  
W.

April 6/61. [16:559]

My dear Dr. Farr

I have drawn up the enclosed two Varieties of a Hospital Book to get the particulars required by our Forms & by the Congress additions.

I have not included Nos. 8,9,10, 12 of the latter. I should propose to put these in another book -

And these Nos. should be published with the annual Hospital Report -

I have enclosed the Articles for this Summary, which might be extended, if you approve, into the form of a table & put in type.

Should not these Forms of Table be printed on the back of the fly sheet & go out with the paper itself?

What of your own letter? It had not come back to me -

You have not sent me a Census paper to myself - And, as nothing will induce me to declare the age of the cats to my landlord, you won't have me at all -

I have looked over all your Enumerator's papers, which you were so good as to send me. They seem very complete. But I don't quite see how you will get all the Railroad Travellers, for instance - altho' it is very astute of you to take the Sunday.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

43399; typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/40

**f10**

COPY

30 Old Burlington Street,  
W.  
April 9/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

As you justly said that the perfect working of the Census must depend upon the detail, I think I am doing you a service in mentioning how the detail was worked here -

(I should say that this vast Hotel, "Burlington Hotel", consisting of three large houses, besides *this*, (which is the "private" house) is composed mainly of *family* suites of rooms.)

On Sunday morning (the 7th) a verbal message was sent up to me, *not* by the occupier of the Hotel but by his fac-totum, ( a kind of house-steward,) desiring me to write my age (& my maid's) on a bit of paper - *nothing more*. This was the message, verbatim et literatim.

I swallowed the answer which rose to my lips - not thinking it worth while to have a war of words with this person - and, after ascertaining from his assertion that no Schedules had been left for the Families in this Hotel, I took one of the Specimen Forms you were so kind as to give me, & wrote the information fully and accurately therein concerning myself & maid (the man servant does not sleep in the Hotel) & sent it down to him.

I leave you to think, if the message sent up to the other families occupying apartments in these 4 houses, were similar to that sent to me, of how dependable & valuable a nature is the information filled in by this person on his Sheet

He appeared to consider the Census Act as an invitation

**f11**

designed to afford him the amusement of asking people their ages - and of drawing upon his imagination for the rest of the information required.

As you know how much interested I am in the proper working of the Census & that I had rather the information required of us (as regards out healths and houses) were more than less complete, I venture to suggest that all the heads of families, whether that family consist of one, two or more persons, wherever living, whether in hotels, lodgings &c should be required to fill up their own paper.

Believe me (from my personal experience of what happened here) people who have not reflected much on the value of a Census have a very different conscience, as to affording *accurate* information, when called upon to do so by an ignorant Hotel servant, & when called upon directly by the law, which all English people obey - And this observation I think applies rather more to the "upper" than to the "lower classes", as they are called.

Believe me

sincerely yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

You are quite at liberty to make any use of this.

N.B.

The term "heads of families" should include single persons, living hotels & lodging-houses, all of whom should have the opportunity of filling up separate papers.

You will say that you would then have to send papers to every lodger in a two-penny lodging-house -

**f12**

But might you not place on the Superintendent<sup>g</sup>. Registrar the duty of ascertaining or deciding what class of Hotels and Lodging-houses should have separate papers for their inmates - the Enumerator being then directed to leave the required number?

F.N.

f13 Farr letter to FN Ap 12 1861; thanks for her note, which is important, re hotels, very much agreeing with her points: Indeed, the object being according to any notion to get the information from the people--in the way most *agreeable to them*. I suggested that we should give every person who slept in a hotel, such as the Great Western, any guest or lodger, a distinct schedule or paper, which the landlord/host should collect...but the Registrar-General feared we could not work it out and in the torment of the month we gave it up. and again

f15 Farr letter to FN Ap 12 1861 encloses proof for Dr S., has shown her letter to Major Graham, who says the Burlington disgracefully done.

thanks for her note, which is important, re hotels, v much agreeing with her points: Indeed, the object being according to any notion to get the information from the people--in the way most *agreeable to them*. I suggested that we should give every person who slept in a hotel, such as the Great Western, any guest or lodger, a distinct schedule or paper, which the landlord/host should collect...but the Registrar-General feared we could not work it out and in the torment of the month

Add Mss 43399i

440

we gave it up.

typed copy of letter; f17 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/41  
[16:573]

**f17**

COPY

30 Old Burlington Street,  
W.

April 20/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

It had been "sung & said" in various places that women's letters are illogical

Now Major Graham's letter says

1. that I generalize from one instance; & then proceeds to do the self same thing

2. lays down a principle in human nature in which I think all the world will be against him - viz. that family people are less likely to give accurate information about themselves than a landlord is to do it for them

3. ignores the only point in our communication viz. that it is not of travellers we are speaking, (those who sleep one night in an inn) & that a Sup<sup>g</sup>. Registrar might decide to what class the inn belongs -

It would be a curious thing to know.

I take it, (in Hotels of this character) the proportion of papers through, beds let by the night, would be *nil*.

You have not criticized my Apostle's Statistics for me - and Paget and I are waiting breathless upon your voice -

You have not even returned me the copy to comfort myself with.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

*In re* Angus Smith's evidence. Ask Sutherland to tell you the evidence I should give about disinfectants in the Crimea - and how A. Smith's scheme of laying down India in disinfectants, which he unfolded to me by letter, strikes me -

typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" (?April/61) 5474/46/3

**f18**

(Quarantine Committee) (Undated)

COPY

P.S.

AT YOUR LEISURE

An American gentleman once asked the great & Revd. Jacob Abbott what he should do when the Sacrament came, if he could not give up some darling sin which he had - to which the Revd. Abbott answered - he really could not tell him what he should do -

It seems to me that there are *two* "darling sins" which, if it *will* commit, incapacitate it from any righteous action.

1. Its action could only begin, to be fair, where that of another Committee, which does not yet exist, ends - You are judging of great national commercial interests, or rather of the greatest inter-national interests of all, which not a man upon the Committee (except yourself) understands *at all*.

All that your Committee could ever do, or ought to do, would be to answer some such question as this, *proposed to it by a Committee constituted of the greatest merchants in Europe* - "Would such & such "regulations" (which would involve no restrictions on commerce (of this they alone are the judges) ) "answer the purposes of Public "Health?"

As it is, I can only hope that your *Public Health Committee* will reject your *Quarantine Committee's Report* -

2. I do not admit your definition of fanaticism - nor that truth can be fanatical

**f19**

Either your "contagionists" are in the right & then they are not fanatical - or your "non-contagionists" are in the right & *they* are not fanatical - *Both* cannot be fanatical any more than both can be in the right.

Quarantine follows logically & inevitably on "contagion" - as Sanitary measures or non-contagion -

Farther than this, I do not venture to argue with you - because, as you say, I am not scientific. Neither do I quote the opinion of those men (whom you think I worship) such as Chadwick, for the same reason - he is not scientific - I only modestly & *really* humbly say, I never saw a fact adduced in favor of contagion which would bear scientific enquiry. And I could name to you men whom *you* would acknowledge as scientific who place "contagion" on the same footing as witch-craft & other superstitions -

F.N.

f20 Farr letter Ap 29 1861 thanks for her 6 copies of the work, cheap ed will be dearer than ever, re *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes*.

f22 Farr letter May 14 1861 encloses first letter recd in reply to our letter, please return if approve of the answer

f23 Farr letter May 16 1861 has sent her forms to illeg Devereux, re erysipelas, will talk to JS re forms on Saturday

f24 Farr letter May 27 1861 will attend, if can, "your meeting" will call after to tell what doing in congress matters

f25 JS note

f27 Farr letter June 3 1861 knows how hard you work, and how important to work; what a burden on your very soul and how you suffer on the cross and yet how thoughtlessly I have acted on the matter, mild correction

f29 Farr letter June 21 1861 must not forego pleasure of writing you a short epistle, hoping and wishing on the longest day of the year; we have recd some letters in reply to our circular, enclose one; Mr Clode keeps them; will reply to this if you return it

f30 Farr letter July 11 1861 thanks for barrack return, mortality in Natal and schools (re colonial schools)

f32 Farr letter July 12 1861 Ld Stanley proposes dividing report into sections

f33 Farr letter [12-14 Jul 1861] tried to bring point re Tulloch's evidence

letter, ff25-26; pen; JS hand note [?c.1 1861]"

**f25**

No person has spoken more strongly than I have as to the great service rendered by the the Army Statistical reports, but although they were far ahead of any document of their day I should very much desire to see their author as far outstrip them. The proof is too like the previous reports, & does not come up quite to my idea of a statistical report on the army. I know your material had been defective, but it would be better to state that, and the points in which it is defective rather than send out a report in itself defective without explanation. This is the more important since the first report may be taken as a model of what every medical officer ought to do in the matter.

I find for instance no ~~statistical~~ statistics of Barracks & Stations

No regimental statistics.

No consistently sick in each Regiment & of each disease.

**f25v**

No quinquennial tables either for Regiments or for the whole arm of the service

You have only given a few comparative summaries, which though they may be helpful yet are by no means all we require to enable an opinion as to the health of the army to be arrived at.

Summary tables are indeed of comparatively little use except as affording a key to detailed statistics.

The [illeg] desiderata I have enumerated alone are not all we require, but they are certainly the least we could do [illeg] to make a satisfactory beginning

**f26**

Then again I think that entering into *causation* is hardly a statistical matter; and I do not think I could ~~should~~ argue with you in your conclusions as you have given them. If you are correct, then has ~~army~~ hygiene in strict logic little to do with the health of troops or indeed with any bodys health. There is therefore a strong prima facie argument against the corectness of your reasoning, ~~while~~ by ignoring the immense work that has been done in improving the sanitary condition of the army you virtually ~~illeg~~ deny it.

As I have said this is no part of Statistical work. Statistics have to do strictly with facts in figures

**f26v**

& in nothing else.

[~~illeg~~]

I would therefore extend the Statistics so as to give a complete tableau of the State of the Army during the past year Regiment by Regiment, & Station by Station, & if you cannot do this, I would state fully that your data don't present it & that you are fully aware of the defects, & state what the statistics will in future contain.

f37 Farr letter July 26 1861

f39 Farr letter Aug 2 1861

typed copy of letter; ff35-36 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/42  
**f35**

COPY

30 O B St

Monday (July) 22/61.

My Dear Sir,

I am sorry that you have been ill. I go from hence to Hampstead on Aug. 1. Could I see you here before that? Any day would suit me except Friday and Tuesday week. And we would feed you - "sleep" you, if you like.

2. I take for granted that a copy of the enclosed had been sent you - Would it be of any use to shew it at the Brit. Med. Ass?

Are you going to the Dublin Social Science Meeting? The Dublin Hospital Authorities have asked me to urge the same Hosp<sup>l</sup>. Stat<sup>l</sup>. scheme at that Meeting - And I shall do so (in a letter) - Would you advise also this?

3. I have completed all the enquiry which I can make as to the Causes of Death after Operations (in preparation for a Surgical Stat. Scheme).

Will you look over here some day the lists of said Causes, obtained by me from the different Hospitals - & say 1. whether you will make a scheme from them? 2. whether you would advise this being done in time for the Dublin Meeting? 3. whether you would like to moot it at the Brit. Med. Ass., in which case I would send you these Lists at once -

4. Thank you for your proposal about the Colonial School Returns of Disease - But all we want is to make a practical proposition for the D. of Newcastle. And this we shall do - upon your advice that we have data enough. Dr. Sutherland fancies that you have some of

**f36**

these Colonial Returns *by you*, which I sent you a long time ago -  
Is it so? If so, would you please direct them to be returned to me  
at once?

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F.N.

f39 Farr letter Aug 2 1861

typed copy of letter "Original owned by Miss May Farr" Teagle, [5:308-10]  
8033/2

**f41**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.  
Sept. 10/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

We are grateful to you indeed for the memorial of my dear  
master which you have raised to him in the hearts of the nation.  
Indeed, it is in the hearts of the nation that he will live - not in  
the hearts of the Ministers. There, he is dead already, if indeed  
they have any. And before he was cold in his grave - Gladstone  
attends his funeral & then writes to me that he cannot pledge himself  
to give any assistance in carrying out his friends reforms - The  
reign of intelligence at the War Office is over. The reign of muffs  
has begun - The only rule of conduct in the bureaucracy there & in  
the Horse Guards is to reverse *his* decision, *his* judgement & (if they  
can do nothing more) his words -

Lord de Grey maintains the fight well. He said to the  
Commander in Chief, when he was asking Sir G. Lewis (*the* muff) to  
reverse one of my dear master's acts, Sir, it is impossible :  
Ld Herbert decided it & the House of Commons voted it.

But what is Ld de Grey against so many?

We have nothing more to expect from that quarter of Ministers.

But you, & such as you, will make my dear master's acts live  
in the memory of the nation - And it shall be the nation who will  
carry out his work - The first gleam of hope I have had was in  
hearing your paper -

You say truly that it was his work, not his reputation, which  
he cared for. (He had no ambition) - & that the best tribute, the

**f42**

the only one he would like, would be to carry out his work. His last articulate words, often repeated, were, "Poor Florence - our unfinished work" - words too sacred to be repeated, but that they shew the man - That was his last dying thought - Other men's is a selfish anxiety after their own salvation -

Oh if he could have said, "It is finished, how willingly we could have given him back to God - But he could not. Even I did not know till the last how the failure of his energy to carry out the finishing stroke, which was wanting, the re-organisation of the War Office, had broken his heart - & how it hastened his death - I blamed him - but not so much of what he had left undone - It was this failure in re-organizing the War Office which has left his work now to be upset *there* by any clerk.

But it is for his friends now to see what they can do *out of* the War Office. You loved him. No one loved him & served him as I did. But you & many more will stand by his work, which *is* his memory.

To me & (I may say) to himself, his death, as you may well suppose, was nothing. It was the resignation, of Office, without having re-organized the Office, which was the bitterness of death, both to him and to me. Five years, all but one week, had he & I worked together at the health of that noble Army.

I felt very down-hearted about the Indian Commission since his resignation - But, since your paper, I feel that his friends

**f43**

will rally round his memory to carry out that most important part of the work as he would have wished.

The Barrack Commission starts to-morrow for the Mediterranean Inspection - one of his last official acts - Till the day fortnight of his death, do you know, he struggled on, doing to the last what he could in the Office -

That I should have survived him seems to me most curious. He who could do so much with me. I who can do nothing without him.

My last tie is severed with that noble Army, which I have severed so faithfully seven years next October - in weariness oft, in watchings oft, in prisons, I can truly say with St<sup>t</sup> Paul -

For the last month makes four years that I have been imprisoned by sickness.

The Army's work has cost three useful lives. But when I hear what you say, I hope that it is not over. On the contrary, that it is rooted by you & yours in a nation's mind.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I venture to send for your host one of my little books. he is known so well by reputation that I think he will not despise it for his poor.

f44 Farr letter [16 Sept 1861] saw Baker, secy to Royal comm, refused to print whole or engrave whole of illustrations w/o express authority from Treas, appeal to Ld Stanley

typed copy of letter; ff46-47 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/43

**f46**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Sept. 17/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

Would you kindly, at your leisure, see Mr. Baker, at 4 Old Palace Yard, & ask him what was understood with Lord Stanley about [Stanley?] printing the remainder of the Abstracts of Replies from Indian Stations. I understand that it is proposed to give only those already in type as "specimens" of the whole.

How can one Station be a "specimen" of another Station - There are no two Stations alike. You might as well say that Mr. Rawlinson could sewer Winchester from reading a description of Croydon. Or that you could give 30 Weekly Returns as "specimens" of the Weekly Mortalities of the year & not give the remaining 22 weeks -

Lord Stanley expressly said that he could not take Dr. Sutherland's evidence as complete, because all the Replies from India were not come in. Now, if he thinks the Commission or any body will read the Replies in the Original M.S., I think, thro' whose hands every one of them had passed, he is very much mistaken.

And certainly the most valuable information not only in the Report but in the India Ho: will be the printed Abstracts of all these Stational Replies - and your Statistics.

I would have written to Lord Stanley direct - but that

(1) perhaps it is unnecessary

(2) he does not know (& I should have to explain) that every one of these M.S. Replies, with the Abstracts, Proofs & Revises, has passed thro' my hands, & therefore I am speaking "avec connaissance

**f47**

de cause."

2. Would you also ask Mr. Baker whether the maps & plans, which Dr. Sutherland chose as specimens, to be reduced & lithographed for the Report, *must* absolutely stand over till the Commission meets again, before it is authorized to be done.

I was in hopes that it would be finished & ready by *November*, when the Commission meets again, when Dr. Sutherland comes back from the Mediterranean & when he and I begin our Digest for the Report, for which these Maps & plans are necessary.

I think Dr. S, might have reduced their number. But he says not -

Could Mr. Baker give an idea as to the "enormous" expence the Stationery office says it would be?

What kind of sum?

I would gladly do something at my own expence, if I knew what.

Again I would have written to Lord Stanley about this, without troubling you. But that, if he has positively said that "it must stand over till the Comm<sup>n</sup>. meets again," he will not alter that decision for me -

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Poor Lady Herbert was exceedingly gratified by your paper at Manchester.

f48 Farr letter Sept 25 1861 Census Office to FN re illustrations

f49 Farr letter Sept 26 1861 re her gift, thanks, re Baker

typed copy of letter; ff50-53 top in pencil: "Original owned by Miss May Farr"  
[date Sept 22 on 5474/44) [9:108-10]

50

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Sept. 28/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

I ought to have answered your two kind letters before -

I think it would be very desirable, as you say, to examine some N.C. Officers & men from India. But I do not know the Indian Army Col. Greathed would be a good person to name some.

But I think it is still more desirable to examine somebody who would give you evidence about *caste*, how far it is a religious & how far a social Institution, how far it can be got over & how far you must bow to it in civilising & sanitaring our native troops.

As I have had every one of the M.S. books of Replies to do, nothing has struck me so much as this : viz. that *caste* is made an excuse for not

feeding

not cooking for

not cleansing or washing

not housing

not teaching

not amusing

& not nursing them.

The books of Replies differ widely as to the *right* of this -

Some say that nothing *can* be done

Others show that a great deal *has* been done in some places.

And others, still, that it requires only a vigorous effort on the part of our Government to do it.

**f51**

I refer particularly to the absence of almost all sanitary civilization (or effort to introduce any) into the native parts of our Stations - or among our native "lines."

I would propose that you should examine before the Commission

Mr Ballantyne

Librarian to India Ho:

Cannon Row

Mr. John Muir

late Bengal Civil Service

Edinburgh

Lt General Briggs

2 Tenterden St -

& perhaps Genl. Ludlow.

Mr. Balantyne was 13 years at Benares, as I dare say you know -

And all these man would know, if any do, exactly the value to put upon how far Caste is to be an obstacle in the way of Sanitary civilisation.

It is really horrible the state of the Native (troops) - Hospitals - without any one sanitary appliance, except medicine, which they are far better without. And I, for one, should vote for destroying every Hospital I have read about. The sick would be much better out of them.

But then to be sure we have neglected the Native *lines* just as much. So we must put back the sick into the Hospitals.

I understand you that Lord Stanley is going to have a Meeting

**f52**

this next month. I shall be glad if it expedites our matter of maps & printing Abstracts.

But I hope you will not let him consider it a final Meeting. Dr. Sutherland will not be back. And he must be examined again. He wishes it himself. I told him his Evidence was very tame. And he thought so too. There is a great deal more to be said.

You say his Evidence has not yet been sent to you. The proof (corrected) of it - was sent back to press more than a month ago.

I too have not yet seen Tulloch's Evidence - & shall be glad to see it.

We are very much obliged to you for what you have done in forwarding a part of the maps & plans which saves much time.

Would Mr. Maker send me up here, or to Mrs. Sutherland's, 41 Finchley New Road, those which he says "are done."

I don't know what the "*Proof*" is which he says "is done" now. Because he has no Abstracts in hand "to do." The *fourth* Vol: of printed Abstracts is ready. But I have already received my two copies of it, some time ago.

We have only one M.S. book now not abstracted. But I begin in time to make an "uproar" as to having the *power* to print Abstracts, of the remaining books, as they come in from India.

I should like to see Dr. Mouat's Report, as you kindly offer it. I know Dr. Mouat & his works - which are very good - not like his brother's which are "of the devil."

**f53**

Have you seen Gangoulee's India? Gangoulee is a converted Brahmin. And his book touches on Caste. I mean to get it. And if it is worth reading, I will send it you, if you wish it.

ever yours truly

(Sgd.) F.N.

Remember too that you are to be examined before the Comm<sup>n</sup>. & are our sheet anchor.

A member of the "Institut" at Paris asked me to send him the first copy of our *Census* I could get hold of - And I thought of you & promised it him.

typed copy of letter; ff54-55 "Original owned by Miss May Farr "India" 5474/45

**f54**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 2/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

I will answer any "written questions" about the Indian hospitals &c., provided they are "written" by you - & provided you are pretty sure that the sense of the Commission will not be - what does this woman know about India? she has never been there -

2. I agree with you that we have "scarcely any evidence as to the native Army". Mouat would do. Martin ought to name some one else. Dr. Sutherland could tell something from the "Replies" - But experienced witnesses tell more - *if there are any*. Genl. Ludlow might do.

(N.B. The "Replies" about the native troops are sometimes disgraceful, disgraceful both to Comm<sup>rs</sup>.- & Medical & Engineering Officers. We look upon the native troops, do you know?, much as Virginians look upon slaves)

But I do not give up my point as to having witnesses about "caste" - I was told by an experienced & *learned* Indian that we had made the great mistake of encouraging "caste", whereas, in all India, the native idea is that Military service does away with caste.

But I wish some one would question Ballantyne before he appears as witness. If he shares all the superstitions about Caste & will confirm them, he had better not appear at all. My poor master would have done this directly. But Lord Stanley (altho' "a deal better than nothing," as the nigger woman said of men in general) has not this *nous* or this talent.

**f55**

3. As to the British Army Hospitals in India, they have all the faults we affection so much - which, *ceteris paribus*, must work more harm under that climate than under ours.

4. Dr. Sutherland will be back in England at the end of this month.

5. I have not yet received the Evidence, with Mr. Baker's Analysis.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

My poor master has been dead two months to-day - too long a time for him not to be forgotten - & too long a time for the Commander in Chief not to have proved himself a "snob" and Sir G. Lewis a "muff." The dogs have trampled on his dead body.

Alas! 7 years this month I have "fought the good fight with the War Office *and lost it!*

F.N.

typed copy of letter ff56-57 "India" original 5474/46

**f56**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 5/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

I have got McGrigor & have looked him thro'. But find nothing in him which will do for your paper - Indeed it is remarkable, for so entertaining a book, how little there is in it. But, if you wish for that period, why do you not look at a much more able work of his his Report in the 6th Vol: of the Med. Chir. Transactions. I made large use of it in the Preface I have torn out & now send to you - as well as thee account of Walcheren - where McGrigor succeeded Webb, as Insp. Genl. - which I have torn out of the same (my Confidential Report) as these bits may save you some trouble in reference - Do not return them to me -

I sent you yesterday (by post) Gangoulee's India. I don't think however there is much of practical in it to guide us. Please return it to me at your leisure.

It is not what is inevitable in the "horrible results of "caste", as you say, which I want to impress upon you, - but the excuse for laziness which all those who are lazy (among the European authorities over the native troops) find in "caste." And it is this which I want some practical witnesses to settle, or to overthrow, before the Commission. (Genl. Ludlow & Genl. Briggs *might* be better practically than Ballantyne or Muir to give evidence on this)

I have received a copy of the "complete oral evidence", to use Mr. Baker's expression, with his Index - and thank him for it.

**f57**

But what alarms me is that he should think it "complete."

Independently of your & Dr. Sutherland's evidence, there is much, much more still incomplete - especially as to native troops - & not only that, but as to Engineering - for water-supply &c - in which our Stations are *wholly* deficient. It does seem curious that we should still be drinking out of skins carried by "*bheesties*" there, when we think of the old Roman water works - and when we think of their magnificent underground arrangements too - that we should be allowing native Bazars of half a quarter of a million inhabitants to grow up as at Secunderabad, & Bangalore without one single such arrangement, - poisoning us round our own Stations.

I trust you will let me know *when* you expect your next Meeting to take place - as also that you will not let Ld Stanley think that it is anything like the last.

I am going to write to Martin to the same effect - that you may have an Assistant - and because Baker says, it was Martin who desired him to send me the oral evidence. But Martin is so absorbed by his one idea of "Hill Stations" that he will not be vigorous on our side.

I am going on with the Abstracts of the Indian Replies, of which some very important ones, as Bombay, have arrived since I wrote. For I hope that people will forget that "no more are to be printed." At least I mean to ignore it.

typed copy of letter; ff58-59 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/47

**f58**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 8/61.

[16:574]

My dear Dr. Farr

Your friend, Dr. Mühry, of Gottingen, has written to me to know the fate of a certain paper of his upon "Sea Currents," - which, if you remember, you were kind enough to send (about December last) to the Secret<sup>y</sup>. of the Geog. Soc<sup>y</sup>. (?) for him -

He does not ask for it back, as he has a copy of it. He only wants to know "what has become of it."

If the Geog. Sec<sup>y</sup>. did not approve of it, it would be very easy to make some excuse, as that it does not fall in with the rules of the Society to &c.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I enclose you a Review by Dr. Mühry out of the Gottingen Critical Journal, merely for you to look at (if you do not care to read the rest) the passage marked, P. 1588. Please return it to me.

Did I tell you that I had forwarded to the War-Secretary at *Washington* (upon application) all our War Office Forms & Reports - Statistical and other - taking the occasion to tell them that, as the U.S. had adopted our Registrar Genl.'s nomenclature, it would be easier for them to adopt our Army Stat. Forms.

it appears that they, the Northern States are quite puzzled by their own want of any organization (Army)

I also took occasion to tell them of our Chinese success in

**f59**

reducing the Army Mortality to one tenth of what it was, & the Constantly Sick to one seventh of what they were during the first winter of the Crimean War : due to my dear master.

typed copy of letter; f60 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/48

**f60**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 21/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

I think there can be no objection to the ending of your paper. I like it very much. I like people to know that Sidney Herbert was not so raw a statesman (as his friends would have it appear) as to consider his work *finished*. Poor Ly Herbert would, I am sure, be glad to have a copy.

When is your next Indian Comm<sup>n</sup>. Meeting called for/

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f61 Farr letter Oct 29 1861 met Dr Norton Shaw, re enclosure

typed copy of letter; f62 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/49

**f62**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Nov. 2/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

If you could, without any trouble to yourself, lay your hand upon my letter to you, giving the heads of an Exam<sup>n</sup>. for N.C Officers & Privates, or the Indian Sanitary matter - it would help me in arranging the heads of my own Evidence - to which I am sorry to say I have done little of late - I have been so ill & busy.

Please to direct it to

32 south St. W.

where I shall be on Monday.

My dear master has been dead three months to-day. Poor Lady Herbert goes abroad this next week with the children & shuts up Wilton - The eldest boy going to school - It is as if the earth had opened & swallowed up even the Name which filled my whole life these five years -

I do not go back to Burlington St. which is now to me deserted - ever yours

F.N.

I forwarded your answer to Mühry about his paper - I think it is rather shabby of the Librarian not to be able to find up Muhry's paper, which we know you were so good as to send him

I expect Sutherland & Galton home on the 8th or 10th.

typed copy of letter; f63 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/50

**f63**

COPY

32 South St.

Nov. 28/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

Would you dine here at 6 o'clock with Sutherland? And would you sleep?

I would ask Martin to stay to dinner too. But he & Sutherland agree so badly. And nothing like business ever comes out of it.

I send you our poor Clough's books on Plutarch. If you like to keep them in your hands -

I also return a portion of your Indian Evidence -

Yours ever

(Sgd.) F.N.

typed copy of letter; f64 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/51

**f64**

COPY

32 South St. W.

Dec. 20/61.

My dear Dr. Farr

Dr Sutherland says he *must* see you about the maps & estimates for lithographing them (Indian) which are all here.

Could you come in to-day or to-morrow & dine at 6 o'clock? Today would be more convenient for me. Because after 5, I don't think any more Canadian business will come in. But to-morrow will probably be more convenient to you - I could give you a bed either night.

My *Cluricaune* I have had to send for every day on Canadian business from his own house. Certainly he is a *Cluricaune*! but what a clever one!!

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

f65 Farr letter June 17 1862 to FN asks to look through report and if approve, re improving police

typed copy of letter; f67 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/52

**f67**

COPY

9 Chesterfield St.

W.

June 18/62

My dear Dr. Farr

Very many thanks for your Police Report. I read it with the greatest interest. And, tho' I do not presume to say it is excellent, because every thing you do is excellent, it will put the Pensions & Policemen on a much better footing.

We shall be glad to see you in India as soon as you can come out.

I communicated both your note & Police Report to Dr. Sutherland

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

typed copy of letter; f68 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/53

**f68**

COPY

9 Chesterfield St. W.

July 13/62

My dear Dr. Farr

Would you be so good as to look over my "evidence" & give me your suggestions, as you were godfather to it, in the first instance, I believe.

It is entirely uncorrected & will want a good deal of correction -

Also, I have done the Digests of the two Presidencies, Bengal & Bombay (Stational Reports) but not that of the Madras Presidency. And therefore I shall still have illustrations from this last to insert into this said "evidence."

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Would you write on margin your criticisms & suggestions.

f69 Farr letter July 1862 thanks for pub

typed copy of letter; ff70-71 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/54

**f70**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 8/62

My dear Dr. Farr

You said, "write more, more." And I have written "more, more", & enclose you the result, begging for it to be returned to me with the former proof, & for you to make your remarks upon this one, in lieu of the former. (I have sent it to G.R.O)

But this is not my object but my excuse in writing.

I am miserably anxious about the Report ("Indian Sanitary").

There are so many (political) contingencies on the cards - not one favourable to us - that it would have been very important to have got the Report presented this session - now to get it presented by next February to the Ho: of C.

Lord Stanley wants to have a meeting *early* next month to consider the Report. We have had his corrections upon our part of the Report three months.

If we could get your Statistical introduction, our Draft would be revised in two days & sent to press.

By the beginning of next month the whole matter must be in the corrected proof.

Any general Statistical details may go in the Appendix.

What is really wanted is the necessary Statistical statement to precede the Sanitary enquiry & conclusions in the Report.

In your hands indeed is placed the question whether India is to have Sanitary reform or not. Pardon my importunity. If you *could* send me the Statistical introduction as soon as possible, I

**f71**

shall be your ever grateful

(Sgd.) F.N.

f72 Farr letter Aug 9 1862 with JS note on back thanks for proof of her evidence, is working at Indian stats, a most treacherous and troublesome field, will be glad to meet Ld Stanley any day

typed copy of letter; f74 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/55

**f74**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 12/62

My dear Dr. Farr

I do not understand, from Lord Stanley's note that he wishes for a Meeting until he is ready with the Report.

What he wants is the Report.

And we thought to expediate matters by sending your part with the Sanitary part to press, to get a proof of the whole so that you & Lord Stanley might see how the whole stood. That is all.

But is you prefer sending it direct to Ld S., he will take means to have it put in connection with the part already in type.

Then we shall have proofs of the whole. And a meeting will be held thereafter to discuss the Report.

But every day's delay counts for a year

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

Lord S. is gone abroad till next month. (September)

f75 Farr letter Aug 15 1862 returned your evidence, read it carefully and find nothing to correct; the concept is good and is carried out admirably in all the details; Apollo [?] picked out all the beautiful bits of Greece and out of them composed his masterpiece, which had no single model; you will be accused of dealing in the same fashion with the beauty spots of India; you must anticipate objections

typed copy of letter; f77 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/56

**f77**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Sept. 13/62

My dear Dr. Farr

You may perhaps remember (or more likely you may have forgotten) that the Colonial Office employed me, or I employed the Colonial Office (which is the more correct?) to come to some conclusion about the relation between education & mortality in our uncivilised colonies. How far can we educate savages without killing them?

I send you the *Ceylon* School papers, - with three Forms, which I enclose, - & ask you to be so kind as to criticize the Forms, as to whether they are fit for tabulating the facts for use, comparing them with one or two of the Returns - & also then to put the Returns in hand at your Office - I of course paying therefor.

I hope you yourself will take no farther trouble than just to look over the Forms -

And you will eternally oblige yours very truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

There are a great many more materials (to be done afterwards)

I shall be too glad to pay for the clerical labor, only esteeming myself too happy in getting your criticism.

F.N.

f78 Farr letter Sept 16 1862 "your forms will do very well" has added total col, re payment for JS and him

f80 Farr letter Oct 2 1862 encloses tables, re schools data analysis (gives details)

f82 Farr letter Oct 10 1862 re tables

f83 Farr letter Oct 30 1862 re meteorology aspects, re her schools inquiry

f85 Farr letter Nov 1 1862 with JS note on back will do as she suggests re Baker, encloses hospital specimen re Hotel Dieu

typed copy of letter; f87 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/57

**f87**

COPY

32 South Street,  
Grosvenor Square,  
W.  
Nov. 4/62

My dear Dr. Farr

Could you kindly further the growth of your own child by causing the enclosed Diagram to be made out? The middle one in pencil is the Mortality of the Infantry for 1859-61 (3 years) the three divisions of diseases same as before -

Zymotic	Chest &c.	Others	All
0.96	4.2	3.4	8.56

I want to publish it & say :-

"This is how he found the Army (Sidney Herbert) this is how he left it.

You see we are better now than the Civil population.

Ever yours

(Sgd.) F.N.

Oh if we could do the same for the Indian Army.

f88 Farr letter Nov 7 1862 encloses diagram, wh I am delighted to see; made by Mr Williams; reduction of the zymotic and tuberculous death rate confirm each other; I have great hopes of India

f89 Farr letter Nov 13 1862 enclose calculations made by Mr Coster? under Clode's inspection, not been done twice but they in many instances "check themselves" and so I hope there is no serious error

typed copy of letter; f90 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/58

**f90**

COPY

32 South Street [16:77]  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
Nov. 15/62

My dear Dr. Farr

I am (sadly & unwillingly) doing a Third Edition of my "Notes on Hospitals" for Parkers, which was promised 18 months ago before my misfortunes.

In the weekly for Feb. 21, 1852, you gave a Table of the Mortality of the London Hospitals.

Could you give us such a table for such a number of years, as would enable a General *life-table* of the London Hospitals to be calculated (excluding the question of age of course)

It would tell very much, if we could shew that each Hospital has its own *life-risk* - & would add another argument to the case against those Hospitals.

Could a similar case be made for a few of the best country Hospitals in open districts? This would be very useful in the comparison. But at all events the London table would tell its own tale.

I need hardly say that I would gladly pay (for any such information) a fee, such as would be given to any less celebrated actuary

[end]

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f91 Farr letter Nov 18 1862 glad she is doing a third ed of the Notes; we have nothing new in the hosp way; at Soc Sc meeting 2 or 3 good papers on London hosp mortality

f93 Farr letter Dec 3 1862 thanks for admirable evidence thanks for admirable evidence, encloses diagrams

typed copy of letter; f95 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/59 dated Dec 14

**f95**

COPY

(portion containing address torn)  
Dec. 4/62

My dear Dr. Farr

Thank you very much for your Indian Diagrams which are startling & painfully striking.

1. would it not be well to add the *Home Army* comparison (executed just now by you & which is at this moment in Mr Hammick's hands) to both these valuable Diagrams?

2. We have it on evidence that the Mortality in the Indian Army might be reduced to 20 per 1000. Ought there not to be a (square)

diagram to show the effect of this?

3. Our improvement in Statistical aesthetics is not so conspicuous as our improvement in Statistics. Our Statistical art is somewhat in the same state as Art before Cimabue. Could it not be improved?

4. I send the "Abstract" of Indian Statistical Reports.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

f96 Farr letter to FN Dec 11 1862. To be Returned to F.N. will be glad to meet Capt Galton

f98 Farr letter to FN Dec 29 1862 will attend to your hosp objections, will see JS, re Insp Gen report for Bengal and Bombay

typed copy of letter; f101; not dated "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/60

**f101**

COPY

To Dr. Farr

(Indian Army San. Commission? 1862 or 1863  
Sir Hope Grant was then  
Commander-in-chief at  
Madras.)

*Statistical*

The "defects of the existing organization" can be quite well "pointed out" in the *Report*

But - it would have been most desirable, if possible, to call out *evidence* to prove that other classes, under the same climate, do not suffer as soldiers do.

No fact brought out by the 1st R. San<sup>y</sup>. Comm. struck the public so much as this : that the soldier at home was nearly the most unhealthy of all trades - People who could understand nothing else understood this. The book of Diagrams again struck everybody.

If something of the same kind could be done here - a comparison between soldiers & Civilians in tropical climates, it would do more to convince such men as Sir Hope Grant than all the rest put together -

The fallacy about the destructive effect of Night-Duty being the cause of the Soldier's Mortality at home has disappeared in the minds of Military men since the first Commission.

Could not the fallacy about Climate being the *unavoidable* cause of the Indian Mortality do the same before the Commission?

*Drainage.*

It is most important to have Rawlinson or Austin upon *how* this is to be done -

f113 Farr letter to FN May 12 1863 congress will be held in Sept, writing to Engel to get official info, let you know; I agree with you on lock hosp question

f117 Farr letter to FN June 6 1863 has occurred to me that it mt be well for JS to write a short sentence for the report stating that the actuarial tables were prepared by me; mt also relieve the other commiss of some responsibility;

f119 Farr letter to FN June 10 1863 private, delighted to hear you have acted with the decision and promptitude, have great confidence in Lord de Grey, but you must continue to lend him that inspiration and assistance which are necessary to the useful life of our good master now gone

f120 Farr letter to FN July 20 1863 Engel invites the official members of the congress to meet him prior to the public meeting; W. Cowper holds that as sec of congress of London he is bound to attend

- f102 Farr letter to FN Jan 26 1863 I knew your feeling on the matter before I recd your note, but fair and right for the commiss to pay for the printing of the report and its appendices, which should save the country and India £2000,000 a year
- f103 Farr letter to FN Feb 3 1863 encloses proof of his section
- f105 Farr letter to FN Feb 6 1863 will you kindly at your leisure send me another copy of your Herbert paper, re tables
- f107 Farr letter to FN Feb 18 1863 you will prob like to see the enclosed proof, return when finished
- f108 Farr letter to FN March 2 1863 encloses a new table, shows what she wished to see; we have more, sends book for JS, have no good returns on constantly sick
- f109 Farr letter to FN Ap 23 1863 if you can send me your copy of the classif of Barth's cases will be of use at College of Physicians tomorrow, glad Lord de Grey your candidate at post and in Cabinet
- f110 Farr letter to FN Ap 24 1863 many thanks, you have sent me precisely what I want, glad you are re-est in town
- f111 Farr letter to FN Ap 25 1863 had a hard fight at College of Physicians last night, Simon attacked our classification very furiously, denouncing zymotic as having misled the people and brought blame on towns for sanitary neglect, when they had only ; he proposed what he called a gridiron classification, disease acc to part affected, and pathological nature, but one case affecting several parts wd occur more than once; it wd not work and could lead to nothing; Balfour chimed in, wd prefer it to the zymotic etc., for that...Paget is not on the committee
- f113 Farr letter to FN May 12 1863 congress in Sept, am writing to Engel to get official info and will let you know; I agree with you on lock hosp question; it wd be well if arrs cd be made for the treatment of all the disease of the Indian pop by a local med staff charged also with sanitary duties. And disease is a bad thing, but it is poss to find something worse; Ld Stanley raises a point about his valuation of a man
- f117 Farr letter to FN June 6 1863 re Treasury, mt be well for JS to write a short sentence for the report re actuarial

f122 Farr letter to FN July 23 1863 you must send us 10 copies for the British Assoc if you can spare them, has written to Sykes, who will write to her; our publ was a blunder, regret that I did not retain some control over

f124 Farr letter to FN July 24 1862 please look at enclosed and send on to Lord Stanley, thanks for your paper, will put in safe hands; please let Dr S know that I will attend to the other matter

f125 letter to Farr 24 July 1863 from W.H. Sykes, Hyde Park will read FN's paper

f126 Farr letter [27 July 1863] will send your proof for Berlin, think the letter shd appear as printed in the report

f128 Farr letter to FN, Aug 1 1863 has requested Stanford to proceed with letter, asks her to write a few lines of intro

typed copy of letter; ff131-132; "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/61

**f131 [hosp]**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 7/63.

My dear Dr. Farr

I am extremely sorry for the Berlin Congress - I believe there is a dead set of L. Napoleon & the Austrians to put it down. Engel perhaps does not work upon it quite seriously enough. What a curious Germanizing brain process his letter shews - also why Germans cannot succeed at Liberal Institutions as we do.

He is thinking (& writing to you) of the *subjective* good effect upon his own character of political vexations. We in England should just lay our heads together, as we did in James II's time, & say, *this shall not be*. And the *objective* action would follow directly.

However, one thing he says, is perfectly certain, viz. that all this vexatious opposition has the effect of advertising the thing much more than our own utmost efforts could do -

So it will be with the attacks upon our India Report at Newcastle & elsewhere - But why are you not there to answer them? There will be no one else to do so - Why did not Berlin time its Meeting better?

I don't think I could get anything ready for Berlin - I have no time or strength - unless you thought the Surgical Operations Tables would do, with a paper of which the enclosed is an uncorrected proof - in which case I must ask you to get somebody to translate it into French - I have no time -

You will see that your own proposition occurs on the second

**f132**

page - & extended.

Ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f133 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/62

**f133**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 15/63.

My dear Dr. Farr

I send you the paper for Berlin with many thanks. Tho' in type, I need not say it is quite new. And I am sorry not to have had time to get a Revise. However I have no doubt you will make it better than the original.

I am overjoyed to hear your success about the Austrians. That was your personal influence, against the political screw. Also that the Crown Prince is to preside. It is a great thing. I hope it may do much good, after all.

I am afraid rail roads do more good than Sisters of Charity - & international congresses & exhibitions than philanthropy.

Believe me

ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I hope you mean to read my paper yourself.

[start transfer to chron here]

f134 Farr letter to FN Aug 17 1863 send order to Sandford

f136 Farr letter to FN Aug 10 1863 operation paper and tables will be admirable; will not be necessary to translate it; English, French and German are allowed; shall I send it in present state to Berlin?

f138 Farr letter to FN Aug 19 1863 kindly glance at enclose and say if approve; Baker's name will be omitted, with JS note on back

f140 Farr letter to FN Aug 19 1863 on reflection re com service; propose to tell Lord Stanley

f141 Farr letter to FN Aug 20 1863 saw Stanford, he convinced me there wd be material difficulties in changing the size of pub, re woodcuts; your letter is a work of art wh wd be injured by any transposition

f142 Farr letter to FN Aug 21 1863 nothing amazes me more than that you shd be troubled about this matter; re JS t do sanitary work and he the stat

f144 Farr letter to FN Aug 26 1863 many thanks for grouse and all your kind favours, esp re Indian commiss; Ld Stanley

f146 Farr letter to FN Aug 27 1863 sends by book post a copy of your obs or letter; to be pub on Wed and sent to Dr Engel at Berlin for congress; will send copy to the newspapers

typed copy of letter; f148; "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/63

**f148**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 28/63.

My dear Dr. Farr

I cannot tell you how vexed & mortified I have been with all this. It has quite knocked me up. You say, they "must have been singularly misled - by somebody." We know very well who that somebody is. He has been at it for more than two years. If you wonder that an "ill conditioned beggar," as he was justly called - not by me - could prevail against several persons of much more than ordinary ability, industry & honesty, I answer, falsehood does give a man such as immense advantage (over truth). Did not the one traitor prevail against the 11 faithful in the greatest tragedy in history? Yet there is no sign of his having been a clever traitor. An old Irishwoman once warned me to have no doings with a certain person because "he can lie & you cannot." Was not that profound?

I have been warning them against this swindler any time these two years. But he was always on the spot. I was not.

I cannot tell you the grief this affair has caused me.

I write this word only not to let you go to Berlin without a word of regret.

Would you tell Stanford to send me up here 12 copies of my paper as soon as possible - to be paid for, of course -

7 Oakhill Park

Hampstead N.W.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f149 Farr letter to FN Oct 9 1863 after leaving Berlin went round by Vienna, Venice, Milan and Basil and sailed down Rhine by one of the places wh you have rendered memorable to Rotterdam and the Hague; congress on the whole went off very well and if the attendance was good incl a full attendance of foreign reprs the first day; I was registered to read your paper which I did in abstract; had also to say something of our late pres [Prince Albert] and of our dear friend Lord Herbert, a few words only; but everybody *felt* the loss of those two men; you will see what was done on the section on military stats, one where our methods were displayed and on their general principles I doubt not be adopted on the continental armies. We made some way also in the section on weights, measures and money; the metrical system of weights and measures was unan accepted; the gold and silver standard had difficulties but they will be overcome. The govt wd not let the crown prince accept the presidency but in the royal box; the princess sent for a copy of what I said of her father and when I was presented to her spoke very affectionately of him; the Red Book was moved from Stanford and I placed it upon the table of the congress; the statement about our Indian Army attracted great attention.

f151 Farr letter to FN Oct 16 1863 thanks for pheasant; when you see or hear of Dr S perhaps remind him of my deal re India Office; when I get a better account...sends German version of my short statement

f152 Farr letter to FN Oct 28 1863 from GRO re her paper read at the Berlin congress by him at request of the pres and was favourably recd; importance of its object fully admitted. Engel will no doubt use it in the proceedings and we will ask him to take steps to get the plan carried out. The Reg Gen will be glad, I am sure, to send out your forms; have had a note from Ld Stanley stating that the IO has raised my grant to £750 for wh I am duly grateful; shall like to see your well timed Soc Sc tables in extenso as soon as it is in type

Add Mss 43399 letter f153; handscript of Florence Nightingale; pen; November 23<sup>rd</sup> 1863

**f153**

To Dr Farr [9:258]

The Gov<sup>t</sup> of India, as well as the different Presidency ~~sources~~ authorities, state that they "have detected "serious mistakes in the Report" "(R. Sanitary)" tending to exaggerate "much the real state of mortality."

These words come from the very highest source in India - tho' they are in a private letter.

Besides this, Col. Norman, Mil: Sec<sup>y</sup> to the Govt of India, has sent home a "paper" to the same effect. Stating that all the "recommendations" had been "anticipated".

So it not, then, incumbent to bring out a statement, showing the truth of the figures impugned?

(Please to return Dr. Crommelin's

23/11/63

(letter.

[end 9:258]

f154 Farr letter to FN Nov 24 1863; FN comment: To be returned to F.N. portion of Br soldiers mortality in India shd not exceed 10 in 1000, it has exceeded that figure hitherto, by never mind how much; re Col Baker's letter; thunder cloud gathered up form all the presidencies wh is to extinguish us; of its nature we left in awful ignorance; we only hear the muttering and the Indian s howl back; let us wait and keep our powder dry; we are not going to fire on the air like people frightened out of their wits; let them point out our "mistakes" if they are mistakes--we will admit them freely, but shake our foundations of blow down our waters--those fellows cannot; we must get copies of the great Bird paper Longmans

f156 Farr letter to FN [28 Nov 1863] Sat. Morell's black ink is the official ink in use; Steven's blue ink I use; it stands all weathers whereas the ink of Morell; we must see illeg's paper poor Lord Elgin!

f157 Farr letter to FN Dec 3 1868 GRO I know you will do me the favour to accept the acc bottle of my ink which I find is not sold at all the book sellers as Morell's is; Sir JL will I hope go out full of the true faith to India, and give effect to our report; you will indoctrinate him, and we shall in time perceive the fruits of years of labour

f158 Farr letter to FN GRO Dec 4 1863 you shd say that the tables are in use at illeg [BH?] and that the paper was read with approbation at the Berlin congress. We shall want about 150 copies for the mortality, see annexed list. I think your paper particularly good, something might be added, which wd please the congress about the loss of life after operations, being unjustly ascribed to the operator's want of skill etc., whereas it is &c; as soon as the paper of illeg on the Indian mortality comes to light I shd like to see a copy

typed copy of letter; ff159-160 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/64

**f159**

*COPY*

*Confidential*

32 South Street  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
Dec. 10/63.

My dear Dr. Farr

You may be sure that I have thought of nothing else but our India business during the last bust ten days. And, in order to put you *au courant*, I send you 1. a letter of Lord Stanley's, and 2. part of my answer - We shall not get Col. Norman's paper. But never mind. The best thing that can happen to us is that they should produce their complaints against us in the Ho: of C. And lord Stanley has already engaged my services in person to prompt him in February. He has also engaged to produce in the Ho: of C. the scheme of instructions which we wished the "home Commission" to send out to India -

Since then, I have had the great joy of being in constant communication with Sir John Lawrence, & of receiving his commands to do what I had almost lost the hope of being allowed to do viz. of sending out full statements & schemes of what we want the Presidency Commissions to do -

I should be glad to submit to you copies of papers of mine, which he desired me to write & which he took out with him - as to the constitution of the presidency Commissions, if you care to see them. They are, of course, confidential.

His is the greatest government under God's. And he is the only man to fill it.

I have also seen Lt Stanley more than once during these busy days. And, with Sir J. Lawrence's command, we feel ourselves

**f160**

empowered to begin the "home commission", & to farther our plans upon it.

Sir J. Lawrence, so far from considering our Report exaggerated, considers it under the mark -

And, tho' I have not seen Col-Norman's furious attack upon us, I have (now in my possession) the Cholera Commission Report, dated July 1862, Public works Department papers, dated August & September of *this year*, which give an idea of a state of things of which we had no idea, *have given no idea*. I send you an Extract of the former. (The I.O., wise in its generation, (?) keep these a dead secret. And I am indebted to Sir J. Lawrence & Sir C. Trevelyan for them.)

Please return me all these papers, & consider them really "confidential"

Ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

A thousand thanks for your bottle of ink. What should we be without pens, ink & paper? - Cats? -

F.N.

Remember we shall want you in February when we are all to be blown into atoms.

f161 Farr letter to FN Dec 19 1863 Hammick is writing about hospitals for the Census Report; which do you now hold to be your model? the Herbert? re 3rd ed. You have done wonderfully with Sir JL and our cause will in the end triumph in India

f162 Farr letter to FN Dec 22 1863 thanks for the 3-fold gift, black cock, wild duck and the *Notes on Hospitals!!!* I shd be only glad to the cat for the children, who will prize it; Dr Varrentrapp, Frankfort will be glad to get a copy of our *Notes*. You cd not I presume allow Netley to be quoted as a model mil hosp. Bird has fired his shot at us, and I am anxious to get copies of any of the Indian attacks. A weekly table of the deaths and causes in Calcutta, on the London plan, will be a thing to do. I want the thing started all over Europe and America

typed copy of letter; ff163-64 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/65

**f163**

COPY

*Private*

32 South St. W.  
Dec. 22/63.

My dear Dr. Farr,

I was busy all Saturday, Sunday & Monday with & for Lord de Grey - to screw up the W.O. to accede to Sir J. Lawrence's Sanitary wishes.

With regard to your question :- there is no Civil Hospital of a large size in England which can be called "a model."

The Herbert Hospital is a model for a Military Hospital i.e. having respect to the character of the ground, the Pavilion system is there applied in a model manner -

But I am not sure that did the ground allow of it, it would not be better to arrange similar double Pavilions in the shape of a square, with open corners, as in the form of Yarmouth Naval Hosp<sup>l</sup>. (p.98).

For a Civil Hospital, I think the entire separation between the sexes & the *single* pavillion far preferable, as in the Lariboisière are its three floors, its Pavilions too near each other, & its abominable artificial ventilation. Which neutralizes half its good.

In a Civil hospital, each ward(& each floor consequently) should be as separate & complete in itself as a family living on a flat in Paris

This is why I prefer the Lariboisière plan.

The Bucks Infirmary is a good adaption for a *small* civil Hospital of the Pavillion (p.93)

ever your sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f164**

You don't want a *cat!* do you, for your young people - a Persian, *not* thorough-bred, 4 1/2 months old.

I ought to send a copy of my "Notes on Hospitals" to Warrentropp. Can you tell me his address, & how to send it? Did you see him at Berlin?

f165 Farr letter to FN Dec 23 1863 I felt certain that the Netley did not come up to your ideal. I have promised faithfully to call for Puss tomorrow aft 4-5, please allow your servant to put her in a small basket

f166 Farr letter to FN Dec 31 1863; happy new year, will be only if your noble and useful labour crowned by success; Topsy created a great sensation on Christmas day by disappearing like Lord Brougham; tears, but found swinging peacefully in a fold of the curtains; while writing just recd a handsome present; many thanks for the 3 copies. I am your faithful servant who, I think, as long as he can will fight under your colours

typed copy of letter; ff167-68 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/66

**f167**

COPY

Private

32 South Street,  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
Jan. 2/64

My dear Dr. Farr

I have not laid aside (out of my heart) what you said in your note of Dec. 22 about the "Weekly Table" in Calcutta &c. It is so very important.

We have been engaged, without intermission, since sir John Lawrence went; & by his desire, - in drawing up a kind of general scheme of what is wanted in Indian Stations -

water supply

drainage

construction of Barracks

Means of employment for soldiers &c &c &c &c -

This is now done to press. On Tuesday the joint W.O. and I.O. Commission, for which I have toiled & moiled, holds its first Meeting - to discuss the proposed Barrack plans for India & the general scheme above alluded to -

Dr. Sutherland will propose the "Weekly Table". And, if carried, you will be applied to for a *Form*.

I hope, if there is any thing different from the English form necessary, you will be ready with your scheme.

Sir John Lawrence's presence at the other end is an immense thing for us -

And I shall moil & toil at him & his private Secretary, whom he sent here to me - as well as coming himself - before starting -

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

**f168**

I think I told you that we can't get "copies of (any of) the Indian attacks", altho' I sent Lt Stanley to sir C. Wood for them. They are venomous. (I have seen some of them.) But when Parliament meets, Sir C. Wood is to lay them before the House - in a *civiller form* - And we are to answer them -

typed copy of letter; f169 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/67

**f169**

COPY

*Private*

32 South Street,  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
7/1/64

My dear Dr. Farr

On Tuesday the proposal to have your Weekly Table for Calcutta, Madras, & Bombay, with an ultimate view to its extension throughout India, was carried at the joint I.O. and W.O. Commission - as the best means of carrying out the recommendation as to registration of your Royal Commission.

And I am told that (with unusual promptitude) the W.O. drafted an Official letter the same day to the Registrar-General, requesting a Form for the purpose, with the view of assimilating the registration of India to that of England.

If you could send us a copy (of what your propose) here, with your Instructions for carrying it into effect - also what you wish to have said in the Section (to be devoted to Statistics) - of the "recommendation" which in accordance with Sir John Lawrence's desire, we are preparing for the press - to be sent to India; it would greatly expediate matters -

As Sir John Lawrence begged that we would use the greatest dispatch in forwarding to India all that we wanted his help in.

Ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

typed copy of letter; f170 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/68

**f170**

COPY

32 South Street,  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
9/1/64

My dear Dr. Farr

As I have not heard from your Holiness, will this section on the Registration do as a basis?

Please let your Infallibility give your decision, so that it may be embodied in a Bull.

And send us all the Forms referred to in it.

One of the (most) Faithful

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f171 Farr letter to FN Jan 9 1864 asks to do favour to accept some new pens, better than those of gold, replaceable at cost of penny; the metal is the famous aluminium bronze; inkstand will reach you shortly; an inkstand shd contain as much ink as was reqd for the day's use and no more

f173 JS letter to Farr from 32 South St. Jan 12 1864, we have been working in your notes re registration of deaths into the Indian paper, but there are one or 2 points wd be obliged to have your help; re headings of the Registrar's book, with Farr comments;

forms follow, certificate

f178 Farr notes

typed copy of letter; f182 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/69

**f182**

COPY

115 Park St. W.  
Feb. 4/64

My dear Dr. Farr

I send two letters of your friend Dr. Mühry anent the India Army Sanitary Report - (I sent him a copy of the two folio Vols :) Please to return the letters to me.

(The intermediate letter, to which he refers, was an immense German letter which he wrote to me, defending the Schleswig Holstein independence.

But as I feel more strongly on that subject than the Germans themselves, & have actually translated many hundred pages of untranslatable German in their sense, I was able to tell him how violent a fury I was in for him -)

ever your sincerely

(Sgd.) F.N.

f182 Farr letter to FN Feb 8 1864 GRO returns the Mühry letter and the others; went to discuss the German Dane [?] question; have sent last week a response to our reviews, thought that the ed of the M T Gazette will have the grace to insert if for the ed of said reviewers; I have read your third edition with threefold pleasure

f184 Farr letter to FN Feb 10 1864 a heavy blow at your head today in the form of our census report; you will I hope find in it some info of interest; glance at the enclosed copy of a letter which I have addressed privately to the Hon W.C. The govt has been conferring distinctions on the Irish R.G. and we think Major Graham the head of the English office merits some distinction from our govt; have just read a proof of the reply to the reviews; I have just read a proof of the reply to the reviews; possible Dr G's ire has been roused by your cruel criticism of his paper into a fit of scolding; we shall see. The writer's wrath will not be appeased by what I have said, altho' I have taken the mildest poss account of his offences.

f186 hand copy of Farr letter to W. Cowper Feb 8 1864, re census and Major Graham  
f190 Farr letter to FN Feb 12 1864 at last sends working inkstand; ed of M T & G has written a curious note; he will insert something of his own; neither agrees with the reviewer nor with me on all points but is alive to the importance of the discussion

typed copy of letter; f192 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/70

**f192**

COPY

115 Park St. W. [16:656]

Feb. 16/64

My dear Dr. Farr

I have first to thank you for your "jolly" little ink-stand, on the truly practical principle. Second, to thank you for your truly witty letter in the M. Times - But I also greatly enjoyed the two adverse Articles - it is the only comfort & amusement I have to see men shewing themselves up in that way.

I send a copy of "Notes on Hospitals" for the "Lancet", as you desire - And I hope to see it distinguish itself -

ever yours truly

(Sgd.) F.N.

Third; I have to thank you, & most particularly, for your Census Report, which is really grand - And, also for the copy of your letter to Mr. W. Cowper about the honour due to the Registrar General, in which you may be sure I fully concur. If I have an opportunity, I will say so. But I am not much in that line now

F.N.

typed copy of letter; ff193-194 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/71

**f193**

*COPY*

*Private*

115 Park St. W.

Feb. 23/64

My dear Dr. Farr

Your informant was well informed about the Pr. C. "[Privy Council]"} Hospital enquiry -

Mr. Simon, for the Pr. C., selected Dr. Bristowe, of St. Thomas', & Mr. T. Holmes of St. Georges's to make an investigation & report of all the Hospitals in England & Wales - the principal Hospitals of Scotland & Ireland - some of the continental Hospitals.

It has been already going on for some months - And a great part of their Report is in proof. It is voluminous & goes into foundation, construction, administration, general plan, & minor details, with general Statistics - Bristowe & Holmes divided England between them. Ireland, Scotland & the Continent they took, as suited the convenience of each -

A man, in whose opinion I have great confidence, has glanced at the Report, & says that, "though it will have all the prestige of the Pr.C. to back it", he does "not fear the result" - that it contains gross blunders, & that both Bristowe & Holmes are thoroughly inexperienced.

I take it, their conclusions are at variance with your Statistics.

You will now understand Bristowe's letter in the "M. Times."

I say *too*, let us have the whole matter out - the more discussion, the better. Let us know whether they are killing or

**f194**

curing the people in Hospitals.

But I am not sure that the Pr. C. Report will not damage us for the moment, made at Sir John Lawrence's desire, - & which would already have reached him, were we not still waiting for Mr. Rawlinson's bit.

Neither have I ever thanked Mr. Hammick for his packet of Berlin Internat: Congress papers, which he was so good as to send me - Will you kindly do so?

ever yours  
(Sgd.) F.N.

f195 Farr letter to FN Feb 24 1864 encloses Cowper's reply

f197 Farr letter to FN Apr 9 1864 sends copy of *Lancet* with reply to the 2 fresh epistle to the Med Times [?] evidently inspired by Vinor with a view to prepare the way for the great work which is to demolish us all; the source of the info about their movements I shall not disclose

f199 Farr letter to FN May 20 1864 GRO Poor Tulloch! we shall all deplore his loss; he has done good work in his day. Honour to his memory ! return the Bartholomew's [?] report; propose to study it, re how mortality calculated; asks to ask JS to send him a list of the hospitals wh now publish reports.

f200 Farr letter to FN Aug 4 1864 GRO glad to have something to say re san reform in India at our stat and ec section at Bath; wants to say something of Tulloch and shall have another loss soon, R.S. Thompson; it is our consolation that good works never die and in them good men live for ever; perhaps Dr S wd like to read a paper at Bath

f201 FN pencil note for JS

What about the  
Hospl Memo?  
You can't lave out  
the Nurses room  
He *ought* to be in charge  
of the Orderlies  
at night

*You have forgotten  
all we talked  
about.*

One N.C.O must be in charge  
of the Patients all night  
One N.C.O. of the Orderlies sleeping

f201v

I've sent him a copy of  
the Suggest  
long ago

Tell me the List

You *must* come here on Monday  
To *whom* does I.O. send them  
As the Ind Off are so prompt  
& vehement in sending out  
"suggestions" to India, shall  
I send out a few more by  
H.M.'s Bookpost.  
6 Sir J. Law 1 Ellis of Madras  
1 Hathaway  
1 Trevelyan 1 Walker  
1 Strachey

typed copy of letter; ff202-04 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/73

**f202**

COPY

*Private*

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 5/64

My dear Dr. Farr

I will attend to what you wish (about the Bath Meeting) - & in the mean time I send you a copy of the first fruits of your R. India Army Sanitary Commission, with your Section on Registration in it. (Probably you have received a copy already.) Sir J. Lawrence has been writing home most impatiently for it. And I have sent him copies direct by H.M.'s Book post. (It is understood that some time in the course of the present century he will receive them officially from the Ind. Off. It took the members of the Comm<sup>n</sup>. 7 1/2 months to sign their names to this document.)

You are aware of the fruits of your India R. Commiss<sup>n</sup>. in the creation by Sir John Lawrence of the three Presidency Commissions, (of which the Bengal one is working actively. He sometimes sends me its Minutes,) and in his willingness to carry out any suggestions sent him by the home Comm<sup>n</sup>. - indeed he is more willing to hear than they to pray.

I am sorry to hear of your griefs. I do not find that mine close my heart to those of others - and I should be more than anxious to hear of *yours* - you who have been our faithful friend for so many years. I had heard of your father's death, but not of any other loss - Sidney Herbert has been dead three years on the 2nd. And these three years have been nothing but a slow undermining of all he has done (at the W.O.) This is the bitterest grief. The mere personal craving after a beloved presence I feel as nothing - A few years at most - & that will be over. But the other is never

**f203**

over - for me, I look forward to pursuing God's work soon in another of his worlds. I do not look forward with any craving to seeing again those I have lost (in the very next world) - sure that that will all come in His own good time - & sure of my willingness to work in whichever of His worlds I am most wanted, with or without those dear fellow workers, as He pleases. But this does not at all soothe the pain of seeing men wantonly deface the work *here* of some of His best workers.

But I shall bear your faith in mind - that good works never really die.

Alas! good Tulloch. But I think his work was done. Pray, if you speak of him, remember - had it not been for him, where would our two Army Sanitary enquiries have been?

I had not heard about Dr. Thomson. I am very sorry.

ever yours sincerely,

overflowingly

(Sgd.) F.N.

I sent Sir J. Lawrence your Registration papers by Book post with copies of the "Suggestions." Depend upon it, he will register all India.

The thunder of the India military authorities has been heard. It was nothing but an echo of Col: Baker's paper - the complaining of out not having incorporated the years since the Meeting (which they did not send us) in the Statistics - of our not having taken into account the diminution in Mortality of late years -

Sir J. Lawrence sent me word of this.

**f204**

The India Off: were to receive this remonstrance. But they have subsided & make no sign. Tho' it must have been at least two months before the end of the Session that they received it, & Sir C. Wood promised & threatened to lay it before the Ho: of C., he wisely held his tongue. And no soul has heard of the receipt by the I.O.

(Sgd.) F.N.

f205 Farr letter to FN Sept 2 1864 you have put your finger on the Germanic aberration. He asks you for the simple concession "you slept on a wooden bed" and all the rest follows inevitably. The good Varrentrapp must see that his elaborate logical refinements land him in concls wh are completely reversed by "I do not sleep on a wooden bedstead but iron." The idea of iron and air always make our Teutonic brothers shudder. They puzzle themselves very much on stats and never take these tools by their handles. It is like cutting with the back of the knife or reversing the fork; you have seen the good souls eating. I intend to make a few remarks on their stats wh are not in a sc form and are never applied home to purposes of practical good, and what are figures worth if they do no good to men's bodies or souls. If any strong thoughts cross your mind anent economics or stats you know how welcome they will be in our section at Bath, whither I go on the 12th; shall hope to get some copies of the report, wh we have at last embodying the main features of the volumes in a readable form. Thanks for what you have done.

f207 Farr letter to FN from British Assoc Bath Sept 21 1864, Elliot of the US, connected with the American San Commiss wd be glad to get any of your work on the Cr War wh you could spare and wd like to be used; Bath meeting has been very successful but badly reported in press; had a good paper on Salisbury mortality (27) before san improvements (20)

typed copy of letter; ff209-10 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/74

**f209**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Sept. 28/64

My dear Dr. Farr

You ask me for any books (on the Crimean War) for Mr. Elliot, U.S.

I have sent to your Office what poor Sidney Herbert used to call my "coxcombs", viz. the lilac & green folios, containing calculations & Diagrams, mainly, or rather wholly yours - Pray put these at his disposal.

I have the greatest difficulty in getting a copy of my "Evidence before the R. Commission" at all. And the only form, in which I can lay hold of it, is in the old Edition of my "Notes on Hospitals" - captured, as you see, from Mudie's. For the Editions (2) are entirely out of print.

If he chooses to have this, it is much at his service.

I also send, but this is *not at all* at his service, my "Confidential" private Report to Lord Panmure. If he wants it merely for the figures, as Actuary, the figures, again, mainly yours) & will destroy it without using it any farther, he may have it. But you must answer for him.

I never take the word, from sad experience of a Yankee or a R. Catholic convert. And if you *can't* answer for him, please send me back the Vol: to 115 Park St. It is full of imputations, too true, upon individuals, which time makes it more, instead of less undesirable, to bring forward now. I don't know whether you know how repeatedly the Federal Govt. have applied for this - how it has been

**f210**

uniformly refused - how the Bp of London gave a copy, obtained from Ld Panmure, to the Bp of Ohio, (Bishops by the way are as bad as Yankees) who gave it to the Federal Govt., where my faithful Muir (Inspector Genl.) found it in *the very act of being re-printed*, notwithstanding their solemn promise to the contrary, re-captured it, & solemnly wrote home about it.

You will not wonder that I am absurdly cautious after this -  
ever yrs

(Sgd.) F.N.

f211 Farr letter to FN Sept 30 1864 from Torbay; re sending coxcombs to Elliot, returns the confid report; wd be unfair to expose the virtue of my friend Elliot to the severe trial of preserving such a secret in a quaker land where even the bishops are bishops and actuaries cannot be entirely trusted. He will get much info from your other books and turn it to good account. Reminded of Italy

f213 Farr letter to FN Oct 27 GRO has recd from Sir Ranald Martin Dr Leith's report which is fuller than that in the newspaper, wh returns; will answer the stat attack at once. Will Ld Stanley who says an answer shd be given; must be suitable form

f215 Farr letter to FN Nov 3 1864 GRO saw Sir Ranald yesterday re Leith report; shall send it in a day or two

f216 Farr letter to FN Nov 8 1864 "My Lady" it shd be, in retaliation; I regret that I did not see Dr S; sends a short paper on the subject; re Ld Stanley, hoping you may do another ten years of good

f218 Farr letter to FN Nov 10 1864 encloses a little table, supplies the info you require re mortality of London down to end of Sep 1864; I do not think much can be made of the effect of influx of fresh troops; have referred to it, but shd have said more, had I the facts about the location of the immense additions to our Europeans in naturally healthy sites than old Bombay proper==Fort William, etc. seen JS; sent to Balfour who is strongly in favour of the military year ending April 1; I am much pleased with your book and its title, which the archbp of York ought to see: Say How people may live and not die in England! He mt perhaps tell us something more than we hear of the importance of living out the present life fully in our medieval hegemony [?[] of nothing well of life here--they are wearisome s they do not see that it is illeg and not eclipsed by the afterlife

f224 Farr letter to FN Dec 5 1864 thanks for hare and pheasants; will be glad to see the proof of the reply to Leith; has had a note from Ld Stanley, says that he has undertaken the chair of the stat section of Br Assoc at Birmingham; must bear in mind, he mt say something useful in his address; just returned from Oxford where at Pol Econ Club meeting, successful; they are doing many good things at Oxford

typed copy of letter f226 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" 5474/75

**f226**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street  
Park Lane W.  
Dec. 6/64

My dear Dr. Farr

I send the method proposed by the President of the Sanitary Commission of Madras Pres<sup>y</sup>. for collecting Births & Deaths.

it is proposed that the Forms shall be filled up by native Village Officers & native Police -

that the filled up Forms be sent by them to the Public Health Officer of District or City (this Officer is a purely Inspecting Officer to see that the Health Machinery is kept in operation)

This officer is to tabulate the Returns under the general supervision of the District Magistrates - in the same way as the Criminal Statistics are now tabulated -

The President of the Madras Pres<sup>y</sup>. Sanitary Commission (our Commission) to be Registrar Genl. of Births & Deaths in the Presidency - & to keep up Direct inspection of the Civil & Military Registration, by means of his Health Inspectors - (Officers having large districts similar to Military Circles)

Returns to be made *monthly* by the Public Health officers to the President of the Sanitary Commission for his Annual Registration Report - to be published with his Health Report - for the Military & Civil population of the whole Presidency.

I fancy you would like to know how they propose to carry out your "Suggestions" - And if you would send me any observations, I would gladly forward them.

Believe me,

ever yours very truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

f227 Farr letter to FN Dec 7 1864 plan wh pres of San Commiss proposes appears to be exceedingly judicious; prompt action at Madras wh I trust will be imitated in other presidencies; going to write about a weekly return from Madras, Bombay and Calcutta on births and deaths. We are going to get it from the large towns of the UK and from the capitals I hope of Europe. wd be a great sign of sc and hygienic activity in the India govt if they wd supply weekly returns to the Reg Gen for publ here, will send you our forms shortly; you will see what we propose to do and know how this cd be best brought under the notice of the Gov Gen; telegraph to India cd bring us over the meteorology and the hygiology on its uses; we prefer weekly to monthly returns.

typed copy of letter ff229-30 "Original owned by Miss May Farr" original 5474/76

**f229**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street  
Park Lane W.  
Dec. 9/64

My dear Dr. Farr

I am very glad to find that you think the (Madras) general plan for Registration will answer : it has no reference to the Details which I have no doubt will be carried out in conformity with the "suggestions" as far as practicable -

I now send you the Madras proposal for registering the Deaths & Births *in Cantonments*.

1. The Cantonment Sanitary Committee (to be appointed under the Act) to keep the Registers in their Office.
2. The Public Health Officer of the Cantonment to be Registrar without fees.
3. Father of mother to report Birth of child within 15 days. Neglect entails fine up to 50 rupees.
4. Some person present at Death to report to Registrar within 8 days, under penalties up to 50 rupees
5. Persons, giving information of Births or Deaths shall sign their names in Register Book. Registration incomplete without this.
6. police Officers of Cantonments to inform themselves of all Births & Deaths - & to send certified lists at the end of each week to Public Health Officer
7. Census of Cantonment to be taken.

Pray let us have any observations of yours upon this.

Sir John Lawrence started for India a twelvemonth this very

**f230**

day. And how much he has already done for us. I believe he would receive & adopt with eagerness any proposal of the nature you mention. And I should not feel the least scruple in forwarding it to *him* *directly* & *privately*. We never get anything *done* in any other way.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f230 Farr letter to FN Dec 9 1864 you will see how coolly Dr E. Smith asks me to address you , on a subject wh you understand better than I do;; he is a clever fellow and has travelled in Texas; has done much good work but his dieting principles

f235 Farr letter to FN Dec 19 1864 returns proof, when she can, wd be glad to hear her opinion of Smith's book, a single line; has written for the list of candidates at St Mary's and shall send it to you; with letter of St Mary's listing 3 candidates and note of W. Farr that Smith the ablest

f238 Farr letter to FN n.d. sends a work wh has occupied a great deal of thought and time, know you take an interest in all work, even the work of intelligent machines; when is our response to the Indian drum to reverberate through the fog? Do not answer the question;

f239 Farr note Hatton's Logarithms. The best way re census and mortality stats cd be to get a competent person the Reg Gen office and this cd be done

Add Mss 43400, microfilm, 261 folios, 161 pages, almost all are typed copies, also Teagle, Adam Matthew reel 3

f1 Farr letter to FN embossed Jan 2 1865 wishing you happy new year how much that means in your case it is impossible to say in one word; while our friends fall away from us in the great struggle we thank God that you still remain as the great leader in the good cause, and pray that we may make life half as agreeable as it is beneficent 43400 f1

part of typed copy of unsigned letter, f2 {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr}, original Teagle

**f2**

PRIVATE

26 Norfolk Street  
Park Lane, W.  
2/1/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I thank you from my heart for your New Year's wishes. Indeed, none have touched me so deeply. They are of the true sort. It would be idle to wish me, or perhaps any one who has seen this world as I have, a "happy New Year" - It has often seemed to me that the "goodwill towards men" could not be what it was, since it has pleased Him to take away so many of those, thro' whom His "goodwill towards men" was best shewn. But still, that was only in my cowardly moments. I know that His "goodwill " is the same - And I never despair while so able & steady a fellow worker in acting out His "good will" remains as you are -

Do not fail to remember to send me your Forms for Sir John Lawrence. We will get him to do that, before this year is out. But It is, not only my opinion but, that of better judges than I, that, whatever is to be done (in Sanitary, Statistical & many other matters) must be done in his time, or not at all. It is only his strong personal support which carries them against a host of Inerts.

(Poor Sir C. Trevelyan aided him - but he will never do work in India any more - tho' he is better at this time)

typed copy of letter, signature cut off, f3 {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr} 5474/78

**f3**

COPY

Dr. Leith's Report

27, Norfolk Street  
Park Lane, W.  
4/1/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I send you back a Revise (with your proof) of the answer to Dr. Leith's report. In looking over Mr. Strachey's Tables, you may possibly find some illustrative matter which you would like to add to the Revise. If you add anything, please return the Revise as soon as you can.

It would be very curious, if the Mortality & Invaliding, in Mr. Strachey's Tables, could be compared with the Mortality & Invaliding, separately, of the years preceding 1858. Do the figures not lead to a suspicion that the Indian Mortality was augmented in former years by the low rate of Invaliding, if there were such, compared to the high rate since the Mutiny? If so, it is to be feared that Sanitary improvement has had little to do with

{archivist: (here the letter is cut)}

expiry of time have lowered the rate -

The W.O. Commission meets on Friday to sign Dr. Leith's doom (answer, I mean.) If possible, it would be a great advantage to us to have your opinion by that time.

Believe me

ever yours sincerely

f4 Farr letter to FN embossed Jan 5 1865 thanks for the sight of President Strachey's tables, will be able to publish soon with comments; wd be well if they wd adopt our tabular forms and our methods for showing the numbers leaving in each year of residence

The 8vo form of report well deserves consideration as the eye cannot scramble over contaminants of waste paper.

It would be safe to take any part of these tables--if he would give them I do not appear to have got all the deaths in the years of the mutiny. Query does his return agree with the muster rolls and the adjutant general's casualties?

typed copy of letter, ff6-7, {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr} original  
Ms 5474/79 [16:679]

**f6**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W  
23/1/65

*Private.*

My dear Dr. Farr,

I have received a proxy paper from St. Mary's Hospital & shall of course vote for Dr. Edward Smith. Can you tell me a Governor who is going to vote for him whose name I may put in? Are you a Governor, & may I use your name? & send the paper to you? The Election is on January 31.

You ask me what I think of his Diet theories. You must please take what I say with several grains of salt. For I have not yet had time to finish his book.

It appears to me, if it is intended to be Physiological, not to be physiological - & if intended to be practical, not to be practical.

Take it & compare it with Lyon Playfair's article on Diet in "Good Words" for January (?) And Playfair strikes you at once as master of his subject - the other not.

As an illustration of what I mean, I send you Dr. E. Smith's Indian Diet, which doubtless you have seen, & the note which accompanied it. I pointed out to him that the statements in his own pamphlet did not at all bear out the conclusions in his note. And, if the *second* note means anything but that he wants a vote, it means that he retracts all he said in the first.

He appears to me to be continually generalizing thus on insufficient or ill-digested premises, & drawing unfounded principles for conclusions.

f7

Then, he always ignores that, after Chemistry has done her very best to compound for us exactly the best diet, nature often says she will have none of it. And she will have something else. And that it is experience only, not chemistry, which is the ultimate appeal.

But for all this, Dr. Edward Smith is so immeasurably superior to those brutes who go on without observing or concluding or generalizing at all - vide 1. the wretched Medical evidence at the Holborn Union enquiry, - 2, about St. Thomas' removal etc. etc. etc., that I should always vote for Dr. E. Smith's success -

Yours ever sincerely

(Sgd.) F. Nightingale.

Please return me his Indian Diet & correspondence at your leisure.

f8 Farr letter to FN embossed. 25 Jan 1865 Many thanks for your practical suggestions about the insurance of life and annuity. I went over them with Scudamore, who agrees that we shd try to do all your suggest; every option...I am glad to learn that they are about to try to take a census of India; you have bit off Smith exactly; his great merit is that he is really a hard worker in medicine, implicit confidence in his wisdom one cannot profess; if you wd like to send your proxy here I will forward it to someone who will give it in; Quetelet never forgets in his notes your kindness to him in London, wh I am specially commissioned to say; he is ever grateful for; he is still working illeg.

Could yo not poke some of the "bears" in Paris anent the weekly illeg in which Paris will, I fear be left behind by the rest of Europe. This is of more importance than the "Institute."

f10 Farr letter to FN embossed. Jan 20 1865

Many thanks for your present; will you accept from me a proof of a paper which I have written for Gladstone, insurance for the working class, in which I think you will take some interest, and perhaps tell me if anything strikes you in glancing through it; 2 our weekly table, to which we want Calcutta to contribute; 3 a copy of an address urging the India govt to expend a little of the money they levy on a cleansing of that part of the empire, the only part of the queen's dominions w/o that basis of all admin stats;

4. A *placard* of which I am somewhat ashamed - by my friend M Quesnay in the Statistical and Economical Section arising from the death of the laborious McCulloch.

I do not of course reckon my No 3 and no 3 as *positive* but rather as *negative* presents, which leaves the balance = 0.

f12 notes JS?

note, f12, pencil

**f12**

I am afraid none of your tables meet the present case of the Working man. He has so to speak no fixed income & no constant savings. He gets a lump of money one ~~well~~ week & is poor for 6 weeks afterwards.

His necessities in the way of insurance are 1. To leave something to his wife & children when he dies  
2. to have an annuity after he arrives at a certain age.

His means are a variable income with sickness & bouts of drinking.

Now what you should do is to enable him to pay when he can and to the extent he can in one or more sums for two purposes.

1. For insurance
2. for annuity as 55 or so

And every payment should count to the cumulative value. There should be no forfeiture.

If you do this you will do more to diminish pauperism than by any other means.

f13 Farr letter to FN embossed. Feb 8 1865 You will probably be amused with the enclosed Haggis? of our Scotch food, if you have not seen it. Quesnay is the pres of Ep Society

Typed copy of incomplete letter, ff14-15: original owned by Miss Mary Farr 5474/80  
**[16:683]**

**f14**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street,  
 Park Lane, W.  
 9/2/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I reproach myself for not having told you what I have done about you & the Institut.

The members I have written to say :

"To be sure Dr. Farr ought & must be of the Institut" - (Unfortunately I know no members of your Academy - And I can only work at it indirectly.)

"Barthélemy St. Hilaire" has been "instantly lectured" (by one of the men I wrote to) "about Dr. Farr, and what "he (my man) "knows of him; and he will work zealously. There is one danger. Mac Culloch was Associé Etranger, of whom there were only six, and for whom they chose flashy people, of the Broughamite class, mostly hollow drums who in their time have made a noise, such as "frivolous & superficial great men, like Guizot, Thiers et id genus", can hear. "Dr. Farr is a much superior man but works officially." "But it must be tried, and if it cannot be, we must try to make him correspondent of the Academy; the correspondents are proposed by the different Sections. In Dr. Farr's case it would be the Section d'économie politique et statistique. "It is composed of 6 members, with 3 of whom" he (my man) is "on a good & with 3 others on a bad footing. We shall see what can be done, but at first try the succession of MacCulloch. There is much of a lottery in every election - the frivolity, ignorance and indifference of the electors being an unknown but enormous element."

"I have preached to-day some members of the Académie morale

**f15**

[ - 2 - ]

about Dr. Farr, and it seems to me that his prospects are good."

f16 Farr letter to FN embossed. Feb 22 1865

I enclose a copy of the tables for the insurance of small sums; you will see that your ideas have obtained attention; I have been fighting a man at the st soc in re babies and digesting on their mortality; how can I sufficiently thank you for all the trouble you have so kindly taken about the Paris affair; Jacob, English corr members; Institut; Quetelet always remembers your kindness



Typed copy of unsigned letter, ff19-20 {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr} original 5474/83 [16:680]

**f19**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
25/2/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I have heard from Paris about your "Weekly" - the gist of what I have heard being that, if you agitate for it, you will get it.

"The Weekly List is not made out - but Haussman *could* get it made. He is an intelligent scoundrel, and if the Registrar General can explain to him the utility & importance of the thing, and if Lord Cowley will interest himself in it & poke his ribs, it will be made."

Haussman has published lately "a Report of the Inspectors of Mortality, on the Mortality of the last 10 years in Paris." No doubt you have this - He is going to send it to me.

2. About your affairs : -

"Dr. Farr's affairs are going on tolerably. It was from the beginning hopeless to propose him for a foreign member. They have now made their list. - Gladstone  
Stuart Mill  
Whewell.

"They will name Gladstone, because they adore Ministers; - having mostly been so themselves, and are in general a superficial crew of politicals. But Dr. Farr ought, & I hope will be named Correspondent."

"I think it will be done; only in elections one is never sure before the end."

**f20**

This is what I hear; I don't know what they call "tolerably." I am disappointed.

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f21 Farr letter to FN March 7 1865 wd that Lord Herbert had been here last night to answer detractors face to face! to what height might he rise?

f22 Farr letter to FN embossed March 27 1865

I will do whatever you and Lord Stanley wish in the matter. The controversy will do good.

Col Sykes moved for the other papers. I wrote immediately to ask him to move for our reply to Leith; he has not replied, but I should hope that he will have the grace to put the whole of the facts in the possession of the House.

Another reply to another attack illeg Lord Stanley, would only be fair. I will call upon Lord Stanley. I had intended to do so this morning. I will not refer to my note.

PS I sent Delane a copy of reply to Dr S; to be expected that he committed

himself to some extent. They have no competent men among their brilliant staff of writers to handle suchlike subjects.

I have not much confidence in the illegals stats of Indian Dept. And the writer of the attack on the commission has evidently selected his facts.

note, f23v, pencil

**f23v**

I think as Farnall has intentionally played so very much into our hands that we should take advantage of it to get our hand into Workhouse Infirmaries in all the matters treated of in those Returns

---

I don't believe they *dare* do such a thing

f24 Farr letter embossed March 28 1865. I saw Lord Stanley this morning for five minutes & heard his views, which are precisely those he expressed to you. He does not want to work himself.

We ought to have an attack as well as a defence; and after going carefully through their paper this morning it strikes me that we shd ask for a *continuation* of the returns which we were supplied the latest which they chose to give us.

Our return completed will carry us to the inglorious almost mutiny of the European forces who were packed home in hampers.

A continuation of Tallochin War Office returns will brings down to 1863. These can be got from the War Office, or the adjutant general's dept.

If Lord Stanley will move for those returns - and we get them - we shall have materials upon which we can depend.

But we need not wait for the returns.

I will write something from the facts already in our possession, on this first chapter. "The alleged death rates of the British Army in India" you will perhaps take up II and III.

The returns will supply materials for a second campaign.

If you with Dr Sutherland will look through these forms & return them to me with any allegations you think they require, I will send them to Lord Stanley. In the interim you can tell him your opinion - if you approve of this part of my involvement.

typed copy of signed letter {arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr} 5474/84

**f26**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
March 29/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I am always for the assault, you know - it will be *most* adviseable to obtain the returns you ask for. Let us take the Malakhoff.

The only point which occurs to us, on looking at your forms, is - whether you should keep the Invaliding, separate from the time-expired column. But of this you are the best Judge.

Your R. Commission sent forms out to Bengal & Madras (in 1861, I think - Mr. Baker has a copy, no doubt, of the minute or letter to the India Office, forwarding the forms) asking for the latest statistical details. And no notice was taken of them.

in haste

ever yours truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

I have a multitude of printed papers, private, from Sir J. Lawrence's head quarters, by Indian mail, just arrived. And it really is melancholy & ludicrous to compare their assertion of well-chosen sites & stations with the facts they reveal. But they are doing their work manfully. Let us help them.

(Sgd.) F.N.

typed copy of signed letter f27 {arch: original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

**f27**

COPY

27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
March 30/64-{archivist:1865}

My dear Dr. Farr

Dr. Sutherland thinks you might like to see the enclosed, which is a copy of some Statistical correspondence, (or rather part thereof,) sent me from Calcutta. Please return it to me -

ever yours truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I wrote to Ld Stanley about the Returns. But pray let us set to work at once with the Reply, as you propose.

F.N.

f28 Farr letter GRO Mar 30 65 I saw Dr Wakley this morning. They will insert in the Lancet anything about the Herbert Hospital, upon my responsibility Will you kindly mention this to Dr Sutherland? Will he get something written?

Thanks for the note. Some explanation is required of the item "Invalided." We want the whole of the annual losses of the force--by all causes & by the time they ought to be able to distinguish the "invalided" losses from the discharged from a variety of other causes, See our casualty table folio. I did not ask for the distinct number in the return from a fear that the whole might be refused.

I wrote something last night & hope to go on tonight.

note, f29, pencil

**f29**

I must say something to H Martineau for her Article

**f29v**

But what *is* (about) the rate of interest given?

Men get dead. Women will live -

But is the vote for women  
any better than in the last  
pamphlet

Have you anything to say?

it's only a Proof

Who is C. Alex-Wood

typed copy of signed letter, f30 5474/85

**f30** {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr} 5474/85 [16:684]

COPY

27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.

April 4/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I have received the enclosed Table from Calcutta this very morning. Dr. Sutherland thinks it will be in your line. Pray return it to me when not wanted.

The Table is by Dr. Bryden of the Medical Department. (There was no time, the covering letter says, to calculate the percentages before mail.)

Thank you 1000 times for "Government Insurances & Annuities." Depend upon it, *you* are the great "Bill" - not the Unions Chargeability Bill - *you* are the great President of the Poor Laws - not Mr. Villiers.

You see Lord Stanley has moved for your Returns. We hope to see soon your reply - Probably, in the course of 10 years, the Returns may come in.

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f31 5474/86

**f31** {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY  
27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
April 5/65

My dear Dr. Farr

As I sent you one imperfect Bengal Table yesterday, so I send you another received only this morning, (by the Bombay Mail,) dated 6th March - the other being dated 22nd February.

Please return it to me, when not wanted.

A propos of your "Plain Rules" for Annuities & Insurances, would it not be better to page your last page about "P.O. Savings' Banks"? It is referred to in the text as p. 20 - but there is not p. 20 on it.

You have no idea how stupid some people, especially servants, are. I doubt whether many mistresses take the same pains that I do, with the education of their servants. And yet I am afraid few would understand "Plain Rules."

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f32 5474/87

**f32** {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr} original 5474/87

COPY  
27 Norfolk Street [16:684]  
Park Lane, W.  
April 8/65

My dear Dr. Farr

I send you St. Bartholomew's, tho', no doubt you have received a copy. Please to return it to me, with your remarks. I think the Saint deserves the greatest credit. But, before I praise the Saint & worship at his shrine, I should like to have your judgment whether there is anything more he ought to do, before he is canonized by us. (Which, you know, is a much more critical thing than his being canonized by Rome.)

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I want a great many more of your "Plain Rules" for Government Insurances & Annuities. Are they to be bought? I cannot find that they are.

F.N.



**f39v**

This paper refers to one of the most upright & able Sanitarians this country has produced.

He was the first man who applied chemistry to the discovery of Sanitary facts & to the education of Sanitary ~~doctrines~~ principles. Indeed he has done almost all that has yet been done in this direction. He began work at Glasgow, at the instance as I am credibly informed, of the Board of Health, by analysing air in Cholera districts, & had he lived he would have carried similar enquiries into all manner of subjects. One of the last public services he rendered was giving us most important evidence on the question

**f39**

of Indian Water supply before  
 the R.C. on the Sanitary  
 state of the Indian army,  
 and the principle he  
 then announced have been  
 guiding us in this most  
 important matter since  
 then. I do not know  
 whether your LShip ever  
 interferes in such matters  
 as this, but if there be  
 any of the pension fund  
 to spare, I can most  
 assuredly say that no  
 scientific man was ever  
 more worthy than Df R D  
 Thomson of having his  
 services ~~ack~~ publicly  
~~at~~ acknowledged in the way  
 now proposed

f40 Farr letter to FN embossed. May 1865

You may like to see the impression which the dispatch has made on a writer in the ?R.G.

You will see that now wishing to weaken the authority of the Ind govt I have treated them very leniently.

It is a pity that the pig-headed Trevelyan has not as much wisdom as he has will; the despatch you will observe is very badly written and quite illogical.

They prove their strange *alibi* in a strange manner. The mortality did not exceed 22 in 1865, and this proves "the inaccuracy of the death rate laid down by the commission" deduced from the returns of previous years.

I regret to learn that our old & valuable friend Miss Hilary is ill. I hope to God that she will speedily be better.

When I hear from you I will revise the reply finally and send it to Lord Stanley for his criticism, and you shall receive it in its final form.

f42 Farr letter to FN embossed. May 8 1865 South St. shall be glad to see you, as we are to see our swallows again. I enclose a draft reply. I query whether we should notice the 2nd charge of our friends about cdm -in-chief.

My notion of our policy is this. They have two distinct attacks on us by different men from different quarters, Dr Leith, Ind govt.

Now you have two replies 1. reply to Dr Leith by ----- to Galton Sutherland, to you. 2. The other to Ind Gov.

The latter should be issued by Lord Stanley as president of commission, if he likes, by one as responsible for the statistics. The illeg

You will be good enough to return ref with any suggestions in pencil & ask Sutherland to go over it carefully. In my opinion it will be better that he shd not sign the second reply, which shd leave the appearance of coming from a new source.

Belfeld, Cautley, Ranald Martin & Rawlinson.

Will it be better to have the two replies moved for together or separately?

I have asked Lord Stanley to get his return & called at the Ind Office but could get no information.

I will send you the S. tables for 1864. I question whether the invaliding so quietly referred 110 in the dispatch included the whole of the men discharged. Major Graham has just read the reply, I enclose his note

typed copy of signed letter, ff44-46 5474/89

**f44** {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
May 10/65

My dear Dr. Farr

Both Dr. Sutherland and I have gone over your very able reply, & compared it with the Despatch. Your reasoning on the facts is conclusive. Would it not be advisable, *also*, to bring out (at the end) tersely the points at issue? The great body of the public do not understand a word of the controversy - (no more, in fact, does the Government of India) - and the Pall Mall Gazette shews that all that this class of people want is : to get something to say which they do understand.

It is easy to lay hold of the general impression that the R. Commission told a falsehood. It is not so easy for the same people to understand how it was that the R. Commission did *not* tell a falsehood.

A few roundly true assertions, prominently put forward, either at the beginning or the end, would meet the case -

Would something as follows, (proposed for your consideration) do? -----

1. To point out & establish briefly what the Death-rate was, up to the time of the conclusion of the enquiry of the Commissioners? - quite terse - the fewer words, the better,
2. To point out that the jubilation of the Govt. of India is based on returns obtained since the close of the enquiry of the Commission - *and for too short a period to be reliable*, as yet.

**f45**

(3. To point out that the R. Commission actually sent forms to India to be filled up for the years following those, for which they were able to find Returns at home; and that no reply was ever sent, altho' the publication of the Report was delayed for nearly 2 years in waiting for them.)

4. To point out that the Sanitary state of Stations is not to be estimated solely by Mortality, but by the diseases attacking persons there - and that, viewed from this point, it cannot be said that any of the Stations, put forward by the India Govt. as well chosen, are healthy; as, at all of them, fever, dysentery, cholera have prevailed.

5. That, whatever sanitary improvements may, in the estimation of the Govt. of India, have been carried out, it is quite certain that the Stational Reports, published in Vol II of the R. Commission Report shew that all the Stations were, at that date, suffering from diseases, the result of bad Sanitary condition - & that the condition of a great many of them was bad indeed.

(6. That, wherever the R. Commissioners had any evidence in proof of improvements having been carried out, they noticed it - & were only sorry they had so little to notice of this kind.)

7. That the new evidence brought forward by the India Govt. in this Despatch, is confirmatory of the conclusion of the R.C., as to the possibility of lowering the Death-rate to the ratio estimated by the R.C. - and that, after this Despatch, the public will have every reason to be indignant, if the high Death-rate of the British Army in India is not swept away.

**f46**

[- 3 -]

Lord Stanley should sign alone - or with you - We agree that it would be better to have the two Replies to the Government of India and to Dr. Leith separate - but called for together - But this is a matter for Lord Stanley to decide.

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f47 Farr letter to FN embossed. May 12 1865

I adopted your suggestion and put the substance of the paper in a few preemptory propositions; I say nothing of the san defects, re reply to Leith; I have just read Thiers Battle of Waterloo for his stats it cannot be surpassed; sent the papers to Lord Stanley and suggested that the 2 papers shd be called for

draft for f44, ff49-51, pencil JS

**f49**

We have gone over the reply & compared it with the despatch. There is no doubt that your reasoning on the facts is conclusive but we feel that it would be advisable if you saw no objection to bring out at the end tersely the points at issue by way of Conclusion. The great body of the public don't understand a word of the Controversy & the ~~P-M~~ Pall Mall Gazette shews that all this class of people want is get something they understand today. It is easy to get hold of the general impression that the R.C. told a falsehood. It is not so easy ~~for any~~ ~~understand illeg~~ for the same people to comprehend how it was that the R.C. did not tell a falsehood. A few round but true assertions prominently set forward either at the beginning or end will alone meet the case but perhaps for your consideration somewhat as follows

**f50**

1. To point out & establish briefly what the death rate was ~~before~~ up to the time of the ~~Comm~~ conclusion of the enquiry of the Commissioners. Quite terse. The fewer words the better
2. To point out that the jubilation of the Government of India is based on returns obtained since the close of the enquiry of the Commission for & too short a period to be reliable.
3. To point out that the R.C. actually sent forms to India to be filled up for the years ~~after~~ following those for which they were able to get returns at home, and that no reply was ever sent although the publication of the report was delayed for nearly 2 years in waiting for them.
4. To point out that the ~~health~~ Sanitary state of stations is not to be estimated solely by mortality, but by the diseases

**f50v**

attacking persons there. And that viewed from this point it cannot be said that any of the stations put forward by the Indian Government as well chosen are healthy, as at all of them fever, dysentery, cholera have prevailed

5. That whatever sanitary improvements may in the estimation of the Government of India have been carried out, it is quite certain that the ~~returning~~ stational reports published in the Second Volume of the R.C. report show that all the stations were at the date of their being sent in ~~in~~ suffering from diseases the result of bad Sanitary Condition & that the condition of a great many of them ~~were~~/was very bad indeed.

6. That wherever the Commissioners had any evidence in proof of improvements have been carried out they noted it & they were only sorry they had so little to note in this direction.

**f51**

7. That the new evidence brought forward by the Indian Government in this despatch is confirmatory of the ~~oper~~ conclusion of the R.C. as to the possibility of ~~diminu~~ lowering the death rate to the ratio estimated by the R.C., and that after this despatch the public will have every reason to complain if the high death rate of the British Army in India is not swept away.

Lord Stanley should sign alone or with you. We agree that it would be better to have the two replies to the Government & Dr. Leith separate & called for together.

f52 Farr letter embossed to FN May 16th 1865 Lord Stanley has returned the reply and I am getting it copied, with a few useful alterations which are judicious he has suggested.

I enclose a note for Dr S, which you will perhaps read in passing.

I will send you the copy for Lord Stanley as soon as transcribed if you will say if you think any alteration is required.

Ld Stanley says nothing about the reply to Leith, but that would not be forgotten. It should be moved for as a separate paper--that gives us two chances.

I only learn this morning that our friend, justly loved by everybody has had a quiet night.

I had quite recently received the statuette at which she has labored so long & so deliciously....

I return Lord Shaftesbury's letter , who told me some time ago how kindly you had been working for us and now I see how successfully - the Thompsons are deeply grateful.

f54 Farr letter to FN embossed May 10 1865

The other day I met and attacked Colonel Sykes about the Leith return, which he had promised to move for.

He has never seen my note to him on the subject nor the paper itself! This is accounted for: he has like other MPs a file of papers unopened.

He wishes to move for it and will do so; and that will be v well.

I shall have the "reply" ready tomorrow & shall probably send it to you -- for Dr Sutherland's signature, unless he likes to call her & sign.

Lord Stanley can then sign and send it on Monday - it will save time.

I will send him your formula.

draft of a letter, f56, pencil {arch: Draft of a letter to Dr Farr see his letters of May 1865}

## f56

The reply will now do. It has been [9:400]

much improved. Dr S. will be glad to

sign after Lord Stanley & you

If you will transcribe it, sign & send it here

As soon as it is sent to Sir C. Wood

x Lord Stanley might move it in the

House for

[end 9:400]

"Copy of ~~Reply~~ letter addressed to  
Sir C. Wood in reply to the Despatch  
of the Government of India in the Report  
of the R.C. for India"

also

"Copy of remarks of ~~St~~-B & H Insp  
Comm. on a report by D Leith on his  
General Sanitary Condition of the Bombay  
army"

x {archivist: This was done 26 May 1865}

f57 Farr letter to FN embossed June 5 1865

I have taken the liberty to send your note to Dr Scudamore. It deserves careful consideration. I have the Leisure Hour article & shall read it and tell you what I think of the matter shortly.

I am anxious to get our answers to India Govt as soon as they are out. Perhaps you will send a copy to the Times. It would furnish material for a good & useful article.

If you get a gleam of hope from our friend you might reflect a little of it on me.

f59 letter of J.J. Frederick to FN 4 June 1865, re her note of 2nd just reached me; request shall receive my earliest attention on my return to town

note, f60, pencil

**f60**

In order to give Mr. Gladstone  
fair play you must make  
the National Debt office calculate  
female annuities in a somewhat  
more gallant scale than at  
present. I see in the Leisure Educ  
for June Page 398 there is  
a good paper bringing the whole  
case of working men's assurance  
before the working man & the  
writer very properly takes exception  
to the high female annuity rates  
& say they are not fair  
Let the National  
debt office take  
the trouble to  
calculate not on  
their small experience  
but on the life insurance  
rates for women what the  
annuity cost should be  
& then you will have many  
women coming in who will  
be kept away. The article  
referred to is against the  
scheme: so far as women are  
concerned & will damage you.  
{written diagonally}  
What I say is  
I wish you know  
you had told me this  
before instead of after  
Mr. Farnall came  
I could have discussed it with him  
It's much less trouble to me to discuss it  
than to

**f60v**

It's an error  
and I've made it  
to Mr. Farnall  
Would it not be as well  
to see how many beds there are  
*Then they have Sick Wards*

typed copy of signed letter, ff61-64 5474/90 {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

**f61**

COPY

*Private*

June 9/65  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

As you & I have gone together about the Insurance Working Man question, what do you think of the enclosed?

You know how isolated I have been from Ho: of C men since Sidney Herbert's death. Yet this is a thing which could only be pressed thro' the Ho: of C. men.

The whole has been suggested by your work.

Could you give me a competent opinion on whether it is feasible? Could you suggest any means or man by which or whom it might be pressed & carried forward? (I do not mean Social Science Meetings) & not *in* my name.

I have taken means to have immediate copies of your Reply to the Govt. of India, when printed.

Our dear friend Hilary is less suffering - more quiescence in the disease - more prospect of its being prolonged - no hope of recovery -

God will decide.

I cannot own the cry of satisfaction at prolonged life. But, as I say, that is for God.

Neither she not I have any prospect but that of increasing suffering until death. But how much more I dread it for her than for myself.

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f62**

Please not to mention the enclosed to any one, till I have heard what Mr. Gladstone says of it. Mr. Villiers approves.

**f63** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr Mr. Toynbee} [16:682]  
(1865) 5474/77

1. The P.O. Savings Bank allows of the accumulation of capital by working men
2. Mr. Gladstone's Insurance & Annuity Act enables this accumulated capital to be vested periodically in two ways
  - a. as Annuity
  - b. as Insurance
3. It would apparently be very advisable to add to this facilities for purchasing small freeholds
4. The first step to enable this to be done is to remove every legal obstacle, at present existing, to title, purchase, registration, transfer of land, within the specified limits - so that land could be as freely dealt in & as easily identified as any other commodity
5. A limit must however be fixed, so that the existing law of primogeniture & entail should exist as at present - subject only to the exceptions mentioned.
6. in these exceptional cases, women must inherit freehold, even without will.
7. it would be unadvisable to apply the enabling law to the whole surface of the country. It should be limited to cities, towns, populous places, villages - indeed to all groups of population & to a certain distance beyond the out-skirts or defined legal boundaries of these groups - in order to provide for increase of population
8. within the limits, the law should declare that the leaseholds of all lands & of houses built on them shall, in future, go together - i.e. that the lease of the land & the lease of the house must never be held by two different people - an existing status which has had a fatal influence on the interests of working classes in towns, as well

f64

- 2 -

as on town & house architecture - so that English houses are about the worst built in the world

9 having then abolished by law separate lease holds & introduced perfect freedom of trade in land within the prescribed limits - leave the price of freeholds to settle itself on the principle of supply & demand - granting every legal facility, as already stated. 10 You will thus have land, where it is wanted as an investment by the working man for house or cottage-building brought into immediate relation with his savings in the P.O. Savings Bank - & an investment offered which, of all others, the working-man most covets.

11. In all places where there are constituted authorities, the existing law provided that houses must be built, after the plans are approved by the authority. In villages this would hardly be necessary

12. The objects gained would be :-

- a. a new outlet for savings
- b. improved social position & independence (by giving the man an object in life)
- c. all such men would have votes.

N.B. Rest assured that none of them would vote for a "Radical" to take their property from them - & no man of this class would believe he was a "slave", because he was told so from the hustings.

f65 Farr letter to FN embossed June 12 1865

I write to say at once that I like your scheme very much.

Gladstone is the man to appreciate it and to carry it into execution; you will probably lay it before him.

The reasons against the separation of the ground from the House must be set forth in considerable detail. That they are valid I firmly believe, and that the present practice is the source of many evils is certain.

I retain the paper for further study, but will return it if required.

The reply to Leith as moved for by col Sykes is put.

f66 Farr letter to FN embossed. June 24 1865; To be returned to F.N.

The Reg Gen went down with him JS and Rawlinson and Dr Hardwick to see the Herbert Hosp Thurs;

He desires me particularly to express his admiration of the plan, the site and as far as he can judge of the execution of the hospital.

You know with what jealousy I look upon all large general hosps but you have almost converted me here to the belief that a soldier will have a much better chance of getting well at the Herbert than anywhere else, if the arrs are all worked with skill and care.

It is a superb monument to the memory of your friend and will perpetuate his goodness through successive ages.

I shall prob visit it again to see how it works and I hope the records of cases will testify to its excellent unmistakingly.

Dr S was an excellent guide. After having visited the hospital one is really amazed at Lord Dalhousie's speed in the House of Lords. Anything more false, more incorrect than the idea it gave me of the Herbert Hosp I cannot imagine.

You have, I hope, received a copy of our supplemental volume....

PS Why does Sir C. Wood of the IO keep back our reply? Does Wood intend to refer to it in his Budget speech? Lord Stanley will I hope be on the alert. He presides at the Stat Section of the British Association at Birmingham on Sep 6th and in his address may say something about the army.

The navy wants poking up from old friends "the Bears" as per your apologue - so wonderfully given to slumber and will only roar upon combustion.

Illeg. G Insurance I have put in the small end of a small wedge, by asking for the mortality of naval marine officers.

Typed copy of signed letter, f68 5474/91

**f68** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

July 7/65  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr,

I send you the *second* copy I have been able to lay my hands on - in order that you may get it noticed in the "Times", (which I believe, was your intention,) together with the Return of Deaths etc Queen's Troops 1856-64 which you called for, (8 June Ho: of C.) But the "Times" will not say anything right, unless you tell it how -  
ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

If you have it already, please return me my copy.

F.N.

f69 Farr letter to FN embossed July 7 1865

Many thanks for the trouble which you have so kindly taken.

I have promised some copies and will send the Times one. I shall send copies to some of the other papers. The Pall Mall Gazette ought to illeg something of but I know none of the men. Sir Robert Napier- a good man is in London, but I have not yet seen him.

I thank you especially for the two lines about our dear and excellent colleague.

The Lancet will have a short notice of the Herbert Hosp next week I am told; shd you hear anything important from the gov gen drop me a line.

I think of going to Scotland about the 20th a& shall be at Birmingham I think for Sep 6th

f71 Farr letter to FN embossed. Aug 31 1865

I trust that you are enjoying better health in Hampstead than in London.

We have been in Scotland for some weeks and I have now a better idea of our north country than I had. The climate varies regularly- as a rule here they have a fall of 80 or 100 inches of rain annually, which modifies all the physical geography and other vital conditions.

They are taking up sanitary matter & the Scotch are always earnest.

The Birmingham meeting of Br Assoc comes off on Sept 6 & following days, Have you sent them anything?

I have heard from Quetelet, who always sends his regards & compliments to the

kind lady who entertained him so friendly, at the Statistical Congress. This makes me feel the loss of the good Hilary--whom to my great sorrow I learn is worse rather than better.

Major Graham sent me a stupid newspaper paragraph about the Herbert Hosp implying no good will to the real model hospital on the part of somebody.

Dr Sutherland is, I hope, in force.

What with the cattle disease & the cholera, public attention is now awake and only requires direction.

I did not see the *Times* every day but suspect hat they did not expatiate on our India mortality as they well might.

Sir John Lawrence is, I hope, prosecuting his reforms.

I am dear Miss Nightingale ever your faithful servant, W. Farr

Typed copy of signed letter f73, original 5474/92

**f73** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

*Private*

Hampstead N.W.

Sept. 2/65

My dear Dr. Farr

There has been nothing in the "Times" (nor any newspaper, I know of) in reference to your reply to the Govt. of India.

I think it of the utmost importance that you should have a short pithy paper, which would certainly force attention to it, at the Birmingham Meeting. Tell the object of your doing so. But always give Sir J. Lawrence credit for practical support (which he always gives) to us.

Let your paper - while scattering people's illusions unmercifully - have a practical bearing.

The newspaper paragraph about the Herbert Hosp. was written by the same hand apparently which informed us last year that the Hosp. was a ruin, & this year that it was to be given over for a Barrack -which report was believed in, even by M. Husson of *Paris*. The *fact* is, that the building has been handed over to the Purveyor in Chief for sick.

I don't think I ever thanked you for your letter about the Herbert Hospl, so gracious & grateful to me. Yours are almost the only letters I ever had about Sidney Herbert, which really soothe my wounded soul.

Our dear friend, Hilary is dying painfully - the only wonder is how she lives thro' each 24 hours. But the suffering is much less acute - and the wandering of mind much less painful.

Believe me

ever yours

Please address 34 South Street W. (signature cut away)  
(as before.)

f74 Farr letter to FN embossed. Sept 4 1865

Many thanks for your kind note.

Your messenger has just brought me a present for which I also thank you.

I will see what can be done in re India at Birmingham. Stanley might perhaps put something in his address, which the papers will no doubt publish.

The cattle disease out to be properly investigated. I have been to the vet college & have seen some cows dissected. It does not appear to be like typhoid fever.

Are you not returning to town too soon?

Typed copy of signed letter, f75 5474/94

**f75** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr

COPY

Sept. 14/65  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

The enclosed has been sent me from Simlah for your opinion.  
Please give it me

ever yours truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter ff80-81, original Ms 5474/95

f76 Farr letter to FN embossed. Sept 18 1865

I enclose a short memo on the paper from Simla.

We have had a good meeting at Birmingham, by which I have more or less profited.  
There was a run on us with illeg so I did not put in anything of my own.

Mary has a copy of Handels acis &c which our great friend gave her, when she last saw her. She suggests that the time from Ariosto which Hallam applied to Arthur applies well to her. [ref to death of son, In Memoriam]

Va te ne in pace, alma beata e bella.

I only returned from Birmingham 7 the Black Country on Saturday, otherwise I should have been disposed to go to Bournemouth on that day.

f78 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 18 1865 I send you the *Daily news* which you have probably seen.

It is now very ably & carefully conducted.

Would you like to send it to Lord Stanley/ he may like to see it.

I enclose a copy of a letter which will explain itself. I had proposed a census of the live stock & weekly returns. R. G. [?] through *cold* water on the proposal. I have not heard from Mr Gladstone. Your Palmerston is, I fear, going, or gone from us. In his day he did no doubt a great deal of work--good work for the country.

Who is to succeed the veteran of 82 winters? about to rest from his labours?

f80 {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

*Private*

Oct. 19/65  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I thank you for the enclosed. You have hit the right nail on the head, as you always do. Till there is a Weekly Return of stock: horses, cows, sheep, pigs etc. (it goes to my heart not to include cats) with Deaths & Causes of Death (among which I do not include John Bull's love of butcher's meat) no good will be done. And the present cattle-plague would be a benefit, if it brought this about.

Ld Palmerston is a great loss. I speak for the country & myself - He was a powerful protector to me - especially since Sidney Herbert's death. I never asked him to do anything - you may be sure I did not ask him often - but he did it - for the last nine years. He did not do himself justice. If the right thing was to be done, he made a joke, but he did it. He will not leave his impress on the age - but he did the country good service. Except L. Napoleon, whose death might be the greatest good or the greatest evil, I doubt whether there is any man's loss which will so affect Europe. He was the only man who could drag a too Liberal Bill - especially in the Poor Law - thro' the Cabinet. That was his great power with us. No one will be able to manage this Cabinet now - He was a humbug -but he knew it himself -& he was not a muff - (Sir G Lewis was both a muff & a humbug.) He was, at heart, the most

**f81**

[- 2 -]

liberal man we had left. I have lost, in him, a powerful friend.

I hear spoken of as his successors

Clarendon

Russell

Granville

Ld. Clarendon it is said the Queen wishes - & she has been corresponding with him privately - perhaps by Ld. Palmerston's own desire -

But I believe the real question is, under which (if any) of these, your Mr. Gladstone will consent to remain in office & be Leader of the Ho: of C.

Not one of these men will manage the cabinet as Ld. Palmerston did.

But I dare say you have more trustworthy information than I have.

I would Ld. Palmerston had lived another Session. We should have got something done at the Poor Law Board, which we shall not now -

Ld. Russell is so queer-tempered - I quite dread his Premiership, if it comes.

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f82 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 23 1865

I swear the paper shall be returned tomorrow.....

PS I return it forthwith & leave you in entire ignorance of the use which I have made of it.

I am writing our Quetelet [?]. The country has been unhealthy.

pencil: He has copied it !!!

**f82**

The Dr. Leith paper

{at bottom of page}

He has copied it !!!

f83 Farr letter to FN embossed. Nov 22 1865

I enclose a few remarks on the "First Report" which contains most gratifying evidence of the admin energy, intelligence and earnestness of Sir John Lawrence.

The more we reflect on it, the more important does this question of the health of our army in India become. Today much - it is worthy all of your life that has been given to it.

The Reg Gen you probably know was in India. private sec to Malcolm and Elphinstone. He takes the deepest interest now in our army there. Knowing this I placed the report in his hands confidentially and you may like to see his letter commenting on it. His son, Capt Graham is at Jubulpoor You will not be misled by undeserved praise of your correspondent. What a wild proposal of the Cattle Plaque Commission--to stop all the cattle trade of the country! a quarantine! Sir James K Shuttleworth called upon me yesterday about cattle insurance by the govt. He thinks it may be safely undertaken.

I doubt, but am open to conviction. He is going to see that idlest of barristers who from old & about to move some dept to do the business, that ought to have been done long ago answers to the livestock of Great Britain. We may then get returns of deaths, but that of the panic on which the butchers are trading we have been attacking them and the street management. mortality. Many lives may be saved. We are trying to get the water companies to give us the quantity supplied monthly. This will be of use I believe in foreign cities as well as here.

f85 Farr analysis blue paper Nov 22 1865

f87 Graham letter to Farr Nov 22 1865

f88 Farr letter to FN embossed Nov 22 1865. I am going to read a paper on infant mortality 0-1, 1-3 3-5 in the several states of Europe.

Could I get any clever woman to tell me the whole process, during those early years, among high and low, say in Fr, Eng and Ital, Germ, Norway Sw Denmark. Do you know of any good books?

Do not take any trouble in answering. But it is possible we might be of some use to the little mortals.

I have the honor to be dear Miss Nightingale ever your faithful servant

f90 Farr letter to FN embossed, Nov 29 1865

Will you be good enough to look over the enclosed note and if you approve and think it will be of any use, send it to Capt Galton.

We have got the cattle enumeration as you have perhaps seen in the paper. I answered all Mr G's objections--in his note to G1 and heard his answers till I found that it was settled. We shall now know something about the mortality in different conditions.

f91 Farr letter to FN embossed. Nov 29 1865 I return your first Indian report, which has been read with much interest.

If I get an early copy of the published report I will endeavour to make good use of it.

Velocity is a thing to study and to acquire in all stational depts. Dates for every periodical publ shd be fixed and adhered to. Special reports shd be the vehicles of elaborate thought and research.

typed copy of signed letter ff92-93, original 5474/96

**f92** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

Dec. 5/65  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,

London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

You must have thought me dead, or demented - I hope not ungrateful - for not having answered your many kind letters before  
1. I sent your instructive remarks on the (Indian) First Annual Report by the first mail after I received them.

And I am sure they will do good.

(I will return you Major Graham's letter.)

I have no doubt that we shall receive permission to make use of the (published) Report. Sir J. Lawrence is perfectly liberal.

And I will send you one. In the mean time, you have done him the greatest of good service.

2. About your babies: - I know no book such as you desire.

The thing for you to do would be to apply to the Cattle Plague Commissioners, who will make you out a Report immediately - without any enquiry whatever & without any facts whatever.

What a fine thing that is to be able to do!

If the facts are wrong, "so much the worse for the facts."

There is no book giving you what you want about European babies. There are plenty of books which "think" so & so - no book which really tells one facts - & no woman that I know of: Of all the horrid things I ever saw, is the nursing (or rather the massacre) of Enfants Trouvés by the far-famed Sisters of Charity.

**f93**

[ - 2 - ]

3. Please thank Mr. Clode for his two numbers of the Brit: Med: Journal. They are very interesting (about the Indian question.)
4. I sent your note (about Dr. Pick) to Capt. Galton at once. It is well worth trial.
5. I am so thankful you have got the Cattle enumeration into your hands -
- ever your truly  
(Sgd.) F NIGHTINGALE

JS notes &amp; Farr letter, f94

**f94** {written on a letter} Farr letter to FN embossed Dec 8 1865

Many thanks for your notes.

Could not some of your teachers or nurses at KCH give me a short description of the treatment of children in England at ages 0-5, 1-3, 3-5 in the lower and middle and upper classes, and for public. You will I think like to see the enclosed tables JS hand pencil

From Playfair report on  
Lancashire in the  
Health of  
towns Commission reports  
1842-4 ~~1844~~  
{written sideways}  
ask Medical men in Manchester  
when you go down to write  
a report for you. Your tables  
are very interesting & now  
the causes of their great  
difficulty in death rates  
should be examined.

**f94v**

This Vienna description of **[6:527]**  
child management *minus*  
a considerable amount of  
the care bestowed ~~there~~ in Germany on  
children & *plus* a considerable  
quantity of opium will afford  
a good idea of child management  
in England. (Consult Dr.

f95 {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr} 5474/97

COPY

Dec. 12/65  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I am afraid of keeping your valuable Forms, lest you should want them. [6:527]

The Vienna description of child management, *minus* a considerable amount of the care bestowed in Germany on children - *plus* a considerable quantity of opium - will afford a good idea of Child management in England.

I will, however, make our King's Coll: Hosp: Nurses write an account, if they can.

The difficulty is : that child management in England differs as much between cotton spinners, & flax spinners, between Cornish miners, & colliers, agricultural labourers &c &c as between different European countries. The child's way of life always succumbs to the domestic necessities & way of life.

(Consult Dr. Lyon Playfair's report on Lancashire in the Health of Towns Commission Reports -1842-4)

Ask Medical Men in Manchester to write a Report for you.

Your Tables are very interesting- And now the causes of these great differences in Death-rates should be examined.

Fiat justitia: Ruat caelum. Vivat "Baby."

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F.N.

f96 Farr letter to FN embossed. Dec 28 1865

Many thanks for the instructive tables wh I will study and return.

Cd the author tell us precisely what the means by "*European troops*"? will you impress upon the Indians at the proper moment the necessity of the fullest expl of their terms. Even "deaths" at one time, we know, did not include deaths out of hosp.

The various kinds of troops are described in the report.

The facts as well of the ratios shd also be given to check to avoid accidental errors of arithmetic as well as to enable us to judge of the weight of the ratio = 1 death/2 troops = 1/2....Dr E. Smith it appears receives his proxy chez lui.

We have just recd a letter from Baron Hausmann regretting that he cannot supply the weekly returns for Paris. I have promised to read a paper at the Stat Soc on the life and death rate of "babies" !! under 1 year of age. A Birm man has attacked our census and I shall turn it to account.

The subject is difficult and I want all the light I can get.

f98 Farr to FN Dec 30 1865 embossed.

We are entering upon a new year. Let me wish you on the first day life and strength to continue to the end the good works wh you have begun.

f99 Farr to FN [1865-66] embossed.

I know how much more you sympathize with belligerents than with neutrals and have enclosed a copy of our last report, in the hope that it mt find favour in your eyes--ever my guiding stars.

I suppose Duncan and illeg will respond acridly.

I hope it may help to put the matter on a first true footing.

typed copy of signed letter ff100-02, original 5474/99

**f100** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

*Private*

19/1/66

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,

London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I have a great deal to thank you for & a great deal to say - but less than usual time & strength to say it with.

Dr. Sutherland has been sent to Algeria with my Indians - (they might just as well have been sent to stare at Astley's) and I have all his business besides my own, to do. If it could be done, I should not mind. I had just as soon wear out in two months as in two years so the work be done. But it can't. It is just like two men going into business with a million each. The one suddenly withdraws. The other may wear himself to the bone - but he can't meet the engagements with one million which he made with two. Add to this, I have been so ill since the beginning of the year as to be often unable to have my position moved from pain for 48 hours at a time.

But to business.

1. I thank you immensely for your note on determining Prison Mortality.

It was after this wise - Bengal Sanitary Commn. wrote to me privately for it. I said : write officially - In the meantime I asked you : & you kindly sent (& I sent to them) a note on the way of determining Prison Mortality -

This your *great* note, I should like to await Dr. Sutherland's return, as the Indians have got your little note. And I have written to the Army Sanitary Comm: here to say so -

**f101**

[- 2 -]

You shall hear -

I don't want them to have any important meetings till Dr. S's return -

But - bless your heart - Dr. S. thinks the world moves round himself - & that all business stops naturally till he comes back - both in India & in England. He makes no arrangements for it while he is away.

II

I send you the (same which you had before) Bengal First Sanitary Report - only with its Appendix on -

Also, some M.S. notes thereon from India, which please return to me when done with.

I believe there is a copy of the Report coming for you, which I shall forward to you instantly - But in the mean time I send you mine - because you can, and I can't, make most telling use of it.

I am told that, as it has been published in Bengal, you may make public use of it - which, I am sure, is most earnestly to be desired. (You will remember you kindly asked me this question.)

I sent your note on the (first) copy (without appendix) to its destination.

III

I wish I could do anything more for R.D. Thomson's family. I am bitterly disappointed at Ld Russell's letter but not surprised. I am entirely without influence there now - or if I have any, it would be like that of the man driving the pig *from* Cork, to make it go *to* Cork. Could Lord Shaftesbury do anything? I have lost a powerful

f102

[- 3 -]

friend in Lord Palmerston - I rarely asked him to do anything in the Cabinet, as you may suppose. But, if ever I did, he made a joke. But he did it. To my mind he was a far greater man than his successor.

IV

I thank you much for Quetelet's letter - which I return.

V

M. Husson, directeur de l'Administration générale de L'Assistance publique, at Paris, whom I dare say you know, & with whom I am on the "affectionate" terms, writes:

"J' ai également x x x lu dans nos journaux que le recensement des classes pauvres venait d'avoir lieu pour toute la Grande Bretagne. Si cet important travail de statistique a été publié, je, serais très désireux d'en posséder un exemplaire, et J'ai encore recours à votre obligeance pour me le procurer x x x"

Does he mean your Census? And, if so, would you be kind enough to send me a (another) copy for him?

I have lately sent him (at his request) all our Poor Law Board (published) documents?

I will write again to-morrow

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of partial signed letter f103 original 5474/98

**f103** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr} [16:446]

COPY

(first sheet missing)

(Jan. 1866)

The compensation to my disturbed state of mind has been a convert to the Sanitary cause I have made for Madras - No less a person than Lord Napier. (I managed to scramble up to see him before he sailed)

2. About your Prison Mortality paper, I have ascertained from the W.O. that there is to be no Meeting of their Commission before Ellis & Sutherland come back. So I have kept your paper for Dr. Sutherland to see *here* before it goes into Committee.

3. *Don't forget to send me a "Recensement" for my Directeur de l'Assistance Publique et Paris* - who asked for it.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

My happiness was so bound up in those two guns we have got back from Bhotan. But Sir J. Lawrence won't give them to Ld Hartington. He will give them to me - And I shall mount them on the noble leads attached to this mansion. And I shall teach my cats to be Artillery men. And I shall use them against all my enemies of Victoria St. & Pall Mall (including Dr. Sutherland)

By the way, have you seen Surgeon Rennie's attack upon you "Story of the Bhotan War" p.235 - upon your "Nosology" - "sun-stroke"

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, f104 5474/100

**f104** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

**[16:685]**

COPY

March 13/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

These people worry me past my patience.

But I have looked now thro' all my stores, & cannot find one copy left of the Forms which you were so good as to send out & which *they* have "mislaid?"

Have *you* any copies of the forms which you were kind enough to send round for us to all the Hospitals?

If so, would you be so good as to send me one copy? returning me the enclosed (which makes me so impatient) -

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of incomplete letter, f105, original 5474/101

**f105** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

June 19/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I never seem to write to you unless I want something.

M. Husson, Director of the Assistance Publique at Paris, & one of the best administrators in Europe, is coming over (from Paris) from July 1 to July 6 to study the Poor Law system in London.

Among other things, he asks me to apply to Mr. Villiers (I have done so but am referred to you, as they have not what M. Husson wants) for the Statistics of Mortality of Lying-in women in the London Workhouses & if possible, in those of the great towns in England.

(M. Husson is going to publish these Statistics for all Europe.)

I have never told you how valuable we thought your paper on Infant Mortality.

Nor have I ever thanked Mr. Clode for his Cattle Plague Mortality Returns. Please do so. You will be the saving of the nation in that matter. But you know what I think as to the Cattle Plague Commissioner.

Let them rest *not* in peace

England will be ashamed of herself some day about that.

May I send you a copy of a Report from the New York Emigration Commissioners? - And will you look at the pages I have turned down as to the Mortality in the ships. It has had this good effect, that our Emigration Commissioners will now

(ending cut and next sheet missing)

typed copy of signed letter, f106 5474/102

**f106** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

June 25/66

My dear Dr. Farr

Many thanks for your note of June 23.

I communicated your kind offer of assistance to M. Husson -  
And he writes a very grateful note in return.

He would like very much to have, if it were possible, for every Lying-in Hospital, & for every Dispensary which attends Lyings-in at the women's own homes (including, I suppose, of course, Workhouses) in "Lying-in Hospitals", Tables filled up something like what I enclose. But, if there were no distinction of causes of Death, the column "Total" would suffice.

Have you any means whereby Tables such as this could be filled up?

Or could you kindly procure for M. Husson copies of the Reports of Lying-in Institutions, in order to have the proportion of Deaths to Cases, as he desires? -

I know how much this is to ask. (Frenchmen don't distinguish Lying-in Institutions from Lying-in Wards of Workhouses.)

M. Husson alludes very feelingly to his desire that you should obtain the place of Correspondent to the "Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques", of which he is a member. And he hopes that your assistance (of this kind) may be a step to it. These Frenchmen don't all well know how great your labours & how great their results have been.

in haste

Ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter, f107 5474/103

**f107** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

Aug. 6/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr,

Many thanks for your note about the Cholera -  
I have looked in vain in the "Times" for your 'daily Return.'  
If it is printed, would it be too much to ask you to send it  
me? - as long as you publish daily Returns.

Indeed I think it most lamentable - & almost a signal of the  
retrogression of England in these matters - to see the want of any  
efficient action of organization in such an out-break, as far as  
measures of prevention go -

ever yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff108-10, original 5474/104

**f108** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

*Private & Confidential*

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
Sept. 29/66

My dear Dr. Farr

I have never answered yours of Sept. 14.

I am sorry to say that we can't give you a paper on our "results" in India. Dr. Sutherland is inspecting at Gibraltar. And, in the deepest mystery, I tell you that I am not at all satisfied with the way we are getting on in India. It is a long story - & one which I may trouble you with some day - but not now. By an incredible fatality, despatches of Sir J. Lawrence have been twice mislaid this year for some months at the India Office - one of January 20 was not found until May 5 - & then only by Sir J. Lawrence writing to me with his own hand an Abstract of his own Despatch - On June 18 Lord de Grey answered it. That very night Ministers were beaten. And Lord de Grey's answer was not sent. The consequence is, that there is no Sanitary Service - really to speak of - at this moment in India - tho' it has been preparing for years -

I must thank you now most cordially for sending me your Daily & Weekly Returns.

I am thankful to see that Cholera is declining - (mainly thro' your exertions) But ought it not to decline faster, now the tide is turned?

You say well : that people ought not to relax their exertions yet.

**f109**

[ - 2 - ]

And what a farce, a cruel farce, that Sanitary Act has been -  
As has been truly said, it is the local Boards of Works themselves that create the nuisance they are intended to remove.

And memorializing the Secretary of State is so much waste paper.

But my experience is, that, both as to Sanitary law & as to Poor law, the Boards of Guardians constantly undertake to administer the law, merely in order to defeat it.

I am not "cursing & swearing" merely for the sake of cursing & swearing, but to shew that, if you had not "kicked up a row", (like a lion on a coat of arms) nothing would have been done.

You know I am entirely recalcitrant as to your Mr. Simon's merits. Mr. Simon is an arrangement of the Privy Council for making the bigger Body, which is a big quack, appear (to the lesser Bodies, who are little quacks,) to now know something.

Mr. Simon, not perhaps more than but in common with, Doctors in general, - (with some splendid exceptions, of which I put Mr. Paget at the head) has, during the last few years, been bringing down Medicine, including Sanitary Science, from a profession to a trade - a trade, that is, to sell an Article called a prescription ( or an operation) to the sick individual, said to be for his health, - & also a much more critical prescription, equally an article of trade, to the sick nation, represented by the Privy Council, ( for £1500 a year) said to be for the health of the nation.

But what makes me most frantic is that Mr. Simon, who is a pluralist in every sense of the word, never "paye's de sa personne" -

**f110** [ -→ - ]

Bad as we are at the War Office, Poor Law Board, & in India we should never accept Mr Simon's second-hand Reports. We always inspect *ourselves* - in person.

Now you will say that I am a Nuisance - & come under the Nuisances Removal Act. And Mr. Simon, if you write to him, will gladly put it in force against me. But I shall have been the only nuisance Mr. Simon will ever have removed.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Could you kindly tell me, some day (it is for a practical purpose) what the Mortality of *Romsey*. (Hampshire) is? And what it *ought* to be?

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

29/9/66

typed copy ff111-16 arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr, Teagle

**f111 COPY**

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
Oct. 13/66

My dear Dr. Farr

I have, alas! so few "great friends" left. But I always reckon you as one of my great friends.

I saw in the Illustrated News of this morning, (I did not observe it in the "Times") a Report of a discussion upon Hospital Nursing, arising out of a paper of Miss Garrett's, under the Section, of which you were President, at Manchester.

In this a Dr. Stewart is stated to have said that I (!!!) had been *compelled* to give up employing "Lady Nurses" - or the introduction of educated women into the profession of Nursing -!!!

(the fact being that to doing this I devote my life -

Editor's Note)

& that I (!!!) had declared that educated women were unable to undergo the training necessary for the purpose -

(the fact being that it is not a week ago since I had openly congratulated ourselves, upon the steady, tho' slow & quiet, progress we had been making in inducing educated women to "undergo" the training necessary for Nurses, without which they cannot be fit to be Superintendents -i.e. to train Nurses in their turn.

Editor's Note.)

Now, the first thing to ascertain is - *did* Dr. Stewart say this? - If so, he must be made to unsay it - Or at least to declare on what authority he made this unwarranted, unwarrantable

f112

[ - 2 ]

assertion - In that case would you unsay it for me? -

I don't want to weary you with a long Manifesto - especially as we do not yet know whether Dr. Stewart has not been wrongly reported.

(Who is he?)

I will only say now that my opinion is the same, only strengthened - by the experience of the last 10 years - viz.

1. that no Nurses should do the work of scrubbers - that therefore the Nurse, be she "upper, x middle or lower class" is equally able to go through the training of a Nurse -
2. that no "Lady Superintendent" (vide Miss Garrett "upper, middle or lower class" is qualified to govern or to train Nurses, if she has not herself gone thro' the training of a Nurse
3. I don't exactly know what Miss Garrett or Dr. Stewart mean by the "upper class." (Neither do I think they know themselves.) Therefore I will wait to know before I mention many, (among others the present Lady Supt. of the Workhouse Infirmary at Liverpool,) who 1. have gone thro' the training of a Nurse, 2. who yet serve without pay, 3. who are equally qualified to be Nurses, Head Nurses, to attend an operation, or to be Supts. - & yet are of what is usually called the "upper class."x
4. I thought the fallacy about "paid Nurses" x was exploded. It is very easy to pay. It is very difficult to find good Nurses, paid or unpaid. It is "Trained Nurses" not "paid Nurses" who are what we

x(vide Dr. Stewart)

x Be it known to Dr. Stewart who draws a painfully invidious distinction between "Upper" & Middle Class" - that the *fact* is exactly the contrary from what he represents it. It is far more difficult to

f113

[ - 3 ]

want.

It is not the payment that make the *Medical Officer*, but the education.

To make the power of serving *without* pay a qualification is, I think absurd.

In a country like England, where so many women have to support their families, I would far rather that establish a Religious Order, open a career highly paid.

But, I think, all the sickening talk (of the Workhouse Infirmary Association, of Miss Garrett & Dr. Stewart) about "paid Nurses" is disgraceful to our common sense as a nation.

I will not weary you with more till I know what, if anything, you advise me to do, in order to prevent a Dr. Stewart from injuring our work. You may think I attach undue importance to it. But then you do not know how I am worried with letters, asking my authority (*with reproaches*)

1. for Church of England ladies & Religious Orders only
2. for paid nurses only
3. for pauper nurses only
4. for Marchionesses only & Princesses
5. for - but I can't tell you all the nonsense.

Certainly I never expected to be quoted as having "been obliged to give up the employing ladies as Nurses"

---

induce a "middle class" woman than an "upper class" one, to go through, as Head Nurse, the incidental drudgery which must fall to the province of the Head Nurse - or be neglected -

f114

[ - 4 ]

"because" I "found them unable to obtain a thorough knowledge  
"of the training necessary"

etc. etc

Also, that all that was necessary was to "pay good wages" to secure  
good Nurses.

I am neither for not against "Lady Nurses" - (what a  
ridiculous name!) what would they say if we were to talk about  
Gentlemen Doctors?)

I am neither for not against "paid Nurses."

My principle has always been : - that we should give the best  
training we could to any woman of any class, of any sect, "paid" or  
unpaid, who had the requisite qualifications, moral, intellectual &  
physical, for the vocation of a Nurse. Unquestionably, the  
educated will be more likely to rise to the post of Superintendents,  
but *not* because they are "ladies", but because they are educated.

(which epithet I really must refuse to either Miss Garrett or  
Dr. Stewart, if they have been rightly reported.) I fear they will  
do much harm to our cause.

I wish every trained good nurse God speed - and to provide as  
many such as I can, & also *trained* x Superintendents over them, has  
been the object of my life.

Believe me

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

x I have unquestionably said (and I still hold) that "Lady Nurses" or  
"Lady Superintendents", *untrained*, do more harm than good, & that it  
is a destructive fallacy to put a "lady" over Nurses, who does not  
know their work as well as they do themselves; merely because she is a  
"lady"

---

Oddly enough I had a correspondence with Dr. Holland, of the

**f115** {archivist: (loose sheet found afterwards numbered 3a which would seem to belong to this letter, and if so to follow on where the third sheet of the original letter ended, viz. after : - "who had the requisite qualifications, moral, intellectual & physical, for the vocation.....")} 8033/25

As I once heard a very wise man say : -

I am not against the upper classes or against the lower classes - *I am* against ALL *classes*.

So I feel.

So I dread all such performances as Miss Garrett's.

So I say : every good (*trained*) Nurse, be she from whatever class - God Speed her -

N. B. I would say, in reply to Mr. Hastings - the great merit of the R. Catholics is that they *never* reply to attacks. *They* would remain *un*"represented."

F.N.

**f116**

[ - 5 - ]

Dr. Sutherland returns home this day from Gibraltar - I understand it is said :- he must either report to Miss Nightingale or to himself -for there is no one else to report to at the War Office.

Don't repeat this bad joke.

F.N.

Burials Act, in view of this very meeting, in which he invoked my authority, which I gladly gave, to establish the reverse of what Dr. Stewart represents me as saying & doing.

f117 Farr letter to FN embossed. Oct 15 1866

Dr Stewart was put right by some of the speakers as to your view, but it will be well if you will state them authoritatively yourself. You must first see Miss Garrett's paper--I have asked sec for it. She argues vigorously in favour of the supply of nurses for economic principles--supply and demand--and goes against the sisterhoods, but in answer to objections fully admitted the value of volunteer nurses in war and in epidemics. She did not prob take a sufficiently Catholic view of the whole subject, particularly as to the necessity of thorough instruction in sound principles.

I am writing on the weekly return of cholera today (707 cholera, 47 diarrhea) and shall write again when I hear from Clay. I will endeavour to get the newspaper reports of the discussion for you, altho it will be imperfect.

ff119-20 notes, pencil

**f119**

*Garrett & Stewart*

In a *practical* trade like mine, it does not do to go solely upon the "supply of Nurses or economic principles". The "supply & demand" principle taken *alone* (tho' I hope I always bow down to it) is a fallacy; as it is here put.

It leaves out altogether the most important element - viz. that state of public opinion the degree of education of public opinion at the time.

You have to educate public opinion up to the state of *wanting* a good Article. *Because* the public pays highly for it is not therefore a reason for its being a good Article.

On the contrary

E.g. You would not say that Morrison's Pills, Holloway's Ointment, which have certainly been paid for at a rate Miss Garrett would tell us secures "good Nurses", are a proof of the soundness of her principles.

Also e.g.

Many, I had almost said, most Workhouse & Hospital Matrons are dear at £30 a year. Does Miss Garrett

**f119v**

think that, if we were to offer £150 a year, we should "secure" a good Article thereby? -

I trow not

And I say this from no theory but from actual experiences.

The demand is now much greater than the supply- not because the supply is badly paid, but because it does not exist.

"200" - Why, I have more applications than that -

Miss G. ignorant of the Supts. wanted for Nurse-training Societies etc, etc, etc, in Civil, Military private, official life

Now the pay offered is, in most cases, exceedingly good. You can get the woman, no doubt

But can you get the *fit* woman?

I can't.

Also, e.g.

Is high pay the means of securing good persons? - Take the Universities. The only persons sufficiently paid in these are: - the Heads of Houses & the Canons. They are also the only persons who do nothing or do harm

**f120**

Tutors & Professors - ablest men in  
England so miserably paid that they  
must go, if they want to marry.

But to return to our Matrons

Opinion so little educated as to what  
a Matron ought to do that Miss G.'s plan  
would give 200 quack Matrons 200

female Morrison's - at £150 a year.

A thing which horrifies my practical soul  
volunteers coming into play in wars &  
epidemics -

when the greatest skill is wanted then  
we will admit most unskilled

cause of all our misfortunes in the Army

No better leaven than a trained lady among  
Nurses

No worse than an untrained

the worst ~~turn~~ of all Miss G. has done us  
to make ladies think they can nurse by

*inspiration* x

can men become surgeons by inspiration  
in "wars & epidemics"?

x just what I am always  
telling them they can't do

**f120v**

dividing human race into  
railroad carriages

1st 2nd 3rd class

useless

Governesses (unaccomplished) at £30

might become at £50

Head Nurses

useful

but for this invidious distinction of  
classes

ff121-24

**f121** typed copy arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr 5474/105

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
Oct. 17/66

My dear Dr. Farr

I am very much obliged to you for your note & also for your Address -which I had been trying to get in full - of course you will publish it, separately.

I will not now take up your time about the Garrett-Stewart Nurse question - only just to say this : -

in a *practical* trade like mine, it does not do to go solely upon the "supply of Nurses on economic principles".

The "supply & demand" principle *taken alone* - tho' I hope I always bow down to it - is a fallacy. i.e. as Miss Garrett (is said to have) put it. It leaves out altogether the most important element viz. the state of public opinion - the degree of education of public opinion at the time. You have to educate public opinion up to the state of wanting a good Article. Because the public pays heartily for it (or highly for it,) is not at all always evidence that it *is* a good Article. On the contrary.

e.g. you would not say that Morrison's Pills, Holloway's Ointment, Old Parr's Life Pills, which have certainly been paid for at a rate which Miss Garrett assures us would secure "good Nurses", are a proof of the soundness of the principle.

E.g. again : -

many, I had almost said, most of the Workhouse & Hospital

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[ - 2 - ]

Matrons in England are dear at £30 a year.

Does Miss Garrett think that, if we were to offer £150 a year, we could get a good ARTICLE at once?

I trow not -

And I say this from no theory, but from actual experience.

The demand is now so

{archivist: (the second sheet of this letter is missing)}

what she says : -that , in epidemics, wars & emergencies the "Lady Nurse" may then come into play.

This is the very thing that I have set my face against, my whole life. It was the cause of all our misfortunes in the Crimea. It is, in fact, saying this : - at times when the greatest skill is wanted, we will admit the most unskilled - at times when the worse cases require the best nursing, then we will have the worse nurses.

It is what the Geneva conference said -

What I have said (& done) in the war-case is : - have always a staff of *Trained Nurses*, (*trained* "ladies" among them) ready in the Military Hospitals to go into war - & not only trained Nurses, but trained Governors, Officers of all kinds. Why did we fail so egregiously in the Crimea in Officers of all kinds but because we adopted Miss Garrett's principle? -

A "Lady" will train as a Nurse *better* than a woman of the

f123

[ - 3 - ]

lower classes. And there is not better leaven among these than a *trained* lady, serving among them - & *no worse* ( of this Miss Garrett may be assured) than an *untrained* lady serving among them.. (I am not now speaking of Superintendents)

So far from being pleased by her admission about the "value of 'Lady Nurses' in epidemics" I think she has done us the worst turn of all thereby - encouraging "ladies" to rush in where angels fear to tread, & to think that they can nurse by inspiration - just what I am always telling them they can't do - It is this that makes female work so bad - What would you say if Miss Garrett were to tell men that, in "wars & epidemics" they could act as Surgeons *by inspiration?* - Yet, what *is* the real difference?

Pray forgive me this long note & believe me

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

**f124**

*'Questo è il vero ultimo.'*

I am so puzzled by "first, second & third class", (as if Miss Garrett & Mr. Stewart were dividing the human race into rail-road carriages,) that I don't know whether she considers Governesses as "Ladies," But, if she does, she can't be ignorant - (at least, I am not - for I once kept a Governesses' Hospital) - that there are unaccomplished "Ladies" toiling away as Governesses their miserable useless lives at £20 or £30 a year, who as Head Nurses ("Sisters,") - but for her invidious definition of classes, -might lead useful happy lives at £50 or £60 a year -

But then Hospital life is not for the "upper class" - And Governess life is -

And this unnatural prejudice Miss Garrett appears to support.

F.N.

I am sorry your Cholera is still so bad.

F.N.

f125 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 19 1866

I enclose the paper in order that you may see precisely what an author said.

The general principle that nurse-work like doctor-work and clergy-work is best done (bad is the best truly) when paid for, in the ordinary way--scarcely admits of dispute. But the present standard of such work is excessively low & the question is what can be done to raise it. The Nightingale Fund has this particular object in view; it aims at making nursing an art. And as far as I recollect the payment of the artist was a part of your plan.

Dr Stewart professed to quote some passage from a letter of yours, but it was pointed out at the time by Mr Bracebridge that the passage was isolated and did not adequately express your views. Your opinions were cited, and people naturally attached importance to them, and Clay wd no doubt be glad to get a short note correcting any inaccuracy in Stewart's assertion made under a misconception. You must not write anything at present controversial, but when you have time a short additional paper on the question wh you have made your own.

Typed copy of signed letter ff127-38, original 5474/106

**f127** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

Embley

Romsey

Oct. 20/66 [16:686]

My dear Dr. Farr

Thank you for sending me Miss Garrett's paper.

The looking it thro' has considerably mollified me - tho' I am afraid you will think the reason why, a very important reason - It is because the paper is so superficial, & there are so many inaccuracies staring in the face of any one in the least conversant with Hospital life, that I don't think it will do our cause any harm - And I think it clears up the ideas very much of any person, who *is* conversant with Hospital life, to read such a paper as this.

(I will return to the subject of inaccuracies.)

In the mean time, I think your own note the best commentary.

You say, for which I thank you a thousand times :

"it" (the N. Fund) "aims at making nursing an *art*."

This puts the whole question in six words -

And I don't know that I want to add a word more.

You never yet made an artist by paying him well. *But* an artist *ought to be well paid*.

Agreed, agreed, a thousand time.

But Miss Garrett puts the cart before the horse. We get a better price for our Article, because it is a better Article. We did not have a better Article, because we gave a higher price. (The Article did not exist when we began (or exceptionally only). I will return to this.)

f128

[ - 2 - ]

You say truly : -

"the payment of the Artist was a part of your plan." And we have secured good, & shall secure better, pay for our Artists.

(Indeed, as I have mentioned, it is not the offer of good pay that is ever wanting. It is - the capacity of the Artist.)

It is, of course, impossible for me to go into Miss Garrett's paper at length. For it would be, in fact, re-writing the whole paper x -

I will mention only a few of the most palpable inaccuracies.

1. p. 3. the "Matron." In no Hospital up to the last 10 years had the "Matron" anything to do with "overlooking" the Nursing - scarcely even with "controlling the Nursing Department."

Even at the present time, very few have.

This is one of the most essential reforms we have introduced.

p. 5. (describing the "Lady system.)

"The main difference is "that the control no longer "rests with the Matron."

What *can* she mean by this?

Is it because we have changed the word to *Superintendent*, (because a "Matron" does *not* properly "control" or "superintend" the "Nursing Department,") that she makes this blunder? -

---

E.g. I think the harm done is *incalculable* by striking the gap, page 2. between the "commercial" "religious" "spirit" - & by actually making synonyms of "religious" & "volunteer." Will she forgive me if I say that I know none but the *most* fanatical of R. Catholic Archbishops who would write as she does on this? Certainly no R. Catholic religious order.

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[ - 3 - ]

She mentions "King's College Hospital;" immediately afterwards- as being under this régime - p. 6

Now, the only Civil Hospitals I know (tho', of course, I must not be quoted in this) where the "Nursing Department" is *really* "under the Control of the Matron" are :

Kings College,

St. Thomas' -

tho' Mrs Wardroper is called Matron

& Miss Jones Lady Supt. -

(Indeed, by the *enemy* I have frequently been told that the latter "controls" too much.)

2. The question of "economy" is inaccurately introduced, not only by Miss Garrett x but by the "Lancet" & Middlesex Hospital x p.p. 6,7,8, & passim.

It is generally very little known that King's College Hospital pays as much for the services of ~~St~~ St. John's House as the usual price. Also: that a "Sister" (lady) is never refused because she cannot serve gratuitously or pay for her board - & that many, including the very best superior I have ever known, receive a salary.

But, you see, Miss G. can assert this.

And I can't answer her. Of course I am not at liberty to publish these particulars.

But I have repeatedly & positively refused to be a party in assisting any Hospital to make a treaty with any Sisterhood for the sake of "economy."

Even in R.C. countries, where Hospitals are, as a rule,

**f130**

[ - 4 - ]

nursed by Sisterhoods, the Civil administration always pays for them. Where the order has no foundation, this payment constitutes their only support, & that of their other works.

They are earning their own livelihood in exactly the same sense as our paid Nurses are - only that the payment is made to the "Sisterhood" & not to the "Sister." But, at King's Coll: Hosp:, the payment is made to the "Sister"

Is it not a pity that Miss G. Should not have informed herself on these subjects? -

3. p. 9

Where does MISS Garrett find that "a lady, with very little training, does hospital nursing (or any other art) in a

"first-rate way"? - She must have very little idea of what "first-rate" Hospital Nursing is.

The "idea" of even the French Sisterhoods is so different from Miss Garrett's that they, who fall under her ban, consider from 3 to 5 years the time of training - And I consider 2 years the minimum.

Three fourths of the whole mischief in women's lives in England is that they suppose themselves exceptions from the laws of training to which men bow -

And here is Miss Garrett encouraging this fatal idea.

However, as Dr. Stewart represents me as "giving up "ladies" (as Nurses) because, *they can't* undergo the training necessary", he rather neutralizes Miss G.

4. p.9

Miss G. likens "Nursing" to "cooking & dusting."

I think the poor Patient would find a very great difference if

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[ - 5 - ]

the "mistress of the household" were to send the "cook" or the "housemaid", instead of going herself, & procuring a qualified Nurse, to attend upon her sick husband or child.

The fruit of my whole life is indeed lost, if people have not got further than this - if they still confuse nursing with cleaning. The head-nurse has nothing to do with these, farther than to superintend them, exactly as the "mistress of a household." But many a life has been lost because the Head Nurse did not know how (or did not choose) to do the operations of "la petite chirurgie," especially for men-Patients - And the fact is, that no "cook" or "duster" can perform these properly - & that the more "cultivated" the woman, if trained, the less she shirks them.

But I would say the same, in an inferior degree, for the Under Nurse. Her work is not at all the same as that of an under-servant. Least of all is the Night-Nurse's.

5. p.12.

The two "reforms" which Miss G. suggests are :-  
what?

1. good wages

2. supervision by night

I think I might perpetrate a very bad joke on this.

But I refrain :

I resume your immortal phrase about "an Art."

And I would ask Miss G. to apply her Panacea, her Morison's Pills, to the "reform" of any other "Art," & see how it will do.

**f132**

[ - 6 - ]

Take the "Art of Sculpture. (Michael Angelo is said to have worked very much at night at his sculpture, with a candle stuck in a ball of clay on his head, during the Siege of Florence)

Let us ask Michael Angelo whether

- (1.) good pay
- (2.) night supervision

would "reform" sculpture.

But let us take what Miss G. gives as her reasons :-

- (1.) good pay.

She quotes, p.12., a "report" which has received more blame than its utter incompetency was worth - for appointing the "reporters" of which the Master was called over the coals - the Officers of the Hospitals (to which they belonged) laughing at the transparent job - the very passage, which she quotes was known to be a covert assault on the two most valuable Officers of the Hospital - in order to insinuate that the "Improvement" in the Nursing was due = not to their training but to the higher pay which the "N. Fund" enabled them to give.

And this very passage Miss G. endorses with her authority.

Surely this is putting the cart before the horse, with a vengeance!

Or rather it is "climbing o'er the house to unlock the little gate."

The "little gate" is unlocked by the little key -viz. that, in St. Thomas', there is, thanks to Mrs. Wardroper & Mr. Whitfield, the best Training-School in Europe - & that the Hospital replenishes

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its own Staff from these trained Nurses -

And Miss G. & Dr. Bristowe attribute the "improvement" chiefly, to the "pay." !!!!

Guy's has improved its "pay" but not its "Nursing" - except in as far as it has taken some of our Nurses. But this, again, you see I can't say.

I wish I had had ten minutes' conversation with Miss G. before she wrote her paper.

I think she would have written it differently.

(I believe Miss G.'s own Art is Midwifery - & that she excels in it.

*Would she apply her principles to her own Art? -)*

N.B. I wish, (p.13) to "attract" to the service a better class than "domestic servants." They have *that* career open to them. But even an "Under Nurse's" life in a Hospital requires far more intelligence, power of control & of self-control than any "domestic servant's." It is not merely a question of being "less comfortable" -p.14.

(2) p.14 "Night-supervision." The night is the only time when no real "supervision" or training *can* be given -

And therefore the Night Nurse ought to be such & so trained as to require no "supervision."

For, 1. it is a fiction.

is there to be one Night-Superintendent? -

how can she give assistance or "supervision" in an alarming case? - in 10 or 20 wards?

How can she even see in 10 or 20 whether the Nurse is awake? -

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[ - 8 - ]

ii. or is there to be a Night-Superintendent in each ward? -

Then she had much better be the Night Nurse herself. In ordinary wards, there had much better be but one sitter-up - & that an experienced one -

To be giving directions, or "supervision" at night is intolerable - other than what every competent Head Nurse gives (from her little room adjoining the ward, where she ought always to sleep) when she has had bad cases.

I exclude wars & Cholera epidemics from the above. In Cholera epidemics, such is the stress & pressure that the staff ought often to be exactly the same by night as it is by day i.e. there should be two staffs, one for night, one for day.

I exclude War-Hospitals - because the Orderlies are often new to their work - the cases are urgent. I, for one, found it necessary to be about nearly the whole of the night, "superintending the Night-Nursing."

6. (p. 14.)

"Je suis de l'avis de Monsieur pour la raison contraire."

"Je suis de l'avis" entirely "de" Miss G. in what she says here about "remunerated work among women of the educated class."

But she does not appear to be aware that it is done already.

P. 17. She does not appear aware that exactly what she recommends, Paras 1 & 2, is done already,

The salary is taken & returned indirectly -

It is done by my Supt. of the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary &

f135

[ - 9 -]

by many others, who are "ladies", with "private incomes."

But Miss G. has so mixed up "religious," "volunteers," "educated", "ladies," & other words that not only I but others had not the least idea that she meant this. And this is done already.

I will only repeat here that she is not aware of the immense harm she does in the minds of what she calls the "commercial" class by separating -nay by setting in opposition the "religious" & the "commercial" motive (or "spirit"? -)

She may explain it as she will - No explanation will remove it.

The good ones say : - what! won't she credit us with a "religious" motive? -

The bad ones say : -Ay, our betters allow that this can only be done for money.

---

"The labourer is worthy of his hire." The Clergy work for pay - & yet are *supposed* to be "religious."

Would Miss G. apply her "commercial" & her "religious" hire of demarcation to the clergy? -

7. p. 19.

---

I have already said what I thought about Miss G's view of "volunteer help" in emergencies. She really seems to think that "stimulus" is the main duty of a Nurse - "novelty" the main importance of her presence. I can hardly say how curiously that passage reads

f136

[ - 10 -]

to me who have had really charge of crowded War Hospitals, including  
:Cholera" & all other "emergencies."

I am afraid I should indulge in a most indecorous laugh at  
her expense, but that the subject is really too fatally serious.

---

With regard to her conclusions, p.p. 19,20,21, they are  
incorrect - or unproved -  
conclusion

1. Why should she limit it to a class?

2. is absolutely defeating her own principle of "supply & demand."  
The idea of limiting the maximum. It is besides incorrect.. A  
good *training* Head Nurse is worth more than £50 & gets more.

3. Incorrect

4. Contradictory -

A Lady Supt. need *not* be unpaid & *must* be trained. In no  
case, does the "volunteer" untrained system have such fatal effects  
as in that of a Supt.

5. *Entirely agree*. But is it not contradictory to "4."?

6. Miss G. is ignorant of the conditions of her questions. She  
omits altogether India, Australia, & Village Nursing in England. If  
I could shew her my correspondence for one year, she would see how  
wholly incorrect her premises are.

(In a requisition I had from India, one item was "193" 111)

I will only just add :-

1. with regard to separating the "religious" from the "commercial"

f137

[ - 11 - ]

element.

I never do so -

E.g. I take up the first letter lying under my hand from this morning's post.

It is from a Delhi Missionary. It concerns a "lady" now training at our School.

He entreats me to get her to wait till they can raise the Salary so as to make the Delhi appointment worth her acceptance.

We are now training -"ladies," salaried "ladies" - for New South Wales. This "lady" was to have had the appointment. She will not have to choose between Delhi & Sydney. She is not only "religious" but a Missionary.

(What can Miss G. be dreaming about?) And I am not at all above making the best bargain for my "ladies."

2. *Coeteris paribus*, it is not true, Miss G.'s principle - (Only that I scarcely know what her principle is.)

Good Nurses are much the same all over the world - whether Augustinian nuns or paid Nurses.

But, ten years ago, the average Nursing of the Paris Hospitals, nursed by Augustinian & other nuns, was *far higher* than the average nursing of the London Hospitals.

This is a *fact*, & not a theory. The former were trained, the latter not -

God speed the good Nurse I say again, wherever, whatever & whoever she is.

But don't suppose that I advocate *unpaid* Nurses, because I

**f138**

[ - 12 - ]

think "*paid Nurses*" a ridiculous criterion of ye excellence - of Nursing -

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, first page missing, ff139-40, 5474/112

**f139** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr ~~(1869/)~~

[Oct 1888]}

COPY

(first sheet missing)

its *object*) - what mischief would he not make out of *any one* line which I have written to you? -!

I therefore commend it to your utmost discretion.

And now I do hope, my dear Dr. Farr, that this is the very last word you ever will hear from me on this matter - (tho' many, I hope, on many others)

My best friends have always recommended me never to answer, never to read even any public mis-statement about my plans -

And, if I did, my whole life would have been taken up with discussion - especially for the first 5 years after the Crimean War. And I mean rigidly to adhere to this in future.

My reason for giving you so much trouble on this occasion was that I was myself quoted - This was the statement made to me not from one but from many

(And I must say that, after reading what Dr. Stewart himself states that he said, I should myself have put the same construction upon it which my informants did)

"that a Dr. Stewart was in the possession of a private letter from me to him, in which I stated that, after having applied the "N. Fund" to a scheme for nursing Hospitals by "volunteer ladies", I had been forced to relinquish this "source of supply" & to alter my scheme, falling back on the humbler Nurse, because I had found that "ladies" would not submit to training."

Dr Stewart himself re-iterates *that he said that I said* what amounts to this. Whereas I cannot see in Mr. H.B. Carter's

f140

[ - 2 - ]

letter, taken in connection with the proposal of the Middlesex Hospital, (to which it was a reply,) one word which can be forced into such a construction.

But I really mean this to be the very last word I shall write on the subject.

What *he* says & what *I* say, after all, matters little.

The real truth is in what you said :-

that Nursing is an Art - that an Art must be acquired by diligent training  
that the Artist must command the highest market pay for her art - not from any standard set up by Miss Garrett or Miss Nightingale or Miss Any body - but from her own exertions & value - that no *class* should be excluded from my Art -  
that each individual Artist should be taken on her own merits wherever you can get her, & trained to the highest perfection to command the highest pay..

It is perfectly true (what I see alluded to in the unfortunate letter) that I have always said to Mrs. Wardroper & to H.B. Carter - our object ought to be to take *any* woman from *any* class, of *any* church (provided her qualifications are suitable) & train her as well as we can - & then make the best bargain we can on her behalf for pay. (I have also said - if a R. Catholic nun comes & will submit to our Regulations, to be trained, take her.)

I trust that God will grant you patience )if that is not profane) to read me - This is really

Finis.

And believe me dear Dr. Farr ever yours gratefully & sincerely, tho'  
exactly, your Howling Friend

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

ff141-42 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 29 1866

I gave Miss G the benefit of your criticisms in substance--particularly as to the matters of fact. On the "matron" question she referred to 2 hosps with wh she was acquainted as bearing out her view.

Hastings suggests a discussion on the question in wh the different views mt be fully stated and freely criticized. It wd be necessary that the Catholics and the friends of the sisterhoods and the managers of the Nightingale Fund shd all be represented-- to make the discussion at all useful.

As there are different systems in actual operation--and likely to be in actual operation for an indefinite time--by calling attention to their characteristics--& setting them face to face (as that sublime statesman *Guizot* might say) good might be done. The nursing trees will be judge by their results; & the bad ones we may hope to see cut down with due solemnity & burnt.

You have grounded a new institution. Nursing as an art-- based on principles-- scientific principles as all arts must be. The commercial, the fine lady, the true lady the soeur, the sister -- are only good & useful so far as they build on the foundation you have laid. It is not everybody that has the grace to be a lady nurse-- or a sister. Indeed to the sick man so I look to the ordinary organization of work on small illegs for the main supply of nurses as of doctors!

As the examination is held to be good in the latter case -- & as everybody admits that the London apothecaries really accelerated the production of better educated apothecaries, & translated medical practitioners--so I think the same service will be rendered by the examination of nurses & the establishment of an order of such people.

Excuse my rashness in discussing a question of wh you know I am profoundly ignorant--with this subject however it is quite safe to address even "permiscuous nonsense" to you. Dr Stewart has not had the grace to reply to m note asking him for chapter and verse. He is a physician and lecturer at the Middlesex, an impetuous Scot of full of zeal and work, whether according to knowledge you must judge....

If you shd be pleased to state your views on the subject generally good. But if anyone chooses to ask me, as DGP [?]-is Miss Nightingale to be drawn into the controversy I reply in the words of the immortal Shakespeare (Lord Palmerston's joke) "No."

I trust that your Hampstead air, the air of that pleasant country, suits you. There has been a ring of cholera round Southampton and Portsmouth--extending to the Isle of Wight.

Did you get an answer to your questions about Romsey? Some of our men have been away. P.S. Cholera must be watched. We have just had an outbreak in Woolwich.

f147 Farr letter to FN embossed Nov 2 1866

I have just seen Stewart and enclose his report of his speech as delivered. It appears to be correct--substantially. With it I send a copy of the letter to which he referred and wh I have organized he shall have back immediately. I thank you for your letter

f148 Farr letter to FN embossed Nov 13 1866

I enclose Romsey at last. There must be something wrong. What is it?

I reminded Dr Stewart of the enormous difference between a letter written by you and a letter written officially by the Nightingale Council at your request, expressing their own views and citing you specifically on two points not in question.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff143-46, original 5474/107

**f143** (archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr) **[16:691]**

COPY

*Private*

Embley  
Romsey  
Oct. 31/66

My dear Dr. Farr

A thousand thanks for your wise, kind & suggestive note.

In reply to your query, - They have not yet sent us the information about Romsey - viz. what is the Death Rate of Romsey? - What *ought* to be the Death rate of Romsey? -

In reply to Miss Garrett, I do not at all doubt, as to "Matrons" :- that she can cite "two Hospitals" where she knows the Matron to have no control over the Nursing -

I can cite all the Hospitals in London, except "two," where

the Matron has no real control over the Nursing.

Those two are :-

St. Thomas'

King's College

And the latter of these is nursed by a Sisterhood. The fact is :  
that a Matron having real control over the Nursing is a modern  
invention.

Ten years ago, it did not exist. And even now, in most  
English Hospitals, a Matron only walks thro' the wards once a day  
(at 10 A.M.) to see that it is clean under the beds -  
has little real control over the Nurses - & none at all over the  
Head Nurses - who defy her, even in cases of drunkenness, by appeal.

I think one of the Hospitals to which MISS Garrett alludes is  
University Coll :- Now I should "refer" to University Coll: as a

**f144**

[ - 2 - ]

Hospital which is nursed by ladies, where the ladies are untrained, where the Nursing is not improved - where the Matron has no authority, not the Superintendent either

(She (the Supt.) signs herself "Mother of all the Saints" !!!

She does not reside in the Hospital)

I should appeal to St. George's Hospital to shew the utter failure of "Night Superintendence " (of Nursing,)

I should appeal to Guy's & c & c, when wages are high, & Nursing is not improved

Many other instances could I give her out of my perpetual correspondence with County Hospitals

But - you are quite right in saying that I could not enter into any controversy -

We have years to work before we ought to begin to talk -

Though, of all people, I am the one who most recommends publicity, who am always urging the utmost possible publicity in Hospitals, - yet, such a discussion as Mr. Hastings recommends would do nothing but harm at present.

Miss Garrett & her discussion has done nothing but harm, so far as it is known.

E.g. how could I put in the paper the facts I have given you in my letters? -

Besides, I have no time. I must work-

Ten years hence, we will discuss.

No discussion ever made an Artist yet -

f145

[ - 3 - ]

in great haste

ever yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

N.B. I re-echo entirely & with my whole heart your wise sentence :-  
 "so I look to the ordinary organization of work on sound  
 principles for the main supply of Nurses - as of Doctors."

But as I & others have understood Miss Garrett, she would  
 exclude Rosa Bonheur (unless indeed R. Bonheur was untrained & acted  
 for an "emergency") from Art. And, did you know a most remarkable  
 woman aged 23, a Duchess Colonna, who exhibited sculpture at the  
 Royal Academy this year - she works harder than a journeyman mason -  
 works for money - & asserts that all she has done - is :- "J'ai bien  
 travaillé."

The test of fitness for volunteer, for "*religious*" work has  
 been made by some - by no means all - R. Catholics - & Miss Garrett  
 has been understood (perhaps misunderstood) to support this view -  
 to be : the circumstance of being able to serve without pay. I  
 remember our Mr. Clough saying " - he would make the test ; to be able  
 to *command pay*."

How entirely I agree with him!

how noble I think that sentiment.

And I am happy to say that I know many "*religious*" women, who  
 have entered the Nursing Service on Mr. Clough's principle, from a  
*religious* motive (tho' compelled to support themselves & others by  
 their exertions) & have been able to "*command pay*."

f146

[ - 4 - ]

Long live then the principle of the "*religious*" "*motive*"  
 which trains itself so well as to be able to *command the highest pay*!

Amen,

says (Sgd.) F.N.

typed copy of signed letter ff149-50, original 5474/108

**f149** (archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr)

COPY

Embley

Romsey

Nov. 16/66

My dear Dr. Farr

Very many thanks for your Romsey Statistics -

You say :- "something must be wrong. What is it?"

Everything is wrong - particularly the drainage.

Your Mortality note has produced a "sensation prolongée", in the hands of the very energetic & enlightened Doctor, who is much interested about drainage.

He say :- "I am *glad* that Romsey has so high a "Death-rate "in the Tables - it certainly deserves it - the sanitary arrangements "are detestable."

This unusual sentiment I re-echo.

But - you know - "la reconnaissance n'est qu'un vif sentiment des bienfaits futurs" - my Doctor of Romsey now asks you the same questions for Winchester. What is the Mortality of Winchester? What ought it to be? -

You know, I dare say, that the drainage arrangements of Winchester are "detestable" - & that my cousin, M.P. for Winchester, & I are on terms of a "mortal & undying hatred", because he won't do anything and I will.

I am sorry to give you this trouble, if you are so very kind as to take it for us, about Winchester. But I think it does good.

**f150**

[ - 2 - ]

You see a communication from the Registrar General's Office to us provincials is a moving event -

ever yours sincerely & gratefully

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Typed copy of signed letter, f151, original 5474/109

**f151** (archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr)

Embley

Romsey

Nov. 20/66

My dear Dr. Farr

Very many thanks for your Winchester Statistics.

And now again I come :- you know, "la reconnaissance etc."

In order to help the Sanitary work at Romsey, could you send me the Diseases, especially the Zymotic ones, which make up Romsey Death-rate?

I have seen these (for 10 years) in a Report of yours (which I think I must have left in London)

You know how faithful I am to Lord Palmerston.

Eighteen years ago, he sent Dr. Sutherland down to Romsey to inspect.

My father has a letter of his, (written in his busiest time) of 12 pages, about Romsey Sanitary affairs.

You know, I have no doubt, that Romsey is one of the oldest towns in England - about the same age as Winchester. Winchester has sunk about 14 ft. Romsey more - vide her Abbey.

You ask - what is the matter? -

Damp, dirt, bad drainage, over crowding is the matter -

There is probably a cess-pool under every old house - And the river Test permeates the sub-soil - And probably every house might obtain water under its own floor -

The whole level of the town is below the water.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f152 typed copy, original 5474/111 arch Original owned by Miss Mary Farr  
COPY

Nov. 23/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

Do you remember sending me the card enclosed? -

I am exceedingly glad that you are going to "statisticate" the convicts.

This is one result of your work about the India prisons.

I have been asked to ask you to send me a draft for us to see, if you will kindly allow it.

Very many thanks for the Romsey & Winchester Statistics - I hope it will bear fruit.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

ff153-54 Farr letter to FN embossed Dec 14 1866. FN on diagonal:

To be returned to FN

The mortality of Romsey on the *three years* is higher than it was in the previous ten years.

The union workhouse is in the subdistrict of Romsey--and there all the deaths are registered--but with a view of doing Romsey no injustice--a due proportion of deaths are given to Mitchelmarsh [?] for the said triennial.

The mortality by our returns for the 10 years 1851-61, was 22 per 1000--including the workhouse. All we can say is that Romsey by its latest returns is worse than it was some years ago. It is a case of "has increased--is increasing & ought to be diminished."

When you have time--glance over appendix--to Registrar General 's last report--where I have made some suggestions for registration and given a few instances of manufactured deaths--entirely but that is out of the question in a place like Romsey.

f155-56 Typed copy of letter arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr 5474/111  
COPY

*Private*

(Middlesex )  
(Hospital )  
(Secretary. )

Dec. 19/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I have already had a request from Lady Herbert, very difficult to me to refuse, because it was urged on the ground of Sidney Herbert, to whom Mr. *Watson's* recommender, Mr. Wyatt, was devoted - But I did refuse it - And I am glad of it, because I should think your recommendation a much higher one than Mr. Wyatt's.

(I have also had an application from a third person, a Mrs. Seymour, whom I don't think much about.)

But I am obliged to refuse you, however unwillingly, for this reason:-

It is not only as Secretary (to the Middlesex Hospital) for which your word for your protégé would be quite enough & more than

enough for me, that the appointment is to be made - but as "Secretary"<sup>2</sup> and "Resident Superintendent." Now this may be an Office quite as special (in a Hospl.) & requiring quite as special qualifications as that of a Supt. of Nurses -

I am quite unable, overworked as I am, to make such enquiries either as to the duties of the Office or as to the competency of the Officer for fulfilling them, as would alone justify me in voting.

I have told Lady Herbert that, when she remembers, in Sidney Herbert's days, the excessive care in enquiry taken to select officers - out of the whole Army - for similar posts in Military

**f156**

Hospitals - she cannot but see that the Supt. (of a Hospital) must not only be a competent man, but must have had training, - and that I cannot give the time & strength to investigate these things.

I would take your word for a Statistical man sooner than that of any man in Europe or America - if that were all.

I fear poor "Middlesex" is in a bad way on many accounts - with which moral reflection pray believe me, tho' in haste,

ever yours gratefully,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f157, original 5474/113

**f157** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

Jan. 4/ 67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I have kept the enclosed P. Stat. too long. But I have looked them carefully over. And so has Dr. Sutherland.

(I had not the opportunity of shewing them to him before to-day.)

The Tables we think very good.

But ought they not to have put in in column for State of Health (& disease, if any) at time of discharge from prison after expiry of term of imprisonment, or at time of transfer to another prison? - At p.p. 6, 7 & seqq. such a column might perhaps come in best.

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f158 Farr letter to FN Jan 12 1867

Many thanks for your kind present, 1 hare, 2 pheasants

f159 Farr letter to FN embossed May 10 1867

I will write and let you know the latest numbers and proportions of the burnt to death. The subject is most important.

f160 Farr letter to FN embossed May 11 1867

I send you some of our facts on the burning of men and women and children--alive--in England. Good has already been done, and I have no doubt that more my be accomplished by our old weapon--agitation. I shall be glad to see anything you say on this subject. I cannot lay my hand on the book showing the mortality by burns [?]. Probably twenty cases to 1 death wd be a fair average. You will see that the 3000 are men and women and that the numbers have fallen--within the last 4 years; they were increasing.

JS draft on above letter f161v, pencil in 5474/114

**f161**

I want a safe passage to substitute for another in a new edition of my notes on Nursing, Referring to crinolines

I say

"I wish the Reg. Gen would tell us the exact number of deaths by burning occasioned by this absurd & hideous Custom."

~~Not~~ What would be a safe statement about deaths from clothes catching fire in women at the "Fashionable ages". to put into my text.

f162 forms  
calculations in margin of tables, ff163-64, pencil

**f163**

120

275 of 15 & up

395

**f164**

    15 to 65

1863

1864

75

103

277

**f165** FN {written in large capitals across page}

f166 typed copy of letter arch Original owned by Miss Mary Farr  
COPY

May 20/67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

Many, many thanks for your note of May 11, your report & two halves (Saint Teresa said that she began her reform with a Saint and a half.)

I keep them all, upon my principle of :- Never give but always take.

I want a safe passage to substitute for another in a new reprint of the "Working-Class Edition " of my "Notes on Nursing." Referring to female skirts, I say :-

"I wish the Reg. Gen. would tell us the exact number  
"of deaths by burning occasioned by this absurd &  
"hideous custom."

What would be a safe statement as to Deaths from clothes catching fire in women at the "fashionable" ages to put into my text? -

If you would be so very good as to tell me this without much trouble, I should be, as ever,

your debtor & always

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f167 Farr letter to FN nd We are at work on the violent deaths. And I enclose you an extract from our tables as far as they go. You will be able to trace the sexes, through the "ages" and to show how the unhappy butterflies are burnt.

I enclose a request of Mr Lewis to wh I know you will kindly give your attention.

f168 May 21 1867 letter of Lewis Gen Reg Office to FN asks if FN has written anything bearing on "volunteer nursing" or nursing in hosps by ladies; he wd be obliged to be informed how to obtain a copy of her remarks, object to be fortified with the best authority obtainable in dealing with the recently issued report of the Charing Cross Hosp (on the nursing system of that inst), for a public journal, asks for last report of Nightingale Fund Council 43400 f168

f169 note May 22 1867 Dr Farr has requested Mr Williams to send the following facts to FN: Dr Steele in his report of the patients treated in guy's Hosp in the year 1866 states that out of 32 cases of *burns from clothes taking fire*.

signed letter, ff170-74, typed copy 5474/114

**f170** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr}

COPY

May 22/67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your holocausts - which are just what I wanted. But they are very shocking.

With regard to Mr. Lewis' question :- it reminds me of a great many things : -

1. I meant long ago to have sent for your kind acceptance a copy of a paper on Workhouse Nursing (which i was asked for by the Poor Law Board) & which has been presented in a Report to the Ho: of C.) & an Abstract of it, which I was asked for by many Hospitals. Also :- I send a copy of a pamphlet on District Nursing, actually established by Mr. Rathbone in Liverpool (the pamphlet is by him) - Till we have such District Nursing in London, we shall have done nothing - even when we have reformed all the Hospitals & all the Workhouses.

(You know I always concurred with you :- Hospitals belong to a stage of imperfect, or rather of non-civilization.)

Also :- I send an account of the best Work : Infirmary (that of Chorlton Union) which has yet been built.

2. I have written nothing exactly on the subject which Mr. Lewis desires. I think I sent you my "Notes on Hospitals" I was very ungrateful if i did not. But, unless you have it by you, it may be convenient if I send a copy now (which please return to me) - as Mr. Lewis may like to look at the Appendix (on Methods of Nursing

f171

[ - 2 ]

in Hospitals.) I also send, as he desires, the last Reports of the "N. Fund."

From all this you will gather, that I look upon the "lady," the "volunteer" - which I suppose means the unpaid - as a totally subsidiary & unimportant point in Hospital Nursing. The two important, nay essential point, (in Hospital Nursing) are

1. that there should be two collateral jurisdictions

a. the secular government of the Hospl.

b. the government of the Nurse

(as in Charing Cross Hospl. now) vide my Appendix to

"Notes on Hospitals" -

2. that every woman, paid or unpaid, should be trained - trained to her Art - an Art which no genius can conquer without training - without systematic, practical, persevering, continuous training by the bed-side.

(The most singular test of worthiness to serve God in Nursing is :- to have had a private fortune left you) -

I hold that, to serve according to "mercantile" principles from the "religious" motive (I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word) is the highest service - the service most according with the purpose of God - of which we are capable.

The "Lancet," quoted by Miss Garrett, says : - "the Nursing by *ladies* is the very best nursing England has seen" -

Is not that *type* Medical doctrine? -

f172

[ - 3 - ]

Because "ladies" have happened to produce nurses, who are better than drunken old sots - therefore *all* "ladies" are good Nurses.

Because, in some internal affection that the Doctor did not understand, he gave something, & the Patient got well - therefore in all internal affections which the Doctor does not understand, give the same, & the Patient will get well.

That is the type Medical doctrine. And it would apply to Politics just as well.

Why does Miss Jones, of King's College & Charing Cross Hospitals, succeed so well? Not because her Sisters are "ladies", but because they are *trained*.

When I saw Miss Garrett's grave errors reproduced in April's Macmillan, I began an answer - and I never finished it, partly because I am so driven by business - but mainly because, in such a subject, I think one ought to write as a "preacher of righteousness," not as a Church controversialist - mainly because I think one ought to write, *not* for personalities, but for the truth - not against Miss G. but for conviction's sake.

Mr. Lewis' question encourages me to go on to write. And I think I shall try to write a short terse paper "on my Art", referring only to past sayings as to fallacies which should be avoided - at the next Social Science Meeting where you have a Section.

I send you the few words I jotted down for Macmillan (which please consider private & return to me - I do *not* mean to send it) -

**f173**

merely to remind you of the view my experience takes (for Mr. Lewis) but not to shew him.

I had meant to ask you, some day, whether you could give me some safe, tho' general, view - as to

1. the greater proportion of women ("ladies"), if greater, who, in England, have to earn their own & others' bread, than in other countries.
2. the average rate of Governesses' salaries - (my experience - rather an old one - being that £50, the Hospital Head Nurse's salary, is rather a high Governesses' salary.

But, as I have said, I look upon this as quite a subsidiary point.

My object is no more to secure Hospital Head Nurse's places for "ladies" who would otherwise be governesses - than I think Miss Garrett's object ought to be to secure them for the "lower middle class." or for nay class.

But I repeat - that Miss g. is perfectly unaware how many Sisters of Sisterhoods, - aye, Superiors too, - are paid, (being absolutely penniless -) And quite right too!!

I have been so interrupted in writing this.

Pray excuse its incoherence & believe me, ever, dear Dr. Farr, yours very sincerely & gratefully

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I have recently been asked a question about the "Female Medical College" - & especially about Dr. Edmond's Lectures - of which College I think you are a patron -

**f174**

[ - 5 - ]

Could you, without much trouble, give me your view of its usefulness, especially as regards the point whether any *practical* course of clinical training is thereto attached? It would very much oblige me.

F.N.

Dr. Farr

f175 Farr letter to FN embossed May 27 1867

Thanks for your packets of valuable produce. You know how imperfectly our coroners do their duty, and how negligent they are in stating the cause of death precisely--as they are instructed by the Reg Gen. Hence we do not get the returns of all the deaths of clothes taking fire distinguished.

Upon looking into the matter I am inclined to believe that nearly all the women burnt to death in "manner not stated" are burnt in their clothes, and through their clothes taking fire. You will see that at 60 and upwards the poor old women are burnt in great numbers, through falling asleep. I enclose you a table complete for the year 1864. Note the boys drinking scalding water, out of teapots and kettles, in greater numbers than girls.

f177 Farr letter to FN embossed July 18 1867

I send you today by post a corrected copy of our return. Gen illeg promises that correct copies shall be sent out in lieu of the incorrect ones. The other return , ..hope they will catch you

f178 Farr letter to FN embossed Sept 16 1867

I start from here Fri morn for your Florence, to the Stat Congress. The prog not yet come, but one of the subjects is military stats. Balfour goes from War Dept. Forblanque and I are sent by Lord Stanley. If the spirit moves will you let me know: what good can we do in stats?" [?] I am writing about cholera in London and have succeeded in bringing my friends of East of London at last to book. We shall I hope extract some jewel out of the head of illeg. Hoping to have--as ever---your benediction on our labours.

f180 Farr letter to FN embossed Sept 19 1867

I take your Passport and Apostolic Epistle with me to your well-loved Florence. Anything you wd like to send to the copier in the way of reports will be forwarded from the office through the post. In one word Addio

JS note, f181v, pencil

**f181v**

I send through the post a copy of the report on Malta together with a short paper which I wish to substitute to the letter Apostolic. The letter is too much in the Apostolic style to do all the good we desire perhaps this small paper will answer better.

JS note, f182, faint pencil

**f182** {archivist: p. 19 Sept 1867}

Dr, Farr

Send me my letter I enclosed to you with  
the Malta Cholera report - I return  
the hot water papers I am going to  
try the new dosage  
{at the bottom of the page}

Leadenhall St.

Send a new price circular with any  
I have of the new cookery apparatus

**f182** FN note pencil

Look here Botheration

I had Ward on Tuesday here for an  
hour -

He says - it's quite impossible (& would  
not be safe if it were possible) to make  
No. 9 into a chair to use as a carrying  
chair - & as a couch

f183 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 24 1867

I have just returned from your charming Florence and from Rome where I have  
acquired a good many new ideas--as you will easily conceive. Your letters were so  
important that I showed extracts to Count Arrivabene, and to other Italians, who  
were I hope duly impressed with the importance of the matter.

I saw Pacini- a very able man--and others. I am promised some good info from  
Rome--where cholera has been very fatal 3000 death. There is an elaborate report  
on hosps--of which I will send you a copy. It is published by a commiss wh illeg.  
I went over the great San Spirito--wounded Zouaves in great numbers had been  
brought into the mil hosp, being their right, and the S. Sp was crowded.

Several of the arrs are modern and good. The largest ward had the patients in  
double rows [diagram]. I will write again or call some day shd you be well enough.

They are getting good reports on the water supply and drainage of the towns  
which are generally in a deplorable san cond.

It struck me that you may poss be able to write substantially what you said in  
the letters to me in an epistle to Dr illeg for the congress report. I would send  
it.

I saw Mr Lockhart and his sister [?]. To them I delivered your message. they  
were very kind and desired me to present their regards to you. So did the [Faiza'??  
illeg] at whose villa I dined, of his novello [?[ I cd get no tidings.

f185 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 30 1867

You will not forget your old friends altho they deserve it.

Today I have recd 1 pheasant and 1 brace of partridge and 1 hare, thanks

f186 Farr letter to FN embossed Nov 9 1867

I enclose a letter from Dr Monette [?] wh you ought to see. The Indian stats shd be subject to some supervision in England. Otherwise the several presidencies will run wild.

note written upside down across light pencil

The cost from delays in  
commerce would be incalculable  
The annual cost of the Newham  
quarantines is 4 millions sterling

JS draft, f186v-87 pencil {written upside down, reversing order of folios}

**f187**

uniform classification  
of diseases, which is also  
the one used throughout  
the army, & it would  
simply be folly to adopt  
another.

The quarantine is ~~another~~  
gross absurdity. Cholera  
always travels ahead of  
the electric telegraph, that,  
is, before people are so  
alarmed at one place  
as to telegraph to another  
the disease is already  
there, if it is to be there at all. ~~We can~~  
~~discuss what is best to~~  
~~be done after I~~

**f186v**

~~but~~ They should be called to  
account about this & when  
to report the grounds & facts  
on which they are stopping  
intercourse & spending  
money which is intended  
for sanitary improvements  
{light pencil}

The Constantinople Conference  
appears to have met for the  
purpose of shewing how  
little they knew of Cholera  
& Dr. Gardeners printed letter  
is a clear enough index of  
their state of mind

It would cost many  
thousands a year to keep up  
the instalments he proposes & the  
result would be nil.

**f187v**

{written diagonally} *Sir B. Frere*  
with reference to Dr. Gardener paper  
The following extract ~~is~~ from  
a letter ~~fr~~ addressed by one  
of your own high functionaries  
in Bengal to an official  
person in this country,  
~~and~~ raises certain questions  
of very great public  
importance, which should  
be seen to.

Extract

Read on the same subject Dr  
Mounts last report on Prison Mortality in Bengal  
As regards the disease classification  
if I might suggest a cause  
I should say that the Bengal  
people should be asked by  
your committee to submit  
~~any~~ their providings to you.  
They have already received  
in the "Suggestions", a

f188 letter of Monette? Oct 5 1866 Calcutta. Mariot?

JS draft for a letter, f192, pencil blue paper

**f192**

~~now~~ Dr, Farr. Allow me to keep  
 Dr. Mount's letter for a few days.  
 It is very important & not the  
 least important part of it is what  
 he says about costly & futile  
 quarantine. I also have heard others  
 from India. And I hope the paper  
 shewing that Cholera does in India  
 what is did in ~~Gibr~~ Malta &  
 Gibraltar, & Marseilles, namely  
 it marches ahead of the  
 Electric telegraph. The first  
 case of cholera out of Arabie  
 in 1865 took place in Marseilles,  
~~days before the animal after & hit~~  
~~which~~ several Days before the first case  
 in Egypt. These contagious Interns  
 are ruining everything. They are  
 diverting money uselessly from Sanitary  
 improvements. Could you not get the  
 Medical Journals to turn upon it  
 Something must be done ~~to~~

note, f192v, dark pencil

**f192v**

{printed address} 35 South Street,  
 Park Lane,  
 London, W.

What is the name of the little  
 white flower which borders the  
 beds of yellow & red tulips  
 in the spring in the Park  
 here?

~~{written vertically}~~

~~Parliament will tri~~

{written upside down on the other half of sheet}

Sir B Frere -

convenes the new Committee  
 to-day & says (to me) he  
 hopes they shall do some  
 work "worthy of" us

f193 Farr letter to FN embossed Jan 1 1868

Happy new year. A year consecrated like all the years past to labours for the good of mankind

f194 Farr letter to FN embossed. Jan 29 1868

I have seen Neison's son. He looks an intelligent young fellow, well up in stats, mt be useful in India in some stat dept. Neison has done some good sc work. I shd be glad if I cd be of any service to his son

ff196-98 typed copy of signed letter original 5474/116 arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr

**f196**

COPY

*Private*

March 3/68

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Dr. Farr

I return you, with many thanks, Mr. Spencer Wells.

The figures are satisfactory - but they would be more satisfactory, if Mr. Sp. Wells could take a small house in the country, high & dry, & operate there.

There are several points besides which should be developed, - such as the state of the patient, the *period* of the disease, the precautions taken during & after the operation - as compared with those which used formerly to be taken, & the period at which it used formerly to be operated upon.

However, this operation is evidently entering the domain of operative Surgery with a fair chance of good results.

About "M. Husson's" "lucubrations" - it is an extremely awkward thing for me to have to confess that I don't know whether I "have seen them" or not.

He wrote to me in October, saying they were coming. Since then I have received many Hospital documents from Paris, "Comptes Rendus" & things - but nothing which at all tallied with what I supposed these "lucubrations" were to be.

I put off writing to him; - and now - could you let me see the "lucubrations" for a minute (I will return them by messenger) - in order that I may know, before I write to M. Husson, whether they are

**f196**

not what I have, or whether they are? -

About our deplorable Midwifery Mortality at King's Coll:, please to observe: - the Hospital Committee & Dr. Priestley have told their own story. I have not told mine - which is, if it were worth telling, that the person who raked out the Statistics & who finally had the ward closed, was - I. They wanted - to have the ward for male Students & for "abnormal cases of parturition." And they have since applied to us more than once to "build" for them on the already overcrowded ground of King's Coll: Hosp: - Could you fancy every ward in K.C.H. a Lying-in ward, probably one case out of 3 might not come out alive.

But I am too sick at heart to make a "row."

We have had a loss quite irreplaceable in my dear friend & pupil, Agnes Jones, of the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary. She had the simplicity of a child & the power, quietness & activity of a General. She was pretty & rich & young & witty - & never seemed to have had an idea in her head but to be "about her Father's business" - And of that business she could get thro' as much in 6 hours as most women in 6 months.

If you knew the difficulty there is in replacing her !!! - I am now wholly absorbed in this miserable business. I do think it is more difficult than it was to find a General in the Crimea. And this is what makes me so heart-sick, that people talk & write & gabble & print - and think it will do for the "lower middle class" -

**f198**

[ - 3 - ]

and here am I in my old age trying in vain to supply a gap of this kind out of any class! (a well-pail position too)

"All they (which are in Asia) have turned against me."

"All" wo-"men forsook me." This is what I say in my old age. -

*But do not YOU betray me*

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

f199 Farr letter to FN embossed. July 4 1868

I hope to get your work done next week. I have put papers in good hands. Just now I have completed my cholera report and hope to be able to place a copy in your hands very soon.

f200 Farr letter to FN embossed. July 14 1868

We have reduced your cases and return them.

It is a commencement. Some of the cases of phthisis and cancer had not terminated; these chronic cases are not easily dealt with. You will notice that the deaths are "ticket out" in red ink. Calculations shd not at present be attempted.

f201 Farr letter to FN embossed Sept 1 1868

I know you will allow me to send you--instead of partridges--our cholera report, a field in which you may I hope be able to start game of your own.

f202 Farr letter to FN embossed. Sept 5 1868

Thanks for your cheering letter and for your implied promise. For the "Notes" I shall be duly grateful.

The idea of a "Platonic dialogue" is too good--not to be grasped at--by me. Do let me see your friend's transl by all means, but do let me also see a dialogue by an English Platonist on some of our great questions are handled. Re Liverpool returns; re other countries. The vice consul of France has just interrupted me to say that the Spaniards and Gibraltar have put "British ships" in quarantine, under obs for 3 days!! because we have cholera in London!

The wisdom of the quarantine world transcends belief!

f203 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 14 1868

I beg leave to thank you for two brace of fine partridges and still more for your "kindest" expression.

We did a little good work at Birm and disturbed to a trifling extent the self-satisfaction of the town council.

They are perpetuating at Shrewsbury "the most iniquitous piece of mischief I ever witnessed." Such were the words that sprung to my lips when I saw it in the company of John Wood [?] the senior surgeon; the hosp has central corridors and is only ventilated by the end windows--165 feet apart. They were building up one of the ends! but were driven 12 feet from the wall by General Herbert, who quoted you.

I saw a poor woman---who entered with a trifling ailment--dying of erysipelas! Such is the state of things now! I shd be tempted to write to you on the subject if you were publishing a new ed of your *Hosp's*. It is a remarkable illustration of "retrogression."

f205 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 19 1868

I thank you d'avance on behalf of Dr Tholozan for your valuable reports. Sent by his agent in Paris. I am perusing your blue book with much interest. It is as well to let Dr G. have his say.

Should the public journals notice the blue book? Is it public property--I am asked by writers for the journals. They wish to get it

f206 Farr letter to FN embossed. Dec 16 1868

Your returns will reach you with the note.

They have been carefully done under the superintendence of Mr illeg who did the previous set.

I hope that you will find them correct and of use. The deaths in the cases of children are somewhat numerous.

I hope that you are satisfied with your secretary and undersec. I like Northbrook.

f208 Farr letter to FN embossed. Dec 24 1868

Many thanks for your Xmas present wh reminds me of a thing so grateful to me, your remembrance and your arr of my little efforts I have ever been able to make for the public good. God grant that you may live long a martyr truly--a witness--and an angel--a messenger--but also an apostle "that has laboured more than them all" in advancing His Truth and His Mission of Healing the World.

I do not quite agree with Dr S. There appears to me in your women's work a character of truth wh reflects credit on them. The mortality is not underrated--so far as it fell under obs.

Mr Lewis will be able to write a nice little article on the facts [?] for one of the journals, if you will entrust them to him. Any obs you make yourself will be duly attended to. If the mortality appears high we cannot at present help that. It admits of interpretation--altho the key has not yet been found it will be found some day.

f210 Farr letter to FN embossed. Jan 21 1869

We will do what you wish very shortly. I think your inquiry very important.

You have prob seen Simpson's letters or heard from him.

Many thanks for the pheasant and the hare. P.S. Lewis asks--is Miss Nightingale making any use of his nurses' stats.

f211v JS draft

**f211v**

I want to know the percentage of deaths among women who are delivered at home in different districts.

You will know better than I how to do this, but it has occurred to me to suggest that if you all the births deducting excess in multiple births you would get the women delivered *minus* the still births & then on this number you might calculate the death rate.

ff212-13 typed copy of letter arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr 5474/117

**f212**

COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Jan 23/69

My dear Dr. Farr

Many thanks for your kind promise (about the Lying-in & Fever enquiry.)

Dr. Sutherland bids me add now a suggestion that, if you took all the Births, deducting excess in multiple births, you would obtain the women delivered, *minus* the Still births - & that on this number you might calculate the Death-rate. We want to know the percentage of Deaths among women who are delivered at home in different districts. You will know so much better than I do how to tell what is wanted & even what *is* wanted that I stop here. (This is only a Codicil to my former Testament.)

Thanks too about Mt. Lewis & the Liverpool Nursing Statistics in Districts - I have been having a good deal of correspondence with them since you were good enough to make those Reductions. And you have done them great good in putting them on their mettle & directing their attention to points which, before, they thought of no importance - Whereas, before, they desired me not to return them the 'slips' as "these 'slips' could be of no use to any one but "me - now they have consented to keep their slips as a record & regularly to look at your Sheets of Reductions (which they have now for the purpose) to be carefully returned to me.

In considering the Death-rate among their Patients nursed at home, many things, as you say, have to be taken into account. One is

**f213**

[ - 2 - ]

that *they*, (the District Nurses,) take the Patients turned out of the Hospitals as incurable, &c &c

But they, the Institution, are alive now - And a great deal of valuable information will be elicited, thanks to you. Upon whom, as a mark of gratitude for past favours, we shall shortly return for more -

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

f214 Farr letter to FN embossed Feb 25 1869

I enclose a *proof* subject to correction, which contains some of the info you require. In connection with life ins, I was studying the subject when you wrote. The Ins Offices, acc to their experience--up to the present time--find that the mortality among women whose lives are insured--is greater than the mortality among men at the ages under 80.

Now why? Are they suffering from undiscovered diseases--when insured? or is it any casualty?

I will send you revised proofs and copies of anything further we get together on your subject.

The Lancet is in the hands of the medical men of the army service, but I have sent a message to the editor. It wd be a great shame to divest [?] your model hosp from its legitimate object.

I hope that more of your words fall on ground entirely barren and ungrateful. If the seed does not spring up at once--it general bears some fruit.

You will be glad to learn that the redoubtable Hausmann has at last given in-- and we are to have a weekly from Paris. He has addressed the Reg Gen, mon cher Major, to that effect. We challenged him at the beginning of the year and send off our deaths for the week every Monday evening. they have been going on since the last week of 1868, at length he has replied! Dr Vacher brought down *Dumas* on him. PS I have just heard from the Lancet that they are opposed to the conversion.

f216 JS draft pencil arch: Feb. 1869 handwritten [16:444]

DR. FARR

I have heard a report that the ~~W-P~~ people are going to convert the splendid Herbert Hospital the best hospital extant according to all British & Foreign authorities into a Barrack. Now I don't know whether this be true, but it has occurred to me that the Lancet has taken much pains with the Barrack question already & may possibly take more that this is really a question to be enquired into. Could you give a hint at this without bringing me in. If there is any truth in the matter I think a good deal should be said about pearls & swine.

[end 16:444]

f217 Farr letter to FN embossed. March 4 1869

The enclosed revised proofs are just in, send them off at once. Please subst them for those sent before. About the Fraser I propose to write a word anon

f218 Farr letter to FN embossed March 12 1869

We have written the L.T. Hospitals and you shall have the reports.  
Now "Pauperism" is a great subject.

I reserve my fire, for a short time. In the meantime I meditate on your many admirable illeg

f219 Farr letter to FN embossed. March 18 1869

You shall like to see the first instalment of your returns. The others we hope to send in due course.

I am trying an appeal to Gladstone in re Robert D. Thomson's case.

f220 letter of James Lewis to FN March 24 1869 forwarding reports as desired by Dr Farr.

f222 22 March 1869 note of sec of Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hosp sends return of hosp corrected to present date

f223 Farr letter to FN embossed. March 20 1869

*Please return to F.N.*

I send you some facts, from the best accessible sources. The earlier ones are only approximative. You will find the subject discussed by me in an article "Vital Stat" of McCulloch's Stat. Report [?]

f224 Farr letter to FN embossed April 14 1869

We will complete the abstracts for you.

I enclose another of your returns.

Our staff is cut down by 2 great misfortunes: we have lost Mr Wyatt by scarlatina and on Fri Angus by a slow disease. When called shown into parlour and noticed one of our envelopes, with an inscription on it "from Miss Nightingale" mentioning some head of game. He had evidently kept it as a relic precious to him. He was a thoroughly good, honest, intelligent Scotchman.

f226 Farr letter to FN embossed April 30 1869.

Capt Clode has had our papers carefully abstracted. I have looked through them. They are worth something as beginnings and well deserve study.

f227 Farr letter to FN embossed June 1 1869

I think you will find that your questions are answered in this letter, of which I am able to enclose a copy, just come to hand. You will observe deficiencies in the field wh you are working in, as I know it is in safe hands. I have in my inquiries from France for any paper on infant mortality and a paper is to be read in London tomorrow.

You will recollect that I want the natural hi of the British Baby. But who will be our White of Selborne? our Buffon? our Nightingale?

On the other side you will see a table showing a proposed international gold currency.... Chevalier has proposed a ten gram gold unit, which I am disposed to accept at the internat congress.

f229 Farr letter to FN embossed July 5 1869

Balthèse knows of no work by Lefort on the subject to which you refer. I am making further inquiries and wh you shall know the results.

f230 JS letter draft, f230, pencil. Handwritten arch: date 7 July 1869

Dr. Farr

I have gone over these Liverpool papers. They are very sad. Here we have a first rate organization for attending the sick at home & the result is that the death rate is this per cent & that most of it falls into the productive period of life. What can the cause be?

All the cases have good Medical care & nursing & yet they die. Could your district registrars' notes for Liverpool throw any light on this. Is it that the crowding & other sanitary aspects are killing the sick? The fatality appears to take place from increases of debility & ~~harmful~~ fever {written upside down}

Dr. Barnes Thank you very

much 5018/121000/ 2\4

~~1636~~

10036

2064

/2/1

/10

f231 Farr letter to FN embossed July 7 1869

I have looked thro your Liverpool returns with Capt Clode.

Something mt be done with them, wd be nec to make experiment, work wd be best done by some local friendly doctor in Lpool; mortality of the cases at each age wd as we know be worth the dying [?]; Capt Clode wd get an est of the cost; we shd be very glad to do it but are still left short handed by the deaths. You will be glad to see that Paris has fallen into the weekly ranks at last.

f233 Farr letter to FN embossed. 9 July 1869

Leave Le Fort to me. The Registrar General will order it and you shall have it. Baillière is as we see dead. His successor ought to have known of this book. Hoping you will gather up all your strength in the country

typed copy of signed letter ff234-35, original 5474/119

**f234** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr} [8:221-22]

COPY

Embley  
Romsey.  
Aug. 7/69

My dear Dr. Farr

I have just received Lefort's "Maternités thro' your kindness - & could not restrain my ardour from glancing thro' it at once - but, tho' I have done no more than this, I must not indulge my ardour at the expence of my gratitude, but will thank you at once )for the loan of it.

It is a most important work - not however - exhaustive - & in some places disappointing. e.g. tho' the Statistical Tables are many & good, he does not distinguish between *Causes of Death*, as you do.

also : he devotes too many pages to the different "Letters of Admission" (in different Lying-in Institutions) - which certainly don't give Puerperal Fever, (except to the reader.) Then he gives a just amount of space (& of indignation) to the Paris "Maternité" - the Death-rate of which actually reached in 1864 202 per 1000 - as we see from M.. Husson's Tables - but gives no plan.

(I have never been able to procure or to see a plan of the Paris "Maternité")

There are however valuable plans & Tables in the book of Vienna, Munich etc "Maternités." - & also *proposed* plans for Lying-in Hospitals.

Englishmen must make haste - Or these Frenchmen will outstrip us.

f235

[ - 2 - ]

Dr. Lefort takes my view : that, as women *will* have children (tho' they had much better not) there *must* be midwives - & as Practical Midwifery can only be taught *in Hospitals*, what we have to do is to find out the form of Hospital which is *not* destructive to Lying-in women.

(Like every other Frenchman,, he expends a great deal of wrath upon the total or partial exclusion of unmarried mothers from our Lying-in Hospitals - which, (tho' I agree with him as to its being queer morality,) is rather ill-timed wrath, considering that poor Mothers go to Lying-in Hospitals to die, but to Workhouses to live -) at least in a much greater proportion -

As I shall make the book a study, I will not trouble you with any more remarks at present.

1. I heard that, at the Leeds "Medical Association", of which I think you were a Vice-President, a paper was read upon *Lying-in Hospl. Mortalities* - by whom I know not.

*Should I gain any new information from it?* Was there any discussion? -

ever, my dear Dr. Farr,

yours truly & gratefully

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

f236 Farr letter to FN embossed Aug 9 1869

I shall be glad to see the results of your studies on the really vital question. Dr Evory Kennedy for a long time master of the Rotunda Dublin read an important paper. He is connected by marriage with the Lawrences and a fine fellow. He came as a high priest to burn the idol to which he had offered holocausts!

Another day on hospitalism in section on Public Medicine wh I presided. Cobbe Ferguson Paget

f237 Farr letter to FN embossed. Oct 8 1869 from Kent

I have to thank you for a very present of game 1 leveret 2 pheasant 2 partridges much appreciated; I have just returned from the Hague where our stat congress met. We have engaged to prepare an int stat work, the chapter on hygiene and causes of death in my hands; shall have to solicit help from friends, you the first. Next congress in Petersburg. Really good internat metric system. Dutch getting alive to san question since their dreadful visitation by cholera. Have you seen the last Bombay report?

**f238** JS note, f238v, pencil

Acknowledge this & go on that you are glad that he has been asked to write about hygiene because ~~it~~ sound doctrine leading to correct practice was never more necessary than at the present time as you will see from the following statement in regard to one part of which I have been asking for Edinburgh to obtain your help

f239 Farr letter to FN embossed Nov 13 1869

I have delayed answering your note in hope to be able to write at some length and give you some facts; nothing has come to hand and I despair.

My opinion on good sites for hosps and camps is entirely in acc with yours as you know I have written it. How carbolic acid--or any other material--can countervail all the evident disadvantages of an evil site is to me incomprehensible. Regret to hear of Mr Croft's suffering and will bear him in mind.

f241 Farr letter to FN embossed Dec 14 1869

What can we do but appeal to you anent the decision of "His Grace in Council" You know we beat Baron Haussman, but can we beat an irresponsible council? ever your devoted servant

**f242v** JS note pencil

So far as the Sanitary reports tell us, the Indian Registration is not yet in such a state as to supply weekly death rates.

They are working up to it, but they have not yet come to the condition of perfection.

Besides this the Indian Govt. is saving every six pence it can even to the suspension of needful sanitary work. & I am told that nothing will be given for this work for 12 months. You will have to wait & repeat your application afterwards

f243 Farr letter to FN embossed Dec 31 1869

Thank God for all his life and for your life of good, above all may you have it more abundantly. I was not disappointed altogether about India, and I know we have very good friends in the council. But they have failed to appreciate the importance of the proposed measure. And no wonder. Hewlett of Bombay is prepared to do it and hopes to get the munc council to act. You know what years of resistance we encountered in Baron Haussmann. He at last gave way, so I hope will the Indian council. The project is not laid aside for ever; the damsel is not dead but sleepeth. ...The year is dying. Let him die. But let the good live.

typed copy of signed letter, ff245-46

[15:738]

**f245** arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr, Teagle  
COPY

*Private*

35 South St.  
Nov. 12/70

My dear Dr. Farr

I always think of you as of one of my best friends - *both*  
before & since I lost, now 9 years ago, the closest fellow-workers.

I have so much to thank you for that I must ask you to  
believe in my gratitude, as I am sure you do -

& also to believe how very heavily worked I am & have been,  
grinding, grinding away at helping in this awful War -

But 1. let me thank you particularly for your last Quarterly -  
valuable as usual - of which I hope to say more anon -

And 2. let me say that I am glad Mr. Ernest Hart is going to  
read a paper at the S.S. "anent the Intern: Socy. & its "administrative  
arrangements."

(I thought his & Berkeley Hill's report in "Times" a very  
good & able *shaking* - I suppose they are both 'frondeurs' (?) )

As soon as I received your note, I informed Sir H. Verney,  
who is Vice-Chairman of the Socy. And he said that they would be "most  
happy to give Mr. Ernest Hart *every information* & to answer every  
"question he desired" -

(I do not myself offer - 1. because I have no time or  
strength - 2. for a reason you will understand.

I have had every information from the *other end* - seen all  
the operation of the Socy. *inside out* - seen, xxx xxx xxxxxxxxxxxx xx  
xxx xxx as it were, the "dirty side " of all the Socy.'s 'linen sent

f246

- 2 - ]

"to the wash" - had *private* letters from the Depots, Hospitals, Ambulances, Stations at the seats of war abroad - I could not give this information for a public purpose - And therefore I had much better lie 'perdue.')

3. Have you had any trustworthy information as to *Death-Rates?* -

I hear (I will not say, like a newspaper, "from the highest authority" - since there can be no reliable "authority" or Statistics as yet.) that the Sickness to Strength is 20 per cent.

Death-rate to Sick 20 per cent.

in the German Armies before Paris.

(I myself believe this alledged 'Death rate' to be *below* the truth.)

I hear that, generally, the Death Rate in German Ambulances has been 1 in 5, in French ambulances 1 in 8½.

I have from persons on whom I can perfectly rely (some of them, "pupils" (as *they* call themselves) of mine)

that the Sanitary arrangements in German camps are such

that the German Hospitals are such (both before Paris & Metz)

that I do not hesitate to say that the best German Military Ambulances & Hospitals at the seats of war & the best German Camp Sanitary arrangements are worse than the worst of ours at the time of the Crimean War when all England rose in horror.

Please consider this 'confidential' at present  
in great press

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

ff247-48 Typed copy arch: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr, Teagle

f247

COPY

35 South St.  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Jan 16/71

*Dr. Duncan's Lying-in Statistics*

My dear Dr. Farr

At the moment that you are putting your beneficent feelers all over this land, spinning your web, to tell us how many we are, - not how many we have killed & lost in horrid war - how can I trouble you with a single question? -

Nor would I - but that I think it likely that, having already mastered the subject & the criticism brought by Dr. Duncan, you could dictate the reply almost in a single Paragraph.

You were so very kind, - a year?, more than a year ago - as to send me some of your invaluable Statistics of Child Mortality. From Le Fort's book I obtained much - And I had also collected a good deal from particular Institutions -

The War for 6 months had put aside the possibility of my working it all up - But, a few says ago, I was asked very seriously for a practical purpose, to bring out my proposed "paper" as soon as possible - And I opened my material again with the view of con-

**f248**

structing a parallel between the Death rates in Lying-in Hospitals & those in homes.

Dr. Matthews Duncan, (whose book you have certainly seen, but which I enclose for your kind references,) has, as a fundamental idea, to controvert the views of Sir Jas: Simpson & others about the necessarily high Death rates in Midwifery Hospitals - And, as you see, he calls in question the exactness of the Statistical data on which these views were founded - & which I had already worked up into an imperfect M.S.

would you be so very good as to tell me what *you think I* should *think* of his objections - to your Registrars, amongst others - & how, if at all, I had best deal with them?

May I feel it safe, statistically, to use the Death-rates we have for Hospitals, Dispensaries & private homes, admitting at the same time their necessary incorrectness? - Or how should you use these data? -

Or would you advise me, before treating of the high Death rates in Lying-in Hospitals as a practical argument, to wait until

**f249**

[ 3 - ]

you can give the world absolutely correct Midwifery Statistics?

Pray excuse my enquiry which there is no one but yourself who can answer - return me my tiresome & 'aggravating' book - & believe me

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f250 Farr letter to FN embossed Jan 20 1871

The siege of Paris is a nightmare. Thank you for your letter, full of suggestive thought wh I shd like to turn to good account. Duncan under my eye; material on maternal mortality. metria and childbirth

f252 Farr letter to FN embossed Feb 3 1871

I sent Duncan down to Mr Rigden of Canterbury, re midwifery practice. I enclose the results and his obs. I believe in his accuracy.

I return your vol as I have noted your points. We want further research into the mortality of private practice among the comfortable classes.

We now distinguish the deaths of childbearing women from deaths in childbed. I have referred to this often in our reports. I regret that I can now be of no use to you under our illeg. with Rigden letters to him

ff254-58 letter to Farr from Rigden with death data

f259 Farr letter to FN embossed June 27 1871

I have looked thro your form of register. It is excellent and if I dared I shd say very creditable to its author! Your work I look forward to with much interest as I always do in such cases.

I hope soon to send you a prelim report on the census.

f261 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 16 1871

I have to thank you for the copy of your "Notes on Lying-in Insts," which will I doubt not thoroughly restore me to my not neat but normal vigor.

I have been away for a short time & during my absence been ill, but am not ready for your bracing tome.

Rigden's copy is sent. The worthy man deserves it-- for he has had little recognition at home. Did I ever tell you on your next pilgrimage to Canterbury you must visit the Canterbury water works, where the softening process is *beautifully carried out* instead of the crypt of the holy blessed martyrs.

Farr recommended that on her next pilgrimage to Canterbury she should visit, instead of the crypt of the holy blessed martyrs, the Canterbury water works, "where the **softening process is *beautifully carried out***"

f263 Farr letter to FN embossed Oct 20 1871

I drank off all the nectar you were good enough to supply me with on the night I got your book. It will be most useful to the world.

I have taken action on parts of it and will soon let you know the result. I have some suggestions, wh I reserve.

In the meantime, accept my thanks on behalf of all man- I may say all womankind, and to some extent I think of officials.

f265 Farr letter embossed Nov 2 1871

Many thanks for the 3 heads of game and the accompanying message. hard to read

Typed copy of signed letter ff266-69

**f266** archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr, Teagle  
COPY

*Lying-in Statistics*

35 South St.  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Nov. 27/71

My dear Dr. Farr

How long have I been in thanking you for your two kind notes and (in anticipation) for the information which you say you are calling for, anent *lying-in Death rates*.

I want also to consult you about the information which I ought to have for my 2nd Edition, (if, please God, I do one -) & about the most glaring wants which your 'expert' eye detects in the w first - because the subject is one of every-day importance all over England.

Would it not be desirable in the first place to have much more information about *private practice*?

e.g. about the comparative Death-rate  
among Lying-in women

of the Upper	of the Comfortable	of the Working
Classes	Classes	Classes

It is commonly supposed that the Death-rate among the first (the

rich) is highest.

Possibly the great difference between published Statistics of private practice may arise partly from this:

No kind of data are ever given one of this kind by which one can form even a guess.

One may remark, by the way, that as it is exclusively women

**f267**

of the poorest class (whose Death-rate is commonly supposed to be the lowest) who go to the Lying-in Institutions, this makes *their* high Death-rate the more inexcusable -

But it also partially accounts for the very low Death-rate of Lying-in charities which deliver women *at home*, since these also are of course all hard-working women.

Some few Charities have sent me their Statistics since my book came out - & asked me to advise - especially about keeping Records.

(One of these, the "Birmingham Lying-in Charity" which has delivered women *at home* since 1868 with trained Midwives, has an astonishingly low Puerperal Death-rate - lower than in the healthy districts!)

I dare say that you have already obtained through your Registrars a stricter account of the home Death-rate.

Perhaps a circular to the Medical Profession sent out by you might obtain much information as to such points as these : -

1. the Cause of Death in all cases where a woman has died after Delivery
2. the Date up to a month after Delivery
3. the Medical attendant to state whether the Death was in any way connected with the Delivery

I enclose you a Critique in the "British Medical Journal" on the book.

To ask your advice about the points for Statistics which I have put generally is now my main desire - - - -

**f268**

[ - 3 - ]

As no one but you could fix once for all the Normal Death-rate at home -

including all Deaths & the Causes within a month.

Mr. Villiers (I wish he were still at the Poor Law Board) has written to me about my little book.

It has been suggested to me to get from the present President of the Local Government Board something of the following data : -

(but you know I trust no one but my Patron Saint which is : you -)

Nos. of Births

No. of Deaths in childbirth

for one year amongst the classes following : - Wives of

1. gentry & professional persons
2. shopkeepers & middle-class persons
3. wages-classes
  - a. artizans
  - b. labourers
4. unmarried women

obtaining

I (1) total number of Births      No.  
 (2) of which were in Hospital No.  
 also

II Deaths from Puerperal Diseases

- a. at home
- b. in Hospital

and thus obtaining

the proportion of Deaths of each Class to  
 Births of each Class

f269

[ - 4 - ]

the proportion of Deaths at home to  
Deaths in hospital  
and various other information.

But you know I am like a little boy writing to Aristotle -  
when I write to you -  
And I only put down a few of the data i want in order to ask (& HAVE)  
from you -  
& also to ask for your opinion how best to obtain (& *improve* the  
heads of) what i ought to have in order to go one & make progress.  
(The thing I want now is the *real normal Death-rate*  
& the *CLASS Death-rate*  
(if possible).

---

N.B. The analysis of *Classes* MAY show that both Mr. Rigden of  
Canterbury & Dr. Matthews Duncan are correct -

But what an argument for simplicity of life ! if women who  
have servants are not "saved in child-bearing" -  
2. I think a "Soldiers' Hut " for lying-in women as you propose  
would do good in the Metropolitan Districts - (a 'Naturary' -)  
And I suggested that Queen Charlotte's people should try one in  
their grounds as *against their hospital*.

*Typed copy of signed letter, f270*

**f270** {archivist: Original owned by Miss Mary Farr} Teagle

COPY

35 South St.  
Park Lane, W.

*F.N.'s "Notes on Lying-in Institutions"*

Dec. 11/71

*Private*

My dear Dr. Farr

I am always so sorry to trouble you when it is merely to trouble you that I do not write, especially when I fear that you are not quite well.

On this occasion, when everything seems so sad, may I write just to ask you (& no more) whether you might not call some one's attention to the statement - in the "Edinburgh Medical Journal" which I enclose, p. 550, - as to the "inaccuracy" or "fallaciousness" of the Registrar-General's returns - with the view to notice being taken of this in the "Lancet."?

An attempt is made in Matthews Duncan's book to impugn the truthfulness of the Registrar-General's returns - But in the present Article the man talks of "well-known" "fallaciousness."

If you would just deal with this point, - tho' of course you may think it quite unnecessary to notice it, - it might do good.

I mean to reserve my answer to all the attacks which have been made for my 2nd Edition -

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f271 note of J.B. Knight on abstracting causes of death all fatal cases of childbirth

f272 Farr letter to FN Dec 11 1871

I have endeavoured to sift our London returns by inquiring carefully into every doubtful case, and I enclose the results.

Every case of hemorrhage, peritonitis etc. on women of the ages 18-45 was picked out; we procured the medical certificate with a medical attendant name & address and forthwith wrote him a letter marked "confidential" and you will see the results.

During the six weeks we registered 12814 births, and if we take 67 instead of 66 deaths--I believe, we shall get 5.23 instead of 5.15, very nearly the London rate of mortality in childbirth.

The small corrections for delivery illeg you illeg. I believe there is a *greater disparity* in the birth registration than in the registry of childbirth cases, & this of course raises the rates by diminishing one of the terms.

I have drafted a circular --with a view of sending it to some of the health officers & I shall perhaps try Tranch & Leigh [?]. At Birmingham they have no health officers & they illegs [FN underlines at side ////]

I keep your book, and when you return the documents with any notes of your own

I will get something done. illegs

I am told at Manchester in the same strain. you may like to glance over Rumsay's paper--full of exaggerations & rash assertions, on subjects which he ought to understand. you will see how tenderly illegs are treated while his errors are reluctantly admitted. When I get the copy of the illeg I will send it to you.

Do bear in mind your illegs. It would be very desirable to show the mortality of the servant classes, but this is difficult as the classes are not well defined. You will judge of this from the last weeks returns, which I enclose. We should want to extract from the birthbooks the births of gentlewomen's children, tradespeople and &c and then from the death books the fatal cases of childbirth and the classes corresponding and one or two more or less in the higher classes would strongly derange the proportions. If the peeresses were worth anything they ought to tell us about illeg and private practice should supply such information. We want more Rigdens.

The "fallaciousness" of the Registrar General's data" is a very remarkable combination but I suppose we must be justified at nothing nowadays in a medical journal.

You reserve yourself very properly for your second edition.

Thanks for your two letters, which in these sad times I am always glad to receive and they are never entirely thrown away. Thank God, my health is as usual, and supplies me with no excuse. WE are at work on the Census. I suspect the "cold" might illeg the scale against the poor Prince of Wales.

..., for London death rate. with form

f275 Farr letter to FN embossed Dec 30 1871.

Another year is coming we will say nothing of the past. But will with another earnest man press on to that wh is before. There may God give you strength to do all you have designed and done for the good of England and of the world.

notes, **f276**, pencil. 5474/123 f276 {archivist: Feb 23? 1874} [5:39-40]

Quetelet

I cannot say how the death of our old friend touches me the founder of the most important science in the whole world for upon it depends the practical application of every other & of every Art the one Science essential to all Political & Social Administration, all Education & Organization based on experience for it only gives exact results of our experience he did not live to see it perceptibly influence in any practical manner statesmanship ~~the~~ of which there is none without it - or government, tho' it must be otherwise all guess work or as the Germans would say "intuition:" nor at all to influence Education in which it holds no place He did not live to propose that Second Edition (for Oxford) so pressed him for And I have not answered his last letters: nor thanked him for his last pamphlet (Macary) [Maury?] Some months ago, I prepared the first sketch of an "Essay". I meant to publish & dedicate to him

**f276v**

on the application of his discoveries to  
 explaining the plan of God in teaching us  
 by these results the law: by which our  
 Moral Progress is to be attained or rather  
 explaining the road we must take if  
 we are to discover the laws of God's  
 Government of His Moral World  
 I had pleased myself with thinking that this should  
 please him  
 But painful & indisputable business had so  
 pressed upon me as to prevent the finishing  
 my paper.  
 And now it is too late for him - or if done at all  
 it will be only a pale In Memoriam -  
 And business is more painful & pressing than ever  
 to prevent even this  
 Dr. Farr who has so worthily worked out some of  
 the most important results of the Master  
 Science shall as worthily give the world  
 some inspiring account of our great Quetelet -  
 Feb. 23/74

signed letter, ff277-80, pen

**f277**

legal help/facility against the Zemindar his landlord  
 pampered by us under the Cornwallis Permanent  
 settlement so that all his the  
 Zemindar's dues have been more than  
 paid him. none of his duties under  
 that Settlement required of him  
 to require of him as a landlord some at least of  
 those duties under the form of Water  
 Cesses. Road & Educations Cesses & c & c  
 Otherwise, give the Ryot water, & the  
 profit will all go into the pocket of the  
 Zemindar who has had all the rights without any of  
 the duties of landlord given him go on to F Dr. Farr  
 Address 35 South St.  
 Park Lane  
 W.  
 Sept. 22/77

My dear Dr. Farr

It is one of my greatest pleasures [10:472-73]  
 to hear what you are doing.

Thank you for your Shrewsbury paper.  
 the manner of your doing it is equally  
 admirable with the matter.

I wish indeed you could send a  
 Lecturer round " the principal country

Add Mss 43399i

608

towns". I am sure he is wanted  
here.

**f277v**

I shall await with impatience the  
"copy" of your "paper" which you  
kindly promise . I think I could almost "take up  
my bed & walk" to go to hear it.  
Particularly that part of it which combats  
the idea almost the wish that "the high  
Mortality must be sustained to prevent"  
the population increasing too fast  
seems to me of particular value at this time.  
Even you can scarcely imagine how in this  
hideous Indian famine it meets me  
at every turn from great men, men  
of authority, statesmen & "Councilors",  
that Famines are sent by Providence!  
to keep down the population:  
This Famine must undoubtedly be coped  
with as it is as we can:  
but the three crying wants of India  
seem to be **B** 1. Water: if we had given them  
water, we should not have to be giving them bread & to have seen  
millions perishing for the want of it, in spite of all the Govt. has done.  
i.e. Irrigation by every means : canals, tanks,  
storage & regulation of water wells:  
& Cheap Water Transit including  
Steam Navigation Canals  
2. The giving the Ryot in Bengal every  
{line showing insertion} **D** You will advocate, will you not?  
(above all showing the English people that Irrigation pays  
see **C**.

**f278**

{upside down}

Lea Hurst  
Crom

[2]

3. The giving the Ryot especially in southern India every local help against the Money lender, into whose hands the ancestral lands are ~~rapidly~~ passing & the Ryot is becoming not metaphorically but literally & legally the Money lender's slave.

instead of as we do now giving the Money lender every legal help to possess himself of the lands of India & to make the Ryot his slave.

Otherwise give the Ryot water & the profit will all go into the pocket of the Money lender.

It is strange that under the nation probably the neatest in the world, "the Abolition of the

**f278v**

Slave Trade, a slavery, a poverty, an impecuniosity an im-property-ness should be growing up, actually the *consequence* of our laws which far outstrips in its miserable results, because it enslaves & renders destitute a land possessing peasantry, anything except the worst slave *Trades*:

And in some respects we are worse than the tax farming Turks  
And our Government which has absolute power

lets all this be

And they call *me* a "dangerous man"!!!

Have you read Pedder's Article in the

"Nineteenth Century" for September?

That is what we have been urging for years.

**G** Two things my correspondts. (Madras) most urge

1. orphans & destitute children now forming main population of Relief Camps to be taught useful trades instead of being sent back to swell agricultural hosts already too large

2. system of small loans at moderate interest to country ryot now carried out to very small extent by Govt. to be extended to meet need 7 supported by Brith. capital

**H**

**f279**

to most industrious

And they call *these* people not thrifty

**K** it is the heroism of thrift

**I**

Liverpool

Bond Co shopman

India

Russian

dying silence biting hard

**H**

Is it true that a rate of 40, 50 , 60 per cent is a not more uncommon rate of interest in the country interior of India than a rate of 4, 5 or 6 per cent is in England?

If so. the fear is/must be not of the conquest of India by the Russian but of the conquest of India by the money lender?

Is it possible that ~~the British~~ England would reconquer India (by a system of loans from British capital at a moderate rate of interest?

Or might ~~not~~ the Government of India) by enabling the indebted country Ryot to redeem his lands & pay off his debts ~~by~~ lending him money at 10 or even 15 per cent?

What a glorious conquest that would be! **[end 10:475]**

**f279v**

They are the poorest of peoples. ~~The most~~  
The old rule used to be that more than  
twice the principal could not be exacted.  
It was said that Sir Arthur Hobhouse was  
going to re-introduce this into Bengal.

**I**

There is so little danger of pauperization  
that for one who threw himself without  
need on the Relief measures, ten died  
in silence ~~biting hard~~.

**J** quite unknown to our masters:) [10:473-74]

There is such an element of endurance &  
heroism that during the greatest need/starvation  
& the highest prices, the hoarded pits of grain  
have remained buried in the earth [no one betrayed the secret] put by ~~for~~  
not to sell again at the highest famine prices but for  
seed corn against ~~a third~~ another failure of crop year of famine  
And not till the present harvest/crops was/were secured/safe  
have they appeared. What thrift, what endurance have the  
Westerns compared with this? & we in the W. preach thrift to them.  
a heroism, endurance, thrift & self-abnegation  
unknown to the Western. **K** the horse literally  
'saved his one straw' a day for his children's sowing  
the most heroic, the most lying/secretive, the most poor,

**f280****C**

I was appalled at the ignorance & fallacies of Ld. G. Hamilton's speech Times of Oct. 5 or 6 saying that Rails pay and that Water does not

It should be exposed but who is to do it & Also at Ld. Salisbury's speech at Bradford in Times of Oct. 12, saying amid such

extraordinary trivialities as that "water can't run up hill," & therefore we can't have Irrigation. see **D**

**I** that *thrift* is what must save the Indian ryot

We have heard of (this is the S. of S.'s Under S. of S. for the horse being made ( India

to live (or die) on a straw a day: but I don't know

that we ever heard before that the horse ought to exercise

"thrift" & save his one straw a day 16/10/77 FN **[end 10:473]**

**J** yet this is what it appears the country ryot has actually done **[10:473]**

f281 typed copy arch: For permission to publish apply to Miss Mary Farr Copy lent by Miss Mary Farr} Teagle, 8033/22

COPY of a copy of Miss Nightingale's letter dated 3.5.1883.

Dear Madam,

I received your letter with the truest sympathy, and should have been glad to hear from you some particulars of the last years of my beloved friend Dr. Farr, one of the truest benefactors to the world that has lived. Could you tell me whether there is anyone at the General Register Office who is joining in the attempt to procure Government pensions for your Sisters, or what members of Parliament there are who are likely to join in pressing the matter on Mr. Gladstone. Because if there are such it would be much better to act together, or could you refer me to anyone at the General Register Office?

Pray excuse this short note. I have been an overworked invalid for 25 years, & as just now scarcely able to write. But none the less have I mourned for your, & our loss, & rejoiced for your Father, & our friend, who is now set free to bless new worlds

How much he must enjoy! I could write so much about him.

I have already made some enquiries about the Pension.

Pray believe me

Ever your faithful servant

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Miss F. Farr.

Add Mss 43401, 301 folios, 64 pages, microfilm; miscellaneous Crimean War material, Adam Matthew reel 5

f3 letter to Cr Hosp commiss  
f8 from Wm Henry Brown, surgeon Lewisham  
f233 German Prot Hosp, Constantinople  
f248 Sister Cordero  
f191 Cruickshank  
f207 etc Curtis  
f216 Kai  
f212 Fr sister  
f33 Lady of Guernsey  
f208 Major E.C. Gordon  
f285 F Hardman  
f211 221 Hoyland, surgeon and supt  
f240 Pennefather to FN  
250 268 and 278 from Mrs Roberts  
Roullin 262  
Rowden 283  
JSS 296b  
254, 256 Ann Sinclair  
f222 Thomas Turner

f1 signed receipt for money advanced £3.0.0  
signed by M Bucker, Sophia Barnes, Elizabeth Smith, Elizabeth Hawkins +,  
Margaret Williams =, Sarah Jones, Ann Faulkner, Mary Wilson, Elizabeth Grundy,  
Elizabeth Black? [very hard to read signatures]

ff3-10 War Dept doc, stylized printing, re investigation of conditions and inadequacies to Alexander Cumming, Thomas Spence, P.B. Maxwell, with envelope to Maxwell at Constantinople 23 Oct 1854.

The duke of Newcastle's attention having been called to various statements which have been made as to the condition of the wounded and sick soldiers of HM's army in the East and the inadequacy of the hospital accommodation, medicines, medical attendance, stores and comforts provided for the soldiers so disabled from active service, I am desired by the duke of Newcastle to request that you will undertake on the part of HMs Government to visit Constantinople, Scutari, Varna, Gallipoli and the Crimea, at the earliest practicable opportunity, and that you will make a combined and personal examination and enquiry into the following subjects:

1 the present condition and wants of the sick and wounded officers and soldiers of the British Army now serving in the East and who at the present time are by wounds, injuries or disease disabled from active service...

2nd into the state and condition of the hospital accommodation provided for the British Army in the East, especially at Scutari, Varna, Gallipoli and the Crimea, including in such enquiry the amount of provision made and in actual operation for the supply of medical and other attendance.... Harry Roberts

F10 is envelope to Maxwell from Newcastle

f11 copy by Mrs Coltman of order recognizing FN as supt of female nursing est

of all hosps  
f12 agreement re gratuity

f14 Ld Stratford de Redcliffe presents his compliments to Miss Nightingale and begs that she will do him the honour and kindness to command his services whenever she thinks they might of use to her. Lady Stratford will be happy to see her in the country if it suited her to spend some days with her at Therapia. From Therapia Nov 3 1854 and letter ff15-18

ff15-19 letter to FN from Therapia Nov 5 1854 from Lady Stratford de Redcliffe, Dear Miss Nightingale, I have had the pleasure of knowing you through illeg my sister Miss Alexander & Lady Canning, illegs

f19 Stratford de Redcliffe letter to FN Nov 7/54 Therapeia, I shall have pleasure in procuring for the sick and wounded the articles you mention; Lady Stratford will give you the necessary orders for that purpose, and communicate further with you as circs may require.

Pray do not hesitate to apply direct to me whenever any new occasion may arise. I illegs of which the patients require are sanctioned by the principal medical authority in the hospitals.

F21 Nov 9/54 Therapiea Stratford de R to FN. I am happy to inform you that the sultan has been graciously pleased to issue orders for placing the kiosks? For hosp and barrack nr Scutari

f22 typed copy of letter to FN from C. Aldridge 18 Dec 1854 re son in Scutari, no need to answer

f23 letter to FN from A Cumming BH Scutari 22 Dec 1854.

Madam, With reference to the number of nurses which have been considered necessary for these hospitals, I have to request that you will, in accordance with your instructions from the War Office, make such a selection from the parties recently arrived in charge of Dr Meyer as will enable you to complete nurses to 50, the number which you in agreement with myself have deemed sufficient for the proper working of the establishment and beyond which you do not think yourself capable of managing as best to carry out the objects in view.

Ff24-26 List of items

f27 Hotel d'Angleterre Therapia, receipt for items 1854 to Miss Stanley, paid in piastres

f28 letter to FN 1 Jan 1855 from Mrs Ambrose Moore, 49 Up Berkeley St sends a few pairs of pieces of moulded wax suitable for putting into the ears of invalids who suffer from disturbance of noise

f30 letter to FN 1 Jan 1855 from illeg encloses requisitions for stores you inquired about

f31 form for messenger services

f32 requisition form for supplementary hospital, shirts, flannels, socks, slippers 3 Jan 1855

f33 letter to FN Jan 3 1855 from Jane Guernay, re enclosed, slippers, list

f37 letter to FN from Edward Menzies 2nd cl staff surgeon in medical charge from Palace Hosp 18 Jan 1855 forwards req for 50 shirts and 50 warm flannels, purveyors stock is exhausted

forms, lists, receipts

f39 typed copy of letter to Kitty, Scinde Hose 1 Jan 1855, extract from letter of brother... when colour serjeant wounded at Alma first went to Scutari "was left for 7 days without seeing a doctor." survived, now "much better off. Miss Nightingale and her attendant angels he talked most enthusiastically about, they were everywhere among the sick, doing more good than any doctors." Young officer said "the men considered Miss N and the nurses as angles sent from heaven to comfort them" many private letters.

f42 receipt to FN 5 February 1855 S Paladino, 15 baths at 2 pounds each

f43 conto FN

f47 receipt, from Mademoiselle Nightingale pour les dépenses de la cuisine et lest ... 8391 piastrs mars 11 1855

ff48-49 copy of Memo, John Milton March 12 [1855] Scutari re voluntary contributions

f50 memo copy

Letter, f52r, typed copy

**f52r**

Barrack Hospital,  
Scutari.

March 15/55.

Dear Sir,

Might I so far trespass upon your kindness as to beg that, when the "Adelaide," Screw Steamer arrives at Malta, by whom I am sending home invalided two sick Sisters & three sick Nurses, you would have the charity to go on board, & see Mrs. Langston & Miss Terrot, two of my sick Sisters & give them the benefit of your advice?

We have missed your invaluable kindness since we lost you here very much.

May I beg you to excuse my troubling you & to believe me

Yours very truly & gratefully

{signed} Florence Nightingale.

The Adelaide will sail between the 15th & 22nd of this month from here - with Convalescents for England.

ff53-54 letter to FN 16 March 1855 from Halifax NS, encloses a prescription that I have been in the habit of administering gratis to the people of the city and country, with good success to the astonishment of the many medical gentlemen and citizens, doctors baffled, to stop the progress of the complaint of the patients, for cholera morbus half pint of cloves, half pint of whole cinnamon, half pint ginger, quarter pint mace, half pound whole allspice, half ounce of cayenne pepper, put it in a half gallon bottle, with one quart of the best cognac brandy, let stand for 2 or 3 days, give the patient half wine glass with some quantity of illegal or port wine, for dysentery three times in 12 hours.... for the cholera morbus, give half a glass of it in some illegal, then in fifteen minutes give the patient half a glass in its purity... It is also a certain cure for Asiatic cholera, if taken in its first stage, give a large glass full three times 5 minutes in its purity at the same time use it externally....

ff55-56 letter to FN 26 March 1855 Henry Rushfield, Hampstead churchwarden of parish church has sent £95.16.4 from collections made on last Fast Day after a sermon by Rev

ff57-58 letter to FN April 4 [1855] from Eliz. Barrington forms hard to read

Receipt, f59, pen FN

**f59r**

Scutari 20 April 1855

Received from the R. Engineers Stores the  
under mentioned articles (Viz)

200 Bed trays  
100 Watering tins  
29 Drinking Cups } Large Size  
29 D " C " } Small s.  
29 Plates  
29 Dishes

Florence Nightingale  
forms

f61 Inventory of goods in Miss Nightingale's Store May 17 1855

Cotton Shirts 100 Dozen  
Stockings 65 doz.  
Socks 211 doz  
Slippers 82 doz.  
Nightcaps 5 doz  
Comforters 67 doz & 1 bale  
Handkerchiefs 103 doz  
Flannel Shirts & Jerseys 47 doz  
Drawers 2 doz  
Flannel belts 43 doz  
Turkish gowns & Hospital D 65 doz  
Mitts &c 157 doz  
Gloves 40 doz & 6  
Woollen caps 11 doz  
Sheets 76 pairs  
Blankets 21 paris  
Counterpanes 9

Towels 102 Dozen  
Small calico Towels 7 doz  
Beds 8  
1 air do  
Pillows 23 doz  
Air Cushions 1 doz & 9  
Watering cans 8 doz & 3  
Small Tin cans 16 doz.  
Tea cans 1 doz & 5  
Basins 41 doz & 10  
Earthenware utensils 1 doz & y  
Bedpans 3  
Close Stools 13  
Spittoons 7 doz & 2  
Shoe brushes 35 sets  
Scrubbing do 12 doz & 5  
Knives & forks 22 doz & 6  
Spoons 35 doz

Tin Dishes 6 doz & 7  
" plates 55 doz & 5

Small wooden Trays 199  
Pieces of oil cloth 11½  
Railway Rugs 5  
Pillow cases 10  
Sponges 5 doz & 10  
Zinc pans 3 doz 7 11  
Sick feeders 7  
Teapots 6  
Footwarmers 3  
Disinfecting fluid 3 bottles  
Chloride of Lime 1 barrel  
Gallicups 28 sets  
Wool 2 bales opened  
Pieces of Canvas 4  
    Flannel 4  
    Calico 5

10 cases of Brandy & 1 opened  
1 do Ginger brandy  
1 do vinegar  
22 Cases officers mess wines  
14 do Port wine  
3 Cases not opened  
1 Hamper Wine & liqueurs  
10 cases of preserves  
9 boxes of biscuits  
5 chests Tea  
2 boxes Macaroni, small  
2 " Chocolate  
34 cases preserved meat &c  
3 boxes of soap  
2 pots butter  
1 " Salve  
9 bottles Raspberry vinegar  
7 illeg  
1 box of Stedlitz powders

Note, f63, pencil {archivist's date: ? May 1855}

**f63r**

May till August	4th Division
	3 bottles per night
August till April	all Divisions
	5 bottles per night

in little Book (17th May) all that was  
in C Store.

f64 letter to FN June 18 1855 Hayter & Howell encloses return for 14 packages  
of Free Gifts for the hospital

f65 note teapot, glasses list

f66 letter to Lady Canning from Ja Clark re Mr Hawes agreed on money for outfits  
[June 27 1855]

f68 list of Queen's gifts to sick and wounded soldiers to Scutari, not to be  
published

ff70-71 letter to FN from Scott Robertson July 16 1855 re where cooking,  
interesting thanks for her letter of yesterday, copy of which with her  
permission he will forward to sec at war, re extra diet kitchen, Mrs  
Bracebridge, wd like all extras cooked in general kitchens

f72 list where port wine is, Palace Hospital

Draft, ff73-74, pen, FN, on green paper {unsigned} {arch date: After 28 July 1855} Mary Smith note I think

**f73r**

I have kept an exact record of every article given & sent by me. The accounts of articles distributed in the Hospital of Scutari from Novr. 4 '54 to Feby. 15 '55 have been presented in the Blue Book entitled "the part upon the state of Hospitals of the British Army" An exact account is ready for publication of the Free Gifts distributed in the same Hospitals up to May 1st '55 Also of the Free Gifts sent to the Hospitals of the Crimea & Koulilee up to the [Koulali] same date.

At that time & for 3 months afterwards I was prevented by illness from taking my part in the distribution of the Free Gifts which was undertaken by Mrs Bracebridge who will answer any question concerning the distribution from July 28th to the present time I have an exact account of every article distributed in the Hospitals of Scutari & sent to our Hospitals in the Crimea & Dardanelles & the Bosphorus, as well as of those sent to our naval Hospitals at Therapia. & to the Hospitals of our Allies at Renkioi & Balaclava.

**f73v**

I will subjoin the account of that which is regularly given to each soldier on leaving Hospital, whether invalided for England, or convalescent for Crimea. Also of the Articles remaining in the Free Gift stores -

I see no reason for altering the principle upon which I have distributed the Free Gift which is stated in the above Blue Book & upon which I shall continue to distribute them with permission of the War Office & your own.

The principle is this - that in the Hospitals immediately under my charge, I have answered every Requisition of a Medical Officer, countersigned by a 1st Class Staff Surgeon - if it were ascertained that such articles did not exist in the Purveyors' stores. From the Hospitals of the Crimea Koulilee, & the Dardanelles, I have

**74r**

answered every Requisition, whether from Medical Officer, Chaplain or Superintendent of Nurses.

The British Public will not complain that their gifts have been hoarded when they hear that in the 3 months ending Feby. '55 upwards of 16 000 shirts were distributed in answer to Medical Requisitions by me

f75 receipt from Scott Robertson, from FN July 31 1855 for Inkermann Cafe £200

f76 letter to FN 9 Aug 1855 from Scott Robertson, Scutari just recd her note of yesterday re nurses

f77 green note. Dear Miss Tebbutt. I am very sorry for your uneasiness about your brother. I sincerely regret that your happy meeting with yr friends should be clouded by such anxiety. I am very glad under these circumstances not to ask you to send any detail of accounts. If governt money had been concerned, it would have been necessary to ask for it.

v

But the accounts having been sent in I shall prefer settling it otherwise. Will you fill up the cheque I sent you for the sum of £12.11.6

f78 receipt, Paladino, Constantinople

Letter, f79, pen Bracebridge draft or copy? {arch date: August 1855}  
Mary Smith

**f79r**

My dear Miss Tebbutt. I am very  
sorry for your uneasiness about your  
Brother. I sincerely regret that your  
happy meeting with your friends should be  
clouded by such ~~uneasiness~~ anxiety. I am very  
glad under these circumstances not to  
~~call upon~~ ask you to send any detail of  
accounts. If Government money had been  
concerned ~~I should have been~~ it would  
have been necessary to ask for it,

**f79v**

but the accounts having been sent in I shall prefer settling it otherwise, & ~~I have returned a cheque for the [illeg]~~, will you then fill up the cheque I sent with the sum of £12.11.6

Letter, ff80-81, typed copy {To Mr. Brown. Original in Mrs. S. Smith's writing with FN's signature} [14:227]

**f80r**

Barrack Hospital,  
Scutari,  
Sept. 10/1855.

Sir,

Your brother, belonging to the Turkish contingent, was brought in here, on Sunday week. He was suffering under an attack of fever. He spoke quite cheerfully, and did not then seem very seriously ill - but though every attention possible was paid to him, he became worse.

He was delirious, & in his delirium, he expressed much repentance for whatever had been wrong in his past life. He spoke with the greatest seriousness, exhorting those around him to repentance, and a right life. He also spoke in his delirium of a sum of money which he had lost. No directions of any kind could be obtained from him. I took possession of his desk and keys during his illness, & at his death placed them in the hands of the Purveyor who will communicate with you concerning the disposal of his effects. He talked constantly in his delirium of one Sarah.

He had all the attention and care possible from Dr. Barr, and from my head nurse. He took much nourishment, which was given to him by her every quarter of an hour.

He desired to see the chaplain shortly before his death, who went to him immediately. He died on Thursday last the 6th - he knew me within a few minutes of his death and appeared quite

**f81r**

tranquil. A private of the name of Taylor nursed him most kindly sitting up with him every night. I have paid him for doing so. [end]

I remain Sir

Your obedient sert.

{signed} Florence Nightingale

f82 receipt from Comfort Dingley Birmingham £25.80 from FN wages due late sister Elizabeth Drake

f83 receipt from FN Sept 22 1855 parcel of effects of dead man

Letter, f84, typed copy. {Original written my Mrs. Smith, signed by FN}

Scutari Hospital  
 Septr. 24th 1855

Madam,

I regret exceedingly to hear that you have not yet received your son's watch, chain, & seal. I never had these effects in my possession, but I know that they were committed to the care of a gentleman of the name of George Lloyd Williams, who left this place for England on the 15th of July, by the Steam Transport Oneida. I have seen this gentleman's receipt for the watch, chain & seals. I regret exceedingly that the rest of the effects were sold by the Purveyor. It may be best to explain that when I am called in by the medical man to a dying patient, I take possession of such small effects as are likely to be valuable to friends, in order to send them home - but where I am not so called in, the effects all remain in the hands of the Purveyor. When I heard that there were in his possession a watch, chain & seal that had belonged to your son, I begged that they might not be sold, but sent home to you, & I am very much surprised that you have not received them, as I understand you have received a ring that was taken off his finger by a nurse when she was called in after his death. I have a small bale (apparently of linen) which came to me after his death, directed to him - I await your orders as to what I shall do with it,

I remain, Madam,

Your obedt. servt.

{signed} Florence Nightingale

f85 FN hand. Received from Miss Nightingale  
 the Sum of Six Pounds, Eleven Shillings  
 for my passage to Corfu

Mary Burns X

her mark

Scutari October 1 1855

Letter, ff86-87, pen, M. Smith prob, signed by FN, or FN?

**f86r**

My Lord

I have the honor to submit to your Excellency an Extract of a Dispatch which I received from the War Office, dated September 6, 1855.

Also copies of two letters from Dr Hall, Inspector-General of Hospitals in the Crimea, & a copy of a letter from Mrs Bridgeman, Superior of the R. Catholic nuns at Koulali Hospitals.

May I beg to draw your Excellency's attention to the difficulty of my position in this matter?

By my original Instructions from the War Office, the "distribution" "selection" "power of discharge or dismissal" of all those who came out

**f86v**

addressed to me "to serve in the Hospitals of the East" was "placed solely under my control"

The Extract of Dispatch 155656/193 places a farther responsibility upon me.

But the Sisters who had engaged themselves personally to me for the work of the Hospitals under my direct charge are offered, accepted. & ordered elsewhere with only an *ex post facto* communication to me that they are going when the arrangements that they shall depart in less than a week are made.

Your Excellency will see

- (1) that it would be impossible to me to obey the instructions of the War Office under these circumstances
- (2) that it would be impossible to conduct any Institution whatever with such conditions.

**f87r**

I await your Excellency's commands as to the course I should pursue.

If Mrs Bridgeman has a separate commission from the War Office, it has not been communicated to me. I have delayed answering her communication till I receive your Excellency's directions.

It appears as though the most satisfactory proceeding would be that your Excellency should communicate the Instructions under which I act to Dr. Hall & Mrs Bridgeman

My departure for the Crimea has been delayed by these surprising communications. I am compelled to go there this week. I postpone it only till I receive your Excellency's directions.

Florence Nightingale

Letter, f88, typed copy. {Co-written, first half by Mrs Smith, and from "I fear" by FN}; original National Library Medicine, Wash

**f88r**

Castle Hospital,  
Balaclava.  
Octbr. 25th 55.

My dear Madam,

Your letter was forwarded to me at this place where my Hospital duties at present require me.

I have desired that enquiry should be made of Dr. Blackwood, concerning his attendance on your Son. He remembers perfectly well, being called in to him in the middle of the night, but when he reached him, he was quite unconscious. He remembers however hearing that he had been seen previously, earnestly in prayer. He also recollects hearing how much he was valued & beloved.

I fear that it is impossible now to recover any of the Articles which were sold - as I have already made enquiries of the Purveyor to that effect.

I will open the Bale you speak of upon my return to Scutari & let you know its contents.

I trust that we shall not have the sufferings to deplore this winter which we all witnessed last year. I beg to remain, dear Madam, with true sympathy for your great loss,

{signed} Florence Nightingale

Letter, f89, typed copy {to R.D. Lyons M.D., General Hospital, Third Division}

**f89r**

Castle Hospital  
Balaclava  
Oct. 26/55

My dear Sir,

I send you

10 Conical Pillows stuffed with Horse Hair & covered with  
vulcanized india-rubber

5 Air-beds

80 yds vulcanized india-rubber sheeting

12 yds black Oiled Cloth

1 Water Cushion circular

I will send the other things which you require as soon as I  
am able

The black Oiled Cloth is so bad that it is fit only to lay  
over the Stump Pillows to save them - with a piece of old linen over  
it to save the Patient.

I think you will like the vulcanized indi-rubber sheeting.  
Pray tell me if it is what you intended.

I enclose a £20 cheque which pray apply in the way you  
suggested for the best Orderlies.

I can cash it if you prefer it.

Believe me

Yours truly

{signed} Florence Nightingale

Pray tell me if the Conical Pillows are the proper shape &  
size.

f90 and on, corr re Crimea fund, Ellesmere, Hall, and then lists of bales, envelope Miss Nightingale, Scutari, Cons. Ld Ellesmere, no stamp

f90 is letter Egerton Ellesmere, Bridgewater House, St James,

f91 env E Ellesmere to FN Scutari

f92 letter to FN Nov 16 1855 with list, 54 Upper Berkeley St. from J. Standish Haly re Crimea Army Fund, Lord Ellesmere's letter to your reporting on. encloses particulars with receipt of clerk. clothing by ladies in England

f94 bales

ff95-113 bales. FN hand list contents to f113

ff114-26 long lists of items, signed J Standish Haly

f127 envelope to FN, hospital Scutari bales of clothing

Letter, ff128-29, handwritten copy of FN letter

**f128r**

Barrack Hospital

Scutari

Nov. 25th 1855

Dear Madam

I received your note of enquiry about your late son Mr Ellis Jackson just as I was leaving Balaklava for Scutari.

The first time I was your son was in going round the wards in the General Hospital Balaklava. He has been brought in in the morning & was then lying in one of the wards. We had him removed into the Officers Ward, which contains six compartments nicely partitioned off by curtains. In one of these he was placed and lay till he died. He was always conscious & remained so till the very last. He prayed aloud so beautifully that as the nurse in charge said "It was like a sermon to hear him". He expressed himself to me as entirely resigned to die. He knew me & asked to see Miss Nightingale. He pressed my hand when he could not speak. The last words he said were "Turn me on

**f129r**

my right side" and we turned him. He died in the night. He had milk every hour arrow root when he could take it & port wine put between his lips every quarter of an hour.

He required constantly changing & I took care that he should have a continual supply of dry sheets sometimes many times a day. He expressed no complaint or murmur, saw the Chaplain with pleasure once spoke of dying so young "but said that he was ready" & mentioned his age. He was decently interned in a burial ground we have about a mile from Balaclava, not at the time when those who have died in the night are buried all together, but in the afternoon with a funeral to himself.

One of my own Sisters lies in the same ground to whom I have erected a monument.

Should you wish any thing similar to be done over the grave of your lost son I will endeavour to gratify you, if you will inform me of your wishes,

With true sympathy for your loss

I remain dear Madam

yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

f130 typed copy of letter Headlands, Prestwich, Manchester Nov 27 1855. I enclose to you Miss n 's reply to the query of the family of Morris Jones, of the 13th Light Infantry, which you inclosed to me early in October. The relatives of the deceased soldier may be satisfied that Morris Jones rec every hospital attention wh cd be bestowed during his last illness.

Letter, ff131-32, typed copy, typed copy also LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/55/6  
[14:265]

**f131r**

Castle Hospital  
Balaclava  
Nov. 10/55

Sir,

Your letter of the 4th October was forwarded to me at this place, where my Hospital duties at present require me.

Morris Jones, 13th Light Infantry, died at the Barrack Hospital, Scutari, Ward 8, Corridor F, of Fever, August 20/55.

He was only in Hospital three days. He had an abscess in his neck & spoke very little. At 10 P.M. the night he died, he was sufficiently conscious to express pleasure at having the Nurse there - tho' he always called her "Mother". He would take no food from anyone else. He appeared to rest satisfied in this delusion which comforted him. He was far too little conscious to send any message to his family.

He was very cold & had hot water tins put round him - which annoyed him - & he insisted upon pushing them away.

He was too ill when he entered Hospital for any questions to be asked him.

The nurse called him her "old man" - & when it was ascertained that he was only 32 years of age, would not believe it. But our men are old at 32.

I regret that the anxiety of his family should have been

**f132r**

not sooner ended.

But I am myself confined to my bed by illness  
& here I have no one to write for me.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant

Florence Nightingale.

If it is any consolation to his family to know that he was  
not neglected, but had every care that Medical skill &  
female nursing could give him, they may be certain of this.

[end 14:265]

f135 letter to FN 10 Dec 1855 from Straubenzee, Camp, hard to read, re  
explosion, cholera, her note recd. I recd your note on the night of the  
unaccountable explosion and for many days afterwards employed in repairs

f137 more lists

f138 list of cases

f144 letter to FN from Sr Dr? Stanislas, nd in French, notre seigneur Jesus  
Christ qui a promis

Letter, ff146-47, pen, FN letter dictated? FN signature

**f146r**

Barrack Hospital [14:300]

Scutari

Jany. 7/56

My dear Mrs Davey

That you, and five  
other nurses, were sent in  
the "Thames", in a different  
manner from that in which  
I have sent home all the  
other nurses, either in that  
vessel, or in any other,  
arose from a mistake which  
took place at Scutari - ow  
ing to a misunderstanding  
of orders concerning the  
"Thames" together with the  
loss of a letter in the

**f146r**

Post Office, which would have explained them. I had indeed engaged passages for all under my charge, whether at Scutari or Balaclava, in three different vessels, which were to sail from Balaclava. That this mistake should have arisen I regret extremely, so contrary as it was, to my written intentions - I was, however, much pleased to hear from Malta, that it was partly

**f147r**

rectified, the day after you sailed from Scutari and I trust, that you have, after all, had a not uncomfortable voyage, as a satisfaction to my own mind & because I so much regretted a mistake which happened owing to my unavoidable absence in Balaclava. I have enclosed a Cheque for £5. You will give me pleasure by spending it in some way, which I

**f147v**

hope may be useful to you when the consequences of this mistake will, as I trust, have passed away.

I remain

Your sincere friend  
Florence Nightingale

[end]

Letter, f149, pen {archivist's note: to Miss Stanley}

**f149r**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Jan 13/56

I have nothing farther to say. And,  
for "explanation", I refer you to yourself.

I have nothing to forgive. For I  
have never felt anger. I have never  
known you.

There has been no "difference" between  
us - except a slight one of opinion  
as to the distribution of articles & the  
manner of doing so to Patients.

The pain you have given has not  
been by differing nor by any thing  
for which forgiveness ~~has been~~ can be asked,  
but by not being yourself or at  
least what I thought yourself.

You say truly how I have loved  
you. No one will ever love you  
better.

Florence Nightingale

f150 list

f151 Jan 30 1856 from Lt Finnerty 47th Regiment re deaths and burials at  
Scutari, FN will recollect that the state of the hosps were so much improved  
through her instrumentality that it was not necessary to keep a daily state of  
deaths and burials after 31 May 1855. Consequently they are given by months. Lt  
Finnerty will forward list of names of officers who died if she does not have.  
Will be seen that deaths in the state do not agree with the deaths and burials  
but the illeg in the latter will account for the discrepancy. Templemore Ireland

f152 envelope OHMS FN hand

Depot  
Returned  
Lt Finnerty  
47th Regt  
Templemore  
Ireland

f153 Free Gifts for the Army in the Crimea 4 Feb 1856 from Hayters & Howell, to  
Madam

f155 receipt no. 3394 for £500 signed by FN for commissary Genl, Sir George  
Maclean and another

f156 22 Feb another £500 22 Feb 1856

f157 FN signed Feb 25 1856 receipt. from Purveyor Tucker sum of 245/6/10  
payments to nurses to be employed in the hospital of Scutari and Balaclava  
during the quarter ending 30 Sept /55

f158 receipt signed by FN (duplicate)

ff159-62 note 3 March 1856 Scutari, not FN hand re McNeill report, Scutari March 3 [1856] I have just received Sir John McNeill's correct cold dispassionate report. What are the Scribes and Pharisees compared to what is doing now? We are told that they "devoured widows houses" and put the "anice and cummin" into their own pockets. But we have made the widows and put much more than anise and cummin into the pockets of those who have been the principal agents of the manslaughter.

I have friends among these men but I wd give up my own father in such a cause. England has now realized that six thousand graves at Scutari, the many many more in the Crimea. But I who have seen the men come down through that long long dreadful winter (4000 we recd in 17 days between Dec 17/54 and Jan 3/55) without other covering than a dirty blanket and a pair of old regimental trowsers, when the stores were teeming with every kind of warm clothing, living skeletons devoured with anemia, ulcerated, hopeless and helpless and die without ever lifting up their heads, 70-80 per diem on the Bosphorus alone, up to the 13 Feb /55 when we reached our maximum of mortality, can I hear of the promotion of the men also who have caused this colossal calamity, without thinking that the next thing we shall hear of is the Decline and Fall of the British Empire?

In the list of the medical CBs I see but one name of those many deserving medical officers who boldly--at the risk of their own promotion, which they have thereby lost, withstood red tape, official routine and Dr Hall & determined to have by one means or another the means of saving life for their men. All the other medical CBs without one exception that I see are men of fourth or fifth rate capacity who have licked the dust of Dr Hall's shoes by truckling to formalities and thereby won their little day.

Would that the men could speak who lay dying of cholera and died in the puddles of Kalamita Bay and their zealous and active medical officers could not get a grain of medicine out of Dr Hall without a requisition which they could not write!

The man who told all this to Dr Hall openly to his face and remonstrated, I look for in vain on the list of CBs. But the man who let the sick come down to Balaclava without giving notice of them, and lie there in Arebas for three hours together in the winter, there being no boats to get them of, he is a CB.

After all we have done and all we have uttered this is the glorious conclusion. We leave off at the end of two years, having rewarded the authors of the greatest calamity that has ever visited us and encouraged them to do the same next time.

Sir John McNeill's report is a model of cool conscientious truth, but he did not SEE these things. I did, and nobody who has not, I believe, to this day, realizes them.

I know personally and feelingly that several of these culprits thus rewarded are men of honour, conscience and ability. But what of that? I say with the Litany "Good Lord deliver us."

f163 list

Letter, f165, pen

[14:353]

**f165r**

My dear Sir

The "General Order" against supplying Returns to newspapers came from Sir W. Codrington - And General Storks can do nothing - Neither can I offer any remedy - for, since I *joined the Army*, I am myself nothing better than a soldier.

I make no remark

**f165v**

upon this outrageous "General Order," farther than that it is another wedge inserted by the *Horse Guards* themselves to bring about their own downfall or reform.

I remain

most truly yours

F. Nightingale

[end]

13/3/56

Receipt, f166, pen.

**f166r**

Received of John Burke 88th Regt.  
the sum of Ten Pounds  
to be drawn by him at pleasure  
£10.0.0

Florence Nightingale

Scutari March 17 1856

John Bourke

Draft, f169, pen {archivist's date: March 1856.}

**f169r**

The W.O. is in a great  
legal difficulty about  
this Fitzgerald business,  
which I have no doubt  
they see. Because the  
"Purveyor's Statement"  
is a libel - or rather  
he has by it made  
himself liable to half  
a dozen actions for libel.  
Dr. Hall has, by making  
it official, "*published*"  
this libel. And he  
~~might be also served~~  
~~with notice of action~~  
~~for libel~~ is therefore in  
the same position - I

**f169v**

quite agree with any  
one who says that a  
dirty base Purveyor is  
"not worth my powder  
& shot" but that the  
Chief Medical man of  
the Army should be  
quoting his lies and  
~~a-dis~~ doing it not  
only with impunity  
but with honor &  
promotion is a disgrace  
to a govt.

Letter, ff171-72, pen {archivist's note: dictated - possibly in Mrs Smith's hand} {archivist's date: March 1856}

**f171r**

I have never been able to join in the popular cry about the recklessness, sensuality, helplessness of the soldier. On the contrary, I should say (& no woman perhaps has ever seen more of the manufacturing & agricultural classes than I have before I came out here) that I have never seen so teachable & helpful a class as the Army generally.

**[14:342]**

Give them opportunity promptly

**f171v**

& securely to send money home, & they will use it.

Give them schools & lectures & they will come to them.

Give them books, & games, & amusements, & they will leave off drinking.

Give them suffering, & they will bear it.

Give them work, & they will do it.

I had rather have to do with the Army generally, than with any other class I have ever

**f172r**

attempted to serve.

And when I compare them  
with the Medical Staff corps,  
the Land Transport Corps, the  
Army Works Corps, I am struck  
with the soldier's superiority  
as a moral, & even as an  
intellectual being

[end]

F.N. Scutari, March /56

f174 Barrack Hospital Scutari 5 April/56. Private George Booth Reg 7524 age 23  
died on the 5th April 3 o'clock. A.M.

f175 recd from William Stokes, the sum of two pounds 10/9 to be drawn at  
pleasure. Florence Nightingale, received the above, Scutari 23/2/56, April 5

f176 death notice. not FN hand. Febris C.C.

f177 blue paper. Weight of solid rations excluding shorgum, liquors, also sugar,  
tea, salt and lemons

f179 letter of James Edward Alexander, Heights of Balaclava, 4 May 1856

Dear Miss Nightingale, I beg to return you my thanks for the handsome  
contribution of copy books, plate and numbers of the British Workman for the  
Reggtl School 14 Regt. I have been away at the above or I would have thanked you  
sooner.

If you have not seen the field of the above it is well worth a visit. I manage  
it in this way-- though for a lady a light carriage (which can be hired here)  
might be better -- left at 8 a.m., rode by the Bridge [?] of Inkerman to the  
Russian bazaar of honte [?] then by the Balbek and Katcha River, one month and  
the small village after Kisak where some Tartars (who are most friendly sought  
out a room & got water, milk illeg this village is within an easy walk on the  
cliffs which the Zouaves ascended on the left, the Russians from then - but it  
requires a time to be able to see the whole of the Russian line and to descend  
to the plain by the bridge and look up to the ridge which was attacked.

If I can be of any use in giving information about the Crimea-- I knew it very  
well in 1829-- I shall be happy to do. illegs

I am your illeg J. Alexander  
x & come back next day.

f180 sketch with above letter, There are many English names between the Bridge  
and the Battery above it--also in the battery--the field is still strewn with  
shoes, nags, knapsacks & skeletons of horses of illeg in the ravines--but a  
beautiful turf & wild flowers also were everywhere, seen on 3 May 1856

f181 Soyer letter. blue paper

4th Division

May 10 1856

Voulez vous avoir la bonté ma chère demoiselle de donner l'ordre que l'on  
delivre vos fourreaux au porteur de l'ordre que je me ferai le plaisir de vous  
envoyer un jour de la semaine prochaine.

Mr Phillips n'a pas pu venir ayant été retardé avec moi dans la camp agui des Ecossais mais j'espere qu'il sera a temps, cet après midi pour le plan [??].  
J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer.  
Tout a vous A Soyer (signed by him)

Letter, ff183-84, pen

**f183r**

General Hospital  
Balaclava  
May 12/56

My dear Sir

1. Pray keep the Chemical apparatus,  
if it can be of any use to you - if not,  
it may be sent back to our quarters  
or left in the School-room till I return.

2. Do the French know how to make  
the Arrow Root? The Sardinians did not.  
They liked it very much when they  
were shewn how to use it. The French  
ate the Essence of Beef here, till they  
were shewn its use, in like manner.

3. I believe, from my own experience  
in the winter of 1854 & from what I  
was told by 1st Class Staff Surgeons that  
much harm was done at that time  
by persevering in administering a  
stimulating diet to the scorbutic  
worn-out Patients we had then.

I have been accused of intercepting  
our supplies to the Patients by obstructive

**f183v**

regulations. My Lady-nurses have been especially vehement against me on this account, & were especially vehement in the administration of stimulating diets. But, altho' to answer the Requisitions of *Medical Officers* was one of the most important of my duties (& one in which, like the R. Catholics, I must put aside the right of "private judgment,") yet I could, by no means, authorize Lady-Nurses to *full-fil*, in the literal sense of that verb, the vaguest of all "general directions", "to feed up" an exhausted Patient as *much as possible*, when he was already suffering from the revulsion of diet. 1st Class Staff Surgeons themselves acknowledged this afterwards.

4. The French have now about

**f184r**

1500 Patients here - chiefly Typhus and Scorbutic cases - but, as you will see by those arriving at Constantinople, not nearly so bad as they were. The Sardinians have very few sick. But we are embarking their men as fast as possible.

Our own cases are chiefly, I am sorry to say, from drunkenness. The health of the Army is otherwise magnificent. In this Hospital, where all the natives from Kadikoi & Balaclava harbour are brought, we always have Fever, & the Orderlies, predisposed by intemperance, take it, & when they take it, they die. It is generally Typhus - sometimes complicated with affections of the chest & Bronchitis.

I have not had time to visit the French & Sardinian Hospitals,

**f184v**

tho' I have seen the Sardinian Soeurs,  
& a French Mèdicin en Chef or two.

I will certainly apply to you,  
if I can in any way bring about  
your very desirable idea of the  
Thermal Establishments for Sick Soldiers.

I write in the greatest haste,  
& can only say how sorry I shall  
be not to see you again, & how  
much I thank you for all your  
kindness. Will you please to  
leave your address at Dresden  
with my Aunt, & to offer my  
best respects to Madam Pincoffs.

Believe me dear Sir  
yours very truly & gratefully  
F. Nightingale

f185 FN envelope

A Monsieur  
Monsieur le Docteur Pincoffs  
Hôpital de l'Ecole Militaire  
Pera  
Constantinople

f186 Hawes letter to FN 16 May 1856. Madam. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th ultime reporting that Mrs Bridgeman & the Sisters of Mercy serving with her in the Genl Hospital at Balaclava had decided upon returning forthwith to England, & I am to inform you that Lord Panmure, while regretting for the good of the hospitals in the Crimea that the services of these ladies should have thus ceased rather abruptly has expressed to them the satisfaction felt by his lordship at the services which they have rendered with so much zeal and devotion and his lordship has requested Dr Manning to convey to them the expression of his thanks and of his cordial approval of the services rendered by them to the sick and wounded of our army in the East.

f187 Campbelltown, Ardeview, Scotland May 24/56. Miss Nightingale. Dear Madam. I duly received your very welcome tho sorrow bringing letter informing me of the sad condition of my poor boy and allow me in name of his mother brothers and sister to return you our heartfelt gratitude for your kindness and attention to him. We heard from his brother George who is in the Crimea that he had left for England but he must have been misinformed.

Since your illeg. Requests, shd he survive tell him he will be welcome to his home and that all of us feel more than words can express for him. George McDonald

f189 receipt from Miss Morton. M Stanley, articles in linen store

f190 letter to FN 7 June 1856, J. Jackson

My dear Madam, I herewith send you all the papers I have by our hands

f191 W. Cruickshank to FN. Scutari June 9/56. With lists, numbers. Re death rates...

4. If your figures for Bulgaria and the Crimea be correct, the death rate has been much higher in Scutari than in those places, however it wd of course be necessary to have illeg (official) returns from the Crimea before a comparison be instituted between the two stations, as to the sickness and mortality of the medical officers, such a statement wd be very interesting and mt be useful, and I regret I cannot make it, for the reason I have stated.

Although we have not many sick at present; my time is perpetually occupied owing to the changes which go on not only daily but hourly, both as regards officers and servants.

Mr Barrett, the queen's, as he is called is here and he is going to the Crimea on purpose to take Miss Nightingale's likeness. So much for being the idol of the people.

Ff192-95 lists

f196 blue paper. Given in from Reading Room

f197 receipt. Received from Mrs Smith for the rent of Miss Nightingale's house in Scutari up to June 20th 1856 the sum of twenty eight pounds. C.H. Dickson

f198 Inventory of Govt things in Miss Nightingale's quarters

28 mattrasses marked B.O.

19 Pillows Do

26 Rugs Do

2 Sacking Bed bottoms Do

48 Blankets Do

9 Sheets Do

2 Screens

---

12 Pillows covered with

Blue Tick not marked

left with the B.O. illeg ....

f198 contd. ....

M.A. Morton June 25 1856, Bk Hospital Scutari

ff199-200 lists, return of provisions from Barrack Hospital

Draft, ff201-02, pen. {archivist's date: circ. June 1856} [similar to 5479 to Lefroy

### **f201r**

I am very much afraid of writing to Mr. Stafford which I think an unholy alliance. But I wish that he could be made to understand

that his Committee should be kept open, if possible, till the present Medical Officers out here can come home & give evidence.

There are many out here who would stick to their evidence, which is alas! more than the Military Officers have done. Two Officers of Engineers I could but will not name who have given diametrically opposite evidence at Chelsea from what they did in the Crimea & from what ~~t—F~~ I & others have *heard* them say here. The R.E.s were astonished here.

### f201v

Of the Medical Officers out here whose evidence would be valuable to Mr. Stafford & who would speak the truth, there are

Dr. Alexander	Ins. Genl.
Dr R. Jameson	S.S. 1st Cl.
Dr. Beatson	"
Dr. Matthew	"
Mr. Jackson	Regimental Surgeon
Dr. Jephson	"

& I have no doubt many others. I do not pretend to feel any respect for the Military Medical profession, any more than for any other race of slaves, but a strong compassion & a burning desire to see them righted.

Of me they report things which they know to be untrue, which they

### f202r

know that I know that they know to be untrue - under cover of the "Confidential Report" system, which is practised throughout the Army & carried to its utmost perfection by the present Inspector-General - which perfection consists in employing some other person, ~~always~~ generally the Deputy Purveyor in Chief, to give evidence about some thing which in no wise concerns him & to collect the evidence of Orderlies

v [written in small by FN in corner]  
& Extra diets  
Monastery  
Comparative Mortality  
Sir J. illeg despair  
L.T.C.

[contd] ff203-04 pen

[4]

4. A few more of those who have done the most mischief will be rewarded - and then the Army, which has deserved so well of us, will sink back into its pristine condition - and no one any more will talk, even, of Reform.

Yet I would feign do something for the Medical Officers. Altho' unwilling to make an un"holly alliance" with Mr. Stafford, I wish that he could be made to understand to keep his Committee open, if possible, till the Medical Officers at present here can come home & give evidence. But I am told that this will be purposely prevented by their being ordered elsewhere.

There are many now here who would abide by their evidence, however little the Military Officers have, alas! done so by theirs. Two of these latter I could, but will not, name who have given opposite evidence at Chelsea from what we have heard them say here. We were astounded!

**f203v**

Of the Medical Officers now here,  
whose evidence would be valuable to Mr.  
Stafford, & who would speak the truth,  
there are

Dr. Alexander	Dy. Ins. Genl.
Dr R. Jameson	S.S. 1st Cl.
Dr. Beatson	"
Dr. Matthew	"
Dr. Jephson	1st Drag. Gds
Mr. Jackson	S.S. 2nd Class
Dr. Holton	" "

& I have no doubt many others.

I do not profess to feel any respect  
for the Military Medical profession, any  
more than for any other race of slaves,  
of whom they have all the vices & all  
the virtues, but a strong compassion  
& a burning desire to see them righted.

"I know them too well to complain  
because I do not find in them veracity,  
fidelity, consistency, disinterestedness -"  
They have been reduced to this state by  
dependence upon the caprice of an  
Inspector-Genl., a Director Genl. for promotion,

**f204r**

(Sometimes not even the caprice but the trick) - supported by the "Confidential Reports" system which has been carried to its utmost perfection by the present Inspectors-Genl., consisting in employing some other person, generally the Deputy Purveyor in Chief, to give evidence about things which no wise concern *him*, and *to take the evidence of Orderlies against their Medical Officer in Charge!*

In the last two months at this Hospital alone, two Medical Officers have been superseded upon evidence collected in the above manner, & unknown to them.

Since the 10th of June, 1855, there have been but three Medical Officers in charge in this Hospital with sufficient independence to resist this system - all three have been superseded.

What can be expected from this training but what actually happens?

An unfortunate 1st Class Staff Surgeon, one of those who was found  
most

**f204v**

easy & submissive to work this system,  
& who contributed much towards it  
in this Hospital was brought in  
here two days ago to the very Hospital  
he had so treated, in a fit of Delirium  
tremens, & cut his throat this morning  
with his own Dissecting Knife.

If Inspector-General & Deputy-  
Purveyors-in-Chief *could* take a lesson,  
one would think this wretched man's  
death would convey one.

But how can you expect a better  
race under such circumstances?

I wish I had no "Penney Warrior  
Bonds", unlike Sidney Smith. I mean  
I am sorry that the Inspector General  
has so injured me, ~~because~~ that it prevents me  
from taking up the Medical Officers'  
quarrel, for fear it might be thought  
my own.

If principles of promotion could be  
laid down (in France they depend  
upon examinations & open "concurrences")  
how much might not be gained for  
the Military Surgeons!



young man has been detained much longer than anticipated, in consequence of the difficulty experienced in obtaining hamals to carry them to the hospital. Shd you now have any time disengaged I shall feel highly honored, if you will favour [cut off] with a visit of inspection, the patients having been removed from the old house. I shall have great pleasure in waiting on you , according as you request to view the drying room.

f212 letter to Madam Maison Notre Dame de la Providence, des Soeurs de la Charité, Constantinople. 21 juillet 1856. faint stylized letter, Sr Etienne. Madam. ....

f213 list of goods

f214 list sums by month, asst army postmaster

f215 letter to FN from Charles Geo. Curtis, Pera, July 24 1856, thanks for articles

f216 commissioner Pera. Illeg letter

ff218-20 list of goods German Hospital Constantinople.

f221 British Seamans Hospital Galata 24 July 1856. recd for Rev G Curtis at Hospital Galata 7 cases and 2 small parcels with ...

f222 Thomas Turner, Guy's Hosp July 25 1856. I beg to thank you very sincerely for your letter of the 13th instant (missing) and am much gratified to find that you consider the proposal which I made to you deserving of attention.

You will have your own time for this purpose. Any delay that may take place before you make up your mind upon the subject, or before you are able to turn your attention to it, will be no inconvenience to the hospital. The simple fact being that, in the event of the governors making any arrangements with yourself, they wd go on with illeg building a few years earlier than they mt otherwise do. [interesting letter!]

f224 Soyer to FN from Constantinople. blue paper. Juillet 26 1856. fair copy. signed by Soyer

Ma chere demoiselle. J'aurais manquer mon devoir on vous laissant quitter ce sol Musselman ou vous vous etes élève une pieuse et impérissable autel en executant sur le soldat malheureux et souffrant les rayons duquels réjouissant non seulement sur notre être, mais sur celui de nos descendants, dans vous offrir mes humbles et tres sinceres remerciemens pour l'interet que vous n'avez cessé de prendre au succès de ma mission culinaire en Crimée comme en Orient.

Quatorze mois se sont écoulés depuis que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous être présenté pour la premiere fois; J'etais alors loin de songer "n'ayant d'autre idée a mon départ des cotes d'Albion que de dévouer quelques semaines a l'hospital a Scutari, d'ou, comme un brillant météor vous avais attirée mon attention vers le ciel brulant d'Orient," que nous verrions ensemble la fin en ce drame gigantesque qui a ensevelé de l'Europe presque un monde: sur une partie duquel vous comme une ange bienfaisante n'avez cessé de verser un baume genereux et consolateur ou sur l'ame du brave mourant ou la blessure du soldat souffrant, bravant en Crimée les dangers de la guerre; Ses maux les plus cruels en Orient.

Mais au milieu d'incessantes fatigues et de terribles maladies, Dieu dirigea votre visage baummière a travers ces grand dangers a un noble dénouement, d'ont votre Patrie ne cessera d'etre ou ne peut plus reconnaissante en dépit de vos *petits tres petits* ennemis - qui-

"Lorsqe x x xx lance sur vous un faux problème"

"Un Milton eut ecrit un Epique Poème"

Croyez ma chere demoiselle de dévouement...

f225 Soyer letter to FN from Hotel d'Angletere, Pera, Constantinople, 27 Juillet 1856, blue paper.

Ce joint Mademoiselle, est la traduction religieuse de l'eglise Prusse des paroles Saintes que vous desirez faire graver sur le monument que vous avez fait éléver a Balaclava,

Je vous engagerais, etant arrivé a Londres a le faire cuisiner sur une plaque de bronze, qui pouvait être facilement encrustée dans le marbre, la place de faire traiter les lettres dans le corps ou monument, qui pourrait peut être l'abimer confier a des mains inhabile.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre Mademoiselle

votre tres humble serviteur

A Soyer

Quelques mots de votre part exprimant votre opinion considerée sur les humbles services que j'ai pu rendre aux hopitaux &c obligera infiniment votre très humble servituer A.S.

f226 A Soyer to FN blue paper, Pera Constantinople July 28 1856

Ma chere demoiselle. Mille remerciemens pour la lettre qu vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en exprimant si favorablement vos sentiments d'approbation des humbles efforts que j'ai pu faire, tant en l'Orient qu'en Crimée pour l'amelioration de la diète des hopitaux. Croyez Mlle à ma haute reconnaissance, et que mon arrivée a Londres "qui sera je l'espere sous peu" je serai toujours prêt a me rendre a vos ordres en cas que mes services puissent vous être agréable; vos fourreaux partirent avec plusieurs boites dans un jour ou deux pour Deptford, sous le cachet a Mr Robertson, je les remuerai tous a Londres, et en ferai la distribution dans les hopitaux des cazernes selon que vous le desirerez.

Croyez moi ma chere demoiselle avec les plus profonds sentiments de respect, votre tres humble et obeissant serviteur, A Soyer

letter, ff227-29, pen

**f227r**

Scutari

Barrack Hospital

July 28/56

To

W. Linton Esq. MD  
Inspector General of Hospitals  
Scutari

[FN hand for his address, not rest]

My dear Sir

As I am sure that  
you will wish that no injustice

should be done through a mis-apprehension of what really happened in the matter referred to in 1st Cl. Staff Surgeon Davies's letter of April 8/56, I will beg to place the facts in your hands.

One pint Arrow-Root (*not*, I beg to say, "a quart mug"; whether quart mugs were brought or not, one ~~quart~~ pint was always the quantity given by measure) in which was 1/3 oz. Roussillon Wine (*not*, I beg to say, Port Wine) was given only where the desire that it should be given

**f227v**

had been expressed by the Senior Medical Officer in charge of the Division. That this was so may be seen from the evidence of the late Dr McGrigor in the Blue Book "upon the Crimean & Scutari Hospitals."

Some of the Medical Officers desired to have it - others did not. When, to a Medical Officer who wished for it, succeeded one who did not, he had only to express his wish, in order to have it discontinued.

There was no occasion for Dr. Davies's "horror & astonishment". The thing was never done with any attempt or desire for secrecy, & would have been discontinued immediately at any time that it had been objected to, as indeed it was discontinued the first day an objection was made.

The hour for our last Issue of Extras was always 7 1/2 P.M. And, when I was at Scutari, I took

**f228r**

care that any Orderly coming for Extras according to Diet Roll, later than 8 P.M. should be refused. I learn that, in my absence in the Crimea, the Medical Staff Corps became so irregular, especially on Sunday nights, when they had leave to go out, that Arrow Root ~~had~~ has been given out as late a 9 1/2 P.M.

I cannot always prevent the breaking of Rules, especially in my absence. But I considered myself bound to prevent a *repetition* of the breaking of any rule, if I were informed of it, a part of my bounden duty, from which I will venture to say I have never deserted.

May I be allowed to make one remark upon that of Dr. Davies that "these practices are now so totally unnecessary, as the Medical Officers have full power to order any & every thing they wish for their Patients".

Upon the necessity of nothing being given to a Patient without the Sanction & order of the Medical Officer in charge I believe it is impossible for Dr

**f228v**

Davies even or yourself to hold a stronger opinion than I do myself. In the five Crimean Hospitals where I had Extra Diet Kitchens, I can cite these as witnesses

But, where here are no Extra Diet Kitchens, the Medical Officer may "order any thing he wishes," but has no power to have it *cooked* as he wishes. The Arrow Root cooked in this General Kitchen even with all the advantage it derived from Sayer's experience was frequently left untouched by the Sick - which was the reason why it was asked for by the Medical Officers from an *Extra* Diet Kitchen.

I have frequently stated this to Dep. Inspector Genl. Cruickshank, in presence of Mr. Sayer and Mr. Sayer's own views as to the necessity of separating Extra Diet Kitchen from General Kitchen, I find, are entirely the same as mine.

I am convinced both by experience, & by the reasons I could give why it must be so, that Extras cannot be cooked in a General Kitchen properly and I considered it at the time a mistake when, in July /55 the Purveyor in Chief closed the Extra Diet Kitchens. You yourself, Sir, afterwards re-opened one for the 5th Division, as you will remember. Your Authority thus confirming my opinion, was a very great satisfaction to me.

F. Nightingale

**f229r**

I will not apologise for begging  
you to allow me to leave this  
explanation with you, because  
I have it to be your desire  
to avoid all misunderstanding  
& misrepresentation.

I beg that you will believe me  
    dear Sir  
ever faithful & obliged servt.  
Mr. Linton Esq. MD.  
Inspector General of Hospitals  
    Scutari

f230 blue paper letter from Barrack Hospital, Scutari 8 April 1856 to Dr  
Cruikshank, dep IG, from J. Davis lists items

f232 copy of certified receipt of payment of Treasury Chest £494. 5s 11p

f233 German letter to FN 31 July 1856 Constantinople. H Dreyer. Dr Morris.

f235 envelope in French. Soyer. Demoiselle  
Demoiselle Florence Nightingale  
auparavant Directrice en chef des Hôpitaux  
à l'armée anglaise en Orient  
Londres

re-addressed. Lea Hurst, nr Matlock, Derbyshire stamped Sept 19 1856

f236 typed copy Lady Verney to Ellen Tollet Lea Hurst Thursday, home. arch:  
original owned by Mrs Bridgeman. Dearest. She is come home as you will see--so  
quietly that save ourselves no one knew it. Lord Lyons wished to send her in the  
Caradoc to any port she pleased, but she cannot bear giving trouble and besides  
this wd have 'published' her, as they came in the French steamer, Madame Smith  
and her niece attached au service des Armees anglaises which saved them from  
everything, & a Queen's messenger got to all proposals to draw her home in  
triumph &c and the little tinkle of the small church bell on the hills and the  
thanksgiving prayer at the little chapel was all the innocent greeting next day,  
in sounds, there were written ones awaiting her which touched her very much.

My dear she looks well in the face and seems well for the first few hours of  
the morning, but hen she seems wearied out for the rest of the day--quite worn  
down, and it makes me very uneasy to see the exhaustion after any little bit  
of business which she is obliged to do, for things come pouring in even now--  
and rest is most difficult to get for her. It will be long before she is fit for  
work again, and yet inaction is almost as impossible for long I fear.

Well, God will take care o her in His way, not ours, and we must lie still and  
believe. She has gone through such a lifetime in these 22 months as one can  
scarcely understand, by that firm trust in Him, that living in His presence &  
bearing all small and great troubles through Him in a way I never saw  
equalled.

But it has not been by the strength of the body she has lived and it is  
making itself heard now.

Aunt Mai is here still, but Uncle sam wants Buxton. You do not know of a lodging do you, without troubling yourself to look, they will have their four children with them, they don't care for being some little way from the wells.....

f238 letter to FN from Lewisham 15 August 1856, illeg Brown. honor and pleasure to ack receipt of favor dated 13 August Messrs Glyn for sum of 12 Gs for Mrs Eliza Roberts that is ...

ff240-41 Lt Gen Pennefather to FN. Malta 20 August 1856. I have the honor to ack the receipt of your 2 letters of the 14th and 28th (Lei) of July last, enclosing invoices of hosp supplies which you have been good enough now that the Scutari Hosp is broken up to forward by the ships "Antelope" and "Buffalo" to my address for the comfort of the sick soldiers in this command.

In thanking you for these most valuable private hosp supplies, I beg to assure you they shall be apportioned thro the medical officer as you have requested, and I shall not fail to make it known to the troops under my command how much and how deeply we are again indebted to you for so many kindnesses.

Believe me...

ff242-44 typed copy. Dearest, Parthe to Ellen Tollet

ff245-46 letter to FN from Pera Sept 4 1856. Sept 4 1856. though the Society P.G. [Propagation of the Gospel] has probably thanked you and the other ladies who so handsomely contributed to the illeg Church Fund, I feel that the expression of my own grateful acknowledgement is made for the invaluable assistance which has been rendered and for the comforting assurances of your Christian good wishes & prayers.

Allow me to beg for the continuance of such support and to hope that we may avail ourselves duly not only of Christian sympathy but also of Christian example which neither time nor place can remove.

Permit me to wish you every blessing and comfort after your long trials and toils and believe me, madam your faithful servant, Charles Geo Curtis.

f247 letter on behalf of FN Lea Hurst Matlock Sept 17 1856, to Scott Robertson. I am requested by my niece Miss Nightingale to address you in order to recall to your recollection that you have in our possession her cop of her last quarter's account, *still unpaid*, sent in to you at your desire before she left Scutari.

I am also to remind you that just on the eve of her departure you borrowed form her my copy of the account for the preceding quarter. Miss Nightingale begs that you will be so good as to return her both these documents to the above address, at your earliest convenience, being anxious to close every acct with the War Office. I have the honor to be sir, your obedt humble servt, Samuel Smith

f248 faint letter to demoiselle, from Eleanor Cordero

F250 from Eliza Roberts

My dear Madam

I am very glad to inform you your parcel was sent yesterday morning. I really began to get very impatient about the things. I think you will find them all

quite right. I took the liberty of looking in the little cannister to see if the bottels illeg broke, but was indeed very glad to find they illeg not. Mrs Trench?? Begin yesterday a littel better I took the opp of going to see Mrs Whitfield & she was much pleased with the cloths.....My dear Mr Baggally was not in town so I left the parcel with her for him containing a *cloth* and a ?? For Mrs Baggally which will be given to *him* by Mr Whitfield. ...I was much disappointed at not seeing him. I sincerely hope by the blessing of you are still in the enjoyment of our health and my dear Miss Nightingale all is for ?? Blackheath Park Sept 23 1856.

Letter, ff252-53, pen

**f252r**

Birk Hall  
Ballater  
Aberdeenshire  
Sept. 29/56

**[14:454-55]**

Dear Lord Murray

Your letter of the 13th to Mr. Horner concerning ~~me~~ and certain statements of Miss Stanley & Mrs. Burton relating to my conduct in the East was forwarded to me this day thro' my Uncle Saml. Smith to whom

Mr. Korner sent it with the view of obtaining an answer from me. I trust that you will not consider this as a breach of confidence on either of their parts, and that you will believe how much I appreciate the kindness of your letter ~~in its~~ and your desire to find out the truth - which is the only real kindness.

It was well known to me that such statements and others ~~of the same kind~~ were ~~made~~ in circulation ~~which are very~~ equally far from the truth.

**f252v**

There is, as you anticipate, a very different statement to be made. But it will be obvious to you who have so much experience of this kind of human things that if I were once to be tempted to enter the arena of dispute, my whole life would be spent in making counter-statements. And though, from the respect & love which must always bear your character, in common with all those who are acquainted with it, you are the very person with whom I should like to make an exception to my rule of silence when attacked, yet I believe that you would be the very person who would advise

**f253r**

me not to do so - who would say to  
me, Go on with your own work  
silently in God's name; time will  
shew the truth to all whose ~~care to~~  
opinion should be cared for.

{following written between the previous lines - not sure where it fits in. VR}

when you consider ~~the perpetual correspondence~~  
~~did you know all the circumstances~~ that no head of any department  
trusted to hold that which implies heavy & peculiar duties in addition  
to the common labour, can with propriety to the Service, either then or after-  
wards answer the accusations of her former subordinates {end}

But if you should at any time  
wish to cross-examine me in  
conversation, then, in your Judge's  
mind, to weigh the evidence, I shall  
be at Edinburgh between the 6th  
& 11th of October & there if you happen to be in Edinburgh, or at  
any future time or place shall be proud & ready & willing  
to answer any questions from your.  
Sir John McNeill will always  
know where I am.

And in the meantime that Lord  
Murray should reserve his judgments  
till he has heard both sides is no  
new proof to me of the ~~safety &~~  
impartiality of his love of truth.

I remain, dear Lord Murray  
your obliged & obedt. servt.

F. Nightingale

[end]

f254 blue paper letter to FN from Ana Sinclair, Edinburgh 29 September 1856,  
encloses correspondence re 16 May addressed letter to er re care of Miss Smith,  
No 11 St Mark's Crescent, travelling expenses, trying to recover debt,  
benevolence always experienced from you.

f256 not FN hand draft letter. Oct 5. requested to answer letter, re free  
passage

f257 from War Dept pall Mall 2 Dec 1856 J Milton letter to FN re Hawes on diet  
rolls, can't find. Robertson states has made search

f259 copy of memo from Purveyor in chef re diet rolls

f260 blue paper. letter to FN from illeg Dec 7 1856, from Silverlands illeg

f262 letter to M le Général from Roullin, 17 Portman St., Portman Square,  
Londres 24 novembre 1856 re sending Nightingale something

ff263-65 FN letter, pen

**f263r**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London  
Dec. 14/56

My dear Sir

The Nuns (R. Catholic)  
who served with me  
were all from the Order  
of "Sisters of Mercy" (of  
the different Communities  
of Bermondsey & of  
Ireland) and of Norwood.  
None others served with  
the British troops.

The Nuns who served  
with the French and

**f263v**

Sardinian troops were  
all without exception  
from the Order of  
Soeurs de Charité  
de S. Vincent de Paule,  
of which the Central  
Depot is at Paris &  
the one at Turin is  
only a succursale.  
I was well acquainted  
while in the Crimea  
with the "Revd. Mothers"  
of the Sardinian  
Establishment of  
Soeurs in the Crimea

**f264r**

& of the French at Constantinople & can answer for the above fact. They received great assistance from us. which they most gracefully accepted. But our troops received none from them - they were, in fact, considerably more destitute than we were. I will however ask Messrs. Burns, whom I know,

**f264v**

personally, the meaning of the note you enclose, in order that there may be no possibility of mistake. And for this purpose I will keep it, if you will allow me. For I cannot read the name of the place in Normandy.

You would however upon re-reading that note observe that it is most astutely put so as not to assert directly that the

**f265r**

"*Dames de Charité*" it mentions were out in the East, but only that they are "compaynes" in "dévouement" of those who were.

I am sorry to say that a very extensive & melancholy experience of the "dodges" of begging letter since I came home has whetted my wits.

Upon similar grounds,

**f265v**

I have had some hundred applications for sums varying from 5/ to £800, also, for a "small donkey & donkey-cart to be sent by return of post."

f266 letter to FN from War Dept Pall Mall 26 Dec 1856. No. 7882 from illeg, to Old Burlington st, reply to hers of 16th requests that directions will be given to the officer of this dept at the Tower to return the packages recd from the East per the Darien transport until further wishes are expressed with ref to their disposal

Letter, f267, pen

**f267r**

30 Old Burlington St  
London

Dec 29/56

Dear Madam

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of Dec

I perfectly remember the circumstances of Miss Innes' stay at Buyukderè, and I beg to state that I consider everything as settled between us - I hold the Inn-keeper's receipts.

I have the honor to be  
dear Madam  
yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

To Mrs. Burton

ff268-69 letter to FN from Eliza Roberts, Russell Cottage Lewisham Dec 31 1856. marked Answered. Dear Madam. I trust your health is restored and that you have recovered from the fatigue and anxiety you were labouring under in the Crimea. Allow me to wish you a happy new year and many of them is my sincere prayer, also those that are to you most dear.

Allow me to return you many thanks for your kindness to me and for the handsome present you so kindly forward to Mr W.H. Brown for me in August. I should have done so before but knowing how much your valuable time is taken up with more important business and looking forward in the hope of hearing when you come to town to be able to see you and thank you .... ... My share of the sultan's very kind present believe me my dear lady.

I feel greatly indebted to you for it.

I hope that Mrs Smith is quite well and all her family, please to remember me to her wishing her a happy new year.....

Letter, f270, pen, copy, not FN hand {archivist's date: Dec. 1856}

**f270r**

Dear Sir,

I have heard from my mother at Embley, the great pleasure which your kind gift had caused the party there. It came just in time to console two of our young protegées from the Crimea for the untimely death of another pet. a fine Crimean dog. I hope your friend so kindly committed to us will find as congenial a home at Embley, as from his gentle deportment he appears to have found on board the Candia. It was a real pleasure to Mrs Bracebridge & myself to recall on seeing you, your kind condolences for our comfort during our trajet in the Vectis. Pray believe me, dear Sir

Yours

Letter, f271, pen, not FN hand {archivist's date: Dec.? 1856}

**f271r**

Dear Madam,

I have only within these few last days learnt the fact that ~~the~~ a sum of £100 which was paid to my account ~~to~~ at Messrs Glynn's through the intervention of Mr Sidney Osborne, was your kind gift, towards carrying out the purposes for which my colleagues & myself proceeded to the War Hospitals in the East. ~~filed~~ I will beg you therefore to allow me, although this

late in the day to return you my sincere thanks for the liberal work of your sympathy.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of ~~hearing my testimony~~ expressing to you, as I wish to express on every suitable occasion.

**f271v**

my deep sense of the invaluable assistance I received from ~~a part of our bank~~ the Revd Mother ~~[illeg]~~ of the Bermondsey Convent, & the Sisters under her care. In her constant self-devotion her unwearrying activity, her wise fulfilment of the trust committed to her I owe assistance more valuable than any words of mine can express. With a grateful appreciation of your kindness, allow me to subscribe myself your faithful & obliged  
F. Nightingale.

f272 not FN hand.

In looking over Sir J Hall's return of Miss N's requisition no distinction appears to be made between those made for those of Miss N's own establishment & for the diet rolls of the invalid soldiers *ordered under the special direction* of the Medical Officers from the Extra Diet Kitchen. The great fluctuations in the amount of meat provisions thus called for by her, shew at a glance (they vary between 300 lb & 3500 lb) that there must be some such explanation, but Sir John Hall has not suggested it.

[stroked through para]

The diet rolls have been kept by Miss Nightingale for the time that she was on the spot (as her vouchers) except for a period for which Miss Tebbutt, not seeing their importance unfortunately, destroyed them.

The purveyors ought to have kept the Medical Officers requisition [FN hand] Extra Diet Rolls which would have shown what was referable to the Establishment, what to the soldier's diet rolls, but they have not. She has stated enough however to shew her correctness.

FN hand: It was her business to answer the Diet Rolls & not to keep them. But she finds that nobody has kept them--they they have been destroyed.

The Blue Book of the Cumming Maxwell Commission gives however the Abstract of those Diet Rolls up to February /55 & she has

f273v

herself kept the casual Requisition which it was her business to keep.

She has also the counterfoils of all her own Requisitions for the seven Hospitals in which she was employed, in the Crimea & Scutari, except those for the General Hospital, Scutari, unfortunately destroyed by Miss Tebbutt's desire. she not seeing their importance. These Requisitions shew en masse material for 3 purposes, the Extra Diet Kitchens, the casual Requisitions, & for the consumption of the female Establishments.

Letter, ff274-77, pen.

**f274r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

Jan 26/57

My dear Sir

For the same reason that I did not insert *Scutari* admissions & deaths into the estimate of zymotic disease, I fear that what I am now going to send you will be of no use for your purpose, as it was none for mine.

The *admissions* into Hospital in the Crimea, which I shewed you, really constitute the whole of our admissions

**f274v**

into Hospital whether in the Crimea or at Scutari during that period - for this reason that the men were *all* admitted into Hospital *first in the Crimea*. the Depot & Orderlies at Scutari, which certainly did furnish us with Patients, being composed of Convalescents from Hospital, & therefore only re-admissions. These were the only other elements; besides the Hospitals in the Crimea, of our supply of Patients. & no Patients were sent

**f275r**

down direct from the ranks.

2. Our Returns furnish no evidence as to who came in for Wounds & contracted Fever in Hospital &c &c to be depended upon.

3. We had neither Nominal Rolls nor Numerical Lists sent down with our Patients till Feb/55. I have evidence in my possession that 998 men perished on the passage unreturned, & that the excess of Burials over

**f275v**

Reported Deaths at Scutari during  
the 6 months I enclose  
a Return for ~~to you of~~ was  
600. Drs. Smith & Hall  
may say what they  
like. & may make  
any Returns they choose  
now by the process of  
exhaustion - I can prove  
that any Return of the  
Diseases, from which  
the men at Scutari or  
on the passage died, must  
be a fancy one.

**f276r**

Died at Scutari between  
Oct. 1/54 & April 30/55

-----  
Infantry           4052  
Cavalry            177  
Artillery           293  
-----  
                    4522

of which  
subtracting

Wounds   I       297  
          "     C       11  
          "     A       16  
-----  
                    324

viz. about 1 in 14  
or 7 per cent  
there remain   4198

-----  
Scurvy            60  
Cholera           39  
Fevers            788

Diseases of }  
Stomach &    }  
Bowels        }   2618  
-----  
                    3505

viz. about 85 per  
cent of all Diseases

**f276v**

Invalided to England from  
Scutari during the same  
period.

-----	
Infantry	3214
Cavalry	246
Artillery	421
	----
	3881
Deduct for	
Wounds	1447
	----
	2434
Fevers	439
Cholera	1
Scurvy	58
Diseases of } Stomach & Bowels}	806
	----
	1304

**f277r**

The above Death Returns  
are utterly fallacious for  
the above reasons

1. that 1600 Deaths at  
*least*, occurring on the  
passage & at Scutari  
are not included
2. that the Cholera & Fever  
cases mostly, if not entirely,  
originated in the Hospital  
& therefore these Cases are far below the mark.
3. that the Diseases of Stomach  
& Bowels are massed  
together

The Medical Death Returns  
at Scutari ought properly  
to be named Pay Serjeant's  
Death Returns - as I have  
myself counted 6 men  
die under the same Bed

**f277v**

Ticket - & as I know the  
 Death Returns to have been  
 principally made up  
 by comrades & Pay  
 Serjeants giving evidence  
 to the disappearance of  
 a man, months ~~after~~ before his  
 name was still appearing  
 upon Diet Roll, Sick State,  
 & Strength of the Regiment.

f278 letter to Madam (Mrs N?) from Eliza Roberts, Gothic Cottage. June 1 [1857]  
 My dear Madam, I regret declining your very kind invitation in consequence of  
 having fever in our house. I do not think it would be safe for me to come at  
 present. Altho the good man is better, still should any of your family be taken  
 ill after my being there. I shd very much regret....

I should be very pleased to hear dear Miss Nightingale was going to leave town  
 if only for a few weeks. She was not looking well when I saw her and rest does  
 so much for her, even a few days. I have known to be of great help to her when  
 she has been very much fatigued. I am illeg .... May I take the liberty of being  
 kindly remembered to him and illeg

f280 letter to FN from Alexander enclose for her use his answer to Sir John  
 Hall's letter regarding 15 July 1857. Mr Alexander presents his compliments to  
 Miss Nightingale and begs to enclose for her use his answer to Sir John's letter  
 regarding regions the L.D. having so many stores in their possession.

On examining my extra book, I find that in the 7th Jany 1856 I pointed out to  
 Dr Hall that there ought to be this diet for the hosps, if illegs and fever  
 diets - but he desired me to wait until I received an order from him - which  
 illeg did not come out until the mem in July, six months or so after I had  
 suggested the same.

f281 blue paper copy of J Hall doc Heights, Sebastopol 15 Dec 1855. Sir In reply  
 to your communication of yesterday's date regarding the supplies of stores in  
 possession of the regimental surgeons, I have the honor to inform you that such  
 was done to secure to supply when they could be obtained and while the roads  
 were good. Medical officers having learned by bitter experience the misery  
 caused by the want of those articles which were not forthcoming last winter at  
 the Balaklava stores, when urgently required for their patients.

I cannot examine why having such a supply on the spot can lead either to waste  
 or extravagance on the part of hosp servants, as the Medical officers help  
 responsible and keeps a daily account of extras issued to each patient, again  
 each regt has much better storerooms for these articles than the  
 purveyor's....

I shd think we need be under no apprehension of any regt .... illeg, deputy  
 insp gen of h

f283 letter to Madam from Harry [Henry] illeg Rawdon, 29 Nottingham Pl July 18th  
 1857, document sent to her relating to the return of deaths which for a short  
 time I was requested to fill up and sign every three days.

It was drawn out by the sergeant of the division and presented to me by him every third morning for my signature in initials.

It comprises a list of serious cases as well as of deaths, although it appeared a very unsatisfactory mode of making such returns, I readily complied with the request until the end of October 1855, when the sergeant told me it was no longer required. I kept the paper as a curious specimen of the mode that was then adopted for completing hospital returns of deaths.

f285 letter to FN from Fredk Hardman, Hotel d'Angleterre Monday mornng. will you be so kind as to receive the goods noted on the other side, as agreed on Saturday and inform me without delay if the right number of packages shd not be delivered to you. Fred Hardman

The hospital returns have not yet reached me.

list: port wine, spirits, chocolate, linen

f287 Private John Clarkley death notice

ff288-89 list Case No 1 contains

f290 env Italian

f292 order form. opticien

f293 form. linens and woollen drapers, carpet warehousemen. 1 bale for Miss Nightingale.... lists 8 packages

Note, f294, pen

### **f294r**

3 Dry & 1/2 Port - in Bottles  
 2 Dry & 8 in Box (4 bottles having been taken out by Mr Bracebridge) This box ought to have gone instead of a box of Marsala sent by mistake. P.I.  
 1 Box Bordeaux P.I.  
 A Barrel of Sherry containing from 6 to 7 Dry.

Note, f295, pen, FN hand

### **f295r**

	For French Hospital
Port Wine	1 Pipe or 2 Hogsheads
Sherry	1 Barrel 50 Gallons
3 Cases	Forrester
34 Cases	Bordeaux
2 "	Ginger Brandy
1 "	Port 3 doz. Pd.

	For Seaman's Hospital
1 Hogshead	Port Wine
1 Barrel	36 Gallons
4 Cases	3 doz.

1 Case	Forrester	
1 doz.	Sherry	
2 Cases	Roussillon	
1 "	Ginger Brandy	
1 Cask	Marsala	36 Gallons

f298 not FN hand. Questions to Military Secretary or Adjutant General

1. Have any general orders issued by Lord Raglan detailing the ration of the soldier of his army?

date of such order and where?....

2. Any general orders as regards precautionary measures as to drills & when and where. Read the order and was it ever cancelled?

3. Any as regards the fuel, when and where. And the order, was it ever cancelled.

4. Were any of the made at the suggestion of the medical authorities.

5. Was the state of the bread ever brought to his lordship's notice.

6. Was it ever reported to his lordship that the men did not get their rations or suffered from neglect in the hospitals?

or from want there, prior to December 1854.

7. Orders having been issued then as to drills, food, fuel, whose duty was it to see these carried out.

8. Who recommend green coffee to be issued and when?

9. Was there no remonstrances on the part of the medical authority to this.

10. What was the date of this remonstrance.

11. Did the medical authority detail to his lordship a recommendation as to what the ration.

Note, ff300-01, pen, FN hand

### f300r

on acct. of price

Filder refused Tenders for fresh meat

vide McNeill's Report

says he never refused any, & was regardless of expense

vide Chelsea Commission

Tenders to McNeill from Simpson, Bulgaria &c.

20000 oxen at 1 1/2 per lb, 1/2 more if to be fed thro' winter months

Salt meat cost /7 or /8 at Balaclava

Fresh " even by Filder's shewing /5 or /6

and latter carries itself up to camp.

McNeill wrote to all the Consuls on arriving at Constante. for these tenders

-----

Sir J. Hall prevaricated &c upon his Examn. by McNeill that the latter stopped him.

Sent an explanation of the want of quinine.

accused by M McNeill of suppressing this

fact was. it was enclosed in a letter of

Ld. Raglan which would have killed Hall

therefore McNeill suppressed both. now has  
sent both to W.D.

good medical Clerk nothing else.

-----

French gave us credit for superior conduct  
in the field

but predicted deficiency of all our Civil Depts.

-----

It is my solemn belief, from what I have  
heard abroad & in the Crimea, that nothing  
has happened in the last 15 years which  
has given ~~any~~ shock to the prerogative  
of the crown compared to that inflicted  
by the Chelsea Board. For this reason -  
The Executive sent out a Commission to  
enquire into the Crimean & Scutari Hospls.

**f300v**

It was not honest. It was to plead a case. The Ho. of Commons in Feb/55 would have Roebuck's Commee. Ld. Palmerston wisely fenced it by offering a Commn. But who was to be found who wd. do it honestly & House men were found & an honest Report produced by the Executive far better than the one produced by the opposition. The Executive had succeeded - it had taken the thing into its own hand & had proved that it was to be trusted by doing it honestly. It was the triumph of the prerogative of the Crown v. the the Ho. of Commons. But now the Executive upsets its own Commission. The nation says that the Aristocracy herd together to prove that no member of theirs is to have any responsibility or to be called to account. A fatal & irretrievable blow is struck at the prerogative. The Ho. of Commons has won. In future it only will be trusted. The Executive cannot manage its own affairs

-----

There is not a doubt about it. The system of Hospital Administration has utterly broken down & not a step has been made to put any thing in its place.

-----

If there had been one man who said that he had made one mistake - but there is not one who allows that he has done one thing wrong. What can one think of the immense ignorance & stupidity which says such a thing? Either he ~~is a knav~~ believes what he says. & he is a fool. or he does not believe what he says & he is a knave.

**f301r**

Is there a human being who does not do something every week which is a mistake & which he is very sorry for But here are men who have done nothing which they ought not to have done & everything which they ought to have done

-----

Have one man, a Commandant of the Hospitals, one man who is responsible, one man whom you can hang if anything goes wrong.

Bring the purveying as nearly as possible to what is found to answer in Civil Life. You do not get bread of the carpenter. Nor beds of the baker. go into the market, if at hand - to a market at a distance, if necessary

Try some system - make it as good as you can - it will have defects. But now there is no system at all

-----

It is a question of pounds, shillings & pence & of rank. No clever Medical Man will go now into the Army. You must put it into a position to hold out inducements which shall compete with those of private practice. You must make it worth their while to come. The young ones may come in good. But they gain nothing in knowledge ~~or in & at~~ & in a very few years, they know less than they did when they came in.

Let them be called upon to publish their Statistics (Medical) & if they refuse, that is already much.

-----

The Chelsea Board said, if there were fuel enough to make tea, why, there were fuel enough to make coffee - when there was the coffee to be roasted & the coffee to be

**f301v**

made. Chelsea Board has not disproved  
one single point of McNeill's Report. It has  
given a verdict in defiance of all evidence.

-----

Commission on Hospital Administration -  
if the witnesses are within hearing of the  
Horse Guards, they will tell nothing.

-----

Pan vindictive - has no difficulty,  
rather a satisfaction in saying No.

-----

If you are prepared to write a letter  
to Pan on Hospital Reform, ask the Queen  
whether she would wish to see it, & if so,  
thro' what member of her *Household*  
you should forward it.

-----2`

Add Mss 43402, microfilm, miscellaneous Crimean War materials, 196 folios, 213 pages, Adam Matthew reel 5

**f1** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE REGARDING THE NUNS OF BERMONDSEY PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1854

The nuns of Bermondsey  
excellent, gentle, self=devoted  
women, fit more for Heaven than  
for an Hospital. They flit about  
like angels without hands among  
the Patients, & soothe their souls,  
while they learn their bodies  
dirty & neglected. The Roman  
Catholics are all Manicheans,  
instead of regarding the body  
as the temple of God's spirit,  
they look upon it as the Evil  
spirit to be spurned & trampled  
upon, & the practice, obtaining  
among themselves, they carry out  
among their Patients. They never  
complain, are eager for  
self=mortification. But I came,  
not to mortify the nuns but  
to nurse the wounded. They  
have borne the hardship of  
a dreadful voyage, cabins  
swimming in water, all sick,  
with the utmost cheerfulness, &  
the only trouble they have given  
is that they want to separate from  
the rest of the

**f2** NOTE FROM PARKES REGARDING DISMISSAL OF NURSES, PEN; WRITTEN IN CHART, UNDATED

List of Nurses who have gone home from Renkioi Hospital, from the Commencement of the Hospital to the 30th of April 1856.

Name	Date of leaving	Cause of leaving & character
M. Wilson	Sept: 18th 1835	Disorderly conduct. Character bad
R. Johnson	Nov: 22. "	Medical certificate Character indifferent
M. Grey	Jan: 29th 1856	Disorderly conduct Character indifferent
M. Hepburn	" " "	Do:
Protherham	April 1st 1856	Termination of engagement Character very good Came to Renkioi from Smyrna
[illeg Lammercraft?]	" "	Termination of engagement Character very good Came to Renkioi from Smyrna
C. Brown	April 29th 1856	Sick certificate Character good

H. Parkes [?]

**ff3-25** NOTES ON DISMISSAL OF NURSES; EVALUATION OF NURSES' CHARACTER  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE; UNDATED

{f3 Left Column}

1. Miss Clarke. Lady.  
engaged August/55
2. Mrs. Clarke. Nurse.  
engaged March/55
3. Mrs. Howes. Nurse.  
engaged March/55
4. Mrs. Hawkins. Nurse.  
engaged October/54

{f3 Right Column}

good, true, kind,  
faithful & well  
meaning.

active, clean, useful,  
kind & industrious,  
but wholly unfitted  
by her manners  
for a Military  
Hospital

an excellent Nurse.  
hardworking in  
Cholera & Fever  
where she is  
indefatigable  
one fault: intemperance,  
not intoxication

active, clean, useful,  
*strictly honest*,  
kind, but the  
same fault, against  
which however she  
struggles hard- very  
industrious.

**ff4-4v** NOTE DISCUSSING THE DISMISSAL OF NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE;  
UNDATED

**f4**

I fear that you will think my List a dismal one. Recollect, however, that it is not our best whom we send home first. Our first draught naturally consists of the incapables, whether from want of health, character, or judgement.

I have written their characters guardedly, because every Nurse who goes home knows that she can erect herself into a little personage by pandering to the party, who have hitherto laid hold of every woman who has gone home, & made them tell very, I believe, unconscious lies "une sottise dans les mains d'habiles mechans". The proverb is somewhat musty.

I have made no assertions that can be contradicted.

**f4v**

Jones is the only one who goes home *in disgrace*. I think it is wrong to keep her, wrong to send her home on the same footing as the other Nurses. But, I see no punishment that I can inflict upon her, excepting that of only paying her wages to the day of her discharge. For, in mercy, one cannot ruin a woman. morally, by leaving her out here, As to herself, I have nothing to do with preventing her ~~from~~ marrying her lover in England. The woman is recklessly false.

So far is proved. And I have strong suspicions of another character against her. But no proof.

*Dawson* I have long thought a very improper person to be about men at all, much more about officers. But only lately have I had proof of this. It was not, however, proof of worse than impropriety.

**f5** NOTES ON DISMISSAL OF NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

{f5 Left Column}

5. Mrs. Parker. Nurse  
engaged October/54
6. Mrs. Howell. Nurse  
from Koulali  
engaged at Scutari  
November/55
7. Mrs. Stevens. Nurse  
from Koulali  
engaged at Scutari  
November/55
8. Mrs. Holmes. Nurse  
engaged March/55

{f5 Right Column}

kind, clever, useful,  
good Nurse, but  
deteriorating both  
as to sobriety &  
propriety. The  
latter is the more  
to be deplored, as  
she is a married woman

good needle=woman,  
good nurse, sober  
but no feeling of  
propriety

perfectly sober &  
respectable - &  
I believe, industrious,  
but unfitted by  
health for working  
much, except at  
her needle

an indefatigable,  
judicious & attentive  
nurse. Much  
approved by the  
Doctors. Sobriety  
honestly unquestionable,  
goes home on account of  
being engaged to be married

**ff6-6v** NOTES ON DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN GROUPS OF DISMISSED NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

**f6**

I would like to draw a very wide difference between these people.

I consider           Miss Clarke  
                      Mrs. Lawfield  
                      Holmes  
                      Hawkins  
                      Stevens

perfectly good & true & well-intentioned.

And with Holmes & Stevens I have no fault to find whatever.

Lawfield is founder of *sketching* (!) than of poulting. And poor Hawkins I am very fond of, notwithstanding her besetting sin.

Miss Clarke is good to the core.

I consider           Mrs. Dawson  
                      Jones  
                      Howell  
                      Howes

as thorough humbugs, full of fine words, much cry & little wool.

the three first being damaged by impropriety - the latter by intemperance. Jones is, however,

**f6v**

the worst. And there is no question as to ~~Dawson~~ **the** excellence of every one as a nurse especially Dawson

It is on this account - I have kept her so long & because I knew she was used to more liberty at the Palace Hospital

Mrs. Clarke

" Parker

are no humbugs at all - they are kind-hearted women - never deny their follies, but are perfectly incapable of construing the word propriety or, I am afraid, sobriety.

I do not wish, however, to send any of these away in disgrace - though I should be very sorry to see ~~a few~~ some of them, (entirely excepting Holmes, Lawfield & Stevens) in a Military Hospital again. But *all* have done good service. And my judgement remains the same. Give me *Nurses*, with a very small admixture of *experienced Ladies*, & a larger one of *English Nuns* for the Army Hospitals.

**f7** NOTES REGARDING THE CHARACTER AND DISMISSAL OF NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;  
UNDATED

{f7 Left Column}

9. Mrs. Dawson  
engaged August/55
10. Mrs. Lawfield  
engaged October/54
11. Mrs. Jones  
engaged March/55

{f7 Right Column}

a first rate nurse.  
but her impropriety  
of manner makes  
her unfit for an  
Officers' Nurse

Sobriety, honesty,  
propriety irre.  
pproachable too  
much of a fine lady  
to be a good Nurse.

sent home in disgrace  
on account of  
clandestine meetings  
& reckless falsehood.  
The case so flagrant  
that she would  
not have been  
entitled to her  
passage home, **but**  
it **was been** thought  
best, out of mercy  
& for her own sake,  
not to leave her  
out here.

**f8v** NOTES REGARDING THE PAYMENT OF NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

I have either paid all these  
or, by their own request, consented  
to pay them by Cheque in England.  
So that *none* are entitled to  
anything more from the War Office.  
I have adhered to this plan, in  
order to save you the trouble  
of being pestered by the dishonest,  
~~people~~ & having to write out  
to me for particulars.

*All are paid*

those who have deserved it  
up to their arrival at home.  
Jones up to the day of her  
discharge, only. Dawson ditto.

In order to avoid the  
undesirable **show** of our Regulation  
Clothing upon the backs of undesi=  
rable nurses in London, I have  
paid them in money for any  
which they have not yet drawn  
but which was due to them.

**f9** NOTE INDICATING REPORT I OF NIGHTINGALE'S "NURSES RETURNING" REPORT  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY SOMEONE OTHER THAN NIGHTINGALE; DATED MAY, 1856

Miss Nightingale.

May/56

Nurses returning.

Report. No I.

**ff10-13v** NOTES ON NUNS, NURSES AND LADIES RETURNING PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;  
UNDATED

**f10**

*Ladies*

{f10 Left Column}

1. Miss Wear  
(unpaid)
2. Mrs. McLeod (i)  
Miss " (ii)  
(paid)  
18/ pr week each

{f10 Right Column}

This lady is a devoted, untiring and most kind and conscientious nurse. But, from habitual inaccuracy of thought & expression, & from want of habits of business or order is totally unfit for a Superintendent.

These ladies are excellent but not useful. They are gentle workers, and the old lady, though most amiable & attractive, having both age & delicate health in the way of her working, it is difficult to understand for what she was sent out.

**f10v**

{f10v Left Column}

3. Miss Ecuyer  
(paid)  
18/ per week

Nuns, i.e.

*"Sisters of Mercy"*

4. Sister Helen
5. Sister M. Martha
6. Sister M. Joseph  
(unpaid)

{f10v Right Column}

excellent, useful,  
laborious, active,  
devoted to nursing,  
but, from a  
peculiarity of temper,  
can only work by herself.

It is impossible  
to estimate too highly  
the unwearied devotion,  
patience, & cheerfulness,  
the judgement and  
activity, & the single=  
heartedness with which  
these "Sisters" (who  
are from Bermondsey)  
have labored in the  
Service of the Sick

**f11**

{f11 Left Column}

Nurses

7. Mrs. Montague  
16/ pr wk

8. Mrs. Barker  
18/ pr wk

{f11 Right Column}

perfectly sober,  
respectable  
honest &  
trustworthy  
a good nurse &  
has also cooked for  
the Patients

perfectly sober  
respectable  
trustworthy  
& honest  
& with strong religious  
principle. (She is a  
Wesleyan & somewhat  
peculiar.) She is a  
good, tho' not an  
experienced nurse.  
a laborious & useful  
woman. Cooking &  
housekeeping are  
her forte. And she  
has cooked single=  
handed the whole of  
the Extra Diets for  
one of the Hospitals  
in the front.

**f11v**

{f11v Left Column}

9. Mrs. Evans  
16/ pr wk
10. Mrs. McPherson  
16/ pr wk

{f11v Right Column}

a most eccentric  
little Welsh woman  
her manner makes  
many wonder whether  
she is a knave or a  
fool, but none have  
been more useful,  
laborious, honest,  
respectable, sober  
& trustworthy than  
Jane Evans. I am  
under great obligation  
to her for her active  
zeal. And from her  
farming knowledge, she  
was able to keep  
one of the Crimean  
Hospitals supplied  
with milk during  
the winter

perfectly sober  
honest  
respectable  
but habitually indolent  
& given to flirting,  
although ancient.

**f12**

{f12 Left Column}

11. Mrs. Nesbitt  
12/ pr wk

12. Mrs. Brownlow.  
10/ pr wk

{f12 Right Column}

active, useful, clever,  
equally good cook &  
washerwoman, but  
from the long  
established habit of  
intemperance & what  
this always brings in  
its train, I have  
never been able to  
trust her from out  
of my own supervision,  
without her disgracing  
herself. I verily  
believe she wishes  
to reform. But I  
fear it is too late.  
I have kept her on  
for the sake of  
giving her an  
opportunity, under  
my self, of trying  
her good resolutions,  
thru several times.

Though this **person**  
is not strictly one  
of H. My's Nurses,

**f12v**

{discussing Mrs. Brownlow; see f12}  
being the wife of a  
Pay Serjeant of the  
Coldstream Guards, &  
having been originally  
taken into my house  
at Scutari because she  
had a very young infant,  
yet, from her 18  
months' service, her  
invariable sobriety,  
respectability, &  
honesty, her industrious  
habits & really  
superior conduct,  
she deserves to be  
classed as one of  
those who have  
done good service  
having washed,  
cooked Extra Diets,  
& kept my house  
in Scutari for sick  
nurses during the  
whole campaign.

**f13**

{f13 Left Column}

13. Mrs. Edwards  
18/ pr wk

14. Mrs. Maloney  
16/ pr wk

15. Mrs. Woodward  
18/ pr wk

{f13 Right Column}

perfectly sober  
respectable  
honest &  
trustworthy  
and a good Nurse

perfectly sober  
respectable  
honest &  
trustworthy  
and an excellent  
needle woman for  
Hospital Clothing.

a very superior woman.  
with strong religious  
principle - & so  
trustworthy that  
it appears hardly  
respectful to her  
to enumerate her  
good qualities- Her  
delicate health  
prevents her from  
being of as much use,  
except as house=  
keeper & supervisor  
of others, as her excellent  
qualities would otherwise  
make her

**f13v**

{f13v Left Column}

16. Mrs. Lee  
12/ pr wk

17. Mrs. Davey  
18/ pr wk

{f13v Right Column}  
excellent washerwoman  
and, under strict  
supervision, honest  
& respectable & sober

She has been  
with me from the  
first. She has  
worked hard & well.  
She is most anxious  
to do her duty.  
She is good-hearted,  
kind & clever, &  
has a tender  
conscience. She has  
struggled hard &  
generally with  
success, against her  
one besetting sin,  
intemperance, not  
from interested but  
from religious motives.  
With total abstinence  
& under kind care  
she does very well.  
But I trust, for her  
own sake, for she is  
very unlike a case=  
hardened drinker, that  
she will never take a  
situation of temptation.

**ff14-14v** LETTER FROM FN REGARDING PAYMENT, DISMISSAL & RETRIEVAL OF REGULATION CLOTHING FROM RETURNING NURSES PEN; HANDWR BY FN; UNDATED

**f14**

X

I shall be very much obliged to you if you will kindly inform Sir Culling Eardley how well

Mrs. Montague

" Barker

" Edwards

" Maloney

who have been, as I understand, recommended by the Committee of the Evangelical Association, have done known to that recommendation. They are all women of religious principle, & strict integrity, and though none of them experienced Hospital Nurses, would be all most valuable in private families. Mrs. Barker particularly wished me to mention her to Sir Culling Eardley.

X

**14v**

The whole of the above 14 Ladies & Nurses have been settled with & paid up to the day of their arrival in England. None have any farther claims on the War Office. All have been more than sufficiently paid. The value of the clothing, not drawn by them, I have given them in money (on the departure of each for reasons not involving misconduct, such as the breaking up of the Hospitals). I consider this well worth the while of the War Office, in order to save our Regulation Clothing from being seen in the pawn broker's shops, in London.

F. Nightingale

**f15v** NOTE INDICATING REPORT II OF LADIES AND NURSES RETURNING PEN; DATED JUNE 16, 1856

Miss Nightingale

June 16th [archivist] 1856

Report No. II  
of Ladies & Nurses Returning

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**ff16-17v** NOTES REGARDING THE DISMISSAL OF LADIES AND NURSES  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

**f16**

*Ladies*

{f16 Left Column}

*Miss Tebbutt*

unpaid

*Miss Tattersall*

paid

{f16 Right Column}

Though not exactly  
fitted for a Supt, still  
less for a nurse, this  
lady's persevering &  
anxious care of the  
Nurses' morals & her  
devotion to the work  
deserve the gratitude  
of all. She has  
been Supt. of the  
General Hospital,  
Scutari, since Feb/55  
till the ~~last~~ Hospital  
broke up.

It is quite impossible  
for me to say what  
I owe this lady  
for her untiring  
industry - for her  
flinching from no  
menial employment,  
as, at her own request,  
she has been cook  
& housekeeper to the  
female Staff of the  
General Hospital, Scutari,  
since April/55 for her

**f16v**

{f16v Left Column}

*Mrs. Caton*  
paid

{f16v Right Column}

{REFERRING TO TATTERSALL, SEE f16}

truth, judgement, faith=  
fulness, discretion &  
entire trust=worthiness,  
for her temperance in  
all things, even in  
flirting, & for her  
high religious principles.  
I cannot express too  
highly my respect  
and esteem

{REFERRING TO CATON}

*Officers' Nurse*

an excellent Nurse  
a sensible woman  
indefatigable with  
her Patients  
perfect in propriety  
sobriety

I have a real affection/trustworthiness  
for her, & cannot but  
point out how when,  
coming under stricter  
discipline at the General  
Hospital Scutari, than  
she had been under before,  
conformed to rule,  
instead of, like her  
companion, breaking  
**the** bounds of propriety

**f17**

*Nurses*

{f17 Left Column}

*Mrs. Sullivan*

*paid*

{f17 Right Column}

an excellent Nurse  
a most-trustworthy woman  
perfectly sober,  
kind & attentive  
zealous & honest.  
She has been put  
in situations of  
great trust in the  
Linen Stores at  
Scutari - where during  
the successive illnesses  
of her two immediate  
Superiors, the first of  
which terminated  
in death, she nursed  
them faithfully &  
did their work  
honestly & well.  
I have the greatest  
trust in her.

She is a remarkably  
good & clever judge  
of all that concerns  
Linen & Hospital  
Stores.

**f17v**

{f17v Left Column} *Mrs. Orton*  
*paid*

*Mrs. Eskip*  
*paid*

{f17v Right Column}  
This person is no  
Nurse at all. But  
she is an active,  
industrious, honest,  
sober, hard-working,  
useful servant efficient  
has been very efficient  
in the Linen Hospital  
Stores, & bears an  
admirably good  
character

*washerwoman*  
a good & industrious  
woman & a very  
good washerwoman,  
active & cheerful.  
character quite good  
She requires watching,  
like most washerwomen  
to see that she does  
not obtain drink.  
But, with care, she  
is an excellent  
trustworthy servant,  
perfectly honest  
& to be depended upon

**f18** NOTE INDICATING REPORT III OF LADIES AND NURSES RETURNING  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY SOMEONE OTHER THAN FN; DATED JUNE 24, 1856

Miss Nightingale  
June 24/56  
Nurses & Ladies returning  
Report No. III

**ff19-25** NOTES ON RETURNING LADIES, NUNS, NURSES AND HEAD NURSES PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

**f19**

*Ladies*

{f19 Left Column}

1. Mrs. Shaw Stewart  
17 months in the  
Crimea - of which,  
15 months successively  
Superintendent of  
the "General"  
"Castle" &  
"Left Wing L.T. Corps"  
Hospitals  
in the Crimea

{f19 Right Column}

I should fear to  
offend this lady, were  
I to say what my  
opinion of her is.  
Without her, our  
Crimean work would  
have come to grief.  
Without her judgement,  
her devotion, her unselfish  
consistent looking  
to the one great  
end, ~~her accurate~~  
viz the carrying out  
the work as a *whole*,  
without her ~~consistency, her~~  
untiring zeal, her  
watchful care of  
the nurses, her  
accuracy in all  
trusts & accounts,  
her truth, in one  
word, her faithful=  
ness to the work as

**f19v**

a whole, laying aside  
the desire (inherent  
in all vain & weak  
minds) that it  
should be observed  
how much more  
good she was doing  
in her own particular  
Hospital than  
others were  
without *all* her  
qualities. I believe  
that our Crimean  
work could not  
have with stood  
the insidious petty  
persecution, the  
laying of traps, the  
open opposition  
which it has  
received.

Her praise & her  
reward are in higher  
hands than mine.

**f20v** {Written by FN, horizontally across the page:}

Characters  
of nurses, etc.

**f21**

{f21 Left Column}

2. Sister Bertha  
(Turnbull)

"Devonport Sisters of Mercy"

Came out in October/54  
with me  
has served the whole  
campaign -  
chiefly in the General  
Hospital, Scutari, &  
latterly in the Castle  
Hospital, Balaclava,  
as Superintendent.

{f21 Right Column}

All that I have said  
of Mrs. Stewart with  
regard to moral  
qualities relates, also, to  
this lady. She is  
not a woman of  
such commanding  
abilities as the  
former. Nor have  
I placed her in so  
exposed a situation.  
But she has never  
given me one moment's  
uneasiness as to fear of  
her not taking exactly  
the right course.  
And I consider her,  
after Mrs. S. Stewart  
& the "Rev'd Mother" of  
Bermondsey, the most  
valuable person I  
have as Superintendent.

I cannot estimate  
too highly the advantage

**f21v**

{f21v Left Column}

3. Sister Margaret  
"Lay" Sister

"Devonport Sisters of Mercy"  
came out in Oct/54  
& has always followed  
Sister Bertha

{f21v Right Column}

{REFERRING TO SISTER BERTHA; SEE f21}

which the faithfulness  
of these two to the  
cause has been to  
us their total  
superiority to the  
praise of men.  
their utter disdain  
of flirtations, spiritual  
or otherwise, their  
entire obedience to  
the law of God.

Both are, besides,  
excellent Nurses,  
so good that their  
great powers of  
nursing interfere,  
perhaps, a little, as  
frequently happens,  
with their duties as  
Superintendents.

{REFERRING TO SISTER MARGARET}

as valuable as  
Sister Bertha in her  
different sphere  
& different duties.  
an excellent Nurse  
& perfectly above all or any

**f22**

{f22 Left Column}

4. Sister Stanislaus
  5. " de Chantal
  6. " Anastasia
- Bermondsey Roman Catholic  
"Sisters of Mercy"  
came out with me  
in October/54

{f22 Right Column}

{REFERRING TO SISTER MARGARET, SEE f21v}

wishes but that of  
doing her duty.

{NOW REFERRING TO 4, 5 & 6; SEE LEFT COLUMN}

I have almost  
the same things  
thank God! to say  
of these Sisters.

Their faithfulness, their  
spirit, energy, true  
discernment of the  
right in many  
difficult, trying  
& vexed questions,  
their judgment,  
devotion, zeal and  
accuracy, - their  
cheerful resignation  
to inevitable  
opposition & enmity,  
have made them  
among our most  
valuable allies.

Thanks to their  
Rev'd Mother, who  
went home, alas!  
from ill health two  
months ago (with

**f22v**

{f22v Right Column}  
 one Sister, equally  
 good,) & whom I  
 decidedly considered  
 the most valuable  
 ally we had, with  
 the exception of Mrs.  
 S. Stewart, these  
 "Sisters" have done  
 their work well &  
 nobly, have "held fast  
 their integrity nor let  
 their hearts reproach them"  
 as long as they live"

(The above six  
 were unpaid.)

**f23**

*Head Nurse*

{f23 Left Column} 7. Mrs. Roberts.  
 paid  
 came out with me  
 in October/54  
 served all through  
 the War.

{f23 Right Column}  
 This person, though  
 coming under a totally  
 different category from  
 the former 6, has been  
 quite as valuable  
 her way.

Having been 23  
 years "Sister" in St.  
 Thomas's Hospital,  
 her qualifications as  
 a Nurse were, of  
 course, of an infinitely  
 superior character  
 to any others of those  
 with me. She is  
 indeed a surgical  
 nurse of the first  
 order, of that race  
 which is now almost  
 extinct. Since, in  
 Civil Hospitals, dressers  
 now do almost all  
 that the "Sisters" used

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to do.

**f23v** {f23v Right Column}

Mrs. Roberts's  
valuable Services have  
been recognised even  
& most of all by  
the Surgeons (of Scutari,  
where she has  
principally been &  
where, after  
Inkermann, her  
exertions were  
unremitting).

Her total superiority  
to all the vices of a  
Hospital Nurse,  
her faithfulness to  
the work, her  
disinterested love  
of duty & vigilant  
care of her Patients,  
her power of work,  
equal to that of ten  
Nurses, have made  
her one of the most  
important persons of  
the expedition.

**f24**

*Nurses*

{f24 Left Column}

8. *Mrs. Robbins*  
came out in December/54
9. *Mrs. Logan*  
came out in April/55
10. *Mrs. Tandy*  
came out in April/55

{f24 Right Column}

-sober, respectable,  
kind & excellent  
Nurse, good & active  
cook for Hospital  
Extras.

-sober, respectable,  
kind & excellent  
Nurse, (surgical) very  
clever at her business,  
industrious, and  
*thoroughly trustworthy.*  
also good washerwoman  
& very clean.

-this is one of the  
cleverest, handiest,  
most useful women  
I have ever had.  
excellent cook for  
Hospital Extras.  
good Nurse, good  
servant, clever in  
every way. One  
fault, her proneness  
to intemperance, mars  
continually her excellent  
qualities.

**f24v** {f24v Left Column}

11. *Mrs. Tainton*  
came out in April/55

{f24v Right Column}  
perfectly sober and  
respectable, good  
& active Nurse,  
trustworthy & truthful  
but much given to  
thoughts of marriage,  
which is inconvenient  
in a Hospital Nurse  
in the field, perhaps  
more so than in a  
young lady in a  
drawing room.

{written across the bottom of the page}

The whole of the paid Nurses will  
have been settled with & have no  
further claim upon the War Office.

**f25***Lady Matron*

{f25 Left Column}  
12. *Miss Morton*

{f25 Right Column}  
Last came out, but  
not least useful, in  
the constant good  
influence exerted  
by her over the  
Nurses, in her  
unfailing desire  
to teach them &  
train them to good,  
in her willingness  
to take any work  
which offered to be  
most useful &  
which only her  
physical want of  
strength prevented  
her carrying out  
more fully. I have  
the deepest obligations  
to her for her faith=  
fulness to the work,  
for her tender care  
of the workers.

F. Nightingale

**f26** NOTE INDICATING REPORT IV OF NURSES AND LADIES RETURNING  
PEN; WRITTEN IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S; DATED JUNE 26, 1856

Miss Nightingale.  
June 26th /56  
Nurses & Ladies returning  
Report No. IV.

**ff27-29** NOTES ON WOOD'S CHARGE OF CRUELTY AGAINST NURSE DAWSON PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED JUNE 26th, 1856

**f27**

With regard to Lady Wood's charge of "cruelty" towards her son against Dawson, it is contrary to all the rules of fairness & of common sense of fairness

1. to the Hospital work
2. to the Patients
3. to the Nurse herself
4. to me

to bring forward such a charge three months after the time, when not a word of it was said to me at the time, I being, though in the Crimea, the responsible person.

Had the charge been made *at the time*, a searching enquiry would have been made, & the Nurse, found guilty of cruelty, dismissed - other Patients being saved from such a Nurse.

As it is, the Hospital is broken up, Dawson in a situation procured for her by Lady Stratford at Constantinople,

**f27v**

the Doctors all dispersed & most of the witnesses.

Is it not a rule that the person who makes such a charge should make it *at the time* and *to the responsible person* or be for ever silent? on it?

I am now collecting what evidence I can. I have already seen two persons here who were in the Hospital at the time. I shall write to Miss Tebbutt who is gone home, go over to Constantinople & cross-examine Dawson, & collect any other evidence I can. But, as I have dismissed Dawson for other reasons, I do this more for my own satisfaction than as a matter of business, which Lady Wood has rendered useless.

I believe I have a pretty accurate knowledge of Dawson's character as

**f28**

a Nurse.

There is a slight inaccuracy in Lady Wood's statement which, in your letter, mentions the Officer, her son, as having been "at the *Barrack Hospital* under Miss *Terrot*." He was at the *General Hospital* under Miss *Tebbutt*. A Miss *Terrot* I had went home April/55.

When Miss *Tebbutt* informed me, I being here, that Lady Wood had "taken the Nursing on herself with an *Orderly*," she added "I think Lady Wood unfair to Dawson & I have told her so." I think Lady Wood much more unfair to Miss *Tebbutt*.

**f28v** [written by FN, vertically along the page]

In re Lady Wood

**f29** NOTES ON DAWSON'S STATEMENT OF INNOCENCE PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED JULY 15, 1856 {SIGNED IN ANOTHER HAND, BY DAWSON}

Scutari

Barrack Hospital

July 15/56

I never struck Mr. Wood, either on the hand or any where else. I have often sponged his hands.

I did not dress Mr. Wood's bed sores, (which were really boils, of which the heads had been scratched off by himself, & they had become chafed,) more than once out of six times. He never complained that I did so, on the occasions when it was I who dressed them, in an unpleasant manner to him.

I have often put Mr. Wood's hands under the bed=clothes & covered them up, because he had Bronchitis, but never in an impatient manner that I recollect.

R Dawson

**f30 draft note not by FN re sultan's gift**

**f31 LIST OF NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED**

Mrs. Stewart

Mrs. Roberts

Sister Bertha

Margaret

\

\

Rev'd Mother

Sister Stanislaus

" Anastasia

Sister Sarah Ann

\

Miss Tattersall

" Morton

" Erskine

" Vesey

\

\

Mrs. Logan

" Caton

" Hely

**f33** NOTES ON LIST OF NURSES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

Miss Tebbutt		x
Polidori	x	
Wear		x
Morton	x	
Revd Mother		x
S. Gonzaga	x	
Miss Sellon		x
Sister Sarah Lena [?]	x	

Miss Tattersall		x
Mrs. & Miss McLeod	x	
Miss Ecuyer		x
Miss Clarke		x
Mrs. Roberts		x

**ff34-35v** NOTES ON WANTING TO DIE, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN faint pencil

November 1845

Lord thou knowest the creature which thou hast made  
 thou knowest that I cannot live forgive me, O God & let me  
 die. this day let me die. it is not for myself that I say this  
 thou knowest that I am more afraid to die than to live for  
 I shall ~~always~~ carry myself with me. but I know that by living  
 I shall only heap anxieties on other hearts, which will but  
 increase with time.

Lord I do not wish for another life. I believe in a future  
 state & I thank thee & bless thee for it. Many of my friends  
 will find the reconciliation to their fates in it & I embrace  
 the idea as a support which cannot be taken away from me,  
 but thou Lord who knowest all things, I do not think that  
 thou wilt insist upon my taking up life again. thou seest  
 that I can make nothing of it. If as Papa says, *this* is  
 vanity & selfishness, then Lord *all* is wrong & there will be  
 nothing of me left. My inmost self is hollow.

Will thou not, O Lord call the spark of life back to thyself &  
 send it out again under a new form for if memory is left,  
 there will be no heaven for me if this present I is remembered  
 in anything. O Lord if it is all vanity & selfishness,  
 thou seest why I cannot pray to thee, there is nothing in me to do  
 homage to thee the Pure, the Perfect. Lord into thy hands I  
 commend my spirit, it cannot even pray.

**f34v** [archivist: written upside down] Jottings. 1845

**f35**

Dec. 1 1845

No wonder we cannot figure to ourselves identity in the next world without a body. How sadly the poor mind comes off in this, oh if one has but a tooth ache, what remedies are invented, what carriages, horses ponies journeys doctors, chaperones are urged upon one, but if it is something the matter with the mind, unless it belongs to one of the three heads loss of friends, loss of fortune, loss of health is neither believed nor understood and every different kind of suffering is ranged ~~if~~ under the one comprehensive word: Fancy & disposed of with the one comprehensive remedy: Concealment or Self=Command which is the same thing.

76

Dec. 5 As for me, all my hopes for this winter are gone & all my plans destroyed. My poor little hope requiscat in pace no one can know its value to me no one can tell how dear a child however infantile is to its mother, nor how precious an idea, tho it was an unformed one, but between the destruction of one idea & the taking up of another I can understand now how a soul can die. Ach ich fühl es wohl, mein ~~illeg~~ scheiden Kaum so schwer von wahren Freuden Als van einen schönen Traum. God has something for me to do for him, or he would have let me die some time ago. I hope to do it by living. then my eyes would indeed have seen his salvation, but now

**f35v**

I am dust & nothing -- worse than nothing a curse to my self & others. This morning I felt as if my soul would pass away in tears but I live in utter loneliness in a bitter passion of tears & agony of solitude but I live, and God grant that I may live to do this oh if our Saviour walked the earth how should I not go to him, & would he send me back to live the life again which crushes me into vanity & deceit, or would he not say Do this oh for some great thing to sweep this loathsome life into the past

**f36** NOTES ON FN'S VISIT TO ROME, 1847  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

First day on the Roman shore  
Palo Nov. 9 1847

**ff37-v** NOTES ON JAMAICAN SHIP WRECK, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f37**

~~Cairo, March, 1850~~

[archivist:]

p. 1 extracts

p. 2 story of *Captn on Jamaican ships* who refused to help  
shipwrecked men

" *Cook of the "Sarah"* rescuing 399 men.

3, 4, X following papers. Apparently notes & of conversations with *Mrs. Hill*  
(who seems to have kept a missionary school, in Athens, or in Crete) &  
anecdotes about the children there.

[IN FN'S HANDWRITING]

It was there was indeed a science  
known to men who lived nearer  
the creation, by which the great  
events of our human existence  
might be read in the aspects  
of surrounding suns & planets -  
a knowledge which proved the  
material universe, in its mightiest  
developments, to be but the symbol  
& servant of the spiritual, & of  
which judicial astrology, with  
its homage to planetary power &  
influence, was the mis interpreter  
& counterfeit?

[pencil] The fate of creatures is the influence which  
their good or bad deeds have on their  
future existence.

**f37v**

Ship from Jamaica sees wreck (a hull & mast) with 5 men, one hails with delight Capt. says no, on acct of provisions. Poor man cries for the love of God. Nine of us dead already of hunger. Waiting four nights and days. Crew weeps & mate asks to hoist out boat. Capt. swears he won't, for they won't have a biscuit apiece. Mate said we have received mercy from God. Capt. calls him a Methodist & a canting scoundrel. Vessel sails on, poor men cry for mercy & call after them. In the night, Capt. can't sleep, for thinking of them, & goes back, turning ship himself It's going on a fool's errand, sighs boatswain Noon before they get back -- too late -- spend many days looking. Capt. all rest of voyage spends nights walking deck. All his crew leaves. He never afterwards heard of.

Capt. Cook of Sarah for 8 days hovering round the burning ship Caleb going hard, till he had picked up 399 one by one by day & night from the top of the wave in that caldron of Horrors, Atlantic, of which 144 women, 69 children save them all, said the crew, & we will live on an oz of bread & gill water a day. & all were saved, tho' there were 415 souls on board the little Sarah. Capt. besides risked beggary for taking this liability from the owners. 11 days ship was burning. 5 days women & children in the boats Jan. 1850. Shaking of hands after church. The old sailor after church shakes Capt. Cook by the hand & leaves in it a bank note. {illeg passage}

**ff38-40** NOTES FOR MRS. HILL REGARDING MISSIONS/WORKING IN GOD'S SERVICE  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f38**

I look back with pity & shame upon  
my former self, when I attached im=  
portance to my life & labours.

It is because I am *one with Christ*  
that I am so wounded.

Because we have the Spirit of the Father,  
what he wishes, we wish: what he hates,  
we hate.

I could not be happy if God was not  
glorified & if I had not the enjoyment  
of his presence, for which I felt  
that I was now educating.

It is probable that the next world  
may be akin to this, & our relation to  
both not dissimilar. But here we see  
that childhood is a preparation for  
manhood, & that neglect of the proper  
employments of childhood entails  
miseries in riper years.

The angels in heaven were rejoicing at my  
being so soon to find a heavenly father.

O' thou whose I am, no longer my own,  
once more wd I resign this body & soul  
to the disposal of thy holy will.

I wish for no created good or for  
men to know my experience: But to  
be one with thee & live for thee.

To have a will of my own, not agreeable to  
God's, is a most tremendous folly: let me never dare  
to think of being dissatisfied.

**38v**

I see *no business before me in life*  
but the work of Christ, neither  
do I desire any employment *to all*  
*eternity* but his service.

I had rightfully no other business  
each day but to do God's work as a  
servant, constantly regarding his  
pleasure.

A despicable indulgence in lying in bed  
gave me such a view of the softness of  
my character that I resolved on my  
knees to live a life of more self denial

The views of my own heart have  
produced, *not* humility but *discontent*.

I pass so many hours as if there were  
no God at all.

Setting a watch over my first thoughts  
on awaking in the morn, I find to be  
an excellent preparation for a right  
spirit during the day.

What am I that I should *dare* to do  
my own will?

I like to find myself employed usefully,  
in a way I did not expect or foresee,  
especially if my own will is in any degree  
crossed by the work unexpectedly assigned  
me: as there is then reason to believe that  
God is acting.

**f39**

When we had all the troubles which we have had here, if we had felt that we had come here of our own doing, & not that God had sent us, we could not have borne them -- we must have gone away.

But we moved no finger in the matter -- we had neither act nor part in it -- the way was opened for us to come here.

If I had been told before I came what I was going to do, the life I ~~should have~~ was going to lead here, the responsibility, I shd' have said, It was impossible -- for I am unfit for it. Before I came here I had nothing at all to do, & I used to wish for something. *I did* but when I thought of a missionary life, I did not know whether I could do it, you know.

When we came here, I did the duty each day presented for me, & I left it to Providence to open the way I should follow.

I sat down once & cried on a sarcophagus. That very sarcophagus is now in the school room wall.

**f39v**

If it were not for giving the  
Scriptural instruction, I never  
should have undertaken the  
drudgery of a school of all things,  
but that makes every thing light.

χαρικληα the day of her death  
she covered her face & turned it  
to the wall saying she did not wish to be disturbed any more  
till after midnight,  
uncovering her face, she cried without  
a loud voice, ἀναχωρῶ, ἀναχωρῶ  
I depart, I depart -- & when the  
nurse looked at her, she was dead.  
The last words she said were,  
Kiss the master's eyes when I am  
gone, & ask him to forgive me.  
I have not seen him today nor  
shall I see him again.

Tell her, said the child, that the  
wolf will have to become a lamb --  
the little spoiled child.

Penelope, Elizabeth to her, who loves  
little children? Christ -- and  
should not you like to go to him?  
The child took it directly.

Smyrniot Xtian when turned out of  
the mosque. Is this a place for men or  
for donkeys? If they had said for men,  
he wd have said, Am I not a man?

**f40**

When we set up again in 42, I had to begin with the girls all over again, teaching them to wash their hands -- & I used to cry & say, Well, it's all over with my power of keeping order.

Keeping silence in class  
Mrs. Hill. May 1850.

{LIGHT PENCIL}

When the calumny of the Aiwa [?] came out Easter Sunday, 1842, as to giving up that part of the Institution, we had been waiting to know what ~~it~~ was the will of Providence that we shd' do, whether we shd' go on with it or not -- & we took that as an intimation that it was His will we shd' give it up.

We are waiting to know what is the desire of Providence about our going back to America. That's the only direction we have, now He has removed the *hindrance*. At all events which was put in the way. We wish to know whether He wishes us to go.

Mrs. Hill. May 22, 1850  
Ride to Cape Kosinas

**f40v** NOTE TO MARY BALDWIN ON DECIDING TO DO MISSIONARY WORK PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

I made it the subject of prayer for a week, the Missionary proposal. I had never thought of being a foreign Missionary, I thought that an honor too great for me -- & I did not know whether I cd do it.

I made up my mind to do whatever my hand found to do.

It was all offered to me. I made no step of my own.

Mary Baldwin

I wished to be employed for others. I knew I should not be less unhappy at home than here -- & I wished to be employed in some way that shd do good to others, tho' it might not to myself. I did not think about heaven or hell. I did not wish to go to heaven, as my brother was not to be there. I forgot that I ought to wish to go if not for my own happiness, for the glory of God. I did not think of hell either, because I cd not bear to, think how few wd be saved, nor of *eternal* punishment. I loved my brother more than God, but now I have given him up to God, to do with him as is His will. I did not give religious instruction. I felt it did me good when I gave it but I cd not give authority to my instruction by dwelling upon Heaven & Hell, so for many years I did not give any

**ff41-44** NOTES ON NIGHTINGALE'S INSPIRATION TO DO GOD'S WORK  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED [3:225-27]

**f41**

I stood at the pass of Thermopylae.  
The storm had ceased, and a rain=  
bow was spanning the whole vault  
of God's broad heaven.

I looked closer, and behold,  
a shadowy spirit lay on the folds  
of the rainbow. And I said,  
Who art thou?

And he said, I am Human Life,  
seest thou not how I divide  
Infinity on either hand & yet  
am finite. infinite is the  
expanse of God's ~~broad heaven~~  
universe on either side my bow.  
So Human Life has an Eternity  
before & behind it. Light stops  
its endless stream for a moment  
on a drop of water, I come forth,  
& though but a drop, Eternity  
waits to see what I shall do.

The form of the Rainbow was  
melting away. Stay, I cried, Tell  
me what is life, answer me

**f41v**

but this and let me die.

And he answered, I will cause  
all my forms to pass before thee,  
ask them.

And all the hues of the rainbow  
seemed to take shape & form --  
and I saw, clad in the three first,  
childhood's ethereal grace, yet  
lovely in the blue robes of happi=  
ness straight from heaven, the sky, its  
home -- & the first had a pure  
amethyst on its brow, & the second  
a sapphire, & the third a tur=  
quoise -- for the three stages  
differed but by a paler tint of  
precious stone, as their "heaven=  
born" bliss faded away.

Next came Youth, clad in  
verdant hope, with his emerald  
chaplet.

And golden Manhood, laden  
with his harvest of (yellow & orange ripe and  
still riper) corn.

And last of all came Old Age,

**f42**

crowned with rubies, for he was  
ready to be of the Seraphim, the  
Burning Ones, glowing with love  
made perfect in disinterestedness,  
which Age, kind indulgent Old  
Age, alone can give.

So the Seven Spirits, the Sons  
of Time, came floating by, each  
clothed in his Hue of Light.

And I fell upon my face &  
cried, O ye radiant ones, tell  
me what is life, is it radiant  
as ye are?

And the first three Spirits  
answered & sang,

Life is "no holiday" sport, that  
thou shouldest say, it amuseth  
me not. I find neither excite=  
ment nor variety in it, sufficient  
for my thirst of them.

And the Emerald Spirit an=  
swered, Life is no book, that  
thou shouldest say, I would  
gather instruction, scientific &

**f42v**

intellectual from it, that my mind  
may eat & be satisfied.

And the Golden Spirit answered,  
Life is no school, for thee to be intent  
upon working up all its materials into thy  
own improvement. Thinkest thou  
His Kingdom Come, meaneth *thy*

salvation come?

And the Last Spirit answered,  
Life is no valley of tears, that  
thou shouldest go through it, as  
through a desert, which thou  
must traverse, bearing & waiting  
Whilst in the World there is  
Evil, Life is none of these things

What is Life then, I cried?  
And all the colours seemed  
to form themselves again into  
one white ray, & their voices  
to become one like the voices  
of the wind, & to say

Life is a fight, a hard  
wrestling, a struggle with the

**f43**

Principle of Evil, hand to  
hand, foot to foot -- not *only*  
in thyself, nor *only* in the world,  
but in thyself as one of the world, in the world, in  
the world in thyself. The kingdom  
of God is coming, but like other  
kingdoms, it must be won by  
the sword Christ our Leonidas,  
this world our Thermopylae, we  
the brave swords which keep  
the pass between Heaven & Hell,  
and the chariots & horsemen  
of God are with us. We go  
forth, arrayed in the panoply  
of perfect love; it is not our  
own salvation but the kingdom  
of God we fight for, & we must  
fight till our last moment,  
perhaps through many stages  
of existence, till the Spirit &  
the bride say, it is won.

The night is given thee to take

**f43v**

breath to pray, to drink deep,  
at the fountain of ~~strength~~ Power,  
the day to use the strength which  
hath been given thee, to go forth  
to work with it until the even=  
ing. At eve thou shalt pray,  
in the morning thou shalt go  
forth to war. Often wilt --  
thou be worsted, often beaten  
down upon thy knees, but  
the good soldier, though sore  
wounded, & half dead, though  
the hosts against him be  
many & strong, yet turneth  
him not to fly -- for he is  
aware of the horsemen of the  
Lord, which fight at his  
right hand. The kingdom  
of God is coming, he cries,  
my life for my country & my God.

**f44**

Fight on, brave heart, coura=  
geously, the salvation of thy  
country hangeth on thy sword.  
Yield not an inch, let fall  
not thy arm, till the king  
=dom is fought for, the kingdom  
is won. So fights he & so  
bleeds he, and the chariots  
& horses of fire are with  
him, till he sinks asleep  
on the turf of the valley.

The rainbow had vanished,  
the sun was setting, & I kneeled  
before it & said

"Behold the handmaid of the  
Lord", give me to morrow my  
work to do -- no, not my work,  
but thine, -- "& I did in the  
morning as I was commanded".

[end 3:227]

**f45** NOTES ON DEMOSTHENES AND THE BATTLE OF ATHENS LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1850

{Written in hand other than FN's} [Notes made on the journey of 1850]  
{in FN's hand}

He had lost the bell wether of his flock Ye  
are so like him when you shake your head so  
that I cd' not help thinking of him -- to the priest  
crying.

"Disputing for the shadow of an ass" Demosthenes'  
story -- the man getting off the hired ass for the sake  
of its shadow. And can you, he said to the Judges  
be so interested about the shadow of an ass, & not  
about the question of Life & Death.

The man praying for 200 Drs & the Jew throwing him  
a bag of 199 Drs. But I haven't got a gown to go  
into court with. You must lend me a gown. "He is  
such a villain (to the Judges) that he will swear the  
very gown I have on is his."

In [Lyra?] the water is more than the scent &  
here something very like it.  
Kaliopi at Trieste his uncle took away his  
clothes because he wd go to billiards instead of to  
school. Just lend me your clothes, he said to a  
companion who was passing by while I see for  
my own. The boy got in thru' the window & he  
got out and embarked for Russia -- where he  
got rich by playing at billiards with a hand hold.  
Then he stopped, came back to Greece was at  
the hotel of Athens -- wounded & carried to execution.  
A Cypriot begged him, you see he is half dead & he  
was given to her, with one of his ears cut off for fun.  
The Cyp put a ransom upon him, which his  
family cd' not raise & Gen. Church did give it.

**ff45v-47v** NOTES ON CRETE PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

**f45v**

Hospitality in Crete -- so like Abraham's to the angels. Master never sits down with the guests but always serves, if they be the poorest. In Crete, a few poor people, pedlars etc. known to the master of the house, are always asked with the friends to a dinner -- & the master serves them -- or the mistress, as among the Turks, of course the male & female entertainments are distinct.

Lazarus never smiled but when "The earth stealest the earth", seeing ye old woman take a part.

My uncle was a superior horse -- said the mule when he was asked who his father was.

The donkey has had a cross on its back ever since our Saviour rode it.

The priest to Mr. Will -- St. George you know is a very philanthropic Saint -- he will help us (collecting money for his church)

The Greeks call Gen. Church Georg, & call on him on St. George's day.

**f46v**

When St. Michael was sweeping all the devils before him, God said to him, Stamata stop. (a very common name in fact & a number of devils were thus left on the earth hiding in fountains & woods & places & these have power at *midnight* & at *mid day*. (the pestilence that walketh at noon day etc. in the Psalms) so that the Greeks will not draw water at mid day, those born on St. Michael's Day are called the males Stamati the females Stamata

How like Elijah we are, who thought that there was nobody good left but him.

**f47**

Cretans rhyme when they send messages, when they are in a passion.

The wicked Turkish woman, greasing the pavement before her windows that the people might fall & look up demolished 3 lovers, one day E's brother asked me to read a letter for them -- he escaped, on the plea he had forgotten his handkf -- Magnificent present arrived on a salver -- embroidery & sweetmeats. Mother's indignation. Sit down, my son & take thy pen & for thou hast the pen of a ready writer. Write, while I dictate, & she extemporized a series of verses, upbraiding her. But she was a powerful woman & rich & they were obliged to leave the city & flee into the country -- once the mother saw her again in company -- & she came up to her & said You wrote such & such to me. The mother left the room again directly & the city.

A shepherd when insulted by another will answer him in rhyme. An angry woman scolding a neighbour from a window will do it in rhyme -- the other did not answer but merely put the handle of her broom out of the window & shut it. To say I hold thee as cheap as the sweepings of my broom -- & like them, I reject thee out of my house.

**f47v**

Cretan plays.

[7:423-24]

On St. John's eve the girls make salt cakes to make them thirsty -- & he who comes & offers them water in their dream will be their bridegroom

Then they put a number of little articles which must be fetched with the left hand into a jar, fill it with water & place it on the roof on that Eve. This has reference to the influence of the stars. The next day they sit round, in a circle, an infant dressed in a rose coloured veil takes the articles out of the jar. the owner claims them. Meanwhile every body has written a few verses, which they read or improvise in turn. The most extraordinary bits are sometimes made that the verses touch the person whose lot is drawn.

My brother's best one touched the girl who was in love with him & another person made one out of his turn & it touched him.

**f48** NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SAYING "THE SHADOW OF AN ASS" LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

The shadow of an ass -- disputing about the shadow of an ass. Mrs. Hill at Megara. Now I ~~have~~ am under the shadow of an ass. I don't want an umbrella. Demosthenes cd not make the judges listen to him, now, he said, I will tell you a story. A certain man went from Athens to Megara & hired an ass -- & the day being hot, he got off & walked under the shadow of the ass -- no said the owner, you did not hire his shadow -- that is mine. Finally, they brought it before the Creator of Law. And how was it settled, said the Judges -- And is it possible, said Demosthenes that you can be interested about the shadow of an ass & when a man's life or death is at stake, you will not listen. And the saying remains to this day.

The Greeks always say, He is eating bread for he is at dinner, if you call at the door. They have such a respect for bread that both they & the Turks if they find a piece lying in the street, will take it up, lay it to their lips & forehead, & put it carefully on the side.

The Greek's kiss the eyes, not the cheek, the eyes being the door of the soul, but the common salutation is to press the hand to the lips & forehead.

**f48v** NOTES ON FOLK TALES, LEPROSY, CELIBACY AND MARRIAGE LIGHT PENCIL;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

The dog **prays** his master may have  
more children that he may get more bits

The cat prays her master may have no  
children that she may have all his attention  
to herself.

The dog sold his vineyard for fish, but  
afterwards he repented & bought it back  
again.

The cat sold her vineyard for fish &  
did not repent.

**[end 7:424]**

The dog doesn't know his own master  
said the Agammenos [?] Abbot of Syriani to us, when he  
complained how he was put aside on  
Ascension Day, in his own Monastery &  
could not help himself.

Leprous colony in Crete -- always marrying  
one another. One of these children whom a  
Turkish woman took & brought up entirely  
upon sugar, recovered entirely & is now  
living.

Celibacy. The man & his bride -- went down  
to Mme. Kontasaki -- She died at the end of  
five years. He was the best husband that  
ever was, she said.



**f49v**

shall a young man cleanse his way? by taking heed thereto according to **thy** word.

Well, Louisa & when you go back how do you think you shall get on with your step father, if he is unkind to you? Yes, she said, I know my step father is a light minded man, & he drinks & if he does not care for me & grudges me my bread, what am I do to? Why, I said, open your Bible, & it will tell you what you are to do, & I showed her a place **Ps XXVII 10 Isa XLIX** And, I said, if people speak bad words of you, I & want to quarrel with you, what will you do? I wanted to prepare her, you know -- & I showed her in the Bible **Eph V, 1, 2, John XIII, 36** But, she said, all Cretans are liars -- Well, I said, Louisa, I wonder you should say that -- when I remember ~~when~~ who told a lie. (She had taken something in the cupboard, & when she was charged with it, she denied it) Oh, she said, & the tears were in her eyes, I pray you don't remind me of that, don't speak of that. I have had a great remorse for that fault & I have never told a lie since.

And if your Mother keeps you to your work, & never says a kind word to you, what are you to do? **Rom XII, 21 Matt V - 43- 48** And if your brothers & sisters are cross & ungrateful to you, what are you do to, & I showed her places in the Bible. X **Matt XX, 28 1 Cor III 9**

**Joseph's story****f50**

Ought Lambros to like looking out upon drinking men in the streets? I told him, said Louisa, that the time wd come when he won't like it. I don't like it now --

Do you know, said Aspasia we have got a missionary in the school? Louisa is persuading the children not to look out at the drunken men.

x And if you feel unhappy, because of these things, you are not to go & cry, but you are to open your Bible & look for a place.

**Eph VI. 13. Ps XXVII 1 Gal VI 9 2 Cor IV. 17**

**f50v** NOTES ON SUNDAY SCHOOL GAMES PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

Games

to find out for every number an Ex from  
Scripture

3. the 3 fasts of 40 days -- Elijah, Moses, & Christ
4. the 4 Evangelists the 4 greater Prophets

to propose a question

what shall I do to be saved?

& the next Sunday to make them bring an  
answer from Scripture -- if any are wrong,  
pointing out to what other subject they refer  
they are too proud to copy from one another

or to propose a subject

& bring all the texts you can upon it

**ff51-52** NOTES ON CORRECTING SCHOOLCHILD LOUISA, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED**f51**

Little Katinga

It was a rule then when they came  
in after a visit to their friends or any  
where they were to give at the door any  
sweetmeats or anything they brought to the  
mistress at the door, in order to prevent  
them from eating it by themselves -- & it  
was given them in the afternoon in class,  
that they might, if they chose, share it  
Katinga had once concealed a thing already,  
but the first fault was always forgiven --  
but the time again she brought home  
some sweetmeat & hid it under her bed.  
so after prayers, when all the teachers  
were asked if they had any complaint  
to make of any girl, this came out & Luise  
was to be punished. Mrs. Hill said to  
her, that she was not to come down to  
breakfast with the other girls & there  
were pancakes, or something nice that day,  
which she liked -- for she was very gourmande  
So a piece of bread & a glass of water  
was sent up to her, & she went into  
the little class room & I heard her crying.  
She did not know I was there. I heard her  
sobbing, angry with herself & angry with  
Mrs. Hill. what could possess me to do it?

**f51v**

it wasn't as if the things were to be lost.  
I shd have had them in the afternoon.  
I wonder whether Kyria loves me -- it is  
impossible what Kyria can love me -- or  
wish me to serve her.

Then I heard her start up & rush to  
the bench where was her lesson book &  
begin to study her lesson, crying all the time  
& turning over the leaves. Presently she  
began turning over the leaves of a Bible --  
Oh! she said, whom the Lord loveth he  
chasteneth -- then Kyria does love me  
for she chastens me. I am sure Kyria  
loves me. for she scourges me & she will  
receive me, & I will go & beg her  
pardon -- & she began eating her bit  
of bread very contentedly.

I heard her say this, & I went down  
to Mrs. Hill & told her, & said I would  
be for her, that she shd not do it  
again, if she wd forgive her. Then I went  
to Katinga, & asked her if she was not sorry  
& she said oh yes -- & if she wd not like  
to beg Mrs. Hill's pardon, & she said she  
was ashamed while all the girls were  
at breakfast. But I said I would  
go with her & speak for her, so she went

**f52**

& I said I wd be responsible for her, so  
Mrs. Hill forgave her, & placed her by her at  
breakfast, & gave her to eat.

**ff53-v** NOTES ON NIGHTINGALE'S WISH TO DIE, REMEMBERING LOST LOVE PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f53**

Xmas Eve 1850

My God, what is to  
become of me. It is now a year  
& a half since hope rose  
high & my great effort  
was made to crucify  
the old Flo & breaking  
thr' the habits, entailed  
upon me by an idle life,  
of living not in the present  
world of action but in a  
future one of dreams,  
to die & live again --  
that effort failed -- what  
laws I had not observed  
in making it I have  
not yet discovered -- I  
am not sorry I tried,  
but it was an entire  
miscarriage. Since then,  
nations have passed before  
me -- but have brought  
no new life to me.

**f53v**

In my thirty-first year, I can  
see nothing desirable but  
death. entire change of air,  
Lord, thou knowest my heart  
I cannot understand it.  
I am ashamed to understand  
it. I know that if  
I were to see him again,  
the very thought of doing so  
quite overcomes me. I know  
that, since I refused him,  
not one day has passed  
without my thinking of  
him, that life is desolate  
to me to the last degree  
without his sympathy.  
And yet, do I wish to marry  
him. I know that I could  
not bear his life -- that  
to be nailed to a continua=  
tion & exaggeration of my  
present life without hope

**ff54-v** NOTES ON NIGHTINGALE'S WISH TO DIE, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;  
UNDATED [possibly not by FN]

**f54**

of another would be intolerable to me --  
that voluntarily to put it out of my power  
ever to be able to seize the chance  
of forming for myself a true & rich  
life would seem to me like suicide.

And yet my present life is  
suicide. Slowly I have opened my  
eyes to the fact that I cannot now  
deliver myself from the habit of  
dreaming, which is, like gin drinking,  
eating out my vital strength. Any  
existence which rescued me from this  
would I believe be more life than  
this. Now I have let myself go  
entirely. Temporary respites I have --  
Mary's death & Waverley was one.  
My God, what will become of me?  
What reason I have to believe that  
this earth contains in itself the  
hell predicted, Thou knowest. What  
prospect I have but the change of air  
of death I do not know.

.....I have

**f54v**

everything, to convince me that I  
shall go on just the same.  
My God, I do not know myself.  
I cannot understand myself -- How  
can I hope to make anyone else  
understand my case?

**ff55-56v** NOTES ON NIGHTINGALE'S WISH TO DIE, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f55**

But let me consider it  
truly.

Dec 30, 1850

I have no desire now but  
to die -- There is not a night  
that I do not lie down in  
my bed, wishing that I may  
leave it no more. Uncon=  
sciousness is all that I  
desire. I remain in bed  
as late as I can, for what  
have I to wake for? I am  
perishing for want of  
food, & † what prospect  
have I of better? While  
I am in this position, I  
can expect nothing else.  
Therefore I spend my days  
in dreams of other situations  
which will afford me food.  
Alas! Now I do little else.

**f55v**

For many years, such is the  
principle of hope. I always  
insisted that "this day  
month" I should be free  
from it. God, Thou knowest  
the efforts I have made.  
Now I do not hope. I *know*.  
I know that I, my nature  
& my position remaining  
the same, same nature  
can generate but same  
thoughts -- Dec 30 -- 1851, I  
shall be but so much more  
unable to resist these  
dreams, being so much  
the more enfeebled.  
Starvation does not lead  
a man to exertion -- it only  
weakens him. Oh weary  
days, oh evenings that seem

**f56**

never to end -- for how many  
long years I have watched  
that drawing room clock  
& thought it never  
would reach the ~~hour~~ of ten  
& for 20 or so more years  
to do this. It is not the  
misery the unhappiness  
that I feel so insupportable,  
but to feel this habit, this  
disease gaining ground & upon  
me -- & no hope, no help.  
This is the sting of death.

Why do I wish to leave  
this world? God knows I  
do not expect a heaven  
beyond -- but that **He** will  
set me down in St. Giles's,  
at a Kaiserswerth, there  
to find my work & my

**f56v**

salvation in my work, that  
I think will be the way,  
if I could but die.

**ff57-60** NOTES ON SEEING GOD, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1850-51 {these pages look as if some words and brackets are inserted by FN later, in a lighter hand}  
**[3:227-30]**

**f57**

I was thinking

What is the way to seek the Lord

I said. And I looking ~~went forth~~, enquiring ~~ed~~  
among/through the nations & through the  
ages if there were any who had found seen Him

And I found three ~~(who had seen~~  
Him~~)~~. But lo! They asked their voices cried  
unto me & said, And when thou hast  
found Him, canst thou bear the  
sight of Him? Are thine eyes like  
the eagle's, that they be not dazzled?  
Is the preparation of thy heart  
complete, that (it be strong & of like  
the Burning Bush was not consumed,  
a good courage, to do welcome to the  
presence of the Most Mighty?)

And I trembled in myself & said  
Tell me who you are, ye who have  
seen Him -- (& what made your  
human eyes strong to bear the  
sight of the Superhuman? your mortal  
hearts great to apprehend the immortal

And he first said, she was a  
woman of the Grecian race, of a  
comely presence, ~~I thought~~ I am Semele the seeker of who sought the ~~Al-~~  
~~mighty~~ Divine Essence through the material -- ~~I sought~~ by Perception  
[I am Semele, the seeker of Divine Essence, who sought the Almighty through the  
material by Perception]

**f57v**

I wd perceive

~~to see~~ the glory of God for my own glory,  
for the satisfaction of my ambition,  
& the quenching desire of my curiosity. I  
would see the hand of the great  
Artist, out of love of Art. And I  
prayed Him *thus* to manifest himself  
to me in Beauty.

The glory of God fell upon me- it  
consumed me. My mortal eyes sought  
the light of the Immortal  
to bear ~~its~~ splendour in vain. My  
human heart was consumed by the fire first kindled then  
reduced to ashes in the contact of  
burnt by the heat of the Eternal/Superhuman Fire

And the second spake, I am  
Moses, who sought (the Eternal)  
Jehovah through the Spiritual, by  
the Laws of Conscience/ the Moral Life /his Justice by the statutes  
of the our Conscience, his I ~~I will~~ would & find Him  
I sought his Word & not his Hand.  
& bring Him down unto men. So I  
prayed, Shew me thy glory, that  
it may go before thy people as a  
pillar of fire, & ~~shew~~ light them their light by thy way,  
& that I may lead this nation with  
it.

**f58**

Just

and the All-spiritual said,  
 Because thou hast not asked  
 this thing for thyself but wouldst  
 see my glory that it may leave a  
 train of light upon the troubled  
 sea of the Conscience of Humanity,  
 & be ~~unto them~~ a path for that  
 tossing, helmless ship -- because  
 it was not for art but for Law, / Morality/ Conscience  
 for ~~Truth~~ Law & not for Beauty that  
 thou hast desired me, therefore  
 will I not bestow upon thee that  
 thou askest, (& the desire of thine  
 eyes shall be hid from thee till  
 thou canst bear it the sight of my  
 glory) (for there shall no man see  
 my face & live) But I will make  
 all my goodness pass before thee,  
 so shalt that thou mayst know that the  
 end of the Law is Love.

And the third spake & said,  
 I am Newton, who sought the  
 Perfect Wisdom through the Intel=  
 lectual. He, the first seeker

**f58v**

was with the hand of the Great  
 Artist. He the second with his Word. I would have been with  
 His thought. I sought to see the  
 Creator in the thought/ act of Creation  
 for he (with him, whom thought & act are  
 one) -- I said, Perception can only  
 see the Beauty of the Lord, Conscience  
 can only see hear his Law, but I by  
 Reason, would see his Truth --  
 Art cannot see Him without being  
 consumed by her own visions.  
 Morality Justice cannot see him, but only  
 hear his Word Shall not Philosophy,  
 the Lover of Wisdom be with the  
 All=Wise Lord, I would neither  
 see Thy Hand, nor hear Thy Word  
 I would be with thee in Thy  
 Thoughts.

And through the Court of the  
 Gentiles & through the Holy Place  
 I went /pressed till I penetrated /reached into  
 the Holy of Holies. I desired to see  
 the Pure Wisdom. I did. I saw

the Glory of God & was dazzled. Forty  
years I lay, stupified, dead, deaf, blind.

**f59**

Dumb was I & speechless so that I  
could not ~~speak~~ declare unto the people the  
things that I had seen --

So the three vanished

Then cast I myself upon the earth &  
said, Hath no one seen God at any time? On seeing  
Him, shalt no one live?

Then swept by me a form as that  
of an Angel so frail was she she  
seemed like a little summer's cloud  
yet her soul looked out of her eye  
strong & generous she was humble  
in stature -- & her raiment was pure  
white & there was no beauty that  
we should desire her/ hers was/ she had  
not the classic form & eye of fire of the Grecian  
damsel, nor the stern majesty of  
the Syrian Lawgiver, nor the brow  
of intellect (& form of grandeur) of the  
Northern sage -- a lily sore buffeted  
yet ever fresh & young she seemed,  
a dove, seeking ever the shelter of  
its ark, yet strong & to be/ bear the  
messenger of love on lofty pinion  
through the stormy air --  
So, she has seen God, & not

**f59v**

been consumed, said a voice to me.

What she! That frail cloud, that  
would melt into rain at the first  
beam of His summer's sun, I said

And the voice said, Yes, the glory  
of the Highest has overshadowed her  
& she was not afraid, & she has  
seen His face & lived.

Then said I, shew/ tell me this wonder/ portent.  
Because she was humble & of a pure  
spirit. Because she never thought  
herself worthy to see the Lord, yet  
feared not to see Him & perish.  
Could she have obtained this presence by any means bring  
light for/ unto men -- because she  
had conceived the most Pure,  
Most Holy in her heart, before  
she conceived/ bore him in the spirit/ flesh, therefore  
was this great sign shown unto  
the world, that the virgin soul  
shall be the Bride of the Holy  
Spirit, the mother of the "glory

Add Mss 43402i

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of God in the face of Jesus Christ"

**f60**

A virgin heart shall be stronger  
 than Law, Beauty & Truth, to  
 bear the presence of the Most  
 High, for such "dwelleth in God"  
 & hath no need to see his outward face  
     desired nothing for herself but all for man  
 Because she feared as one that  
 [written lightly] because she dreamed not of power in herself to conjure  
 feareth not -- because neither  
 {written lightly:} his presence +  
 curiosity, nor the love of knowledge,  
 nor the desire of her own perfection,  
 (but the love of man) inspired her,  
~~because~~ but she desired the coming  
 of the brightness of His glory, of the  
 express image of His person, not  
~~for herself~~ + but even esteeming herself of  
 {written lightly:} -- never asked that she shd be the chosen one  
 no repute & unworthy to see it,  
 {written lightly:} such is the preparation of heart for those who wd see God.  
 because her heart was large as the  
     & not die.  
 world, & she prayed, not for her  
 own salvation, but for the kingdom  
 of Heaven. therefore was she power  
 ful to obtain the sight of God, there  
 fore was she chosen to bring the image of  
 God upon earth  
 for humility & Purity of Heart  
 shall see the Lord.

**[end 3:230]**

**f60** [added by LM and AN June 2001] in faint pencil  
 Because she desired nothing for herself but all  
 for man  
 this is the preparation of heart which those  
 must have who wd see God & not die.

Semele desired to see his face for her own sake  
 & thinking herself strong to conjure His presence  
 Mary thought/believing herself unworthy of his presence  
 the mother of the messiah  
 yet willing to bear all and if by any means  
 His presence could be obtained for man.

**ff61-63** NOTES ON BEING CLEANSED OF SIN BY THE WIND, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN; UNDATED **[3:230-31]**

**f61**

I opened the casement. The fresh strong  
night wind blew upon my face. It  
brought purity on its wings, it flowed  
onwards, it rushed past, it carried  
away corruption & impure things, it  
brushed infection & decay before it.

It cleared the dead leaves from the  
earth, the breath of sickness from the  
chamber. It stopped as it passed by,  
& at the cold fountain of strength I  
drew the precious draught.

Blessed be thou, O Wind! Though  
all was dark, though the sky was  
starless, though there was "no light  
in earth or heaven", blessed be thou,  
thou makest all ready for the spring.  
Like thee, may the wind of God's  
breath, blow over me, may it purify  
me, may it cleanse me, however  
rudely, may it carry away corruption,  
though it tear me in pieces, and  
prepare me for the spring, the  
spring time of Repentance

**f61v**

There came a strong wind with  
rain, the torrents fell. I could not  
open the casement. The trees rocked  
to & fro as with an earth=quake.  
All was confusion, the line between  
earth & heaven was obscured  
scarcely could be distinguished between  
truth & error

I sate & there fell heavy tears,  
I could not discern between right &  
wrong.

Then I went forth, I loved to  
feel the strong night wind on ~~thy~~ my  
face & the rain falling on my hair  
& I cried to the blast, come, blow  
upon me, & to the rain, Come wash  
me, wash me from the stains  
of the day.

The North Wind came with Winter  
& said, I cannot. But I will  
kill thy buds, as they are starting  
into life, & break thy branches,

**f62**

& cover thy green pastures with  
my ghastly shroud, I will sweep  
thy leafy shades, & destroy thy new  
rising hopes. I will blast thy plans,  
& freeze thy joys. Peradventure  
thou wilt then be driven unto the  
Lord thy God.

The North Wind blew, coming  
from the dead icy Seas.

But power was not in the North  
Wind. Though it killed my joys  
& destroyed all my pleasant things  
though it brought me despair and disappointment,  
it could not do this thing --

Three months had passed.  
And the East wind came with  
Spring. It came, bringing from the  
Continent, fresh hopes, new joys,  
cold healthy buds. And to me  
it brought a new friendship, which  
was my Spring.

And I went out upon my  
balcony & stood & cried,  
Come blow  
through me, come rid me of my sin.

**f62v**

And the East wind said, Such power is not in me. But I have brought thee new life & joy. Per=adventure thou, wilt yet turn unto the voice within, & it shall teach thee how to do this thing.

But such power was not in the East wind.

Three more months had passed. Then came the South Wind with its full tide of strength & gushing life. It came from the genial South, it brought energy on its wings and action, and I did the work of the day with spirit & constancy & from morning even till sun=down, through the long summer hours I was upon the work, which the Lord, the Master, had graciously given me to do.

And I cried no more to the South Wind, for I had not time but I thanked the Lord of Summer at morn & at even tide for giving me his work to do.

**f63**

Alas! I thought that power  
 had been given to the South Wind,  
 that it had brought the summer  
 of my Soul upon its wings that  
 the day of corruption & of decay  
 was passed & gone. But it was  
 not. My sin was not cleansed.  
 Such power was not in the South  
 Wind.

The summer months had passed.  
 And the West wind came with  
 Autumn. It came from the  
 Seas, from the watery regions  
 And it brought tears upon its  
 wing.

[end 3:231]

**ff64-65** NOTES ON UNHAPPINESS, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN [1:97]

**f64 [verifiers: not FN]**

[1]

Jan 7. 1851

{printed} 10 SOUTH STREET.  
 PARK LANE, W.

{In FN's hand} - - - - What is to become of me?  
 - - - - I can hardly open my mouth  
 without giving my dear Parthe  
 vexation -- everything I say or  
 do is a subject of annoyance  
 to her. And I, oh how am I  
 to get through this day is the  
 thought of every morning -- how  
 am I to talk through all this  
 day -- and now, I feel as if  
 I should not have strength  
 ever  
 to do anything else. My God,  
 I love ~~Thee~~ thee, I do indeed -- I  
 do not say it in open rebellion,

**f64v [verifiers: not FN]**

but in anguish and utter hopelessness.  
Why didst make me what I am?  
A little later, oh my God, a  
little later, when I should have been  
alone in the world & in the  
next stage -- not now, not yet,  
not here - - - - - I have never  
known a happy time, except  
at Rome and that fortnight  
at Kaiserswerth. It is not  
the unhappiness I mind, it  
is not indeed -- but people  
can't be unhappy without  
making those about them so

**f65**

[Of FPN] oh, if we could but  
have been alike, either I like her  
or she like me. Or if my  
father and mother could ~~not~~  
have but

**[end 1:97]**

**ff66-67v** NOTES ON FN PERSUADING HER MOTHER TO ALLOW HER TO LEAVE, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [verifiers: not written]

**f66**

{in handwriting other than FN's}  
on paper with  
little white mark "Ivory"

{printed} ~~10 SOUTH STREET.~~  
~~PARK LANE, W.~~

*Private Papers*

{in FN's handwriting}  
imaginary dialogue with Mrs. N.  
Dec. 7 -- 1851

Why, my dear, you don't think  
that with my "talents" and my  
"European reputation" & my  
"beautiful letters" and all that,  
I'm going to ~~spend~~ stay dangling  
about my mothers' drawingroom  
all my life -- I shall go &  
look out for work, to be sure.  
- - - - You must look upon  
me as your son, your  
vagabond son, without his  
money. I shan't cost you

**f66v**

near so much as a son would  
have done. I haven't cost you  
much yet -- except my visits  
to Egypt and Rome. Remember,  
I should have cost you a great  
deal more if I had married  
or been a son - - - -  
Well, you must now consider  
me married or a son. - - -  
You were willing to part with  
me to be married.

**f67**

had not you rather have had all  
 your experience than not? But  
 now this year you will probably  
 spend in the same position you are  
 in now -- you will be hardly ever  
 alone -- the next 3 weeks you will  
 have company -- then a fortnight  
 alone -- then a few weeks of  
 London, then of Embley -- then  
 perhaps go abroad -- then 3 months  
 of company at Lea Hurst -- then  
 the same round of Embley company.  
 Now what are you to do? -- --  
 What you have to look forward to  
 at home is your nightly visit at  
 Holloway to the school, & here --  
 your daily hour at 11.....  
 Remember that you know what  
 is the real object of life better

**f67v**

than you did, better than many  
 who have not suffered and, if you  
 like, ruined [?]. Remember that you  
 believe in God that all will  
 become one with him.

To offer a religion to the  
 working Tailors.

to translate the Prophets  
 if you could carry out these  
 objects they would keep you  
 healthy. Why can't you get up  
 in the morning? I have nothing  
 I like so much as  
 the consciousness, but I will  
 try - - - - -

**ff68-73v** NOTES ON PRESERVING HERSELF, HOW MOTHER AND PARTHE  
MISUNDERSTAND HER, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f68**

June 8

Whit Sunday 1851. 4  
My life is more difficult  
than almost any other kind.  
My life is more suffering  
than almost any other kind.  
is it not, God?  
Let me not try to disguise  
these two facts from  
myself, Spirit of Truth,  
but let me honestly &  
with simplicity of purpose  
set to work, not to  
complain, but to find  
the means to live.

I must *take* some things,  
as few as I can to enable  
me to live. I must *take*  
them, they will not be  
given me -- take them in  
a true spirit of doing  
thy will, not of snatching

**f68v**

them for my own will.

I must do without  
some things, as many as  
I can, which I could  
not have without causing  
more suffering than I  
am obliged to cause anyway.

Let me try to diminish  
the difficulties of my life  
knowing that what I do  
with such struggle as to cause  
continual dreams of another cannot  
be well done.

Let me try to diminish  
the suffering of my life  
knowing that I *cannot*,  
what I so truly desire,  
minister to Parthe's  
happiness while in  
such suffering myself.

**f69**

God's law has provided  
against that -- let me  
venerate & observe that  
law.

Father not my will,  
but thine be done.  
Father of Truth, of Wisdom,  
of Goodness.

My object being to be  
one with thee, to do thy  
will, which is, at present,  
evidently to produce as  
much happiness, to  
avoid as much unhap=  
piness as possible in  
these three, what are  
the means I can  
take?

The first is to preserve

**f69v**

myself in a healthy state.  
Myself being in the  
same state as I was  
yesterday, & my circum=  
stances the same, which  
they, will be, the same  
things would occur.

To preserve myself in  
a healthy or at least  
a healthier state my  
Holy Ghost tells me  
to do three things.

First, to spend one hour  
a day at least at the  
school. Without this,  
I know it to be impossible  
for me to preserve my  
being, & I am more  
fulfilling their wishes,

**f70**

I shall be more capable  
of doing what they want  
the rest of the day,  
than if I gave way &  
destroyed myself by  
doing what they think  
they wish in company  
the whole of the day,  
which I know to be  
impossible to me. I  
shall be more cheerful,  
less worn, more really  
obedient to their wish.

Secondly, I must keep  
to my hour & a half's  
steady thinking before  
breakfast. Without this,  
I am utterly lost. With  
this, I think, I could

**f70v**

keep myself alive -- thro'  
the day Whether that  
thinking shall be, writing  
to Aunt Mai, or writing  
for myself, experience  
will decide.

Thirdly, I must place  
my intercourse with these  
3 on a true footing,  
I mean only as regards  
myself. What is the  
true footing, Spirit of  
Truth? At present I  
am vibrating between  
irritation & indignation  
at the state of suffering  
I am in -- & remorse  
& agony at the absence  
of enjoyment I promote  
in them -- I wish for

**f71**

nothing but death, in order  
to relieve them & relieve  
myself. This cannot be  
true. This is childish.  
What is the true footing?  
It is impossible for their  
minds to understand  
mine- Ought I to be  
irritated with this?  
Poor dears -- it is  
impossible -- their most  
earnest desire in for my  
happiness, let me be  
sure that I am fulfilling  
their desire by taking  
as much of it as I  
can without altering  
any circumstances which  
it is clearly my duty  
not to alter.

**f71v**

It is impossible for any  
situation to go on well  
where one is at the  
bottom who ought to  
be either independent  
or at the top. I am  
at the bottom & ought not be there. ~~I can~~  
This aggregate can  
see farther than theirs  
is this presumptuous?  
no more so than to say that I can walk  
farther  
If the Spirit of Truth  
has led me through  
suffering which they  
have not known to  
see farther, more  
comprehensively, is it  
presumption to act  
accordingly -- or would  
it not be trying to act in  
a way, which His laws  
have provided that you

**f72**

shall not act to submit  
 comparative knowledge  
 to comparative ignorance.  
 I might as well say that she ought to leave it to m  
 to lay out the garden.  
 I have been so long  
 treated as a child &  
 have so long allowed  
 myself to be treated  
 as a child that I can  
 hardly assert this even  
 to myself. It is with  
 the greatest effort that  
 I can reach it.

Yet I should love  
 them both much better,  
 if I could. Parthe is  
 a child -- let me love  
 her as such in my thoughts  
 as I do Shore.

I must expect no  
 sympathy nor help from  
 them -- I have so long

**f72v**

craved for their sympathy  
 that I can hardly recon=  
 cile myself to this. I  
 have so long struggled  
 to make myself under=  
 stood, -- been sore, cast  
 down, insupportably  
 fretted by not being  
 understood (at this  
 moment even I feel it  
 when I retrace these  
 conversations in thought)  
 that I must not even  
 try to be understood. end here. {"end here" written in faint pencil}  
*I know they can not*  
 I know that to try for it & fail irritates me.

Is it, presumption to  
 say that I see farther  
 can judge better, about  
 some things, than either  
 of them? Then, that is to say  
 that the world is to make no progress

**f73**

Mama says that I am inconsistent -- says truly the nature cannot be cramped & not cramped at the same time. To be inconsistent is to be cramped in some direction.

Parthe says that I blow a trumpet that it gives her an indigestion -- that is also true. Struggle must make a noise, & every thing that I have to do that concerns my real being must be done with struggle.

Now let me see how far the fallacy of intending to will directly affects me. A certain circumstance upon a certain nature must always ~~a~~ have a certain, the same &

**f73v**

a definite effect. To say that it will have any other, the nature & the circumstance remaining the same, is absurd.

I have been brought hither by the laws of God -- the circumstances acting upon the nature, it was impossible that I should feel otherwise than I do -- I shall be brought through by the laws of God.

It must be only for fun that I try to make them understand me because I know it is impossible.

**ff74-76** NOTES ON FN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH SHORE, and PARTHE PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED JUNE 15, 1851?

**f74** {printed} 10. SOUTH STREET  
PARK LANE, W.

private reflections

June 15, [1851?]

Desire to sympathize with F.P.N.

**f75**

June 15

To be cheerful, tender &  
gentle with Parthe- that  
is my object -- Now, how  
is it to be obtained?  
Not by violent effort,  
nor by pretence or  
falsehood -- but by a  
clear understanding of  
her character & mine  
& of the laws influencing  
such characters.

Father save me from this  
hour. But for this cause  
came I unto this hour.  
Spirit of Truth, what is  
to be done? Father of  
Wisdom, let me be one  
with Thee.

Our aggregates sympathize  
on few points. Neither on

**f75v**

religion, nor on politics,  
nor on manners of living,  
(including modes of  
occupation, ends of life,  
social systems, characters  
of persons.) We have  
therefore few points of  
sympathy, we cannot  
expect to convert one  
another. I have no  
desire to alter her, she,  
the greatest to alter me.  
Let me entirely avoid  
these subjects, it is  
better to be silent, even  
when appealed to, or  
or say, as I do with Shore,  
what I think best for  
him.

Add Mss 43402i

766

How do I do with Shore?  
I do not seek his sympathy.

**f76**

I know that he cannot give it ~~to~~ me. I never ask for it. It is just as impossible for Parthe to give me her sympathy as it is for Shore. Let me never seek it.

I am continually trying to sympathize with Shore on his subjects, to make him talk. Let me observe what are Parthe's subjects, the owl, music, literature, art, (including my dress, & appearance) Let me sympathize with these & try to discover more.

It is difficult to sympathize with her in her health -- because she repels it.

**ff77-v** NOTES ON DISMISSING DEACONESSSES, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED JULY 1851

**f77** {some parts nearly illegible}

The Anstalt has the right to recall a Deaconess *without notice* when she is found no longer suitable for her duties or is wanted elsewhere, but must then immediately send another suitable Deaconess in her place & pay the travelling expenses, to & fro which are otherwise paid by the Committee.

In the case of illness of a Deaconess the Anstalt will send another  
Deaconess  
for whom the *Committee* will pay the travelling expenses to & fro & salary.

If a Deaconess is incapacitated by age or infirmity so that she must return, the Anstalt provides for her, & only the travelling expenses, occasioned by the change are paid by the Committee.

The Deaconesses are to attend divine Service on Sunday, or in case the state of the sick does not allow this, on a weekday, instead.

They must only sit up every 3rd night & must have coffee for their watch.

They have the permission every other year to make a journey of some weeks, when least inconvenient to the Committee, who pays the travelling expenses up to 10 Th.

The Anstalt has the permission of sending a sister to learn under the Deaconesses, for whom it will gladly pay. The Sister is to obey the Deaconesses & physician agreeably to the object of her stay there

The Anstalt remains in its maternal connexion with the Deaconesses & provides them with a person to whom they can refer in its place.

f77v

*Agreement*

When Sisters are first to undertake a *Hospital*  
The Anstalt ~~sends~~ chooses the 2 sisters & names the Ver  
They owe practical obedience to the Physician, medicinally & dietetically  
They are not to render any offices to the male sick, which formal  
modesty forbids. The Committee gives them a Wärter, chosen by the sisters  
subordinate  
to them in everything, whom they may also dismiss, after communica  
ting with the Committee. The Wärter carries the water & coals  
& performs other offices in the House as the Sisters direct.  
If the No. of sick increases, so that the Sisters find another sister  
necessary, the Committee are to send for one from the Anstalt, whose  
& not together with other nurses.  
The Sisters are to employ the Convalescent with ~~the~~ permission of the Dr  
The Committee are to appoint the Order of the Day for the Sick -- the day  
of Visiting -- are to empower the Sisters to take away any hurtful food,  
brought by the friends -- to prevent all noise & unsuitable games  
or occupation. The Committee are to appoint means, proposed by  
the Sisters, for all separation of the 2 sexes, even in the Garden.  
The Sisters are to call in the Pastor of the respective confessions when  
[illeg line] Protestants  
directed by the *Mother house*.  
They are to have a maid, *chosen by themselves* subordinate to them in every  
thing, whom they may  
also dismiss, after communicating with Committee -- If they  
require more help, it is to be under the same conditions.  
An Inventory is to be given them of everything in the House, & the places for  
keeping the things shown there.  
The housekeeping Sister receives at the beginning of every month a certain  
sum for housekeeping, of which she gives the account at the beginning  
of the next month. The Committee undertakes the greater payments  
The Committee pays the travelling expenses.  
For Each Deaconess the Committee pays the Anstalt £ 6. & finds the  
Deaconesses in everything -- a room (with a lock & key) fit for dwelling,  
sleeping & eating, bed for each, table, glass, chairs, etc. food, fire, light,  
washing, medicine, nursing & burial. Should a third Deaconess become  
necessary, a second room must be allotted.  
The Sisters under no conditions are to accept presents not even from the  
Committee.  
The Committee has the right to give notice of [next few lines illegible]  
principle it is that the Deaconesses nurse only among themselves  
Anstalt has the same right. The Anstal will send another Deaconess  
at the end of the 3 months.

**f78** CHART SHOWING DEACONESS LIST, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Deaconess List

{Column 1, far left}  
Mrs.  
No.  
{Column 2}  
Name  
No. on the  
above List  
{Column 3}  
Parents  
&  
Dwelling  
Name  
{Column 4}  
Age  
Age  
{Column 5}  
How she  
announces  
herself  
Dwelling  
{Column 6}  
Account  
of her  
life  
Day of Blessing  
{Column 7}  
Tests  
money  
&  
character  
{Column 8}  
Dr  
&  
health  
{Column 9}  
Our Answer  
Account of her Time  
where she has been sent,  
Where she has served etc.  
{Column 10}  
Day  
of  
Entrance  
{Column 11}  
Conduct  
&  
Education  
during the  
Probationary

Time  
where she  
has served --  
where been  
sent etc.  
{Column 12}  
Dismissal  
& Cause  
of the same  
Dismissal  
& Cause  
{Column 13}  
Day of  
Blessing  
Day of  
Death  
{Column 14}  
{illeg} on  
the  
Deaconess  
List

**f78v** NOTES ON RULES FOR NURSING DEACONESSES, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
Rules for nursing Deaconesses.

**ff79-83v** NOTES ON HER FAMILY, VOCATION, TEACHING AND EDUCATION, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1851

**f79**

experienced in their own  
experience My difficulties,  
to let me take the food I  
am perishing for -- what  
makes me so unlike them?  
These things I cannot help  
saying to God -- I do not say  
Forgive me, but shew me  
the Truth. What is the  
Truth?

My father is a man who  
has never known what  
struggle is. Good impulses  
from his childhood up -- &  
always remaining perfectly  
in a natural state, acting  
always from impulse -- &  
having never by circumstances  
been forced to look into  
a thing, to carry it out --  
Efflurez, n'appuyez pas  
has been not the rule  
but the habit of his life.

[1:97-99]

**f79v**

liberal by instinct, not by reflection. But not happy, why not? he has not enough to do -- he has not enough to fill his faculties -- when I see him eating his breakfast, as if the destinies of a nation depended upon his getting done, carrying his plate about the room, delighting in being in a hurry, pretending to himself week after week that he is going to Buxton or else where in order to be in legitimate haste. I say to myself how happy that man would be with a factory under his superintendence with the interests of 2 or 300 men to look after.

**f80**

My mother is a genius.  
She has the Genius of Mater,  
to make a place, to organize  
a parish, to form Society.  
She has obtained by her  
own exertions, the best society  
in England -- she goes into  
a school & can put this  
little thing right which  
is wrong -- she has a genius  
for doing all she wants to do  
& has never felt the absence  
of power. She is not happy.  
She has too much fatigue  
& too much anxiety,  
anxiety about Papa, about  
Parthe's health, my duties,  
about the servants, the  
parish -- oh dear good  
woman, when I feel her  
disappointment in me, it  
is as if I was becoming  
insane -- when she has organized  
the nicest society in England for us,  
& I cannot take it as she wishes.

**f80v**

Parthe, she is in her Element  
if she had but health, & if  
she had but not me she is  
in her Element. It is her  
vocation to make holiday  
to hardworking men out of  
London, to all manners of  
people who come to enjoy  
this beautiful place. And  
a very good vocation it is  
no one less than I want [not? see]  
her to do one single thing  
different from what she  
does -- she wants no other  
religion, no other occupation  
no other training than what  
she has. She is in unison  
with her age, her position  
her country. She has never  
had a difficulty, except  
with me. She is a child  
playing in God's garden &  
delighting in the happiness  
of all His works, knowing

**f81**

nothing of human life but  
the English drawing room,  
nothing of [~~illeg~~] struggle in her  
own unselfish nature,  
nothing of want of power  
in her own Element. And  
I, what a murderer I am  
to disturb this happiness --  
it is all that ~~my~~ reason,  
divine reason, can do to  
prevent me repeating this  
even now -- and I repeat  
it in my heart, while I  
no longer repeat it in my  
conscience.

I what am I that I am  
not in harmony with all  
this, that their life is not  
~~good enough for me?~~ oh  
God, what am I? The  
thoughts & feelings that  
I have now I can remember  
since I was 6 years old

**f81v**

It was not I that made  
them. Oh God, how did  
they come? Are they the  
natural cross of my father  
& mother? What are they?  
A profession, a trade, a  
necessary occupation, something  
to fill & employ all my  
faculties, I have always  
felt essential to me, I  
have always longed for,  
consciously or not -- During  
a middle portion of my  
life, college education, ac=  
quirement I longed for,  
but that was temporary,  
the first thought I can  
remember & the last  
was nursing work & in  
the absence of this, educa=  
tion work, but more the  
education of the bad than of  
the young.

**f82**

But for this, I had had no  
 education myself -- & when  
 I began to try, I was  
 disgusted with my utter  
 impotence. I made no  
 improvement, I learnt  
 no ways -- I obtained no  
 influence. This nobody  
 could understand. You  
 teach better than other  
 people, was the desperate  
 answer always made me,  
 they had never wanted  
 instruction, why should I?  
 The only help I ever got  
 was a week with my  
 Madre at Rome, which  
 I made use of directly &  
 taught my girls at Holloway  
 always on that foundation --  
 & my fortnights at Kaiserswerth.  
 Still education I know is not

**f82v**

my genius -- tho' I cd' do it if  
 I was taught, because it is  
 my duty here.

But why, oh my God, cannot  
 I be satisfied with the life  
 which satisfies so many  
 people? I am told that  
 the conversation of all these  
 good clever men ought to  
 be enough for me. Why  
 am I starving, desperate  
 diseased upon it? Why  
 has it all run to vanity  
 in me, to what impression  
 am I making upon them  
 when it comes to wholesome  
 fruit in others? The cancer  
 of my life I have recorded  
 what is the cause of it?  
 Is it ~~not~~ enough to say  
 that rice disagrees with  
 one man & agrees with  
 another? that, as (Channing

**f83**

says) ~~that~~ the ground of  
sincerity lies in talking  
of what you are interested  
about -- so none of the  
subjects of society interest  
me enough to draw me out  
of vanity. Oh what do  
books know of the real  
troubles of life? it is all  
Hebrew & Chinese -- death  
why it's a happiness -- oh  
how I have longed for a  
trial to give me food.  
to be something real, a  
nourishing life, that is  
the happiness -- whatever  
it be -- a starving life,  
that is the real trial --  
my God, what am I to do?  
teach me, tell me. I cannot  
go on any longer waiting  
till my situation shd' change.

**f83v**

dreaming what the change  
shall be to give me a  
better food. Thou hast been  
teaching me all these 31  
years what I am to do  
in this? where is the  
lesson? Let me read it  
oh where, where is it?  
All that you want, will  
come -- in one stage or  
another you (& all the  
rest of God's creatures)  
will have all food, all  
training, all occupation  
necessary to make you one  
with God. With this  
certainty, cannot you wait  
You have already learnt  
something -- you say yourself  
what do they know who  
have never suffered?

**[end 1:99]**

**ff84-91v** NOTES ABOUT EDUCATION, VARIOUS LESSON PLANS, LIGHT PENCIL;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED BOTH 1850 & 1851

**f84**

Arithmetic

add together      4    first ~~writing~~ dictating different nos.  
                         5  
                         6  
                         9

to teach the children the places of tens, units, etc.  
The sum is 24 i.e. four units & two tens -- four whats?  
four ones.

Grammar

ask a question & make the children construct an answer  
what is an adjective? It qualifies the noun.  
now take the four first lines of your lesson &  
write out on your slate all the adjectives.  
what is *un*? *not*. give some other examples of  
adjectives with *un*. Now sharpen up your wits  
and tell me an adjective with *un*.

Or can you say "ceases to exist in one word".  
"dies" -- "dyes cloth -- spell *that dye*, *dyer* now,  
a dire offence, how do you spell *that dire*.

What is richest superlative, write superlative  
your status what is the comparative?

*Always ask the status.*

{written sideways in the bottom left corner of the page,

[archivist:] Notes about education [faint]

? 1850

**f84v**

Geography.

how high is the reindeer? Are you as high --  
how high are you? 3 feet. How much is that?  
a yard -- Are you a quadruped?

how far is the topmost point of Europe from the  
Equator? how far are you from the Equator? how  
far do you come to school? Two miles -- now if  
you were to walk 2 geographical miles a day, how  
long shd' you be walking to the Equator?

Girls' Arithmetic is the first thing neglected --  
their geography should be made arithmetical  
where do bears live? in hot country, in hot  
countries, do they?

What does Africa fit itself onto? America on  
the other side -- the Andes run the same way & the  
same convulsion probably caused both --

if the Andes run N. & S., which way will the  
rivers run, without looking at the map? E. & W.  
why -- beneath the ground falls from the Mountains  
to the sea?

Where are the lakes higher than the sea? In  
America -- where lower? Caspian & Dead Sea

Where is the snow line in the Alps?

**f85**

Every Friday night prepare the work which each Pupil's Teacher is to teach her class during the next week, & every Sat. give them these subjects & get them up therein.

Every month make out the subjects to instruct the Pupil Teachers in for the ensuing months.

-----  
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## Bible History

did the Devil quote Scripture correctly to Xt. he left out & keep thee in all thy ways -- wd a man have been "in the way" if he had thrown himself from a pinnacle

why do we keep X-mas.

because it's Xt's birthday -- but why

~~but~~ we don't keep your birthday -- why -- because Xt came for a -- purpose a very important one -- you are like other boys.

did Xt die a natural death -- yes -- what, such a death as you wd die -- no he was crucified -- who crucified him? his apostles what do you think your brother wd ~~crucify~~ put you to death

drawing maps of Palestine -- first setting down points & then drawing the lines.

**f85v**

To prove a proposition --  
 The boy gives the facts he is to prove  
 Wd you walk to Romsey to ask after a person's health  
 if you knew he was well. The fact of your going presupposes  
 your ignorance.

the boy produces a line from an exterior point  
 wd you if you were walking to Romsey, set out from Romsey

-----  
 -----

Explain the Poetry  
 swallow twitters do all birds twitter?  
 how does it mark the time? reminds one that another  
 morning is come.

He marshals the seasons -- does winter ever come  
 when we expected summer -- will it ever? can it?  
 Nature smiling -- when does it wear a cheerful  
 aspect? Now -- no, in spring.

The Pupil Teachers have all the workings of a sum  
 &c drawn up beforehand. so that they may not have  
 to go thro' each sum

Every child in the school has a lesson set it  
 every night -- to do at home.

What year are we in? What *century*? in what year  
 of your age are you?

What blooms in the solitary place? tell the story of  
 Nth [?] Park -- will places get less solitary, as time goes on  
 people first settle on the coast & then push inland.

**f86** {VERY LIGHT PENCIL}

About 9000 ft -- where is the snow line at the Poles? on the ground -- why is the snow line higher at the Tropics than it is at the Equator? because the nights are shorter & the earth has less time to radiate out its heat

which is likely to be the warmest side of S. America, the Eastern, because of the gulf stream which flows round the C. of Good Hope -- & because on the other side, the snow melts from the mountains how is the cold of Terra del Fuego not so great? because the mud sea mitigates it.

Which is the coldest Sweden & Norway or the centre of Russia--

What is likely to be the connecting link between Asia & America? that peninsula of volcanic islands which is continually increasing

do you live in Great Britain? in which part of Great Britain do you live? England

Are you a subject of the Queen? Does the Queen make the laws? No, the Q executes the laws, M. of Parliamts make -- the fifth of next month they will meet, & the Q will read a speech her Ministers will make for her -- speaking of the things which will interest her subjects most, not the things which happen to be years ago, but the things which are happening now & every

**f86v**

body will want to read it next month

Julius Caesar which was his title? what is the Emperor of Russia called?

Read aloud or sing during the needlework.

Buy their own slates & their own books but pay for them by installment

As soon as the "garland" was introduced in school everybody wd have a "garland"

Find a string, and everybody can repeat like a parrot.

**f87v**

Arithmetic

first to learn to numerate. write one hundred, one ten, one unit. Count the no of slates in the class, 8, in the other class 5, all together 13. now is that one a one --  $1 + 3$  makes 4 -- no, it's a two -- well, let us see make 10 marks on the slate. Now  $10 + 3 = 13$  don't you think it's a 10 -- for  $10 + 3$  makes 13 -- then one, when it's put there, is not 1 but 10. So teach to numerate then to add -- that makes 18 -- 18 what? 18 units 9 units & 7 units & 2 units = 18 units. how many tens are there in that -- one ten & 8 units -- that we call carrying the one -- now we have 25 tens. set down five tens -- then we've 2 times ten tens. what do we call that 200 --  $2 \times 10 \times 10 = 200$  -- & so on When did Newton ~~live~~ die? 1726

~~die~~ born? 1642 -- Then how old was he when he died? Set down these statements by the sum --

Have you a grandfather? Yes -- How old is he? Then when was he born?

The Q. has reigned 14 years -- when did she accede? To all these the facts were annexed -- her predecessor was her uncle & a sailor -- then came Columbus & fame & discoveries.

When was printing introduced into England? how many years ago? do you support the little boys in Rich III's time read out of such books as you do -- what did the scribes write upon had the Jews printing?

**f88**

## Dictation

then the master corrects two big slates & sends them round to correct the rest. the no of errors are marked under each -- then the ones, twos, threes etc. are called out & take places accordingly -- the worst slate is taken & the words spelt out.

Exercise given out every evening -- a different one for each class -- to be brought next morn -- either poetry to be learnt. or an exercise to be written -- for a paraphrase. Books wanted the next day to be brought by the children given out

If a child does not bring its exercises degraded to next class.

## Poetry.

which is the nominative case to that verb? (being inverted) verbs dignify action.

To teach them their own language not to teach them Science is the great thing.

else where's the use of books to them? To take it to pieces & show them what it is.

paraphrase poetry -- if they think anything at all about it, to put it into their own words -- if they don't think anything, why they haven't understood it.

**f88v**

Is glass a good conductor? No -- If I were to take hold of a bit of iron, instead of this piece of wood, which wd feel coldest?

If I were to thrust a bar of iron & a bar of wood into the fire, which could I hold longest? The wood. Why? because it is the worst conductor.

Fetch the Formulation tube.  
The weight of the air makes the mercury rise.  
If, instead of mercury, it were water, it would require a tube 16 times as long to rise in.

How do you know that the centre of the earth is fire? Have you ever descended into the centre of the earth? No, but people have gone down into mines & been suffocated. Yes, but not by heat, by choke damp carbonic acid gas -- when gas fire burns, it emits c.a.g. but then it mixes with the surrounding air & does not suffocate you.

where does Mercury freeze? At Moscow Did you ever see mercury freeze? No it freezes at 29. below zero.

They were more eager crowding around the thermo' than they were for anything.  
Miss S. they don't know anything about the construction of maps -- Nowhere better to construct maps than on

**f89**

the floor, because then it's the ground they tread on

Get them off their accustomed tack & ask them the question in other words.

Make the Pupil Teachers write notes of all the lessons they will give thro' the next week. they must never leave them unprepared -- of what they will say to them. Tell them you prepare yourself.

**f89v**

English Journal of Education Bill 186 Fleet St.  
1851

hyphen when the first word is accented  
Books they don't want to study at home left in the school -- where it is  
given out what books they must take home with them  
to get up.

People begin history at the wrong end -- the imagina=  
tion can't reach back to Wm the Conqueror.

Tell all the discoveries made about the same time --  
Sir I. Newton & the apple -- was he a foolish man  
to look at it falling to the ground?

& the prism --

do we see the same rainbow -- No, we all see different  
rainbows -- because we don't look thro' the same drop of  
rain.

{written vertically across the bottom left hand corner of the page}

3rd class

Read & study 2nd & 3rd  
parts of legends  
Map of England (outline only  
Pts of a Compass)  
Rising & Setting of the Sun  
Nine - how divided  
Who is the Queen & what she does  
Numeration & Addition  
Use ye Black Board  
Catechism & Scripture --  
for one week

**f90 [see folio, odd]**

Hold out hands -- clean

-- -- pockethdkfs

All the fingers held out -- in answer to Have the heads  
been brushed?

Ditto in answer to the *teeth*

Twice a week to *feet washed*

Box to hold the pence for

1. weekly wage
2. books & slates sold
3. combs & brushes  
tooth do  
needles  
scissors, etc.  
bought wholesale in  
London & sold cheap
4. clothing club 1 d a week  
for 48 weeks  
vicar adds 1/

## Arithmetic

to reduce shillings to £ --

cut off the unit in dividend & divisor.

Why? Because 20 is two tens -- & the other is X tens.

Therefore like can be divided by like.

86970 is to save you the trouble of writing

80000

6000

900

70

why do you write 20 when nought means nothing.

only to shew them that 2 is 2 tens --

reduce ~~into~~ farthings into pence

why do you divide by 4? because the quotient is

**f90v**

~~so many~~ X 4 = farthings, = X pence.

How do you represent this process? By writing  
4/10 -- These Figures are merely to save you trouble.

How do you reduce .50/ into £ --

20/50 or 20/50

Bible History

Why do they call languages dead?

Because there is nobody living who can speak them

When was Latin spoken?

By the Romans.

what Romans? The people who live in Rome now.

The ancient Romans, the Romans who lived 500 years ago.

The Romans who lived 2000 years ago.

Did they ever pay us a visit?

do they live here now?

why did they go away?

Because the barbarians poured in upon them & they  
thought they must go & take care of their own homes  
& not bother us -- about 1500 years ago.

That's a spark [?] that takes [?].

Where do our Saxon ancestors come from? Duchy of  
Holstein -- all Germany was called Saxony then?

Who made the first translation into English of  
the Bible? Wichliffe.

Where did he live? In Leicestersh -- where is that?  
a midland county. Do you live in a midland county? No,  
in a maritime -- Spell maritime.

**f91**

Can you tell by looking at the map how wide the Isthmus of Panama is, yes, by taking a string & measuring it on the degrees? where? on the degrees of latitude? why not on the degrees of long. because they vary.

Where is the weight greatest?  
at the poles -- & here greater than at the Equator  
Why? because the centrifugal force is greatest at the Eq. Why? because it twirls round quickest, it has most space to go thro' -- & therefore must go faster.

What makes this book fall?  
gravity. If the centrifugal was exactly = the centripetal what weight wd you have? None. If I pull & he pulls & our force is = you stand still don't you? but if my force is greater, you come towards me. If attraction were = centrifugal, you wd feel as if you had no weight at all.

Why is centrifugal at Eq. greater because the faster a mop twists, or a wheel goes round, the more the water splashes off it.

If I were to let fall this book from the Cl. tower how quick wd it fall? 16 ft. in 1st sec, 4 x 16 ft. in 2nd 9 x 16 in 3 -- & how many ft in the 3rd sec, 144 -- 64

What is Newton's Law? That bodies always move with an uniform motion? If you walk to Romsey at

**f91v**

2 miles an hour, do you move with an uniform motion? If 2 miles the 1st h. 3 miles the 2nd, 4 miles the 3rd, do you walk with an accelerated motion? with an uniform accelerated motion? Yes, because the increment is uniform.

Now why does not the book stand still? Because the attraction draws it.

Does the book attract the earth?  
Would a lump of iron & a lump of wood of the same size attract each other equally. No, because not of the same density. Attraction is as size & density

Whately says that man cd never have civilized himself without revelations)

## Heat

Show them the thermometer.  
Chambers' Matter & Motion is what interests them most, of all their lessons, Because it speaks of the things which they see every day.

Show them the barometer.  
what does the thermometer mean? heat = measurer  
how do you make it? heat the mercury, which rarifies the air & when it is all expelled, feel the top.  
Will my hand make it rise?  
how much? have you as much animal heat as I  
have all animals the same heat? You & a bird,  
No, Mr. Fox told us a bird had most.

**ff92-v** NOTES ON MORALITY, DISHONOURING BODIES, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f92**

What is it to dishonour our bodies? Not to make the best of ourselves, as we make the best of our souls, so of our bodies. To sit upright is to make the best of ourselves, to keep our bodies clean, in order to make them healthy. Not to [~~ill~~] lace tight, that is one of the things which spoils our bodies, not to sit in ill ventilated rooms. If the cottage is small & close, you can ~~could~~ still open the door.

Civil. To have respect for others & for yourself self respect is not to do anything low or mean or base. Respect to others is not to do anything to disturb them.

How can you dishonour your tongues?  
By swearing, lying, yes & talking of other people. Are there not things enough to talk of, without talking of people. In a small place like this, you can't fail to know a great deal of what your neighbour does, & if you talk about it, you can't fail to lie, for how can you tell their motives, & you know that a great deal is said about them that is not true.

Clean & tidy

some people are clean that are not tidy & some tidy that are not clean.

**f92v**

Orderly

What is it to be orderly? Does the bell ring for your teachers to come in & you to stay out and play.

(They may have read those two lessons in a week. You may give a whole lesson to the religious part)

{Written vertically along the bottom right corner of the page}

Household Words. Nov 16. 1850

Mr. Quekett. p 172

Minutes of Council on Education

Schools of Parochial Unions

1847-8-9 pp 260 263 266 288

Symons Report 1848

**f93** NOTES ON TEACHING INSTRUCTION, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

First ~~take~~ ask names of things, then make  
 children say what these do -- that gives  
 the verb or anything then what kind of things. They  
 are, what generalizes them, that gives the  
 adjective. then how or when they do it -- ~~Not~~  
 nouns    adverb --                    write adjectives  
 & adverbs in blue chalk            The little boy runs fast  
     The big dog bites me  
     sharply  
     make the children  
     dictate you a  
     column of nouns  
     or verbs before  
     you begin -- then  
     make use of them

{written vertically at the leftmost side of the page}

Mr. Curtis  
 18 Ashley Crescent  
 City Road  
 Mr. Runby  
 Leicester Cottage  
 King Henry's Walk  
 Ballspond Road  
 Islington

{written upside down}  
 Different col'r chalk  
 Mrs. Angell  
 7 Charloten St. [Charlotte, Charleson?]  
 Edinbro'  
 Care of Mr. Williams

**ff94-95v**; NOTES ON BEDS, HOSPITAL FURNITURE ARRANGEMENT, LIGHT PENCIL;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1852?

**f94**

Notes on beds, bed space, etc.

{in FN's hand:}

To commence a Hospital or a Ward

Beds should be           3 ft wide                               wrought iron  
                          6 ft 2 inches long

[~~illeg~~] sacking with brass eyes to draw light, & brass  
eyelets in the wrought iron.

with 2 standards made hollow at the bottom  
to loop on       3 ft high -- with {illeg passage} print (black  
& red between, lined with white calico  
& two pockets.

see bed in Lansdowne ward

Salisbury

foot posts 3 ft. with shelf between  
for medicine, etc.

matrasses in 3 or 4 thirds so as to have always a spare third  
with funnel &c

beds out from the wall, with a  
little space for washing etc., divided by  
either curtain or board.       4 ft. from the  
wall.

or two beds close together board between  
& door on the other side.       1/2 inch deal 6 ft.  
high.

table stool wash hand stand

with all necessary implements inside.

**f94v**

A nurse from the Nursing Sisters  
with anybody under her

**f95v**

Everyday Wonders

or Facts in Physiology which all should  
know

Published by Van Vorrst

by Miss Bullar London

{in pen} Rue Notre Dame des Champs  
Soeurs du Bon Secours.

**ff96-97** NOTES ON OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF BRITISH MALES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f96** [archivist:] Census Figures  
1841

[5:93-95]

[in FN's hand]            Jan 14. 1853  
By the last Census, the population of Great  
Britain was nearly 21,000,000

The mining <i>population</i> ,	800,000
(3 English counties)	
Manufacturing do.	4,130,000
(5 English counties)	
Agricultural do.	5,600,000
(23 English counties)	
Mixed Ag. & Man.	2,270,000
(8 English counties)	
In Great Britain	
men above 20 years, are	4,760,000
of these	
Employed in Manufactures	390,000
in retail Trade or Handicrafts	1,730,000
	-----
Employed in Trade or Manufacture } or nearly 45 per cent    }	2,120,000
Farmers & Occupiers	274,000
Agricultural Labourers, etc.	923,000
	-----
Employed in Agriculture } or 25 per cent }	1,197,000
Professional educated men	200 000
Labourers (not agricultural)	500 000
Men servants	150 000
Alms People	54 000

**f96v**

Of Men & Women of all ages in Great Britain	
employed in Cotton Factories	312 000
Woollen & Worsted --	124 000
Flax	41 000
Silk	44 000

Men & Women	
employed as Miners	194 000
(of whom under 20 years of age are	51 000)
employed as smelters	36 000
(of whom under 20 years of age are	8 500)

The results of the last Census are not yet out. so that some of these numbers may chance to be wrong by a hundred thousand or two -- such is the fluctuation of population in England. By writing a note to the Home Office & stating the object of the enquiry, the results of the last Census might be obtained.

In London, population now	2,450,000
In Churches & Chapels of all} denominations, sittings for}	750 000
(of these, communicants are	100 000)
Go to no place of worship whatever	1,700,000

In this respect, the United States are 6 times better off than London.

In the Wynds of London, or what are called the "back slums", 40 live in a room or 6 families. 5 in a bed, who pay 2 d each. In Marylebone there are 3000 lodgers in 49 lodging=houses.

work through Sunday	100 000
women annually in custody for intoxication	10 000
criminals annually in London gaols	36 000
Children=thieves ( <i>before Ragged Schools</i> )	30 000

**f97**

There are in London criminal persons	471,000	
so that 1 in 5 of all whom you meet is a criminal		
of these -- thieves	50 000	Provision shops 10 790
Persons making their	150 000	only
subsistence of profligacy		& Public Houses 11 000
Gin drinkers	180 000	
Drunkards	30 000	One third of all the
Beggars	25 000	drunkenness is committed
Professional gamblers	15 000	on Saturday nights &
Receivers of stolen goods	5 000	Sundays.
Children trained to crime	16 000	English are the most
	-----	drunken nation upon
making	471,000	earth & Sheffield is the
		most drunken town in
		England
Clergy in London	1275	The cause of this is the
Missionaries	279	possibility of having wages
Scripture Readers	120	high enough in 3 days' work
Visitors	1000	to last them the whole week
Sunday Sch. teachers	7259	

{written vertically} I take those towns only whose population is above 100 000

{written horizontally}	<i>Population</i>	<i>Proportion of Drunkards to Pop:</i>
Sheffield	135 000	/ : 90
Leeds	185 000	/ : 270
Bristol	140 000	/ : 180
Birmingham	234 000	/ : 290
Manchester	354 000	/ : 400
Liverpool	400 000	/ : 450

There are in London	Omnibuses	3 000
	Cabs	3 500
	employing	11 000

To this population of 11 000 only two missionaries assigned

**f98** NOTES ON THE PREFACE OF BOOKS, LD CORNWALLIS IN INDIA, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED FEBRUARY 14, 1853

The preface of a book ought to set forth, first the importance of what it is going to treat of, (that the reader may understand what it is he is reading for;) secondly, it must distinctly shew what he wants to prove.

Ld Cornwallis acted in India [10:797]  
either as if it was tabula rasa  
or as if the Hindoos had no old  
feelings, traditions & customs to  
interfere with his new plans.

In this way can no reformer act.

[Feb. 14 '53]

object of the preface of a book  
Lord Cornwallis in India

scrap among the constitution des hospitalieres  
de St Augustin

**f99** NOTES ON DAILY SCHEDULE FOR NUNS, LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN

S. Vincent shy of having women of rank in his Sisterhood  
preferred the lower class, only admitted the former after  
a time

rise summer & winter at 4

4 1/4 -- 5 meditation

5 -- 5 1/4 charge

5 1/4 -- 5 1/2 breakfast

5 1/2 -- 6 oraison vocale in chapel

6 -- 7 mass

7 -- 11 1/2 charge

11 1/2 -- 2 dinner, prayer & recreation

2 -- 2 1/2 lecture

2 -- 5 1/2 charge

5 1/2 -- 6 meditation

6 -- 8 supper & recreation

8 -- 8 1/2 prière du soir

8 1/2 -- 9 preparation for bed.

Recreation however seldom made not even lecture, because  
nothing is to interrupt their charge.

they only drink water

il ne viendra [?] pas me chercher au 5ème  
soignée comme elle l'est & avec une image mère la Ste Vierge  
il est impossible qu'elle ne tienne pas la main depuis

Add Mss 43402i

799

Dieu est obligé de nous soutenir (soignée)  
Voilà le bon Dieu qui va chez ma soeur Claire.

**ff100-07** NOTES ON MORALITY AND THE DUTIES OF SISTERS AND SUPERIORS, PENCIL;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3301]

**f100**

Novices

Let your first thought in the morning be for God,  
offering yourself to him for the day. "Voilà le bon Dieu qui va  
chez ma soeur Claire". Quemadmodum desiderat Ps 41. Prevererunt  
oculi mei ad te Ps 118

Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo. Sitivit ad te anima  
mea quam multipliciter tibi caro mea. Ps 62

We may say this when, from the moment of waking, our mind  
thinks of God, our heart carries all its desires to reside in God  
No creature pretending any share in them for all this day  
then our soul has a thirst of God.

And our flesh has in many manners when, shaking off  
sleep, we rise ~~in haste~~ with readiness & our knees bend to adore for a  
moment God, in the first place. Deus cordis mei Ps 72

Place yourself in union immediately with the Perfect  
Spirit of Wisdom and Goodness. Judicimini Dnum J.C. Romans 13

Foresee the occasions in the day when you will have  
most difficulty in order to offer them to our Lord, with a  
resolution to behave well in them, as also to combat the fault  
you have undertaken to correct, or to exercise the virtue you  
have resolved to acquire. This while dressing.

Then say Our Father

In the 1st petition you ask that you should be only an instru=  
ment for the glory of God, & that He shd be hallowed or honoured  
in you & in all creatures by your union with Him.

in the 2nd that he should reign absolutely in your soul, that  
the reign of Wisdom & Goodness should come, towards wh you have  
to help

in the 3rd that you should do in everything His will, (which  
will is shown you by His commandm'ts, His inspiration, & the orders  
of your Superiors telling you what to do) with the same purity of intention,  
joy &  
readiness that the Angels do since it is the same God you serve.

in the 4th, that he sho' give you bread spiritual & temporal  
Think over the points of your meditation, or prepare yourself by an  
ardent desire to appear before our Lord in prayer who is waiting for  
you to hear your requests and to treat familiarly with you terribilis est locus  
iste Gen 28

**f101**

Begin with praying Our Lord to unite you with him & to take entire possession of you to conduct, govern & move you in all things, that you may have His thought, His will, His desires, His Spirit, in short.

This ought to be done at the beginning of all the actions of the day, since it is impossible for us to do anything but by His Laws. Sine me nihil John 15

When the bell rings for prayer, say with the wise men, Let us go to the King & offer Him our presents. Ps 5 Introibo in domum tuam  
free your mind from every other thought & your heart from every other affection than what you are going to do, that you may be able to say with David, My heart is ready, Lord, my heart is ready.

Let all earthly thoughts depart & earthly passions rest, to leave the soul in the attention & respect due to the majesty of God here present. Deus in templo sancto suo, taceat a facie  
Hab 52

say ~~to him~~

Venite, adoremus, & procidamus ante Deum, qui fecit nos Ps 94  
unite yourself with Christ in his prayers, J.C. est notre bouche par laquelle nous parlons à Dieu, c'est notre oeil par lequel nous le pouvons voir & connoitre, & c'est notre main droite par laquelle nous nous offrons à lui

re=read the points of your meditation  
after the 1st prelude of picturing to the imagination the scene  
& the 2nd " of asking God grace to get the fruit we intend out of this meditation. (directing all your meditations to some particular end, as to the acquisition of some virtue or the extirpation of some vice, so as to draw from every subject means to advance in it more & more

Meditation is an exercise of the three powers of the soul, which are exercised upon a subject, not to draw from it speculative knowledge, which would be study, but practical knowledge, with reformation as its end).

Let memory begin, representing the subject which you have prepared with its circumstances. Then the understanding discourses,

**f102**

then the will is excited to form different affections, which must be reduced to some particular resolution which touches your reformation

The subject must be reduced to 2 or 3 points to aid the memory -- but you may read to assist the memory

If you feel distractions, do not look whence they come, nor make yourself uneasy, but keep firm in the presence of God. Cor meum dereliquit me Ps 39 Velociter exaudi me Ps 142

Discourse upon the subject, holding colloquies i.e. with our Lord or with your soul.

Ex. On the nativity

1 Point What is it you, O Lord, I see in this state?

O my soul, let us adore this divine child

2 Point What has reduced you to this state? To work for God

O my soulo, what must I then not do for Him?

3 P. But it is extreme love for me which has brought thee here?

I who see myself so tenderly loved now choose thee for the object of my affections, & will shew thee my love by my works, as thou didst in this way shew me thine.

The novices will go to the mistress of N.S. & tell her if they have any temptation, how they get on in acquiring the virtue they have undertaken, if they have discovered any new imperfection

they will say if they like their vocation

if they are careful of the things under their charge

if they have any aversions or difficulty in bearing anyone's faults

if they bear willingly to be reproved

if they acquire real humility of heart

they will propose any difficulty freely, & will ask the Mistress often to warn them of any faults to be remarked in them, & to give them any advice necessary to advance them to perfection

**f103**

The ancient religious orders attached the greatest importance to civility. Remember that what you did to please the world & not to be esteemed ill-bred & the deference that you used to pay out of compliment should come now from the heart & from a real esteem which you have for the persons with whom you converse, who indeed are of high condition, since they are sisters of J.C.

But take care of a certain affectation, which shews self-love, & abstain from compliments which are flattery, & importunate to those who wish to live with simplicity

Civility is part of the religious life

Let them then speak gently, always using entreaty when they ask for anything, & thanks when they have received anything. If anyone older than themselves speaks to them, if she is standing, let them stand to speak to her & if they have anything to say to anyone, if she is sitting low or stooping, let them do so ~~always~~ too.

Let them never call out to anyone, but let them go near to say what they have to say but not too near to be agreeable.

Let them never make a sign to call anyone, or to make her come, particularly if she is older, but go to her, only Superiors must do this.

At leisure times, they may take simply the first places that offer, altho' without affectation, they may leave the best places to the older ones, but if they refuse the others may take them without affectation.

Let the Probationers always bow to the Professed when they meet them. If it is the Sup'r or the Assistant, let them stop till she is passed.

Let them get up when a Professed comes into the room, give her a chair & place themselves below her.

Let them respect each other.

**f104**

Take your occupations from the hand of God & do them in His presence & for His love -- from (internally)

- 1 devotion, raising your mind to Him who works with you & without whose concourse you can do nothing. You can have no will but his.
- 2 obedience
- 3 charity, rejoicing to be able to do something for the common use
- 4 patience, especially in sweeping, washing up &c. The Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.  
externally with
  - 1 diligence
  - 2 exactitude, applying your mind to do whatever it is with the perfection the thing requires
  - 3 peace & tranquility, without hurry, which ~~is~~ only ~~people~~ tends to make yourself & others uneasy & to make you do the thing wrong

Always make a little review after your work, after your meditation of the way in which you have done it\*, ask forgiveness for the faults, offer again your action to Him & then think of it no more, but occupy yourself entirely in doing well the action which follows.

\* if you ~~have~~ adjusted your intention before setting yourself to it if it was purely out of love for Our Lord.

Examine twice a day to see in what disposition has been your heart, what have been its desires, what your most accustom=ed thoughts, which passions have predominated that day in your soul, of joy, of sorrow, of anger, of desire, that, by a generous resolution you may undo yourself of every imperfect inclination & affection, & put your heart into the liberty & peace, which those taste who desire nothing but God.

examine the progress you make in the virtue you are trying to acquire or in the vice you have undertaken, to subdue.

then offer yourself to God, as if this day were the first, on which you are beginning to serve God.

**f104v**

what manner of spirit you are of ought to be manifested by the way in which you spend your day, which way ought reciprocally to encourage that spirit

But I should think nobody would wish that their spiritual state should be judged or manifested only by the occupations of their day. They will it to be better than their conversation at the dinner table or in shopping or in making calls or going to the Exhibitions.

But if you ask them, is that really a manifestation of the spirit you are of, & if it is, is that a right spirit? will they say yes And then at night they ask pardon for having been of the world & in the morn'g they pray that they may lead a new life, tho' they fully intend to lead the old one.

Can you really keep with God while you are at Lewis & Allenby's? Is it a day spent with God which is spent so?

Any organization ought to be to arrange to make life a manifestation of the spirit you mean to bring

**f105**

If you wake in the night, say with Isaiah Chap 26 Anima  
meà desideravit te in nocte.

Offer to Him your sleep & try to go to sleep again directly

-----

examine if you have doubted the goodness of God in giving us the  
necessary helps to arrive at perfection, & if you have in consequence  
allowed yourself to be discouraged and undertaken less carefully the practice of  
virtue, as if all your diligence were useless.

if you have let yourself go to external occupations, passing  
a long time without raising your mind to God.

if you given anything to the patients without  
permission

if you have appropriated anything found in the house

if you have been too much attached to anything & murmured  
when it was taken away

if you have been careless about extravagance & have lost  
or spoiled by neglect anything of little or much value

if you have read anything you have found, like letters, or  
listened to anybody speaking to the Sup'r or Chaplain.

-----

the continual falling into the same faults is a mark of  
the uselessness of our practices

-----

Renouvellement de chaque semaine

There is nothing wears out so soon as the design of serving  
God & if the soul is not careful to renew it by the review of its  
interior & the reparation of what is fallen away, it will feel  
what Hosea says Comederent alieni robur ejus Hos 7

i.e. the desires & passions it has for external occupations  
have weakened it, taking away its vigour for spiritual things.  
& yet it has known nothing of it.

every week then go over

1 what God has done for you

2 what you have done for Him

what are your purposes? Have you any, not in union with Him  
do you prefer what puts you in sympathy with God or what puts  
you in sympathy with man, when these two differ?

3 how you can remedy what has been the cause of your relaxation this  
week... what you have to do the next Dixi nunc caelae [?] Ps 86



**f107**

of charity, & you may spend your whole day in acts of  
 charity, & you have never to look about for an opportunity  
 to do good. How blest then is your vocation. [end 3:307]

**f108** LIST OF RELIGIOUS BOOKS, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

{part of the top left hand side of page ripped away}

List of religious books with the notes on the Maison de Santé [in FN's hand]

- Vie de Mlle Legras par Gobillon
- Regles de la Congregation de Notre Dame
- Esprit de la même - - - - -
- Office du Bon Pasteur
- Constitutions de Port Royal
- Règle de Fontevraud
- Règle du Tiers Ordre des Minimes S. François de Paule
- Regle et Testament de S. François d'Assisi Frères Mineurs
- La même, 1621
- Regle du Tiers Ordre de S. François d'Assise 1666 Cordon Mystique
- 11 Regle du Tiers Ordre de S. François d'Assise Fr. Mineurs Recolets 1721  
Fr. Mineurs Capucins
- 12.13 Constitutions des Jesuites
- 14 Constitutions des Bénédictines
- 15 [Visite faite à l'Abbaye des Claires par M. de Rancé
- 16 [Conversations de l'Abbé de la Trappe
- 17 [Vie Monastique de De Rancé, Abbé de la Trappe
- 18 [Pensées de M. de Rancé, Abbé de la Trappe
- 19 Règles pour examiner l'avancement intérieur
- 20 Office des Hospitalières de Ste. Marthe
- 21 Règle de S. Augustin expliquée
- 22 Règle & Constitutions de la Visitation. S. François de Sales
- 24.25 La même. Journée Spirituelle à l'usage de la Visitation
- 26 S Vincent de Paul
- 27 Cérémonial des Hospitalières, Dames Augustines
- 28 Règles & Constitutions du Sacré Coeur
- 29 Règlement des Soeurs du Sacré Coeur
- 30 Regles de Vie Chrétienne. S. François de Sales
- 31 Regle du Tiers Ordre de Mont Carmel
- 32 Règlement de la Congrégation de la Bonne Mort
- 33 Exercices Spirituels des Frères de l'Oratoire

**ff109-19v** NOTES ON FRENCH HOSPITAL, MAISON DE SANTÉ, ROUTINES  
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1852-3

**f109**

[with papers of 1852-3]

[12:58-60]

{in FN's hand}

Maison de Santé

journée de maladie

4 fr

do à Hospital

2 fr

average of daily receipt

3 fr

only one year cleared itself, costs the ville from 25 000 to 60000 fr annually

if patient is found to want a nurse to himself, nurse

put on, ~~late~~ & charged to patient 3 fr a day & night or 1 1/2 fr

the day or the night

~~patients~~ carte du jour made out before the Dr. comes.

Dr. has it in his pocket. Shews it to the patients, if Dr. orders

anything to the patient different, it is provided, if patient

has a fancy for anything different, & is not countermanded by Dr.

patient may order it at his own expense. The nurse getting it

when she goes out or the commissionaire. This to prevent

secret bringings in of provisions & pastry by the friends.

If friends persist, their visits are refused, altogether. If nurse sees

such food, she must report it to the Superint't, who must

report it to the Committee, with a view of having such patient

discharged, as the will of the Drs.

Superint't makes 3 visits a day, to each patient one with the Drs in the

morning, one with the *cahiers* when the medicines are delivered

to see if each patient has what is right, one with the

visite du soir, to see that the patient has understood

how to take the medicine & has taken it. If he does not,

reported to the Dr, who recommends discharge of patient

Night nurses come on at 9 o'clock, & stay till 2 the

next day, then ~~they~~ sleep in common Dormitory. Night nurse

spends the night in the little kitchen, only going to the

patients when their bell rings, unless (in the common salle),

a bell is a long time without ringing, in which case the night

nurse goes to see & unless there is a patient known to be very

ill in the chambres particulières.

Five or six being quite enough for the Common salle. 18 as here, too

If a patient is disturbing to the others by delirium put into a private

Room at his own expense

**f110**

nurse & a sub to each floor. she is never to come off her floor. except for her dinner & her patients dinners & suppers, to have every thing upon her own floor which she ~~has~~ will find necessary to make tea & breakfast for herself & patients, hot water always, everything for their poultries indigestion [?], etc. etc.. in short, never to be obliged to leave her floor.

Under her one or two Probationers, who shall be entirely under her orders, as she is under the orders of the Matron & of whom she shall give an account every night to the Superint't.

To every room a bell, which bell shall ring into the passage outside [?] the nurse's little kitchen, which little kitchen may be in her bed=room, but her bed=room, whatever it is & her kitchen must be on the same floor as her patients otherwise she loses her time and spirit [illeg] in going down into the kitchen, cutting bread & butter & boiling eggs, which the cook has not time to do at the moment for her. Cook to have a girl to do the dirty work.

The bell ~~should have~~ is a valve with the No of the room over it which flies open & remains so ~~when it rings~~ after it has rung that the nurses may see who has rung -- one bell rings for all the valves to call attention to them.

It is better that the nurses & probationers should dine with the Superintendent or Matron & not with the servants nor upon a stone floor (unless they dine each in their little room)

Each nurse & probationer to be allowed one quarter of an hour's walk in the day, but never all at once

Each nurse to arrange ~~that~~ so as to be able to spare her probationers unless in cases of necessity to have daily one lesson in the morning of needlework, one in the afternoon of reading, writing ~~or sewing~~ or arithmetic & one at night of religion, except on Saturdays.

**f111**

[torn] there is no commodité in a common salle a screen might be put up with the close stool, behind it for the patient to be alone, or a cabinet with a door round a window with the close stool within, as in the Charité

In the Charité a religieuse goes the round of the whole house, making two visits to each ward every night, to surveiller the veilleurs. her turn comes every 12th night.

The whole community rises at 4, in the wards at 5, remain till 8pm, go to bed at 9.

An ~~of~~ infirmier or infirmière to each 10 patients in Maison de Santé, one well person to 3 sick, including all servants.

Cold water runs all over the house, replenishes a boiler in the office of each ward, which has a cock for hot water.

Food comes up stairs in tins with hot water bottoms to keep all warm.

Passage in the Maison de Santé with six rooms on each side they might be separated but by a cloison, each however having a window, a curtain only closing the cul [?], a nurse walking up & down the intermediate space, or no double row but simply a long room, divided all the way down by cloisons or curtains, the end not closed, at all, so that the nurse sees in. Some patients prefer *not* being alone

Convenience for warming linens in the little kitchen on every story.

Water closet on every story, with cold water cock, patients prefer going to the water closet.

Bell *in each* bed of the common salle, which rings outside the door one bell, attendant going in sees who rang, in the common salle those who can sit up may eat at the table in the middle

**f112**

[torn] objection to mixing paying & non paying patients the latter always think the former are better cared for, the former always think the others have as much as they, they cannot say to the public, We pay, we are not a charity

If they have the same linen, the same kitchen, doctors, medicines, as the others, they are on the same footing, breathing the same air & do not like it, & ask why do we pay? If there is a *different* establishment for their things, where is the saving? It may as well be different all together.

Ask the nurses *before* the patient, whether the patient has taken her medicine.

In Maison de Santé, patients may go out without permission, visitors are admitted at all hours, till 11 o' clock anything may be done in & out of the house patients may send out for food, relations may be admitted on the footing of patients, to nurse their sick relations in short every thing may be done as in a private family. Only the relatives are strictly under surveillance to do nothing but what the Dr orders, in that case

In the Charité, one nun, two novices & 13 subs to a salle of 130 beds or i.e. 6 infirmières for the day, 3 for the night, 2 frotteurs, to cirer infirmières sweep 5 times a day. window between each bed.

close stool. i.e. an armchair with a metal closely shutting down top.-- all nurses & surveillantes of all Hospitals have a retraite at the Salpêtrière existence [faint passage]

doctor keeps the cahier. it remains in the possession of the Superint't after having been to the Pharmacien serious remedies are given by the Superint't herself.

It is necessary to have a Superint't who shall be in the rooms every minute, have for giving the medicins? does the patient know how it is to be taken? Dr finds his medicines never taken & gives it up.

Impossible to prevent servants from taking money from the patients. **[end12:60]**

**f113**

[archivist] The convent of the Bon Pasteur  
[in FN's hand]

[8:510-15]

Chapter held once a week, for an hour by the Super't for each to accuse herself in turn of exterior faults. It is begun by Veni Creator. then all stand, & the penitents, who are to speak, have their names called in turn by a Sister, as all ~~cannot~~ have not time to speak, but if any has done anything considerable, she ~~will~~ is to come of her own accord -- They accuse themselves on their knees, loud eno' to be heard by all. To excuse one self at the Chapter is a 'considerable' offence, & all the Community will prostrate itself as a reparation. (Nothing can be said out of Chapter of what has been said there). But at all the 3 Examens daily, a Penitent may accuse herself to a Sister & ask for penitence.

The Penitents undress within their curtains. They will be changed from one bed or dormitory to another without asking any reason but the desire of their perfection.

At 5 o' clock a Sister rings the waking bell & says, Sisters, here is J. Ct who is coming & all answer Let us go to meet him. If any is not ready at 5 1/2, she must dress on the stairs, for the room will be locked. One Sister sleeps in each dormitory, locks the door at night (after seeing that all are in their beds) & puts the key under her pillow.

The Sisters take no vows, no engagement, she is admitted by the Chaplain, the Super'r & 4 advisors (together). after a time of probation, she is admitted by the *Chapter* by a simple majority. Then 3 days of retreat to ask God's will, then she is solemnly received. she kisses the Penitents all round; then she serves at dinner, & kisses all their feet, to shew the engagement she has taken to be their servant.

No distinction between the Sisters & Penitents either in food, lodging or dress, except in the cap -- their only distinction a more perfect life. The Sisters must be the living rule for the P's, they must ask nothing of them but which they practice themselves, & the P's will not find it painful.

God alone being the beginning & end of their friendship, there will be not partiality. The Sisters will not love the P's for partiality's sake, but only for J. Xt's sake, who preferred the most forsaken.

**f114**

Scandals will arise from Probationers & Patients dismissed who will give the Establishment a bad name. This must be expected. Let it be borne with tranquillity. If God is with us who will be against us? If He is not, the establishment will fall of itself, if He is, we are too happy to suffer innocently, would you rather suffer being guilty? I do not believe they wish to hurt us, for we wish to hurt no one, on the contrary, we would wish to do good wherever we can. And the Lord forgives us our trespasses as we forgive those who have trespassed against us. Indeed we have nothing to forgive, for they have only abused us from not knowing us.

Do not say, you are tired. How happy are those who are

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tired at night in the service of God!

**f115**

Conference with the nurses every Friday to ask their advice about any change to be made in the house. No conversation ever to be allowed about the Patients among each other, nor to the Super't unless she questions them, much less to the servants. The Super't will observe the patients for herself.

The Super't will let the Nurses see that she knows their trials with the patients, if they have any peculiar one, will assume it herself, will caution the nurses against any partiality among their patients, but as the price of each soul is equal before God, will encourage them to equal attention for each. that, if any preference is to be shewn, it should be for those who want support the most, either from their temper which renders them the most unfortunate, or for their impatience, which makes them the most to be pitied -- & for those for whom the nurses feel least inclination. In order to be able to do this, they must often have recourse to God. to ask him to enable them to look at Jesus Xt & to act as he would have acted, not after their natural sentiments but after his, of profound pity for the human.

The Super't should accuse herself of her faults before the nurses, not at these conferences but with each in private & should endeavour to lead each to do the same with her.

With drunkenness she must be inexorable, instant dismissal, because it might cost the life of a patient. but with no other faults.

She should always ask the Nurses' advice about the Probationers -- consult them whether & how much they can be spared for their lessons, every eveng she must give them spiritual instruction herself -- the reading & other lessons may be given by others. ~~if the~~ The Nurses must give an account every night to the Super't of the Probationers.

**f116**

The Super'r must be willing to eat the remains of the Nurses' dinner, to eat any how. must wait on the Nurses, when ill must guide them by example more than by words. If a nurse complains of her dinner, let the Super'r eat it. Let the Super't do what the nurse objects to.

She must find in meditation what she will afterwards give to the Sisters.

"I cannot think how they can listen to me. I who have never learnt in a Community, how can I conduct a Community?"

She must discern the dispositions of the Sisters, the employments which suit them, whether they are sincere & likely to persevere. There are certain decisive moments in illness only known by the first Doctors, where the remedy must neither be delayed nor precipitated. These; the time & the means to state minds, must be known to a Super't.

Never reprove except in private, praise the penitent for her first fervour, make her confess that she has been wrong ask her what she will do to correct it. share, if possible, the correction with her, misleading, like taking another person's medicine.

The first thing in conducting is to gain the heart.

If they could but come of themselves to tell their fault. Postulate for from 3 to 6 months. Then a short time en retraite before beginning, during which time their dispositions were observed by the surveillantes Soeurs; then the life was told them exactly that they might not be surprised at its austerity. then 5 years noviciate before taking any engagement which engagement is only for a year.

-----

Never with penitents allow them to speak ever to you, even out of humility, of their past life, much less to one another. never, however necessary the occasion may seem, reprove them with it. Let them forget it. Let them not remember what God has forgotten. these dangerous images might become a temptation. Silence on it all. never let strangers speak with penitents or give them any marks of particular favour.

**f117**

[torn] who eats my flesh &c. I in him & he in me.  
 i.e. he who communicates is a J. Christ himself, which cannot  
 be, unless he is humble & suffering like Him. he who communic'tes  
 is changed into J.C. & this change makes him a J. Xt. himself  
 so that he will love nothing any more but humiliation & suffering.

Do not confess often. A quoi bon? For either it shews a  
 continuation of sin, or of scrupulosity. If you confess always the  
 same crimes, what good is confession? You must only go to confession  
 when you have committed some sin, & after having confessed it, you  
 must not commit it again.

So it is *not* for the fear of offending God that you don't  
 commit a crime, but it is for the fear of losing yourself

On peut dire qu'il était tout abîmé en Dieu & qui vivait  
 sur la terre, sa conversation était dans le ciel.

Humility, you can't say anything so bad of me that I don't  
 deserve it. always answer thus.

-----  
 uniform dress necessary. that the poor may not be despised,  
 nor the rich flattered.

-----  
 If Jesus Xt. only died for that parish or for my own family  
 when she was told only to admit those of her own parish, only to  
 care for her own family.

She never took a penitent with a "pension", however small.  
 the first gown only is provided & the penitent receives no alms from strangers.  
 If we observe His laws, it is necessary/essential to His goodness to support us  
 if we don't, we don't wish to be supported.

-----  
 Never ask for money. -----  
 Keep the penitents for life, or place them well.

-----  
 Dieu se passera bien de moi, si je viens à mourir. J. Xt. ne  
 peut mourir. ~~Ce n'est~~ Quand Dieu m'aura retirée, vous comprendez  
 que ce n'etoit pas moi mais lui seul qui soutenait sa maison.

mortel de la [sa?] tristesse  
 Xt. did not choose to be raised above the body but to suffer all the ennui

**f118**

Comment elle se portoit. Fort bien, ma fille. Hé comment le portez vous [illeg] ma mère. C'est que se bien porter, c'est être dans l'état où Dieu nous veut.

The Infirmière was to leave anything she was doing for her, the Super't, to go to the other sick. She sent them often what had been prepared for her.

Si vous n'êtes pas dans la disposition de rendre service à la dernière de vos Soeurs comme à moi & préférablement à moi, je n'ai que faire de vos services

died aged 36 Madre Combé

-----

She désigna the next Super'r before she died, who was, en effet, ~~chosen~~ elected tho' she was the last entered into the house, & tho' her health was ruined.

-----

Day of the Penitents

- 5 dress & do their rooms  
 5 1/2 - 6 1/2 prayer (in Chapel) oraison & office  
 6 1/2 - 8 work & silence  
 8 - 9 bread. mass & giving an account before one another of their good thoughts during the silence  
 9 - 10 work. they sing Veni Creator at 9 to honour the descent of the H.G. at that hour on the day of Pentecost. 1/2 an hour's reading aloud, & giving an account to the Sister of what they have remarked in the reading.  
 10 - 11 work. recite Litanies of Jesus, sing Commandments 1/4 hour reading aloud.  
 11 - 11 1/2 work. Rosary. Examen particulier in which they accuse themselves aloud.  
 11 1/2 - 12 1/4 dinner  
 12 1/4 - 2 recreation & a little "lecture"  
 2 - 3 work, recite Vespers & silence  
 3 - 4 work Adoration of Jesus dying (kneeling) in a prayer give an account of what they have tho't during silence  
 3 1/2 bread 1 point of lecture -- silence  
 4 - 5 work Complins, singing for 1/2 an hour as in the morn'g, 1 point of lecture, 1/4 hour silence  
 5 - 6 work, 1/2 hour reading, talking of it as in the morn'g.

**f118v**

6 - 7 work. Rosary. Examen & prayer  
 7 - 8 1/2 supper. recreation or work in silence & a little talking  
 8 1/2 - 9 reading, prayer, bed.  
 every week one penitent chosen to say all the prayers  
 one to do the reading at the work  
 one at the refectory

& the little readings are done by a Sister.

Each house of the Bon Pasteur under the jurisdiction of the Bishop & Archb'p of its diocese. The Archb'p names the Chaplain The Sisters may represent it to the Archb'p if he does not suit He must not be under 40, zealous, gentle, prudent & strong.

A temporal Mother au dehors must also be found, who will examen every 3 months the accounts with the spiritual Mother, & append her name. She must be a lady of well known reputation

The Sisters choose the Super'r by a majority, with the consent of the Archb'p.

The Super'r assembles the Sisters every month, to concert with them the means of preventing a relaxation of discipline. She has several assistants, whom she consults about receiving, placing, dismissing

Easter Sunday they will rise one hour earlier than usual to seek Jesus risen again like the women in the Gospel.

At bread time one Sister says Remember, Sisters that God is here present, & all answer We believe it & we adore Him with all our hearts. The Sister says, Let us work in His holy presence for the love of Him & for the expiation of our sins & they answer all, Amen.

In winter, as so much work is not done as in summer, & yet, as the Penitents must gain their bread by their work, they work till 10 PM & therefore do not get up till 6 A.M.

If any one feels sleepy at the Sermon she will kneel down to wake herself.

At recreation they will not speak either of their own sins or of any one else's, nor of their temptations & difficulties, nor of the conduct & gov't of the house, but they will be cheerful, tho' not boisterous.

**f119v**

As the price of souls is equal, the love for them must {illeg} if there be any preference, it is for those who want have the most need to be supported & for whom the Sisters feel least, or account of their bad (& therefore unhappy) disposition

To act thus, recourse must often be had to God to ask from Him ~~the~~ His Spirit of goodness & wisdom, Jesus Xt must be looked to, how he acted, (& never but for his Father) it is the only way. The P's will learn ~~it~~ this from the Sisters. they will learn to conduct themselves as children & not as slaves. to do good for the love of it & not from fear of punishment. Then, nothing will cost them anything.

The S.'s, when they have to reprove, must first ask of the Spirit of Love & Wisdom what to say, then humble themselves by the recollection of their own faults, lest they shd be tempted by pride or anger in reprovng. They must be calm, *never doing from zeal* or temper when must be done *purely from charity*. A patience having its perfect work. If the reproof must be public, the person who has erred must be disposed & prepared to undergo voluntarily the confession she has deserved.

If the S's has not authority enough in herself, upon the mind to persuade to this, She must address them to the Super't, whom she will inform *with* a consent of the P. who has erred if possible, of the species of fault & of the remedy to be applied.

No S. ever to be reprovred before a P. even if wrong. The part of the P. is never to be taken in their presence against the S's, however right they may seem. But the P.s to be exhorted to silence, the S.s to be advised in private.

The S.s to treat one another with mutual deference as an example to the P's of civility.

There must be a confidence in the Super'r suitable to the task in which God has placed her, in order to soften the burthen of the Superintendency.

**ff120-39** NOTES ON AUGUSTINE HOSPITALS, NURSES, SISTERS & GOVERNMENT, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN [with ff120-32, pieces of the upper left-hand part of the page are ripped away]

**f120**

Règle des Hospitalières Augustines.

[torn] visiter le Fils de Dieu souffrant pour nos  
[torn] la personne de ces hommes que souffrent  
[torn] propres dés ordres.

Warburg's Drops for ague Charles Knight  
does not incite fever like Quinine  
may be taken when the fit is on

30 grammes	= 1 oz
500 gr	= 1 lb
1000 gr	= 1 kilogramme

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4 gr = 1 gros

5 centigrammes = 1 grain

f121 [torn down left side]

[3:317-18]

{illeg} des Hospitalières de S. Augustin

Toutes doivent être grandement intérieures, se souvenant  
 {illeg} actions extérieurs de vertu, exercées ou dans la Commu  
 [aut]é ou dans l'Hopital, ne sont d'aucune valeur pour le  
 {illeg} si elles ne procedent de l'intérieur, et partent qu'elles  
 {illeg} d'avoir une droite intention en toutes leurs opérations,  
 {illeg} ou grandes. s'efforçant de servir, leur Epoux, non  
 [seule]ment pour la crainte de ses chatimens ou pour l'espoir  
 [des] grandes récompenses, mais plutôt pour lui agréer  
 [illeg]ment & lui complaire en toutes choses.

{illeg} Puisque notre Institut recherche tellement la plus  
 {illeg} de Dieu, qu'il ne laisse aucune perfection à  
 [aucu]ne ame religieuse ni puisse aspirer ça bas, donnons  
 [illeg]ment & non à demi à notre Créateur, & nous  
 {illeg} marcher toujours en sa présence & d'acquérir  
 {illeg} & respecteuse familiarité intérieure avec sa  
 {illeg} Ce que nous pourrons obtenir

{illeg} *Premièrement* par un entier & parfait denuement de  
 nous memes, nous eloignant de toute affection & familiarité  
 des créatures, réprimant nos sens, rompant nos volentés,  
 soumettant en tout notre propre jugement, désirant d'être  
 meprisées, non seulement des domestiques, mais encore des  
 étrangers, souhaitant d'être tenues grossières & sans esprit  
 de parens pauvres & de basse condition, en un mot d'être  
 tenues pour les plus imparfaites de toute la maison, sans  
 toute fois commetre aucune sottise ou aucune faute extérieure  
 qui puisse mal edifier les autres; recevrant les mepris, les  
 moquiries & les reprochemens de qui que ce soit, comme une  
 faveur de Dieu, qui nous rend par ce moyen plus semblables  
 à son fils. Aussi faut-il qui l'Epouse de Jesus Christ  
 aime fortement les trois Compagnans de Jesus, qui sont la  
 Pauvreté, le Mepris & la Douleur.

[end 3:318]

*Secondement* cette sainte & familière conversation avec Dieu  
 s'acquert, par l'exercise des plus hautes vertus Chrétiennes, par  
 des actes de foi & d'espérance, souvent reitérés, par des actes

**f122** [torn off down left side]

[illeg] pur amour de complaisance en la bonté & beauté  
 {illeg} Dieu, se [illeg resiouyssant?] de ce qu'il est, de ses grands  
 {illeg} & perfections divines; desirant qu'il soit connu et  
 [hon]oré de tous les hommes; par des artes d'Adoration, de  
 [sou]mission à sa grandeur; de remerciement, et d'actions  
 {illeg} pour tous les biens qu'il a faits à toutes les  
 {illeg} les plus ingrates & les plus saintes -- de bénédiction  
 {illeg} desirant lui rendre autant d'honneur par la  
 [plus] petite de nos actions, s'il nous était possible, que tous  
 [les] Seraphins lui en rendent au plus haut des cieux; par des  
 [actes] de résignation & d'acceptation de toutes les souffrances  
 [qui] lui plairoit nous envoyer; en un mot de toutes les  
 {illeg} selon les occasions & les occurrences qui s'en présentent  
 {illeg} {illeg tirant?} souvent ce Chapitre & le méditerent **[3:318]**  
 {illeg} pour mieux concevoir le haut état de leur vocation,  
 {illeg} elles ne perdent courage pour se voir appelées à une  
 grande sainteté, qu'elles tachent de se rendre fidelles,  
 selon la mesure des graces que Dieu leur communiquera,  
 sans ennui & sans chagrin de ne se voir élevées tout en un  
 coup, au plus haut degré de perfection qui leur est  
 proposé. Notre Seigneur donnera en son temps à leur  
 soumission & patience, ce que leur propose industrie & confiance  
 en leurs forces ne leur pourra jamais acquérir.

Servant notre Seigneur sans aucun interet, purement & **[3:318]**  
 simplement pour lui complaire, secourant le Prochain sans  
 attendre autre récompense de nos petits travaux, que d'agréeer  
 à celui qui nous a assuré qu'il tiendrait comme fait à sa propre  
 personne ce que nous ferions au moindre des siens. L'assistant  
 avec autant d'affection, de soin & de persévérance, que si elles  
 servoient J.C. même en sa propre personne.

**[3:318]**

Once a year, each Sister will go to the Mother, answer sincerely  
 all her questions & request} her to assign to her a Sister, who shall  
 warn her of her faults.

And each shall have a time given her to replace before her own  
 eyes the end of her calling & to see *how she has employed the means to arrive at*  
*it.*

*arrive at it*

**f123** [torn off down left side]

[Or]aison 1 hour AM 1/2 hour PM in chapel.

{illeg} may be done if there is time.

[illeg] par voie de discourse & méditation

{illeg} sur le péché, puis sur les quatre fois, Vie,

{illeg} Passion & Résurrection de JC.

{illeg} la volonté recueille le fruit, prenant de bonnes résolutions,

{illeg} éfforçant après aux occurences de les mettre en pratique

{illeg} commence par là ses oraisons.

{illeg} la contemplation qui consiste en une simple vuë de

[que]lque attribut ou perfection Divine, & en une sainte

[illeg]pation de notre volonté dans l'exercice de quelque

[acte?] de complaisance en la grandeur de Dieu, si notre

{illeg} l'a donné à quelque Soeurs, elle s'efforcera de corres

{illeg} cette grace, par un continuel denuement de soi mesme

{illeg} choses

{illeg} mesure de leur avancement ne doit point, être tiré des

gouts ou des sentiments ou des connoissances qu'elles pourrait

avoir à l'Oraison, mais plutôt de la force qu'elles se font à

elles memes, de la pratique des Vertus

Nous devons prier pour tous ceux auxquels nous avons quelque **[8:103-09]**

obligation, *pour tous ceux qui nous veulent quelque mal*, ce qui  
le peut faire en appliquant seulement l'intention à nos Offices

The Sisters are not to belong to any other Confrérie.

On doit eviter les fautes, voire les plus petites, qu'on pourrait  
commettre en cette occupation digne des Anges.

No novelty can be introduced by the Superior every day for  
more than a month without the consent of the Discretés, nor for  
more than 6, without that of the Chapter.

Two Examens AM & P.M. very carefully done, as these are  
a principal means.

To be very short in their Confessions, making more resolutions to  
amend than scrupulous researches into their sins, & if any one is  
too long, let the Sup'r give her some method.

If they want to communicate about their conscience with some  
prudent person, the Mère will be charitable, without asking the subject of  
the comm.

**f124** [torn off down left side]

{illeg} all be careful to read every day a bit at a time  
 {illeg}, in a book given by the Super'r, & they will read no  
 {illeg} without her permission.

Besides their private readings, every day a reading aloud  
 {illeg} once or twice a month *Conference*, the Super'r reads some rule,  
 {illeg} the conference is upon that, or upon the manner of doing well  
 {illeg} daily business, the Sisters either asking explanation, or the  
 Super'r making them tell their opinion. In these Conferences,  
 {illeg} must be ready to answer when they are questioned, to  
 {illeg} transpose? some point of edification, principally when they are  
 {illeg} to listen quietly, & let each take well the resolutions  
 {illeg} ~~their~~ to no one but herself what is said for all.  
 {illeg} are the helps to acquire the first part of our End,  
 {illeg} love of God  
 {illeg} come now to the perfect love of the neighbour, which  
 {illeg} other arm of charity, or the other part of the end to which  
 we are all to aspire.

-----

Let us pray for our Institute, & remember that its health depends  
 upon the health of all its parts. therefore, if the heads put the work  
 upon the subs, if ambition creeps in, it is killing the whole thing

If a factious sister, after having been several times warned,  
 goes on, the Sup'r must assemble the Chapter, to impose the  
 punishment before all.

The Sup'r shall be called Mother & shall call all the rest Sisters

Let them never speak of each other's faults, but if one per=  
 ceives another in some fault, after having gently warned her, if the  
 fault is continued & is hurtful, she may tell the Sup'r taking care that it is  
 with  
 a great love of the person & ~~only with~~ that she has certainty & sufficient  
 proof -- never giving to those du dehors a bad impression of the  
 house or of any individual in it. That there may be no  
 murmurs, Let no one speak either in private or in public of the sick, or  
 the dress, treatment, nor of the work of any Sister nor of her illness,  
 nor of any disorder which might happen, but tell the Super't &  
 if she must tell it in the Chapter, let it be with discretion.

**f125** [torn off down left side]

Let no one mix themselves in another's business, nor reprove [illeg] without orders.

Let each receive what is necessary for her office with gratitude, & if it is not proper, let them say so without complaining.

if refused, they will not apply to the Mother nor to the Chaplain yet what they want nor to complain without saying why they were refused, ~~sur~~ or ~~rebuked~~ (if it is to the Chaplain) ~~by the~~ why they were rebuked by the Mother. & they will never tell any fault of the house to the Chaplain, without the Mother has been told of this fault first.

They are to preserve their Mother's authority, to be always [on] her side, & never for any thing granted or refused within {illeg} that the house or for any thing whatever, to lay the blame {illeg}, but always to excuse her, even if she is in the wrong, {illeg in which?} case, if it is a thing of consequence, they may tell it {illeg} either to her Admonitrice or to the Sup'r, after having recommended the thing in prayer to God.

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Nous devons assister les malades avec un coeur plein d'amour, un visage doux & joyeux, une promptitude remplie d'alligresse évitant le plus diligemment qu'il nous sera possible, une certaine dureté, & insensibilité du mal d'autrui, que la longue fréquentation parmi les malades a coutume d'engendrer si on n'est sur les gardes, nous comportant en telle sorte que la malade connoisse que nous la servons sans dégoût, mais plutôt avec plaisir, pour longue & fâcheuse que puisse être sa maladie.

D'autre part, les malades doivent être obéissantes au Medecin & a l'Infirmière, témoignant par leur humilité & patience qu'elles prennent la maladie comme un don de Dieu ne recherchant aucun soulagement superflu, se mortefiant avec courage, embrassant la Croix de Fils du Dieu avec amour, & remettant tout le soin d'elles mêmes en sa sainte Providence.

f125v on diagonal

[illeg] the Supr propose these points with the nurses in public for a year that they may live & not die--if they agree, let them keep to it for a year--then settle again for another year

**f126** [torn on left]**[3:307]**

Humility consists not only in recognizing one's own faults but being glad that others should recognize them too glad to be [f]ound fault with never excusing oneself, receiving blame with a true feeling of one's deserts.

Let no sister speak of herself, of what she has left, of the affairs she has treated, nor of her temptations & difficulties nor of any extraordinary favour, excepting to the Sup'r to whom she will not conceal the good or the bad to which she feels herself inclined, that she may be succoured in her wants. **[end 3:308]**

She must be glad that all the faults wh. have been remarked in [he]r, should be told by any one whatsoever to the Super'r, without [he]r asking or trying to find out from whom it came. When the {illeg} shall reprove them, let them never shew in any fashion {illeg} they are not glad.

Let them detest le respect humain & kill as quickly as {illeg} les petits désirs to be loved or more prized than the others {illeg} this into a desire to be despised, by a real feeling of their poverty.

The Sup'r & Assistant will go first all the others taking their place by the length of time they have been there. Sisters first, Probationers next, servants last.

Qu'elles s'étudient fort diligemment de ne paroître maintenant joyeuses, puis tout à coup abatuës de tristesse passant d'une extrémité à l'autre, mais qu'elles touchent de garder au fond de leur coeur une égalité d'esprit, dans l'inégalité des sentimens, se montrant au dehors toujours en paix & en tranquillité

humbles et graves, comme de personnes qui ont une continuelle attention vers Dieu, mais toujours serains & joyeux, témoignant leur repos intérieur.

Qu'elles ne se touchent ni embrassent l'une l'autre, non pas même par jeu, ne par signe d'amitié, sinon aux venues ou départies.

Toutes feront une inclination à la Mère, chaque fois qu'elles la rencontreront, & salueront les autres par une modeste inclination.

**f126v**

{written diagonally across the page}

Don't they spend their whole time in speaking of one another? If you could get them to make a vow that, for 6 months, they wd not speak of another just for an experiment The liberty of speaking continually does indeed bring the worst consequences. Why you may say that every thing comes from that -- that, without that all wd go right.

**f127**

[cut off] à tête en quoi les plus jeunes ne se laisseront jamais prévenir leurs anciennes, ni les Soeurs Converses par les Religieuses de Choeur Que leur parler soit bas, qu'elles cèdent les unes aux autres, que jamais elles ne contestent ni débattent par aucune parole, par aucun geste ou signe extérieur, que si quelque Soeur opinâtre, refusant de faire ce qui est de son devoir, il ne faut point contester avec elle, mais en donner doucement avis à la Sup'r

Let the Sup'r change the rooms of the Sisters as often as she finds necessary from such considerations as these, never being obliged [cut off to] give any reason but their improvement.

Let their laughter be modest, remembering qu'on n'a jamais [cut off], mais bien sourire quelquefois, & pleurer souvent le Fils [cut off] leur Epoux [cut off] qu'elles n'ayent aucune affectation en leur maintien & en [le]urs habits. Qu'elles ne soyent curieuses de voir ce que font [leurs] compagnans.

Allant & venant, qu'elles ne fassent les empressées, en parlant si haut que les Soeurs en soient diverties.

Notre silence ne git [jit?] pas seulement à ne point préférer de paroles inutiles, mais beaucoup plus à banir loin de notre esprit tout vain entretien avec les créatures, occupant nos pensées & nos affections, le plus qu'il nous sera possible avec Dieu, & avec tous les bien-heureux Citoyens de Paradis, afin que nous puissions dire avec S. Paul, que notre conversation est au Ciel.

Silence must be kept in the Chapel, Dining room, Dormitory & Chapter, & above all, after the evening's recreation till after the morning prayers. if any thing must be said, let it be said short & low. The liberty of speaking=continually brings the worst consequences & is a sign qu'une ame est dissipée & qu'elle ne goute point l'entre, tien avec Dieu, *qui recherche souvent la conversation des créatures.*

Let no one speak to those, du dehors of what is done in the house, unless by desire of the Sup'r. nor ask their advice without leave. nor listen at the parlour, nor ask what has been said there, nor speak of what has been done in Chapter, nor guess or conjecture what has been done by the Discretas, but throw themselves into the arms of God.

**f128**

When the Sisters go to see any one or any one comes to visit  
 [cut off] they will first ask God for his blessing, then try to bring forward  
 [cut off] discourse to excite to good works. that the visitors may perceive  
 [tha]t they have no longer any taste for the vain & curious conversations  
 [ab]out what is done in the world. & should go home from them excited to  
 devotion. No visit shall be made without the order of the Supr  
 [N]o visit shall be longer than 3/4 hour. there shall be a clock for  
 this purpose.

No one shall eat & drink out of hours, without permission  
 [cut off] Sisters shall serve at table each one week & wash up each  
 [cut off] week except on Sundays, when the servants shall wash up.  
 [cut off] there shall be no difference made in food for those in health,  
 [cutoff] between the Sup'r & the Sisters, except that the Sup'r shall be served  
 [cut off]  
 [cut off] reading aloud during dinner till the Sup'r gives the signal to  
 [cut off] & at supper. The Reader will also read at night after the  
 [cut off] the points for the Meditation -- but others will read the  
 {illeg} lectures.

An hour's recreation twice a day. (?) They are to dissemble  
 their ill humours to accommodate themselves to the good inclinations  
 of the others. Let them never speak all at once, nor interrupt,  
 but let them listen to one another, & let those who speak too  
 much remember, that they sin, that it is a great impropriety  
 to interrupt the others, & a pride, to talk incessantly, without giving  
 time to the others to speak in their turn.

It shall not be permitted to bring any news about the poor  
 or the patients which shall be a bad example.

7 hours they shall sleep, before they go to their patients, every  
 thing shall be in good order in their rooms, which they will sweep  
 once or twice a week.

6 Converses to 30 Professes. The Converses will be under the  
 Assistant.

Il faut supporter les unes les autres dans leurs défauts, mais  
 non jamais pour s'entr'appuyer dans le mal, sans prétexte d'amitié, ou  
 de compassion.

Religion treats & serves them comme les filles bien=aimées, let them  
 work avec d'autant plus de consolation qu'elles sont employées à la maison  
 de Dieu, en des occupations où l'on peut être très unie à Dieu with a doux  
 entretien  
 intérieur

**f129****[8:108-09]**

It is difficult to know which of the two must have most patience & devotion, the patient or the nurse, both have such real opportunities for impatience & coldness.

But 1 Jesus says that the patients are his other selves & that we serve him in them. With what affection shd we not serve J.C. if he came back? With what affection did not His mother serve Him? How he loved the sick & the poor that he should say that?

2 we imitate Christ, "having mercy" upon *him* too

3 we save souls as well as bodies

4 we have given all to the work of God & must not draw back

5 the prayer which is carried upon the wings of mercy

[pre]sents itself boldly at the throne of God.

[torn] the Sisters never sit upon the patients' beds, nor

[torn] laches or abattues, but let it be read upon their faces

[the] joy they have in serving J.C.

Let the Sisters have a holy contention who shall serve the sick who are most revolting, obtaining victories over themselves worthy of their calling.

Let them edify, not scandalize the Visitors, answering shortly any questions

saying simply that they have not leave, & referring them to the Sup'r. Let them use the same retenué towards the Chaplain Let them never lose their time in laughing with the patients, nor in making curious enquiries, nor make herself too easy or light-mannered with the Visitors.

Let the Sisters know some true stories, which excite to the horror of sin, to confidence in the goodness of God, examples of those who have loved suffering, & been resigned to the will of God in their illnesses. But let them never be troublesome, speaking too much or too loud. Let them be able to suggest to the patients short acts of hope, acceptance of their sufferings &c.

1/4 hour instruction to the Patients every day

As the dying can sometimes hear without being able to make a sign, let a few words be frequently said near them.

The Sisters must strive that all ~~those~~ patients they sent away with health of body may also take with them health of soul.

**f129v**

Hospitalière  
Head Nurse

who must nurse the [cut off]  
patient like J.C. Him[self]  
if He were sick.

at 7 o'clock at latest she will inform those who are to sit up of what they will have to do with each particular patient giving them what is necessary for the night.

She will tell the Sup'r at meals what is necessary for each patient

She will then go to each bed to see if anything is wanting to their meal & supply it.

She must take notice whether any Sister is too free with the patients or Surgeons, & after having warned her 2 or 3 times must tell the Mother, no fault being small in this respect

She will receive & accompany the Doctor during the vis[its] the Apothecary Sister being present, who will write the prescriptions in the vulgar tongue in a book which she will [cut off]

She will send away no patient without the permission [of] the Doctor & Sup'r & its being registered -- she will cause [cut off] prescriptions to be executed & see that each patient has them regularly, unless a notable change should take place in a Patient.

She will take care of all the furniture of the Hospital, as belonging to the Son of God, & give a register of it every year to the mother in her inventory.

She will receive the linen from the wash, keep it & distribute it to the sick at the proper time.

She will keep the Hosp'l clean & sweet, open the windows at proper times, see that the slops are emptied & that no linen or anything indecent is ever lying about.

She will see that the Chaplain visits once a day at least all the sick; if he is negligent, she will warn the Mother.

She will not stop to talk with any one who visits the sick, not even the Chaplain, longer than is necessary to answer their questions shortly, discreetly & civilly. If any one is troublesome to the patients, she will tell the Mother.

when there is the Sacrament, she will take care that every thing is solemn, clean & neat, even more than usual.

She must never be out of the Hospital, must see that the patients have prayers read to them if they like it.

**f130** [torn section]

In the men's rooms, no Sister shall, under any pretence go except those who serve there. nor any after 8 P.M.. If any Sister has orders to go there, she must be accompanied by one who is there.

A bell must ring into the men's wards, to give notice to the Sisters there, if any other Sister wants anything. No Sister is to stop to talk with any of the Infirmiers, & if she does so, either the Infirmier must be sent away or the Sister charged.

Nor is any Infirmier to talk with the female patients. [end 8:109]

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Government of the House

[3:308-312]

Each house under the authority of its own Bishop. but he is {illeg not?} to interfere with its Chapter rights. {illeg} has to examine the Novices, to declare the elections of the Sup'rs {illeg} to sign the cause of the dismissal of any Sister. {illeg} Bishop or Chaplain must visit once a year the house to uphold the observance of the rule, upon which however he can innovate nothing. The new Sister's Schedule will be signed on the Register by the Bp, Chapl'n & Sup'r

The Chaplain must be 40. he shall have nothing to do with the gov't of the Sisters, nor the affairs of the house, except as much as desired by the Sup'r.

No sister has a vote till she has been 10 years a Sister.

The Sup'r must be 40, elected every 3 years. all the other officers every year. if any one has tried to be re-elected her election is nil.

Any Sister of any house of the Order may be elected Sup'r of any house.

For a month before the Elections, the Sisters ~~ought to~~ are not to talk of it together, & if any are conspiring for the election of any one, they may be deprived of their votes by the testimony of 3 Sisters, who are obliged in conscience to reveal it to the Chapl'n.

They must determine before God & not by chance who is most capable. no one must give their vote to themselves. no one must blame the election when done nor any of the other capitular affairs.

**f131** [torn section]

A zeal for Regularity, an aversion of singularity, a power of administration, a middle between severity & indulgence, the firmness of experience & docility in taking counsel, prudent & not political, these are the qualities which the Sisters must look for in voting their Sup'r, remembering that they will one day have to render an account of their votes.

In the Assistant, a spirit of union with the Sup'r, disinterested in executing her orders, clever in housekeeping & managing servants,

The Sisters will write the name of the Sup'r whom they wish to elect, secretly, & the name of any other whom they may be obliged to elect.

The Sup'r going out asks pardon of all the faults committed in {illeg} charge on her knees. the Chaplain then says at her request {illeg} Community discharges you in the name of the Father, Son &

All the Sisters communicate & put their written vote into {illeg a box?}

She is elected who has one vote more than the half, unless she be the one of the previous Triennial, when she must have two thirds. If after 4 times, no one gets it, the two who have most votes are balloted for with balls secretly, & in this case only the deposed one will need but one ball more than the half. The Sup'r is then declared elected by the Chaplain, a Te Deum is sung, all the other sisters in the house collected, after they retire, the other Elections are gone into

If after all, 2 or 3 have the same number, the oldest (in the service) is taken.

The elections of the other officers cannot be made until the newly elected Sup'r is on the spot.

All the lists shall be burnt after the Elections.

From the zeal of the Sup'r & Assistants for the rule will depend almost all the good of the house.

If a Sup'r dies, the elections of all the other officers must be renewed.

The Bp. Chaplain & another clergyman chosen by the Community shall always be present.

Assistant, Mistress of novices, Head Nurse shall all be elected in the same way as the Sup'r, but for one year. may be elected 6 years successively

**f132**

4 Discretas (or Advisors for the Sup'r) elected out of the principal Sisters not so by their office. they are elected like the others only 4 names are put upon the same ticket, till the number diminishes in proportion as one is elected.

None of these can be deposed except by the votes of more than the half of the Chapter & can only be suspended.

A Sup'r may be elected to found a new house in the same way. She must be 35 & 10 years a sister & have exercised the principal offices. she must have an assistant elected & 2 other companions, all 24 & 6 years sisters, elected like the Discretas, in presence of the Chaplain. As long as the Chapter is not established she must name (except the assistants) who is come, her own {illeg} & be herself her own mistress of novices. when there are no Sisters who have 6 years residence, there shall be a Chapter, to decide about the reception of novices & postulants etc. & the Superior, in these small Chapters, need be only 30 with 5 years residence.

When the Chap. is established for all the Elections, there must be 5 principal Officers, the Assistants, the Mistress of Novices, the Head Nurse, the Econome, the Manager of the Poor, & 4 Discretas, the Assistant & the M. of Novices are always Discretas.

In these Communities, these Chapter Sisters must be 30 years of age & 6 of residence, (& 8 of residence to have a vote for electing the Sup'r) & 24 years of age to be elected Assist't & M. of Novices.

#### Chapter

The dot of the Sisters regulated by them at ~~the~~ every change of Sup'r they receive the report made by the Sup'r & the Discretas of every Postulant before her entrance that she has the requisite qualities her dot cannot be diminished more than £ 8 without their consent. they may receive a poor one occasionally gratuitously, provided she be not received by favour.

All important money affairs, all foundations of houses, all borrowings & lendings, upon the funds of the Hospital, which must have a separate account from those of the Sisters, to be settled by them.

**f133**

All innovations to be made by them.

Every thing is verbally proposed at the Chapter, reasons given on one side & the other, but votes are given ~~secre~~ by ballot. If the No. is equal, it is tried again at another Chap., if still equal, the Sup'r may decide it affirmatively or leave it undecided.

Every thing is proposed by the Sup'r. the Chap. is begun with prayer for the H.G.

The Chap'r decides whether the affair belong to the Chap. or the Discretetes

*Discretetes*

Every 3 months the Sup'r assembles the Disc's & let all propose what they judge (in the presence of the judge of their intentions) to be necessary for the good of the house.

Let them review in the first place what has passed since the last Consulta. the relaxations of rule which have crept in & the means of remedy.

They can only dispose of £ 6 without the Chap. & if any extraor= dinary purchase is to be made, the Sup'r must take advice in their presence of the 4 or 6 ~~mo~~ oldest Sisters.

The Sup'r will propose *nothing* at the Chap. without first taking the Advice of the Discretetes. All their acts will be recorded in a book & signed by them.

They are to judge if a Postulant has the required qualities of body & mind to treat about her dot. also they are to examine the Novices, before they are examined at the Chapter. If any novice or Postulant had any relations among the Discretetes, she is to retire during the Consulta, that the others may act with liberty according to God.

They may speak in private to each Novice, 2 or 3 times during her Noviciate, at the time & of the subjects indicated to them

They may consult about taking & dismissing servants. & if a point in the Constitutions were dispensed with for more than 15 days, they are to consult whether it is necessary to continue it.

If the Sup'r refuses to follow the majority of the Consulta, the Chaplain or Chapter must decide.

After their advice given verbally, after the ballot, if by absence of a D. the votes were equal, the Superior decides affirmatively, or, leaves it.

**f134***Novices*

It is necessary that those who ask to be received should be well called, well examined, well chosen, & therefore the Sup'r & the D.'s will examine diligently those who present themselves to know, if their vocation comes from God, if without force or constraint & if they have the requisite qualities of body & mind.

They must be healthy & robust, unless the person had some excelling quality of mind or virtue.

They must be humble & courageous, to bear the fatigues of religion & more gay than melancholy. they must be not less than 18 nor more than 40. they must read & write, & have a great desire to serve God.

Those who are melancholy & scrupulous, who have any incurable malady, or the least bad reputation, or an illegitimate, or in debt or can be reproached with anything, or have parents so poor that they need her assistance, shall not be received, or being received, not kept

More than 2 of the same blood shall not be received, unless with 2/3rds of the votes of all the Chapter

Those who are thought proper by the Sup'r & the D's, & upon their report made to the Chapter, obtain a verbal majority, the parents' agreement being obtained, shall be admitted by the Sup'r, in presence of all the community, in silence, near the door, then placed under the M. of Novices.

6 months Postulate in their own dress. 1 year Noviciate after vêture

They shall be verbally examined by the Chap. the 3rd month, the beginning of the 5th & twice after having received the habit, the 5th month & the beginning of the 11th & after each Examination balloted for, equality of votes suffice to continue Postulants & Novices, but to be received to the Noviciate & the Sisterhood, there must be at least a simple majority, if she has it not, the ballot may be tried a second time after an interval to recommend the thing to God, & if still she has no majority, she must be gently sent away.

**f134v**

The Sup. & the D's may hasten or delay the Exam'n. but a fortnight before assembling the Chapter, the Sup'r will give notice that, at the next, will be such an Exam'n, & any relation of blood will leave the Chap.

The Sisters will pay attention to the Novices' conduct remembering that they must not be retained, with cruel pity, if unfit. And the Mistress of N.'s will make her report to the Chaps & Consultas truly. & the Sisters are never to be persuaded nor importuned, for fear they shd vote against the instinct of their conscience by a borrowed inclination, & the novices are not to be induced to or dissuaded from perseverance

They may be sent away by the Chapter even after they are Sisters, for some fault or defect, in which case they are proposed, examined & balloted for.

[end 3:312]

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The property of the Sisterhood & of the poor, must never be intermixed & there should be an Econome for both.

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The Sisters in the men's wards are to do nothing for them, improper for women to do.

Discretas

[3:312-15]

They must be all present at their Council, unless by reason of illness, or that any one having been convicted of having violated secrecy, has been suspended for a time.

the consulta will be held every month or oftener, if the Sup'r summons it.

being summoned, for 1/8 hour something of the Règle shall be read, & means shall be sought to make it observed & restore any thing en decadence.

the Sup'r will propose any affair, declaring the reasons on both sides, & the D.'s will judge, without interest, regarding only the glory of God, without ever murmuring, altho' the Sup. or any other may be of contrary opinion -- the D's may propose anything afterwds, respectfully, if it is not adopted, they must shew no discontent.

They are to give their opinions, beginning at the oldest or the youngest of profession, as the Sup. directs on each proposition, they are to speak but one

at a time, they are to speak sitting, if after having spoken, they have something more to say, they must make a little inclination to the Sup.

their union with each other & the Mother will be a sign that the H.G. is with them.

**f135**

## Superior

must be the support of the whole house.

she must command by obeying God & her Rule. she must be the first at every thing, always walking before her flock & tho' she is called Sup'r, before God she is the servant of all.

She must cause all the rules to be strictly observed.

she must have no singularity either in illness or in health, have no particularities, must dress & eat the same as the rest.

She must keep up union, if there be a quarrel, there must be reconciliation before the evening.

she must not communicate too privately with any Sister, otherwise she will make all the community murmur.

the person who commands must always keep her authority, mixed with sweetness, without ever being too familiar, even with the most perfect.

but let her try to discern among the Sisters, conducting some by fear, others by sweetness, speaking little to some, to others oftener, & let her discreetly get rid of those who by flattery, wd try to gain her friendship.

in the reports which will be made to her of others, let her not believe evil easily, nor make the *étonnée*, nor condemn easily before the reporter, & if she sees any passion in the latter, let her shew it to her, & let these reports not destroy union between the Sisters, who must accustom themselves to bear the little difficulties of a Community. Let her not reprove the accused without having heard her or seen her do the fault.

Let her never reprove any Sister before her patients nor the probationers, nor any stranger

Let her never receive any postulant from interest or human respect, but take care that they are well called

(A novice must be examined by the Chap'r one month before she professes).

she must speak to all the Sisters at least once a month, & as much as prudence permits her, whether she sends for them or they come of themselves, inquire into their health & other corporal

**f135v**

necessities then passing to spiritual things, ask them if they are at peace with the other Sisters, if their prayers, examinations & interior proceeds as it ought. gently represent to them their faults. given an easy access to herself, receive them with love, & dismiss them with great marks of good wishes

She must keep secret all that the Sisters tell her, even from the Chap'n, from whom, if she wants advice, she must not let him know the person

She must give full power to all the Officières in their office, making them do what is their business, without mixing herself up in all. her duty being, not to do their business, but to watch carefully over them, to make them do it to God's glory.

Treating with the Sisters, let her be grave, but more gay than severe. always affable when she meets any, & if she has reproved some Sister who has recognised her fault, let her be the same as before with her at the first meeting.

She must speak little, & when she has to reprove, let her always shew that the love of her Sisters speaks & not indignation.

let her never despair of a Sister's cure, if she often falls, nor take any aversion ag'st her, but redouble her compassion & recommend her to the others' prayers, without naming her. Let her enjoin 1/4 hour's consideration on her faults, remembering that she is Sup'r principally for such persons, since the law is not for the perfect. let her take advice with the Chap'n.

let her not allow too great communication even with the Chaplain.

let her not overwork the Sisters, which causes distraction of mind, but let her allow no idleness.

let her take care that all the Sisters have their necessities provided for & as equally as possible, having no regard to human considerations.

she cannot take too much care of the sick Sisters, let her often make the visit with the Doctors. If any one is too impatient, let her treat her gently in her illness, but afterwards shew her her fault.

**f136**

Every 3 days she will receive the report of the Assistant, every fortnight of the M. of Novices, & of her who has charge of the servants.

Let her assemble regularly every month the Discretes & as often as is necessary, giving them perfect liberty to propose confidently what they think for the particular good of any Sister, or for the whole house. Let her also consult the Chaplain, remembering that the greatest prudence is not to lean upon her prudence.

The Sup'r cannot spend more than £ 2 per an. of her sole authority, nor more than £ 6 with the Discretes authority, nor lend to the Hospital more than £ 20. she cannot exceed these sums without the consent of the Chapter.

Let her give such an easy access to her Admonitrice, that she can freely warn her of any faults in her gov't or herself, whether she has remarked them, herself, or whether she has been informed, without ever enquiring who informed her

Let her take care that every body is up & in bed in proper time. Let her take care of the servants, providing for everything, but more by her Officières than by herself.

She may dispense from a rule for a short time, but for longer, must take counsel with the Chaplain.

She must read her own Rules at least once a month.

*Admonitrice*

The Admonitrice shall be chosen by the Sup'r among the 6 oldest Sisters, & cannot take her below this number, if she is not a Discrete. She shall be one year in charge, & shall be continued as long as the Sup'r likes.

Her office is to warn the Mother of her faults, & to take care that she does not injure her health by over-work or watching

She will warn her of anything of importance which goes wrong in the Hospital or the House, without saying whence she learnt it. But the Admonitrice need not inform herself of the Sisters grievances -- nor trouble herself, if the Mother does not take her advice, her business being not to correct her, but simply to warn her by word or by writing.

**f137**

She must warn the Chaplain of anything of importance, if the Mother does not remedy it, but she must warn the Mother 2 or 3 times, comporting herself as if she were ignorant that the Mother knew it already.

She must comport herself with a great liberty before God. but before she gives her advices, she must pray, & despoil herself of all passion & interest, taking no aversion against the Mother, nor losing one iota of the respect she owes her. warning her in few words & with all humility, without dictating to her the means of remedying the evil.

## Assistant

must be the right arm of the Sup'r, take her place in her absence, be always in union with the Mother, cause her will to be executed rather than command herself.

She is to see ~~whether~~ that the times & hours of doing things are rightly observed, that everything is tidy & will arranged in the house, that every thing is done at its right time.

She will visit the rooms of the Sisters every fortnight, to see if all is neat. if she finds anything wrong, she must ask the Mother, but she must not send nor carry away the particular writings of any one.

She will visit the rooms of the Sisters, in order to see that they have all that is necessary, asking each sister at least once every month what she wants & writing it down for the Sup'r, in order to see about it as soon as possible.

She will see that the meals are ready punctually, that there is no delay, that the portions are properly made, ~~that~~ for the sick.

she will take care that the nurses are neat, that they give the medicine & diet ordered by the Doctor ~~is~~ at the proper times

she will visit the wards every day

give an account every 3 days to the Sup'r

never contend with any Sister, tho' she may answer her with little respect, only informing the Mother of it.

she will take advice of the Discrètes & Chapter as the Sup'r does, when the Sup'r is ill.

she will follow, not only the orders but also the intentions of the Sup. remembering that she must, in all things, conspire with her for the good state of the house, which she will injure without a perfect correspondence with the Sup. she may even take upon herself what seems

**f137v**

odious, to excuse for as much as she can to the Sisters,  
rejoicing to have occasion in that to exercise self-abnegation [end 3:315]

	4	rise	
4 1/2 - 5 3/4		Prime & oraison mentale 1 hour, taking their places according to ancienneté	
5 3/4 - 6		Review of Meditation	
6 - 7 1/2		Hospital	
7 1/2 - 8		Tierce	
8 - 9		Mass	
9 - 9 3/4		work & reading aloud	
9 3/4 - 10 1/2		Hospital	
10 1/2 - 10 3/4		Examen	
10 3/4 - 12 1/2		dinner & recreation	
12 1/2 - 1		Examen particulier 1/8 hour rosary	
1 - 2 1/2		work, lecture & silence	
2 1/2 - 3 1/4		instruction in Hospital 1/4 - private reading in rooms	
3 1/4 - 4 1/4		Vespers & Complin & oraison 1/2 hour	
4 1/4 - 5		Hospital	
5 - 7		supper & recreation	
7 - 7 1/4		Hospital	
7 1/4 - 8 1/2		Matins, Examen, reading meditation for tomorrow	
8 1/2 - 9		bed	

## Vocales

**[3:315-17]**

have only authority in Chapter

are obliged to secrecy

may ask renseignements from the Mother in Chapter if they have not understood the affair proposed, & give new reasons to those they have already given. they must avoid all contention.

**f138**

## Mistress of Novices

will remember that those whom she conducts will make one day the ruin or the glory of the house. the good of religion is in her hands.

Our Lord began first to do, then to teach, & more by example than by long discourse.

she must never be rebutée by their imperfections

the more deferential she is to the Sup. the more authority she will have

she must always keep equality of mind, without empressement

If anyone is shy & reserved, let her not be discontent, but open her own heart, without pressing hers, & counsel her to put confidence in the Mother

let her not allow the novices to speak of one another to her, nor of their temptations & difficulties to each other.

let her try to discern the state of mind of each & the measure of strength, not to pass them too much or too little in the road of virtue.

our Lord will make her know in time who are to be encouraged, who cherished, who conducted with a certain contempt, who pressed & who left free.

she will give an account of them to the Sup. & warn her of the time when the capitular Examinations of Postulant & Novice ought to be made.

-----

let her make her Novices understand the intention they ought to have in the choice they have made of so difficult & responsible a life, explaining to them its end & making them practice the means to attain so high an end. accustoming them little by little to join their actions to God in pure love.

she will teach them to entertain their minds upon some mystery, to draw from it holy affections, to form from it good resolutions, & tho' she may use a book, the best she can use is to be herself well exercised in oraison.

let her teach how they must act when God communicates Himself, how they must always walk in His presence, but take care not to try after the impossible, learning even from desolation.

**f138v**

let her teach them to know themselves, to confess succinctly  
 let them be accustomed early to the worst offices for the sick  
 let them be made sincere, let them obey those who have  
 authority like God

she must also take care that they are upright, posées, speak  
 low without hurry, respect one another & the Sisters, walk  
 quietly, are modest

teach them how to console the sick  
 to sing

speak to them at least once a week, inquiring into their health,  
 if they have no headache inquiring how they proceed in meditation, how  
 they practice their good resolutions & affections, how they make  
 their Examen particulier, enquire into their good & bad feelings,  
 affections or aversions for others, facility or difficulty in serving  
 the sick, whether they mind contempt, &c., warning them of the  
 faults they do not know, sending them away consoled & encouraged  
 to virtue

let her never shew herself difficult to tow'ds any other of the  
 Community who teaches them anything, never reproving them  
 her, which damages the Novices, but only telling the mother  
 twice a week, let her explain the rules to them, & the  
 perfection desired of them, proposing to them afterwards or allowing  
 them to progress, whatever they like which may help their  
 progress or their external demeanour.

once a week, instead of this conference, she will hold a sort  
 of little Chapter, where they will tell their faults

The Novices will do in the Hospital chiefly what is necessary  
 to exercise them. the Assistant will give them nothing to do  
 without the Sup'r's permission, for they must lay in their  
 provision, be very sure of their end & union with God,  
 before they begin to spend it. [end 3:317]

**f139****Constitutions des Dames Augustines [3:317]**

Let all receive their office as from God's hand &  
 acquit themselves thereof with as much perseverance as if  
 the Son of God in his own person had put it into their hands.  
 neither excusing themselves nor murmuring but embracing it  
 with love. nor asking why such a thing is commanded.  
 not having to render account of the reasons which move the Sup'r  
 to command, but of the murmurs & neglects which attend their  
 obedience

Chapter once a week in the presence of our Lord, beginning  
 with prayer, after which each shall accuse herself publicly of her  
 faults (will listen to the Sup'r's correction,) mentioning only the outward  
 faults & not internal thoughts & resentments. no Sister is ever to excuse  
 another & above all no one is ever to recall what passed in Chapter

[end 3:317]

Soeurs de la Charité

3 - 6 months Postulate in some Hospital

5 years            Noviciate

i.e. 6 - 8 months in Séminaire, laying in their provision  
rest of the time working like Soeurs.

**f140** NOTES ON YEARLY HOSPITAL EXPENDITURES, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN {in the top right hand corner}

20 beds = £ 980 for an  
rent or taxes £ 150  
No. patients 70  
£ 16 each  
5 patients to a bed  
10 weeks each  
£ 70 per an per bed  
Secretary £ 100 a year  
Advice gratis  
relative annual cost of a bed with  
20 x with 42 beds  
= ? Harley St.  
42 beds = £ 2000 per an  
No. patients 344  
in 7 months  
£ 3, 10 each  
12 patients to a bed  
one month each  
£ 42 per an per bed.

**ff141-42v** NOTES ON HARLEY STREET HOSPITAL, INVENTORY OF FURNITURE & THINGS  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f141**

or Defries, Regent St.

Gar=bath £ 10.. 10

Ashdown 167 Piccadilly

20 Burghersh, Gros. Cres.

on Taper Bath (with furnace) £ 6, 6

Burton, 39 Oxford St.

(moveable bath from without)

8 Commode (hermetically sealed) Pails

£ 1.. 2 each

Burton

6 head=tables

6 bed=rests for pillows

1 boot=bath

2 mattresses with funnels

NB bed nearly ready

washing bed=side carpets, all heavy

10 @ per yd (Shoolbred's,

1 yd wide Tottenham Ct Road)

green blinds

2 yds wide (Shoolbred's)

(no curtains)

2 Brown's Suspensory Reclining Chairs

165 Picadilly £ 2.. 15.. 6

each

machine for making pieced=air waters

without soda

**f141v**

{in PENCIL}

6/8 per week per nurse  
risen now to 8/  
1/3 pr week washing  
St. John's.

Manning  
Bedford Sq  
~~Theresa St. John's~~  
~~Phillips Bed pans~~  
~~Harley St. with Shore~~  
~~{illeg Lg Canning?}~~  
S. Herberts  
Trueloves  
~~31 Haymarket Soap~~

{written upside down, in PEN} 6 tablets [sigma sign]

Aug. 5th Chandos St.

Aug. 12th Harley St. [sigma sign] back stairs -- with what  
covers?

only to wash and mop= not strive, for one winter  
{illeg}=stoves large enough  
{illeg} rods where?

**f142**

bells

one, to ring down=stairs into Mrs. Clarke's room from each  
~~nurse's room~~ floor

dinner cup=board for lift

& bell

hours of visiting not till after two  
o'clock

friends not to bring anything to eat,  
except to me

patients able to go out must not have  
tea or dinner out of house

dusters, towels, marked -- floor,  
tea pots, tea cups & saucers, etc. a whole  
set for the nurse of each floor, for which  
she is responsible, also dinner apparatus  
for herself

Phillips

Oxford St. next door to

Bed=pan

Pantheon

**f142v**

notes about furniture & things  
& rules for Harley St.

**ff143-46v** NOTES ON HARLEY STREET HOSPITAL, CONDITION AND ACQUISITION OF FURNITURE AND SUPPLIES, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN, draft for report

**f143** {in FN's hand}

[12:99-112?]

I As Sup't I think it desirable

~~The Sup't is desirous,~~

at the end of three

months' service, to

make ~~her~~ ~~them~~ a Quarterly

to the Ladies' Committee

of the state of the Institution ~~mentioning any~~ stating the

changes which have ~~been~~

made during that time

On the removal of

which I will continue quarterly.

the Institution to

Harley St, the linen

& furniture were

found to be in a

most dirty & neglec

ted condition. The

table=cloths, kitchen=

cloths, towels &c.

**f143v**

were ragged. there

appeared no trace

of any mending or

darning having

been ~~used~~ made for many

months. ~~in fact,~~

~~there was not a~~

~~stitch in anything.~~

The sheets were

good. Every thing

else was rat=eaten.

The counterpanes

were ragged &

~~it has~~ have all

**f144**

been since patched & darned. ~~by us.~~ The towels, ~~which were~~ though nearly new, had large holes in them. ~~Of the~~ dusters & the kitchen=cloths were if possible in a ~~there was not one~~ worse condition. ~~without.~~ The blinds unfit for use but were ~~ragged &~~ have applied to the purpose been ~~used by us~~ ~~to~~ of lining the chair covers ~~which we~~

**f144v**

~~have made.~~ The furniture=covers were unwashed, & the color in many cases could hardly be distinguished for dirt. ~~No~~ None of these covers to take off & on were made but were fastened on with tacks, (sometimes three deep), the dirt soaking through Many nearly new blankets, mattresses

**f145**

& pillows were spoiled,  
& even rotted, by  
large stains, owing  
to having been used  
in certain cases  
without proper  
Mackintosh.

The kitchen utensils  
were deficient. No  
preserving pan, no  
saucepan for steaming  
potatoes, no dustpan,  
no brushes nor brooms. As  
much as £2 worth  
of preserves at a

**f145v**

time were bad from  
the Grocer's as may  
be seen by the books,  
at a cost of 1/per  
pot, & no biscuits  
were baked at home.  
~~We~~ For the sake  
of securing economy,  
& wholesome bread,  
I have thought it  
desirable to bake  
at home, both bread,  
biscuits & gingerbread.  
We bake about  
4 stone flour per week

**f146**

for 25 or 26 persons.

~~Also the~~ preserving  
is also done at home. We have  
preserved 52 pots  
at a cost of 3 1/2d  
pr pot.

There have been  
made 15 prs sheets  
28 1/2 pillow cases  
7 dimity bed furnitures  
4 kitchen table cloths  
4 small d's for patients  
18 kitchen cloths  
12 dusters  
39 green blinds  
~~towels~~  
33 muslin do

**f146v**

9 tickings to cover new  
spring beds, which  
tore the mattresses  
doz towels  
pincushions & covers  
They have been made  
by Mrs. Clarke, her  
niece & one house=  
maid.

The old carpets  
which have been  
cleaned have been  
made up afresh  
at home. The  
front ward was  
carpeted anew by

**ff147-v** NOTES ON COMPOSITION & DISCHARGE OF PATIENTS FROM HARLEY STREET HOSPITAL, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f147**

Accommodation for 27  
patients is now prepared.  
viz 10 single rooms  
17 compartments  
-----

27

Eighteen patients have  
been admitted during  
the last three months  
viz 8 guinea patients  
10 half guinea do  
-----

18

of these eighteen, 13  
are still in the house,  
5 have left.

Of these five

1 left considerably benefitted,  
the case being an incurable one,  
& is now wishing to return

1 discharged as a case  
unfit for the institution

**f147v**

1 completely recovered after  
an operation

1 ~~left~~ benefitted & put  
upon a course of treatment

1 ~~left~~ cured by the  
prospect of N. Zealand

**ff148-49v** NOTES ON PROCURING FURNITURE FOR HARLEY ST. HOSPITAL, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f148**

The whole of the furniture  
~~of the Front Ward, including~~  
chamber china, ~~is new~~  
of the Front Ward, ~~which~~  
~~contains five compartments~~  
is new, & has been given  
by Lady C. Mrs. G. & Lady C.  
G will accommodate five  
patients.

Of new furniture there  
has been had besides

7 bedstands  
with 7 mattresses  
8 pillows  
8 bolsters  
3 chests drawers  
4 mats  
6 sofa cushions  
1 looking glass  
6 chairs  
1 horse  
2 secondhand sofas  
4 " tables  
3 " chairs  
3 blankets  
3 counterpanes  
6 coal scuttles  
3 little mats  
18 rugs  
12 hearth brushes  
1 tea pot  
7 fenders  
6 fire irons  
6 door porters  
plate=warmers  
2 kettles

**f148v**

of china & glass ~~there~~  
have been procured

4 breakfast & tea service  
for 4 floors

18 divided dishes

6 flat candlesticks

6 high "

3 sets chamber china

6 small decanters to  
hold 3 wineglassfulls  
each

12 tumblers

12 wine glasses

& a few articles to make  
up odd sets

The remaining furniture  
glass & china is all from  
Chandos St.

**f149**

2 chairs

4 looking glasses

5 washing stands

5 round tables

3 sofas

1 dressing table

1 nurse's table

are ~~& till~~ all that are now required to make  
the house complete.

These had better be  
procured second=hand,  
which may be done  
at a small expence.

**ff150-52v** NOTES ON CONDITIONS OF THE DISCHARGE OF PATIENTS, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f150**

~~Application In the case~~  
In medical officers, on upon  
a reference being referred to be the  
Ladies Comtee, who  
~~desired that the decision~~  
~~should rest with them~~  
in the case of certain  
applications which  
had been made by patients for  
an extension of the  
period of two months  
with regards to which (the Ladies Comtee ~~having~~  
desired that the decision  
should rest with the  
Medical Officers) were  
of opinion  
1 that of a case were  
not better

**f151**

The Ladies Committee having  
resolved that, in the case of patients  
desiring

The Medical Officers, on  
being referred to by the Ladies Committee asked the question  
who resolved whether certain cases  
were to remain for a period  
longer than two months,  
strongly expressed their  
opinion.

1 that if a case were  
not better at the end  
of two months, it was  
not likely to be better  
at the end of four, or  
of six months.

2 that cases, if accus=  
tomed to look upon this  
Institution as a home,  
had no motive to be  
better at the end of  
two months, but rather

**f151v**

to be worse -- as the Institution was the most cheap & comfortable to dying house which they could find, with the luxury of taking medicine besides & of sympathy

3 that, if a case were not better at the end of two months, one month or at the farthest, two months more might be granted in extraordinary cases.

4 that, of the cases which come to this house, 90 per cent are simply hysterical cases, to whom

**f152**

these rewards peculiarly apply. The Medical Officers wish to be understood that they do not refer to dying cases, whose last months of suffering, even if prolonged, may be fifty soothed in such an Institution as this.

5 The Medical Officers consider it an invidious task for them to say when a patient is to go. But there is no invidiousness in administering a law, & if the law, which they believe

**f152v**

already exists, viz, that  
a patient's residence  
is limited to the term  
of two months, & is not  
prolonged, unless that  
patient have the  
prospect of improvement  
or of death.           be  
clearly understood &  
firmly upheld, they  
are of opinion that it  
will be beneficial to  
the health of the Patients  
& to the efficient working  
of the Institution.

**[end 12:86]**

**43402 ff153-54** NOTES ON CHEMICALS AND GASES FOR HARLEY STREET, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

{I am unsure of most of these words}

**f153**

Acct. Scillae		Oi
Acid. Acetici (concent.)		Oii
Acid. Nitrici		Ofs
---- Sulphurici		Ofs
---- Hydrocholrici		Ofs
x ---- phosphorici dil.		Ofs
---- Hydrocyanici ( <del>Scheeles</del> )		3j
	Ph etc.	
Ammonia {illeg Senq.?.} Carb.		lbj
	in stopped bottle	
Aluminis (Pulv.)		lbij
x Aloes Extract		lbfs
x Aloes Ext. {illeg Aquosee?.}		3ij
Argent Nitratis	3j	
P. Antnim Pot. {illeg Tark?.}	3fs	
x P. Anteim S. Rubri	3ij	
Bismuthi Tres Nit:		3ij
Chloric Ether		
Chloroform		
Lrg. Cascarilla Bark		lbfs
Lrg. Cinchona do Yellow		lbfs
X Calumba root		lbfs
Camphora		3iv
X Dic. Aloes. Co.		lbfs
Ext. Coloc. Comp.		3ii
--- Hyorcy.		3i
X --- Couii		3i
--- Rhai		3i
Empl. Bellad:		lbfs
---- Galb Co.		lbfs
---- Picis Co.		lbfs
---- Cauthardis		lbfs
Ferri Sulphatis	3iv	
---- Citratis		3i
Tr. Ferri Sesq Chlor.	lbfs	

{written vertically across the side of the page} *Harley Street*

**f153v**

Geutian Root	lbfs	
Hydr. c Creta		3ij
Hyrd. Clorid.		3j
Pulo. Ipecac.		3j
Pulo. ipecauan. comp.	3ij	
Lin: Saprnis Co.	lbj	
--- Cainssh. Co.		lbj
Liq. Senae	lbj	
--- Arsenicalis.		3ij
--- Tarasaci		lbj
--- Potassae		lbj
Morphiae hydrockloras	3ij	
Morphiae acetatis	3j	
Magnes Carb.	3ij	
--- Sulphatis		lbvij
Ol. Ricini	lbj	
--- Olivae		lbj
--- Caryophyllae		3j
X --- Cassiae		3j
--- Kreosot		3ij
P. Potassae Nitratis	lbj	
--- Bicarb.		lbj
Potassisi Iodidi		3ij
Potassia Bitart	lbfs	
Pot Gulbaum Co.		3j
--- Hydrargyri		3j
--- Rhei Co.		3j
Plumbi Acetatis	lbfs	
Guinae Diulphatis	3j	
X Guassia Root		lbj
Guerci Corticis	lbj	
Pulv. Rhai	3ij	
Sp. Inniperis Co.	3ij	
--- Ammon. Aroni.		lbj
--- Aetheris Nit		lbj
{illeg Athens?} Sulph.	lbj	

**f154**

Tinch Aurantic		Ofs
---	Opii	Ofs
---	Camph. Co.	Ofs
---	Hyosey.	Ofs
---	Scilla	Ofs
---	Guaisci	3iv
---	Cardomom. {illeg}	3iv
---	{illeg Juniaiy?}	3iv
Sodae Senq. Carb	lbj	
---		
---	Pot. Tart.	lbfs
Vini Ipecac	lbfs	
---	Autini.	lbfs
X ---	Opici	3ij
Conf {illeg} canisne		
Syr. papai	Ofs	
Syr. aurans.	Ofs	
Syr. zingits	Ofs	

**f154v** NOTES ON THE FINANCES AND ECONOMICAL OPERATION OF HARLEY STREET HOSPITAL, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

I ~~wish~~ would call the attention of the Comtee to the fact that it is much more economical to provide for nine & twenty than for nine. I have lately with great difficulty -- & only by the ~~closest saving~~ strictest attention kept the average per head down to 1/ or 1/2. I must observe that, for the last two months, there have been but nine patients in the house. This fact calls for something to be done immediately. Otherwise this Institution will degenerate into a luxurious piece of charity, not worth burthening the public with. The expences amount to £ 1300 pr an the receipts, including Subscriptions & Patients' Payments, not to £ 1000. The Donations have all been swallowed up in ~~paying~~ covering the extra Expenditure of last year.

I have changed one housemaid, from her love of dirt & inexperience, & one nurse, whom I found unworthy of confidence.

We have had a great deal of illness in the household but they are all willing to help one another, & we have spent during the quarter

2/3	in	charing
0	in	needlework
0	in	night nursing
	or	casual nursing

**ff155-v** LIST OF BOOKS FOR HARLEY STREET HOSPITAL, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f155**

[List of books: among Harley St. papers. Possibly for use there]  
 {in FN's hand:}

Vols

- 1 Young Christians
- 2 Christian Year
- 4 Ellis' books on Social Economy {2 Understand=ing
  - {1 Soc. Economy
  - {1

- Meetness for Heaven
- Hymns for Little Children
- Moral Songs
- Combatants

- 2 Johnson Water=Cure
- 4 Family Economist
  - Way for a Child to be Saved
  - Weston Hymn Book
  - First Steps in Evil
- 5 Sunday School Penny Magazine
- 2 German Dictionary & Allendorff
  - Bleak House 2 Nos
  - English Poetry
  - Englishwoman in Egypt
  - Christ an Example
  - Stowe's Poisons
  - Cruden's Concordance
  - Illustrated New Testament
  - Euclid
  - Life of George Herbert
- 3 Modern Egyptians
- 2 Alpine Retreat & Cretins & Idiots
- 2 Stories for Summer Days & Winter Nights
- 2 Earthly Care a Heavenly Discipline
  - Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life
  - Hope of the Katzekpofs
  - Bird Keeping Boy
  - Laura Bridgeman
  - Tracts by Xtian Socialists
  - Mrs. Chisholm
  - Chartist's Friend
  - Maurice's Lord Prayer
  - Nicholls's Help to Reading the Scripture
  - Zanoni

**f155v**

- Michael the Chorister  
 Daughter at Home  
 Sacred Poems for Mourners  
 1 Novalis  
 Robertson's Address  
 1 Orientalische Briefe  
 Faust  
 Harry & Archie  
 Pillans' Letters on Teaching  
 My Station & its Duties  
 Fleming's Papacy  
 Immigrants' Letters  
 Abbott's Hoary Head  
 Fourth Book, Xtian Know'e  
 Hine's 100 Tales  
 Tales of the Castle  
 Dawes's Lessons & Tales  
 Faustine Hahn=Kahn  
 5 Propaganda  
 Nile  
 30 Years War, Schiller  
 Little Stories  
 Clough's Poems  
 Third Book, Xtian Brothers  
 Cat & her Kittens  
 Dawes' Industrial Classes  
 Historical Keepsake  
 Institutions des Diaconesses  
 M. S. Poetry book  
 Anti=revolutionary Tracts  
 Valérie  
 Synoptic Tables

**f156** NOTES ON WHAT FN HAS DONE FOR MANKIND, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;  
 DATED NOVEMBER 29, 1855

Perhaps after meeting at {illeg} room  
 Nov. 29. 55.

{in FN's hand:} If my name & my  
 having done what I could  
 for God & mankind  
 has given you pleasure  
 that is real pleasure to  
 me. My reputation  
 has not been a boon  
 to me in my work,  
 but if you have been  
 pleased, that is enough.  
 I shall love my name  
 now, & shall feel that  
 it is the greatest

**f156v**

return that you can  
have satisfaction in  
hearing your child  
named & in feeling  
that her work draws  
sympathies together  
some return for what  
you have done for me.  
Life is sweet after all.

If ever I live to see  
England again, the  
Western breezes of my  
~~mountain~~ hill=top home will  
be my first longing  
though Olympus, with

**f157**

its snowy cap, looks  
fair over our blue Eastern  
~~blue~~ sea

**f158** NOTE WRITTEN "TO F.N." NOT IN FN HAND. UNDATED They are not there

**ff159-61v** NOTES ON REGRETS UPON RETURNING TO ENGLAND, PEN, HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN DATED JULY-AUGUST 1856

**f159** [written apparently 1856]

just before F.N.'s return to England

[July-Aug 1856]

{in FN's hand} We have had the honor of serving the Queen  
in a real though humble way

For some time past systematic practices  
have been followed by persons not in  
H.M.'y's Service of grounding on assertions  
made or said to be made by some of our  
companions returned home. Now especially  
some dismissed for misconduct accusations  
as to our branch of the Service

With what purposes this has been done  
it is unnecessary to speculate.

It can have been done with no good  
motive. People intent upon doing their  
duty do their own work & do not interfere  
with that of others.

More than this, all servants of the  
Crown, from the highest to the humblest,  
are under authority and it is at once  
transgressing their duty & forfeiting the  
truth & dignity of their position, if they  
reply to random or officious or malevolent  
persons questions, concerning the service,  
of which authority alone should take  
cognizance.

**f160**

A great work has been done. It has been done under many difficulties; some inevitable, some which should have been spared. The main difficulty has been that the work has been puffed, a thing which never yet helped, though it has often marred any real work;

It has done no [us?] harm in 3 ways

1. with reference to our masters, the Army Surgeons
2. it has brought among us women desirous of notoriety rather than of work
- 3 it has excited the restless, envious enmity of others, both among us and without.

Nor can we deny that things to be deeply regretted have happened among us. Rebellion among some ladies & some nurses, and drunkenness among some nurses have unhappily disgraced our body. Still what we came to do has been done. the suffering to be relieved has been relieved. those of us who most know how much will be most silent about it.

**f161**

Now the war has ended & we return to England. the less we say about the last 2 years the better. since not only we are the last appointed, the fewest, & the lowest in official rank of the Queen's war= servants, but we are the first women who have been suffered in the war= service.

To return either sound our own trumpet, or, viler still, attacking the system under which & because of which we worked, can only at once degrade ourselves, & justify, pro tanto, the common opinion that the vanity, the gossip & the insubordination of women (which none more despise than those who trade upon them) & make them unfit for & mischievous in the Service, however materially useful they may be in it. Hospital Nursing, to be anything but a nuisance, must remain to the end of time, a very humble as well as a very laborious drudgery. but, done aright for God & man, it is a noble work. Let us, please God our consciences bear us witness that we have tried to do our duty "hold fast our integrity nor let

**f161v**

our hearts reproach us as long as we live". I

**ff162-3** NOTES ON FN's WISHES FOR PRIVACY, QUALITY OF HER STAFF, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f162**

To avoid anything which may injure my work or interfere with any possible course of usefulness in the same line.

The publicity & talk then have been about this work have injured it more than any thing else. and in no way, I am determined, will I contribute to making a show of myself.

On this journal I have determined [see] to sit for no one as a public character, unless the Queen desire it.

I desire privacy for the reason that I consider publicity to have injured what is nearest my heart.

I come to England the focus of public notice for me, for a reason in connection with my work, I ought to shew to the W.O. that I am at hand to answer any questions. It would be dilettante & unbusiness like to go abroad without doing this.

**f163**

[Aug. 1856] Apparently written just after F.N.'s return to  
England. 1856.

{in FN's hand}

To avoid discussing those engaged with me in this work.

That they have remained with me I consider proof that I considered them on the whole useful to the work & worthy of having a part in it.

Like one at Court I say nothing of any body

As a Staff, as a Band, I have made out of these heterogeneous materials, collected not by myself, a set of Workers who carried on the work excellently & who whatever the faults which harassed me were not guilty of violations of morality injurious to the work, except in cases where they were immediately dismissed.

**ff164-5** NOTES ON REGISTRATION OF SOLDIERS, USE OF STATISTICS, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[16:239-40]**

**f164**

Nov 24/56

Thro' kindness of Registrar General, went over,  
with him, all his books.

Sir C. Campbell declared his shame when  
he compared Sardinian troops with ours.

Had our G.O.s but information enough [general officers]  
to feel the shame they ought, when comparing  
civil Registration with theirs.

All needed to determine causes of disease  
& means of removing them to be found in  
former. all needed to leave H.M.'s Ministries  
in ignorance as to state of H.M.'s troops, to be  
found in latter.

When one business like head set out to accom=  
plish one object, if that object to make beer.  
we see the result in, say, the Burton Breweries.

When one mathematical head set out to  
accomplish one object, that of classifying &  
registering the great Statistics & discovering  
the causes of ye various events in a population, we see  
the results in the magnificent organization,  
magnificent because of its simplicity economy  
& efficiency in the Registrar General's Office. [Small omits 3 :]

When the govt of a great Army is vested

**f164v**

in various Depts with *different* objects &  
under diff't authorities, we see the results  
in delay inefficiency & death.

A weekly published return, such as  
R.G.'s Office issues, of disease, might have [Small has gives/ issues]  
saved our Army. It did the Sardinian  
The Comm't cd hardly, in face of such, have  
gone on supplying us with salt meat &  
biscuits.

But, to effect this, & secure us the [Small omits 4]  
benefits of publicity, essential that those  
who make the Returns, shd not be those  
whose interest it is to conceal them.

R.G. shewed me a correspondence  
between himself & W.D. in Feb/55 in which  
he had urged civil registration of soldiers'  
deaths & been refused.

They already have it in Fr. & where [Small omits]  
nearly useless. Because Fr. do on purpose  
what we do from stupidity.

In Jan/55, losing at the rate of 576  
per 1000, corresponding week of Jan/56 rate

Add Mss 43402i

871

of 17 per 1000.

The more I think of these things, more  
I feel both absolute necessity of ripping up our

**f165**

Army system & impossibility (almost) of your gaining evidence to do so.

Hall now preparing with Smith  
Army Statistics. They say they can account for every man but 3. If so, if by the process of exhaustion, they arrive at this, if by proving a series of negatives, they arrive at one positive, & call that Registration when we know there were 4000 unaccounted for, & P. slurs this over, he will ruin us. I am afraid he means to do so

I expect we shall be beat. But at all events let us have a fair battle. P's Commission most unfair one.

**ff166-v** NOTES, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED "END 1856"

**f166**

Of my poor men who endured so patiently I feel I have been such a bad mother to you to come home & leave you lying in your Crimean graves. 73 per cent in eight regiments during six months from disease alone. who thinks of that now? But if I could carry any one point which would prevent any part of the recurrence of this our colossal calamity. (Walcheren lost only 10 1/4 per cent, same circumstances) then I should ~~be~~ have been true to their cause of those brave dead.

You will say, who is this woman who thinks she can do what our great men don't do? But, if I could leave one man behind me, if I fall out on the march who would work the question of Reform, I should be more than satisfied, because he would do it better than I. I have not one now.

But I am to have a Commission of ten.

**f166v**

out of these, there are, I think, seven, some one of whom may be put up to it.

I have fifteen points, five pertaining to Army Reform, ten to Army & Medical Reform mixed.

I shall cut straight through England. I have begun at the highest, my Sovereign & working thro' P. Albert, P.P. N & H. shall go on thro H.M.'s Opposition

Add Mss 43402i

873

& the Ho. of Commons, till my last appeal  
which will be like Cobden's with his  
Crusade to the country.

**[end 14:473]**

**ff167-72v** NOTES ON THE DECEPTION OF WORDS, AND THE FALLACY OF MOTHERHOOD  
IN ENGLAND PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;

**f167** [?1856-1857]

[in FN's hand]

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken  
us?

What is the characteristic of the present  
generation? Is it not *words*?

Talleyrand said that *words* had  
been given us to conceal our thoughts.  
Have not words been given us in this  
generation to conceal our thoughts *from*  
*ourselves*? Is it not come to this that,  
when a man says a thing, it is because  
he does not feel it, or does not mean  
to do it? Is it not come to this that  
words destroy all feeling, all action,  
that men may & do talk away all their  
tenderness, all their idea of right &  
wrong, all their activity? Our  
grandfathers & grandmothers did wilful  
wrong, perhaps more than we do. But  
they did not make it look so very moral  
as we do. They did not dress up their  
wrong with the clothing of right. They

**f167v**

did not call their "bitter sweet".

Surely this is the age of humbug can't.

Do not men talk ~~about a feeling till~~  
~~they persuade themselves~~ into a persuasion that they ~~have it~~ feel  
what they say?

and is not this the most hopeless state  
of all? The sin against the Holy Ghost?

Take an illustration. We hear it  
constantly repeated, nowhere are there  
such homes as in England. nowhere  
are there such mothers, I say too,  
nowhere are there such mothers.

In what does this maternity  
consist?

When the child is about to be  
born, the grandmother, if there is one,  
drives about to her morning calls,  
& enquires for a good nurse.

The mother does the same after=  
wards for a good Governess, & then she  
visits the school=room occasionally &  
thinks how badly the Governess is doing.

Thirdly, she invites all the  
young men to the house who, she thinks,

**f168**

will be suitable ~~for~~ as a husband for her daughter. And very glad she is when this is done.

Is this a caricature?

The nation has, however, within the last three years, seen & heard the principle of "words" *illustrated* acted out on the most colossal *scale* stage which perhaps it has been ever given to any nation or age to witness.

We are tired of hearing of the Crimean catastrophe. We don't want to ~~hear~~ know anymore about the "trenches cold & damp", the "starved & frozen camp", the deficient rations, the ~~unused~~ stores, which might have saved the "great Army of the dead" lying unused & undistributed.

But was this the real bitterness of that death? Is this all the meaning it has to us?

Our men were "led as sheep to the slaughter & ~~led~~ as a lamb before her shearers ~~were~~ is dumb, so they opened not

**f168v**

their mouths". The Commander of the Forces was like the drowning Ophelia. devoted, unselfish & single minded himself to the very highest degree, he let himself & his troops float down to death, unconsciously to himself, with scarcely a struggle against the weeds & the waters which were pulling him down to destruction. As for his principal servants, what shall we say of them? In another age, they would have been tried by court=martial, recalled or disgraced, either officially or by opinion And the ~~most tender-hearted~~ most hardened would have become happiest or retired from life. But what did we see? We came home, with the remains of that lost Army, to see the Throne taking to its bosom the most distinguished of the malefactors, to hear of a Star=chamber farce which had acquitted them, to find them in all

**f169**

the official posts, honors, & drawing=  
rooms of the kingdom. Nay more, one  
of them, a son of a Premier, who had  
told a lie known to every one who  
had examined the circumstances to  
be a lie, for which in the days of duelling,  
he would have been called out by  
half a dozen men & shunned at all  
the clubs, is still regarded by the Sovereign,  
by the Government, by society with the  
same ~~favor~~ eyes as before.

And what do we remember of these men in  
the great tragedy? We remember a  
General Officer in command, looking  
out at the dead dogs which were  
poisoning the atmosphere in which  
the men lay dying, & saying, "You are spoiling  
those brutes", meaning not the dogs  
but the men. we remember him  
passing over to the Ambassador of  
England, & "Making" as ~~it was~~ they  
expressed it, "them roar with his stories  
of the Hospitals". We remember ~~their~~

**f169v**

the highest functionaries of the Head  
Quarters Staff feeding their horses  
with the biscuits which the ~~dying~~ miserable men  
could not eat, & boasting that ~~they~~ it  
kept these horses fat. We remember indeed  
hearing of card playing among the  
authorities, while the men were ~~dying~~ starving.

But is there any one now living  
who ~~has~~ feels the real bitterness, who learns the  
real lesson of this?

It is not that 10,000 men, after  
6 months, more or less, of mortal  
agony, which they bore with silent  
endurance, passed to another and,  
to them truly, a *better* world. It is  
that all this only shewed, in double  
relief, a state of feeling & of education  
which did exist, exists & will  
continue to exist at home. This no  
one has "wept" over, when we "mourned"  
unto you, ye did not weep.  
This no one has even perceived.

Words were given, in plenty, to

**f170**

the great Crimean catastrophe. But the real tragedy ~~has been, since it~~ began, when this was over. And there exists hardly a being at this moment who has ~~even seen it~~ a glimmering of this.

The great town proprietors in England send about broth & blue frocks, but they let the people in their town property live in a ~~sanitary~~ condition, which leaves no ~~produces the impossibility of~~ health, of morality, or even of domestic affections.

When these same ~~people~~ proprietors or their kin were transferred to a position where the people, viz the troops, were absolutely dependent upon them, -- where there was no Poor Law, no market for labor nor for articles of subsistence, no trade, & no commerce, & no middle class, -- these "people" starved. They actually were then left without the possibility of health or even of life. Yet of personal kindness between the proprietors & the people, even then, there was enough. There was

**f170v**

plenty, (in this case also) ~~well~~, of sending about of "broth & blue frocks".

But ~~not~~ there was not the feeling nor the education necessary to produce a Deliverer.

And this is the remarkable feature of the case. This is the distinction between this & similar historical calamities. Not one man arose, either gentle or simple, out of all those thousands, either Officer or Private, to say This shall not be: to shew How it need not be: to suggest, or, if necessary, to force, at the risk of being shot, an organization to save the Army.

Had the Officer who wrote in January, 1855, a bold & judicious remonstrance in private, to the Commander of the Forces, had he endeavoured to push it further, might he not have succeeded? He could but have been shot, had he failed. Had a Tribune arisen among

**f171**

the Troops who, preserving all their discipline to their Chiefs, had yet led ~~them~~ an organization to distribute the stores which would have saved their lives, -- how much greater ~~it~~ such bravery would have been than even that ~~great~~ brave endurance!

Such as it was though, it was great. Let them rest in peace.

But far more remarkable is the history of the ~~subsequent~~ period which follows.

From Queen, from Minister, from Government, from Opposition, from Houses of the Parliament downwards, no one has felt, no one has seen, not one voice has arisen to tell the state of the race where such a thing could have happened.

Christ has shewn, in strong language, the state of the Scribes & Pharisees? But, taking every word he says about them, what was their state to ours? It surely was not the putting *him* to death which roused his indignation against them. It was the state of feeling

**f171v**

or rather non=feeling which they betrayed?

Moses arose to lead an enslaved race. But we have had no Moses.

Peter the Hermit, Ignatius Loyola, where are they?

This is what constitutes the despair of this period.

We have listened, but there was no Deliverer.

Words have been given ~~us~~ to our fate, the people rose & turned out two War Ministers for a worse, far worse, & knitted flannel jackets for us. And the Times wrote a few thundering Articles. And that was all.

The House of Commons has thrown a K.C.B'ship at a man who was, in one sense, a kind of Deliverer, and another honor to a far better man. And that was all.

The War Minister has asked, should he *get rid* of one of the chief

**f172**

miscreants by giving *him too* an honor  
And that was all.

Lastly, two or three ~~of us~~ "have borne the  
griefs & carried the sorrows of all & the Lord  
has laid upon them the iniquity of all".

These too have been, in many things, useless martyrs. They  
feel it but they do not regret it. It  
takes many useless martyrs to make  
one useful one. But it is better  
(for the progress of the country) to be an  
useless martyr than a cowardly deserter.  
This is the only hope for ~~these~~ us, the only  
consolation that there must be, unless the  
experience of God were in us, ~~to prevent any~~  
useless martyrdoms.

But where shall we ~~find~~ seek, when  
these poor martyrs are gone, one who  
will find the truth & tell it, in  
the way that it used to be told, in the way  
which colors a century, which rouses  
~~animates~~ a generation, which spreads  
~~into itself~~, till it becomes an organization of minds?

And, if no one is found, will not  
the decline of this nation begin?

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken  
us?

**f172v**

~~My God, my God, why has thou forsaken us?~~

Every thing may be glazed over in  
these days. A man of a certain class of  
society may do anything except ~~theft~~ steal,  
& still be "received" as it is called.

**ff173-4** NOTES ON SEEKING VOCATION FROM GOD, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f173**

Father, I do not in the  
least care whether I die or  
live. I would wish to  
know which it is to be,  
that I may know what  
Thou wouldest have of me.  
I do not suppose that  
there will be any less  
work for us in any  
future state of existence,  
(for us, the salt of the  
earth, at least, not  
till after many future states).  
Thou wilt send us where  
most work is wanted to be  
done.  
Lord, here I am, send me.

**f174**

Perhaps when I was sent into this  
world, it was for this, Crimea & all.  
Gt. Malvern  
Aug 27/57

**ff175-7** NOTES ON SANITARY ARGUMENTS, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1857

**f175**

[1857] v. 3 II no 83

{In FN's hand}

Anti Sanitary Arguments

"Does he think we was all fools afore he came here?"

backed up by the collective ignorance, pride, laziness & superstition of A., he shewed to his assailants that terrible front of stupidity, against which "the gods themselves fight in vain"

"there's a deal of human natur' in man".

"I'll prove my innocence by not reforming"

it is hard to make the humiliating confessions which must precede sanitary repentance

"I have probably been the cause of half my own illnesses & of three fourths of the illness of my children. It is very much my fault that 2 or 3 of my tenants have died of typhus."

& sanitary reform is thrust out of sight, simply because its necessity is too humiliating to the pride of all, too frightful to the conscience of many.

"This new fangled sanitary reform is all a dodge for a lot of young Government puppies to fill their pockets, & my opinion always was with the Bible, that it's a judgement of God & we can't escape His holy will & that's the plain truth of it."

**f175v**

The preacher's object -- to excite the utmost intensity of selfish fear.

those inquisitors who tried to convert sinners (& on their own ground neither illogically nor over harshly) by making this world for a few hours as like as possible to what God was going to make the world to come for ever.

a Pharaoh whose heart the Lord himself can only harden, one of those base natures, whom fact only lashes into greater fury

out of very spite against the agitators, they did less than they would have done otherwise.

"to pull down a poor man's pig sty. they might even so well be Rooshian slaves."

"ever since you've been in this parish you've been meddling. I'll speak the truth to any man, gentle or simple. & that ain't enough for you, but you must come over that poor half-crazed girl, to see, her plaguing honest people with telling 'em they'll all be dead in a month"

"That's a lie!

Everybody says so.

Then every body lies, that's all & you may say I said so & take care you don't say it again yourself."

*To God when He speaks Himself* they will listen, not to me. It is the usual fate of those who try to put a little common sense into their fellow men.

**f176**

Where she had expected at least a fair hearing, she had been met with peevishness, ridicule, even anger & insult.

"whether it was the curate or the doctor she was setting her cap at; for she never had anything in her mouth now but what they had said".

"He's that here government chap as the Doctor said he'd bring down to set our drains right.

If he goes meddling with our drains & knocking of our back yards about, he'll find himself over quay before he's done".

"I was a very foolish meddlesome ass, [lass?] who fancied that I ought to do my duty once in a way by my neighbours. Now I have only to say that if you will but forgive & forget & let by gones be bygones, I promise you solemnly I'll never do my duty by you again as long as I live, nor interfere with the sacred privilege of every free born Englishman to do that which is right in the sight of his own eyes & wrong too".

Some may fancy that matters were now getting somewhat settled. Those who do so know little of the machinery of local governments. One man has "summat to say" -- utterly irrelevant. Another must needs answer him with something equally irrelevant. You would fancy that the go ahead party try to restore order & help business on. Not in the least. They are a little afraid that they have committed themselves. x -- till, in 1/4 of hour, the whole question has to be dis=cussed over again, thro' the fog of a dozen freak fallacies, & the miserable earnest man finds himself considerably worse off than when he began.

He impiously pretended to explain away the Lord's visitation with a carnal matters of pipes & fases  
& drains, etc.

**f176v**

If it's not my concern, what on earth I am here for is more than I can tell. Have you nothing to say about God's view of a fact which certainly involves the lives of His creatures, not by twos & threes, but by tens of thousands.

There they are about to commit wholesale murder & suicide. If they don't know the fact, is not that all the more reason for your telling them of it?

Half of the worse Sanitary sinners, in this blessed age of ignorance, yclept of progress & science, are utterly unconscious & guiltless ones

"Tell you what, my Lord: we pays you your rent & you takes it. You mind your business & we'll mind our'n."

If the Cholera is God's judgement at all, it is his judgement of the sin of dirt, & the repentance He requires is the to wash & be clean in literal earnest, & then the cholera would be impossible in England by now

But is it not God's doing? & can we stop His hand?

Wherever Cholera breaks out, it is some one's fault; & if deaths occur, some one ought to be tried for manslaughter, till men have common sense enough to make laws for the preservation of their own lives.

When a preacher tells people in one breath of a God who so loves men that He gave His own Son to save them & in the next that the same God so hates men that He will cast 9-10ths of them into hopeless torture for ever (& if that is not hating I don't know what is)

**f177**

And so was A. left "a virgin city" undefiled by Gov't interference, to the blessings of that "local government" which signifies, in plain English, the leaving the few to destroy themselves & the many, by the unchecked exercise of the virtues of pride & ignorance, stupidity & stinginess.

The "Nuisances Removal Act" constitutes the offenders themselves judge & jury in their own case.

He found it useless to quarrel with a man so utterly unpractical who would probably, had he been stirred into exertion, have done more harm than good.

x They begin to be wonderfully patient & impartial, in the hope of staving off the evil day, & finding some excuse for doing nothing after all.

**ff178-87** NOTES ON FAMILY, WORDS, AND LIVING WITHOUT OCCUPATION, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1854 [1857 better date] **[5:231-37]**

**f178**

[1]

Two things the Anglo=Saxon cares for

1. to be just
2. that, whatever be suffers (*that* he does not care for) the world should benefit by it. But, if he thinks there is no record of it ~~to~~ by which mankind can learn something from his experience, then his suffering are intolerable to him.

Moses said

Honour thy father & thy mother &c.,  
a sentence which contains 3 lies

Christ said.

My mother & my brethren are those  
which hear the word of God & do it.

How much farther advanced this was  
than that.

Words, words, words, says Hamlet, and  
truly all this generation is Words,  
words, words.

**f178v**

And while I write I am under the  
 empire myself of words. I don't  
 like to *think* what I say of the  
 "family", because I have all my  
 life heard *words* quite different &  
 dear to me from association.

What have mother & sister ever done  
 for me? They like my glory --  
 they like my pretty things. Is  
 there any thing else they like in me?  
 -- I was the same person who went  
 to Harley St. & who went to the  
 Crimea. There was nothing different,  
 except my popularity. Yet the  
~~one~~ person who went to Harley St. was to be cursed & the  
 other was to be blessed. The popularity  
 does not signify much one way  
 or other. It has hurt me less  
 in the Crimea & vantage me  
 less at home than I expected.

**f179**

Good public! It knew nothing of  
 what I was really doing in the Crimea.  
 Good public! It has known nothing  
 of what I wanted to do & have done since I came  
 home. The "accident" (?) of my acquaint=  
 tance with Mr. Herbert has done it  
 all.

Yet this adventitious, this false  
~~this~~ popularity, based on ignorance,  
 has made all the difference in the  
 feeling of my "family" towards me.

There has been nothing really  
 learnt by them from experience. But *the*  
*world* thinks of me differently i.e. I  
 have won, but by an accident  
 That there has been nothing really  
 learnt from experience is proved by  
 their talking of Hilary Carter now  
 in the same strain they used to  
 talk of me.

Really, When we consider ~~you come to think~~  
~~of~~ what a mother's feeling really is for

**f179v**

her child how flimsy, how unsubstantial  
it is, when compared with that of some "*Virgin=mothers*" we see  
the truth.

A pretty girl meets a rich man. And  
they are married. Is there any thought  
of the children? The children come  
without their consent ever having  
been asked, because it can't be helped  
sometimes they are not wanted.  
Sometimes there is need of an heir.

But in reality, for every one of my  
18,000 children, for every one of  
those poor tiresome Harley St. creatures,  
I have expended more motherly  
feeling & action in a week than  
my mother has expended for me in  
37 years.

Oh poor John Bull, don't think,  
as you are (& will be) told every day,  
that "nowhere are there such homes  
& such mothers as in England." ~~No,~~  
~~indeed,~~ nowhere are there such  
mothers indeed. But in what sense.

**f180**

[2]

We have seen what mothers do for their children. And what are children, at least daughters, expected to do in return? To be the property of their parents, till they become the property of their husbands. And I was expected to be not only the property of my parents, but the property of my sister. Because she had the world's opinion with her then ~~on her side~~. I had not.

Since I was 24, (probably long before, but certainly since then), there never was any vagueness in my plans & ideas as to what God's work was for me. I could have taken different kinds of work -- education, Hospitals &c. But each was definitely mapped out in my mind after a plan. I cannot, after having had the largest Hospital experience man or woman has ever had, perceive that the plan

**f180v**

I formed, at 24, for learning in Hospitals was imprudent or ~~undefined~~ ill-advised. It was much what Mrs. S. Stewart is carrying out now under my suggestions.

Upon what principle my "family" opposed this inexorably, overbearingly. I do not know, other than the "principle" of following the world's words & opinion.

In fact, I know they take credit now for ~~not~~ having promoted that which they called me ~~insane~~ unprincipled for proposing. (My mother even taxed me with having "an attachment I was ashamed of.")

When I was 30, I had an ~~little~~ Adult Evening School for factory-girls, which was, on the whole, the most satisfactory thing I ever did. My sister went into hysterics because I attended this. And my mother requested me to abstain for 6 months from doing *anything* ~~she~~ my sister disliked.

**f181**

& to give up for that time entirely to her.

To this I acceded. And when I committed this act of insanity, had there been any sane person in the house he should have sent ~~for~~ Conolly ~~for~~ to me...

The rest of the story ~~may~~ follows from such a fact as this of itself. When I went to Kaisers=  
werth the second time for 3 months, being then 31,  
my sister threw my bracelets, which I offered her to wear, in my face. And the scene which followed was so violent that I ~~then first felt~~  
~~the symptom of the disease which is now bringing me to my grave~~ fainted.

And, generally, I can remember that I never in all my life, went to the Village School, (that School which they professed to wish me to go to,) except by stealing out of the house unseen because I was sure to be stopped.

**f181v**

To Harley St, with which they now believe themselves to have "associations", dear to them. I was all but "taboo"ed for going. My sister said something to the effect ~~about~~ that she could never pass the threshold. And though she did pass the threshold more than once, the first time she ever came ~~it~~ was to go almost into hysterics. She hated the place & treated me like a criminal for taking it. And I felt like one, *then & all my life* till within the last 4 years. That is the extraordinary consideration which should make us pause viz the extraordinary hold which "words" can have upon our feelings. And now, what do I tell all this for?

1. & chiefly -- To do justice. In all this, I have had a "spiritual" mother. one, without whom I could have done nothing, who has been ~~a large~~ always a ~~Good & {illeg}~~ Holy Ghost to me & lately has lived the life of a "porter's wife" for me, who left her own people to come out to Scutari to me, to take care of a parcel of unruly servants, while I was 6 months out of the 12 in the Crimea.

**f182**

[3]

2. To shew how fatally untrue the ~~prev~~ idea of having property in human beings is. ~~How~~ Some things are called "dreadful", & others, ~~brother~~ twin=facts, which, (if there be any difference, are, if possible, more "dreadful"), are called "proofs of affection", of family love" &c. Slavery, as to the body, is "dreadful" slavery, if it includes the mind, is nothing.

And yet we are not man's property but God's property. And even He schemes His whole plan to make us into Gods not slaves so far from having this "treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God & not of us", it would seem that ~~His~~ the whole purpose of His laws & Theodike is to work out the "excellency of the power", so that it shall be "of us" & not "of Him".

**f182v**

In human life after the Genesis comes the Exodus. There is joy that a man is born into the *world*, not a "family".

3. To shew how words have really come to take the place of things. to be *instead of* feelings. According to this plan, people may come to have & to enjoy emotions, entirely contradictory. They may ~~enjoy~~ have both, the ~~emotion~~ satisfaction of feeling that they have made the sacrifice, provided they can say so, & the satisfaction of having their own way. They may enjoy the emotion that you are dying, that you are living, that you will undertake some great work, that you will never do anything again, they may have the satisfaction that they have prevented you from doing anything & ~~that~~ they may have the glory of your having done something.

**f183**

And, how clever is this kind of *talking* folly! How it can contrive to throw dust not only into its own eyes but into those of other people! How it will pass a fact which there is no controverting, in order clamorously to assert another which was never denied.

On the other hand, it must be said that there is no need for it to throw dust ~~no~~ as to some things. For it is totally blind already. E.G. what blindness can there be similar to that implied in the constant speech of *Society* to *Family*.

"How good you were to give him or her up!" & in the reciprocal self-gratulation of *Family* that it has given him (or her) up.

What! some man ~~but~~ (or more generally some woman) has been trying to "finish the work which God gave him (or her) to do". & the *Family*, after hindering in every way, after wearing out half

**f183v**

his (or her) life by hindrances, after refusing, with=holding or being unable to give any help, ~~it~~ dares to say that it has "given up" him (or her) to *do God's work*, as if he (or she) were its bond=slave & not God's child & fellow worker! Why! even God will no longer call us servants, far less slaves, but joint heirs, children, co=operators. Thus much have we at least arrived at knowing of the ~~nature~~ *will* of God. W

~~We are not the *Family's* children. We are God's children~~

"Oh world! oh life! Oh time!

"On whose last steps I climb

"Trembling at that where I have stood before"

if you did but know how you have worn out my life (& not mine only but that of far better men, we who were ~~both~~ trying ~~willing & able~~ to do your (the world's) work & God's work,) before we had reached [ ]? the middle of our course) with your

**f184**

[4]

petty hindrances, & chains & the galling  
& palsying opposition of *disabilities!* so that we have no life  
now

left to do your work, if you did but know  
this, you might change, (too late for me, but not for others)

Even this summer, had I had but  
ordinary peace & quiet, not to say help,  
I could have waded through.

"Weep not for me, but weep for  
Yourselves & your children".

There are some, I know, who can  
learn no experience from this life ~~at least~~ These are  
they who can take credit to themselves  
for having prevented a thing & for  
having accomplished a thing which  
was done in spite of them. These must  
wait for another life to learn.

But there are others to whom it  
is worth while to tell one's own  
experience, in order that they may  
save others from the same.

4. I wish to shew how false & cruel it is  
to make success the test of ~~right~~ right.

While I was struggling through ~~in accomplishing~~  
the very steps (I am obliged to take

**f184v**

again my own experience as illustrative  
of that of many others). the very steps  
necessary to accomplish that for which  
I am now praised, for want of which  
~~very~~ same steps others have failed in the  
self=same thing. all men forsook me,  
& chiefly my own family. Now, because  
I have succeeded by an accident  
which never might have happened,  
(I speak as men speak, for we know  
that nothing is an "accident") all men  
praise me. What is such praise  
worth?

But let me say whose support  
has been of "worth". 1. my spiritual  
mother's, 2. that of one who has  
been a mother to me too in another way.  
Mrs. Bracebridge, & 3. singularly  
enough, that of Mr. & Mrs. Herbert. They  
did not wait to send me to the Crimea  
in order to support me, as far as they could,  
in doing God's work.

**f185**

[5]

5. I wish to shew how 20 years of doing nothing, of living without occupation & by excitement, may cause to deteriorate the human brain to such an extent that I solemnly declare, (after some experience in Lunatics,) I consider the people in Hanwell who conceive themselves to be tea=pots, or ~~that they~~ to have 30,000 men fighting in their insides, ~~are~~ to be not more the subject of delusions than the class which thus lives by excitement & not my by occupation. These not only persuade themselves but others of their delusion. And I have seen scenes among them quite worthy of Molière, where two people, ~~b~~ in tolerable & even perfect health, lying on the sofa all day long & doing absolutely nothing, have persuaded themselves & others that they are the victims of their self=devotion for another's who

**f185v**

perhaps ~~are~~ is really dying from over=work.

Of these persons, some simulate (in all good faith), the character for which nature had really intended them, but for which the unfortunate education of absolute idleness had incapacitated them. Some simulate the character, -- whether of feeling, of imagination, of philanthropy, -- for which nature had so ~~far~~ entirely incapacitated them as to make them unconscious even of their want of the quality they were personating. (also with all naiveté.)

I believe these delusions, bred of idleness, to be absolutely incurable. (in this world).

The commonest & minor form which this kind of weakness (in heads of families) ~~they~~ takes is to spare the impertinent & knock about the submissive.

Of this we see instances in almost every

**f186**

~~all families.~~ The strongest character is generally the most submissive. Because the affections are also in proportionate strength, and by these it is led. So that the ~~most~~ more powerful the character is the more likely it is to be in subjection to the weaker.

**f187**

[6]

~~in doing God's work.~~

I end as I began. If we are permitted to finish the work which He gave us to do, it matters little how much we suffer in doing it. In fact, the suffering is part of the work & contingent upon the time or period of the world at which we were sent into it to do its work. But surely it is also part of that work to tell the world what we have suffered & how we have been hindered, in order that the world may be able to spare others. To act otherwise is to treat the world as an incorrigible child which *cannot* listen or as a criminal which *will not listen to right*.

**f188** NOTES ON NEWSPAPER PUBLICITY, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1857-8

{Left Column}  
 as all suffering must hinder  
 any real work

{Right Column} [wr. 1857-1858]  
 [In FN's hand]

It might not be  
 amiss to say one word  
 as to newspaper  
 publicity. It was  
 a real & serious hindrance  
 to the Nurses' work  
 in the East. For It made  
 them enemies, who  
 objected to letting  
 them put on poultices  
 & make broths for the  
 sick in as many  
 Hospitals as they  
 otherwise would have  
 done. Aristides'  
 peasant was only a  
 more honest man  
 than millions of his  
 species then, before  
 & since. ⊕

**ff189-90** NOTES ON DOORS AND WINDOWS BEING LEFT OPEN AND SHUT  
 PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN**f189**

{In FN's hand} On coming down=stairs  
 to day, I found  
 every door open &  
 every window shut  
 and "sink" in  
 every room. This  
 is what I call  
 the unpractical  
 character of ~~women's~~  
 minds of every rank  
 now. Every body  
 must have left  
 the door open behind

**f190**

If, for one fortnight from this time, I find all the doors shut & all the windows open, (including those of the two water=closets, which also must have the seats shut) I will give the servants a Doctor's fee, viz. one guinea.

F. Nightingale

August 16 1860

**ff191-92v** NOTES ON STRENGTH, HUMILITY & WEAKNESS, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY Mai Smith? 7 years after?

**f191**

[n.d]

MSS.

"A king complete within himself" can bear everything -- & how little books understand of us when they tell us to suffer & be strong.

Why ~~you~~ who asks for any other happiness. Blessed is the man who of himself is king. our Saviour might have said & added no other blessing, for he has happiness enough in that. And yet, my dear, I do sometimes feel that there is something better even than strength, & that is weakness if it is but humility in weakness I believe on second thoughts, do you know, that our Saviour *perhaps* knew best & that he

**f191v**

may have been right after all, not to alter "poor in spirit" for strong in heart

x x x

There is a prospect. Tho' it is not perhaps exactly what "fed the dreams of one's proud youth; but if all things move in waves or cycles, shall the individual atom complain that it "subit" the general law? I said to myself last birthday now you have had 7 years

of an existence toute intime  
you have been dreaming in  
your own private name

**f192**

& for your own private  
 satisfaction -- have referred  
 everything to yr own particular  
 feelings & after 7 years of  
 mere acquiescing, spent when  
 you were entirely independt  
 of all sympathy. women's  
 nature took its revenge  
 upon you & you gave  
 up everything for sympathy  
 or vanity whh is only one [which]  
 step removed. Now you  
 will begin in another place.  
 What is the use of studying  
 the individuality if not as  
 a reflection of the generality.  
 Begin a Vita Nuovas "hors  
 du general il n'y a point de

**f192v**

salut; here in the "bloc, &  
 only as a particle of the All.  
 The I shuts out the view of  
 everything behind it by  
 standing so near to one's eye.  
 Thy *kingdom* come was the  
*prayer of Christ*  
 "There are some people who like the Saviour  
 as dear Paul says, look down upon  
 one in the last darkness as how one the  
 Father. -- And do not think that  
 I quarrel with life any more than one  
 does with the Brit. Alman for not  
 being thanked. Life is a good life & an  
 Almann a good Al. Though many  
 people must be content, I believe  
 with merely clearing themselves  
 up upon what life is, & then  
 waiting to be metamorphosed  
 when this object is attained.

**f193** NOTES ON MISS COOK'S KEYS, PENCIL AND PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

[n.d.]

{In FN's hand, in light pencil}

Stornd [?] Physical Causes Death of Xt

Miss Cook's keys in E. Storer's possession

to be given to Wildgoose if E.S. leaves

{in pen}

Schern's Pedagogik

Cross. corner of Leicester St

131 Regent St

**f193v**; NOTES ON BIBLE TOPICS, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN{written upside down} ~~1871~~

1	Mary Mag.	John & Mark
2	other woman	Matt
3	Peter	Luke & Paul
4	Emmaus	---- & Mark
5	10 Apostles	----      ----
		John & Paul
6	11 do	John
7	7 dis	----
8	11 Apos & 500	Matt & Paul
9	James	Paul
10	Paul (when?)	Paul
11	Asc.	Mark. Luke & Acts

**f194** NOTES ON OBSTINACY AND OBSTINATE MEN, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

[n.d.]

{In FN's hand} Obstinance = conceit & want of  
determination

No people more easily managed, if a  
sharp attack is made on them, & then  
silence preserved on subject  
ever after

obstinate men -- sure to adopt the  
counsels scornfully declined  
as soon as they can do so without  
being observed.

**f194v** NOTES ON WINE LEFT IN FN'S CARE, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Wine left in my care  
6 bottles of Sherry  
1 bottle of Port  
7 bottles of Brandy

**f195** NOTES ON EXHAUSTION, INABILITY TO SPEAK, FIGHT, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

I was exhausted  
beyond the power  
of making speeches  
or reasoning or  
explaining, or  
carrying on any  
sort of warfare.  
I was reduced to  
the barest simplicity

**ff196-v** NOTES ON IMAGINATION AND LOGIC, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f196**

[n.d.]

{In FN's hand} ~~They have~~ the ambitions  
and the exacting nature  
of minds cultivated im=  
perfectly, of organizations ~~being~~ easily  
~~pure sentiment & pure~~ impressionable & highly  
imaginative. Imagination  
has an impatient logic  
of its own, which requires  
~~an~~ impossible perfection  
in making the necessities  
of action agree at once with ~~the~~ what  
its sensibility justly ~~requirements of its~~ demands  
~~sentiment~~  
~~sensibility~~. If this  
agreement cannot be  
immediately obtained,

**f196v**

this impatient logician  
will neither take the  
trouble to convince  
others, nor to obtain  
~~the~~ what is obtainable itself.  
Here is the main distinction  
between impressionability  
& conscience, between  
imagination & real feeling.

Add Mss 43403A, account book, no itext, a book with entries on accounts, 1853 July, received from Uncle Sam etc. and money due to WEN ffl-18, and lists of furniture, Pilgrim's Progress, Therese's board, sub for Times in Nov, also notations apparently of money from Gdmama and At Evans, £20 in Jan 1853

f2 note re payment to Mrs Chisholm 5.0.0 and a payment to St John's 3.0.0

f4 has fare to Sheffield for Aug 2, and from Cromford, fare to London Aug 11

13 07 1853 FN gave £5 to Mrs Chisholm. Note in account book, Add Mss 43403A f2.

f19 has drugs given to Mrs Galinde, 1 tea spoonful laudanum etc. And other patients and a bit more on expenses

43403B account book for 1862- and 1863, this one has embossed cover: British Syrian Relief Fund. Subscriptions. Ladies Committee

Mudie sub

includes

f2v Faithless Printing 5.9.0

f11v 28 February 1863 FN gave £1.5 to the Petite Soeurs des Pauvres. Entry in account book Add Mss 43403B f11.

F2v May 3 payment of £25 to HBC re wedding garment, and cheque to Deaconesses (Fliedner)

March 1862 has German band,

f3 has 5.5.0 to Chatham Institute, 6.18.4 for books to Montreal and £30 for cheque to Montreal on Glyn

f7 tabling colonial hospitals has items 2.12.6 and 2.4.9, mourning of £1 for Ann Woolett, and 2.2.0 for rubber (2 weeks) 23 November 1862

f8 Dec 6 1862 to Leg Diseases, £5 to Cotton Distress, £2.2 to rubber (2 weeks), cab for Hilary

6 December 1862 FN sent £5 to Cotton Distress. Entry in account book, Add Mss 43403B f8.

f10 rubber 1.1 Feb 1863, and rubber 2 weeks 2.2. and rubber 1 week and Dr W. 2.2

f14 £4 for midwifery books, Aug 1863, has to pay for 25 copies of Notes on Hosps Dec 1863

Nov 1863 notes wages for Ann Woollett, cook, Ann Clarke, Mrs Walker

f16 has 1.4.0 for wine for Rev Mother

19 December 1863 FN gave £1 to St Mark's School Club subscription. Entry in account book, Add Mss 43403B f16.

43403C account book 1865, expenses for Temperance Hatcher, Emma Burch, Jane Lyons, Mrs Rainer, Mrs Delany rent and board at 115 Park St.

Carriage for Miss Jones 1864

Hampstead expenses

f11 June 30 1865 3 church sittings for servants, 2.1.9

f12 coachman for Mrs Sutherland

expenses for distilled water, wine, brandy, port

f13v

10.0.0 paid to Cardinal Gonzaga

accounts for 1865-67 available in 43403C and accounts for payments to father and Samuel Smith etc. in 43403A for period at Upper Harley St., 1853

Colnaghi photographs 10.19.6, desks for Dalton (2) £6 Consumption Hosp £5

f17 1 doz brandy

f16 May 28 6/10 for ale for Rev Mother

f17 Janson and Cobb 14/0/10

repeat look May 2001:

3 August 1864 FN paid 17.12.9 for graves, 2 Pilgrim Fathers for America, Notation in account book 43403C f9.

Add Mss 43403e account books

43403A 1853 July

13 07 1853 Account book begun 43403A

20 07 1853 notation of fare paid to Atherstone 43403A

22 07 1853 notation of fare paid to Tamworth, Derby, Sheffield and servants at Tipton 43403A

29 07 1853 notation of fare paid to Ambergate, Whatstandwell 43403A

02 08 1853 notation of fare paid to Sheffield from Cromford 43403A

11 08 1853 notation of fare paid to London 43403A

Add Mss 43403i and e 906

13 July 1853 dated notations begin 43403 f2  
20 July fare from Putney, cab to Euston Sq, fare to Atherstone  
22 Jul 1853 fair to Tamworth, Derby, Sheffield, dentist, servants at  
Tapton  
29 July 1853 Bleak House, fare to Amber Gate, Whatstandwell  
2 August 1853 f4  
2 Aug fare to Sheffield from Cromford  
11 Aug 1853 fare to London  
43403B 1862 expenses  
09 03 1862 Account book begun 43403B, FN at Chesterfield St  
29 05 1862 FN paid Chatham Institute 5.5.0, for books to Montreal  
6.18.4, and cheque to Montreal 30.0.0, 43403B  
09 06 1864 Account book begun 43403C, FN at 115 Park @5  
06 08 1864 FN accounts for Hampstead 43403C  
08 07 1864 notation of £1 for rubber 43403C  
18 08 1866 notation of fare paid for journey to Embley (Watson) 43403C  
00 05 1866 notation of payment of 14.0.10 for Janson and Cobb 43403C f7  
28 02 1865 notation of payment for 3 photographs of Guido 43403C  
18 02 1865 payment for rubber 43403C  
15 04 1865 notation of payment for 27 Norfolk St 43403C  
05 05 1865 notation of payment for 34 South St 43403C  
15 08 1865 notation of payment for Hampstead 43403C  
05 09 1865 notation of payment for Claude Bernard and for Hoary Head  
43403C  
20 11 1865 or ? Notation of last week at No 34 43403C  
19 12 1865 first notation for accounts at 35 South St. 43403C  
25 02 1865 payment for rubber 43403C  
March 9 Chesterfield St  
May 29 cheques: Chatham Inst 5.5.0  
Books to Montreal 6.18.4

Add Mss 43403i and e 907

Cheque to Montreal 30.0.0

f6 August Hampstead  
f10v Feb 1863 4 Cleveland Row

43403C 1864

at front:

1866 Dec 26 wages of employees: Temperance Hatcher, Emma Burch, Jane Lyons, Mrs Rainer, later Mrs Delany

9 June 1864 115 Park St. to Aug 1  
Aug to Hampstead, carriages for Mme Mohl and Rev Mother in August 1864  
to Nov 5 when to Norfolk St

f6, 5 Nov 1864 27 Norfolk St to 29 April 1865

f10 May 5 1865 34 South St.

Add Mss 43546, from edited texts, correspondence with Lord Ripon, copies in 45778, Adam Matthew reel 6

f130 letter de Lord de Grey 11 February 1869 10:93  
ff150-51 letter to Lord de Grey [November 1869] 10:99-100.  
Ff156-57 letter to Lord de Grey 29 January 1879 10:102-03  
ff158-65 letter to Lord Ripon 14 April 1881 10:174-78  
ff174-75 letter to Lord Ripon 28 July 1881 10:180-81  
ff194-95 letter to Lord Ripon 14 April 1882 10:181-82  
ff214-15 letter to Lord Ripon 24 October 1888 10:204-05  
ff234-37 and 241-43 letter to Lord Ripon 2 February 1889 10:213-15  
ff178-93 letter to Lord Ripon 12 August 1880 10:297-303  
ff195-96 letter to Lord Ripon 14 April 1892 10:306  
ff137-42 letter to Lord Ripon 24 October 1888 10:333-35  
ff208-11 and 212 letter to Lord Ripon 24 March and 1 June 1888 10:341-42  
ff150-53 letter to Lord Ripon 13 November 1888 10:346  
ff199-and 201-02 letter to Lord Ripon 29 June 1883 10:600  
ff250-51 letter to Lord Ripon 29 October 1890 10:777  
ff197-202 letter to lord Ripon 29 June 1883 10:802-04  
f196 letter to Lord Ripon 14 April 1892 10:817  
ff150-53 letter to Lord Ripon 13 November 1888 10:839  
ff203-07 letter to Lord Ripon 14 December 1883 10:849-50  
ff251-52 letter to Lord Ripon 29 October 1890 10:860-61  
ff253-54 letter to Lord Ripon 29 August 1892 10:878

From a letter to Lord Ripon, Add Mss 43546 f196

14 April 1882

I must not for shame trouble you with a long letter, but any information that you would kindly desire to be given to me about these pressing subjects, which I doubt not have been put in train and about your successes in their working, to the great benefit of millions, will be received with the deepest interest by me.

We hailed with joy your institution of a commission for inquiring into primary education so much wanted.

From a letter to Lord Ripon, Add Mss 43546 f238

2 February 1889

*Bombay*. It must give you pleasure, I think, to see a bill proposed "to legalize trial by *panchayat* "court in civil suits," a draft of which has been sent me. But this is inconsistent with putting Bombay village sanitation into the hands of the *collectors* (see draft bill). Packet No. 2)

From a letter to Lord Ripon, Add Mss 43546 f237

2 February 1889

*Government of Bombay*. It has asked its surgeon general to reduce the "medical budget" by 1,25,000 Rs, including the *Sanitary Department*. It is thought that two deputy sanitary commissioners (out of 6/six!!) may go--that Eastern and Western Guzerat may be united and that the overworked sanitary commissioner (of the whole presidency) may hold a district!!

(It was hoped that the Bombay Sanitary Department had so far weathered the Financial storm. And Lord Dufferin kindly wrote to me that he had saved that Sanitary Department from any reduction.)

From a letter to Lord Ripon, Add Mss 43546 ff235-36

2 February 1889

A very strong minute has been written by a member of the Council of India, dated 22 January, to be put before the secretary of state "about the arrangements *in loco* Dr Sutherland," saying that they (the I.O.) should

provide for themselves, in case of the W.O. carrying out its intention of "abolition," an officer of the highest competence that they can find, to keep up these "periodical reviews," etc. Such an officer is now at home, retired in his full usefulness, viz., deputy surgeon general T.G. Hewlett, who belonged to the Indian Sanitary Service, and as sanitary commissioner

did such admirable duty for so many years, including the great famine, in Bombay Presidency.

From a letter to Lord Ripon, Add Mss 43546 ff228-29

13 November 1888

2. The latest draft (1888) "Bombay Village Sanitation Bill" was put into my hand, and I was asked to make my criticisms and suggestions, and send them to Bombay, which I have done.

The bill is of such vast importance to the Bombay Presidency, for it embraces the whole of its (more than) 24,000 villages, without reference to numbers of inhabitants being less or more.

The bill has these two great merits: (1) all the moneys raised in the village are to be spent *IN THE VILLAGE*; (2) the village menial servants (Mhars and Mangs) are to have government lands, and their dues are to be recoverable as part of the land revenue. Its defects are that it is a distinct return to stringent absolutism, that it leaves no initiative in the hands of the villagers, but its machinery is active interference by government officers; that it gives great opportunities for being dishonestly worked.

You instituted a movement in this direction, namely, to put power into the people's hands to allow them to choose their own way of doing what was necessary in their own interests, provided it was done to the satisfaction

of the officers government would appoint to supervise the work. To revive their own immemorial village organisation, such as the *village panchayat*,

to raise funds *through the panchayat* for the village sanitation, to substitute the decent villager for the corrupt petty native official. By this bill of 1888 we have (instead of the panchayat) the collector and a "sanitary committee" *appointed by the collector* himself, to do the work. The collector is to assess the rate for sanitary purposes "in conference with" his sanitary committee. The *sanitary committeeman* is to summon the offending neighbour perhaps out of private spite before themselves (not the police patel). I will not enter into detail. The draft is by no means a *final* draft and might be altered, though not I fear in principle.

The sanitary commissioner and department are entirely ignored though the collector does not know whereto look for filth and disease--causes--with some brilliant exceptions and the mamlutdar (magistrate) who also comes on the stage, knows nothing about sanitation except to clean the road the collector is to pass through.

From a letter to Lord Ripon, Add Mss 43546 f130

11 February 1869

Besides this, the course which science is taking now is the very reverse of Newton's and Bacon's. *Now*, it starts from a central hypothesis, fills up with facts, perhaps half a degree of the circle, leaves out, I need not say, the opposing facts, and declares the hypothesis proved--the circle completed. But there is a certain naïveté in all Indians (which you do not find in Englishmen) which makes them give the opposing facts, those that do not come at all within their arbitrary circle, and which prove it to be entirely arbitrary. I am certain that you would see this in the hundreds of Indian reports on this subject which come home to me, but you will see it even in those I send.

I will not therefore insist on this point, but only mention that the high authority in India (quite confidentially) actually wrote home to me

but a few months ago to know whether it would not be possible to frame a Sanitary Service for India, independently of medical officers, on account of their interminable contradictions and squabbings among themselves on theoretical grounds which they put forward as practical ones.

Thus, the hypothetical anti-commercial doctrine of spread of cholera by contagion, which has been fostered in England by certain medical men, has gone far to neutralize logically (if there be such a thing as logic in them) any attempt at diminishing the liability of troops and peoples to cholera. A re-examination of the subject is most urgently required.

Add Mss 44459, Gladstone Papers Vol CCCLXXIV

Letter to Gladstone from FN, ff56-71, pen

**f56r**

*Private India*

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.  
Jan 22/79

Dear Sir

I should hardly venture to  
presume upon your remembering  
poor old Florence Nightingale;  
- even with the ~~life~~ long friendship  
of Sidney Herbert to remind  
you of me, were it not that you  
were so very good as to send  
me a kind message by Miss  
Irby (of Bosnia) last autumn.

But is it not upon Bosnia  
but upon India & the late  
Famine that I now trespass  
upon you.

In your noble paper in this  
month's no. of the 'XIX Century',

Rt Hon.ble  
W.E. Gladstone MP

**f56v**

you say: "impoverished India  
"in which but a year ago  
"we were told that  
"12,00000 perons died of famine.

The papers moved for &  
presented to Parliament, just  
before it rose in August last,  
gave the Famine Deaths at  
1,350000.

The Deaths "presented to  
Parl.t" were the *registered*  
Deaths.

It was asked at the time  
what was the probable proportion  
of *registered* Deaths to *actual*  
famine Deaths.

But no answer was made.  
That answer can now be given.

The Famine Commissioner of  
*Mysore* has given the loss in

**f57r**

Mysore alone as *one million and a quarter Deaths*.

This is accepted by the India Office itself.

It was ascertained by actual enumeration that the *registered Deaths* in Mysore were *22 per cent* of the *real* number of Deaths.

[Included in the papers that were presented to Parl.t but *not* presented to Parl.t (it reached me from Simla) was the above statement.]

Now for *Madras* Presidency: the completed Reports are now officially coming in: (they reached me some months ago). [I would thankfully send you an Abstract & Analysis of them, but do not like to trouble you unasked.]

**f57v**

The figures may be shortly stated:

By the Test-Census which was taken in March 1878 the probable decrease of population due to famine up to March /78 is 3,273,527.

[This 3 1/4 millions allows for 5 years' increment of population from 1872 to 1876 at one per cent. only per annum tho' by the Test Census of non-famine Districts the population of 17 1/4 millions (17,259,290) as by the 1871 Census - towit, Districts of Salem - the *whole* of which District was taken by the *Test* Census. - Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Nellore, Coimbatore, Chingleput, Madera, N.Arcot, & 4 Districts of Partial Famine.

**f58r**

2

This was the result of the Test Census.

Now for the *Registered* Deaths: the 17 months' returns from November 1876 to March 1878 show an excess of Deaths of

1,140.048

over the average of same months in former years.

But such was the disorganization of village life & communal administration that *not one half* of the actual Deaths were ever recorded.

Also: facts *ascertained* do not account for more than 100,000 of the missing people by *migration*.

It therefore stands thus:

**f58v**

mortality Returns show an <u>excess</u>	
of <u>Deaths</u> from Nov./76 to March/78 of	1,140,048
while Test Census would indicate	
a probable decrease of population	
of at least 3 millions	3,000,000
Of these rather more than 2 millions	
may be reckoned roughly as Deaths	2,000,000
1 million may be accounted for	
as diminished Births	1,000,000

For Famine cuts away population at both ends.  
 And we have yet to know the consequences of the  
 Famine in diminished Births. It will be well if the  
 Census of 1881 does not show the loss to have

**f59r**

been nearer 4 million than 3.  
 At one time the Birth-rate was down to 7 per 1000.  
 There was no connection between famine &  
 excessive population:  
 districts with sparse population suffered the  
 utmost intensity of famine.  
 While districts with excessive populations not  
 only grew enough for their own populations but  
 for material help to the famine Districts.  
 May I give you the figures of these?

**f60r**

3

Briefly then: & not to annoy you with figures:

*Madras*

our probable losses of population  
 are more than 3 millions.        3,000,000  
 (to wit: over 2 million Deaths  
           1 million diminished Births)

[I could send you all the detailed figures  
 of this]

*Mysore*

Deaths officially estimated at    1,250,000

*Bombay & Hyderabad*

losses must have been more than  
   two millions        2,000,000

All these figures came to me from {pencil} the various {end pencil} head  
 quarters

in India. [I have telegraphed to India  
 for detailed figures of *Bombay* and *Hyderabad*.  
 The others I have, & have had for months.]

Would it be too much if I were to *hope* -  
 do not take from me *hope* - that Mr.  
 Gladstone himself would move in the  
 Ho. of C. for the Famine Mortality figures?

**f61r**

4

2.

People's minds are so taken up with this Affghan War on one side or the other that they forget the far deeper tragedy than any that can be acted there that took place but one short year ago here in Southern India - not to speak of what has even later been enacting in the North West Provinces.

O that Mr Gladstone would take up the statesmanship of India is the cry of all hearts - of all that really care for India - the only kind of man who could really deal with it is such a Minister as yourself.

I feel how impertinent I am in saying these things.

But people with intense interests

**f61v**

at their hearts are impertinent  
even with God.

The only way to interest the  
people of England in India  
would be:  
if an Indian Dickens could arise:  
- or if the 'Daily News' would  
send out a McGahan or a  
Forbes to 'discover' the interior  
of India as 'Special Correspond.'

- or nobler ~~agency~~ far than any  
of these - if Mr. Gladstone  
would write some of his  
greatest papers, on *India*  
- such a paper as 'England's  
Mission'!

Instead of this, we are  
appealed to by the meanest  
& most clap-trap of motives

**f62r**

to support a policy which, in private life, - even in such private life as the Bank failures lay open, - would be esteemed base & swindling.

This policy has its majority in the Ho. of Commons, it is true: but such a majority, - such a superstructure without any foundation on a rock - a majority built on the {pencil} shifting {pencil ends} sands, -cannot last.

It could not last for 6 months if the people of England really know anything about India.

The great Indian officials - many of them *truly* great men - returning home, do not interest England about India.

The great Indian officials - many of them *truly* great men - returning home, do not interest England about India.

They speak of English apathy & indifference. But we English

**f62v**

people know nothing about  
the matter: & it is not in  
human nature to be as much  
affected by what happens  
3000 miles off as by the  
distress of Sheffield & Manchester.  
The great Indian Officials know  
these things but they do not  
really speak about them - or  
convince the country of them -  
not at least in the same way  
that the Anti-slavery people  
used to agitate about slavery:  
- of the Anti-Corn-Law people  
about the repeal of the Corn Laws.

We may say that bread is  
nearer to us than Hindoos:  
but we cannot say that Hindoos  
are farther off from us than  
slaves.

**f63r**

5

What a field for a statesman like Mr. Gladstone to be at the head of an India League to convince the country of - India!

The great Indian officials returning home do not interest England about India:

can you interest the India Office unless you interest the people of England?

it is not enough for an experienced man to come to the I.O. to be listened to: - must he not have enlisted the people of England first; & be able to move the people of England?

an Ex. Viceroy thinks he has a responsibility: he is afraid of being an agitator - of exposing evils.

**f63v**

he *has* a responsibility indeed: but is it not that of interesting England in India?

As the Cabinet must have a Parl.y majority at its back, - must not the great Indian who in England wishes to benefit India & move the I.O., have a majority of the people of England at his back?

And who could give him this majority but you?

**f64r**

6

Would that I might give you facts about this strange India which for 19 years I have had unusual opportunity of knowing - & ~~of (illeg)~~ for twenty years I have had all sorts of 'confidential' reports not only from head-quarters, not only from our own officials in India, - men of the highest character & ability as most of them are - but of late years from native Hindoo, Parsee & Mahomedan gentlemen.

But to return to the facts of the last Famine. e.g.

1. no connection between famine & excessive population

districts with sparse populations

as	<i>Pop per sq. mile</i>
<i>Kurnool</i>	130.4
<i>Nellore</i>	162.7
<i>Cuddapah</i>	161.5
<i>Bellary</i>	151.5

Suffered the severest famine

**f64v**

while *Pop per sq. mile*  
*Tanjore* 540.1  
 (Saved by {illeg. Canvery/Cauvery} irrigation)  
*Godavery* 255.9  
 (saved by Godavery irrigation)  
 not only lived in abundance  
 themselves: but, as I have ~~an~~  
 almost incredible ~~Report~~ figures (*official*)  
 to show, [which I should be only  
 too honoured to abstract for you]  
 supplied their neighbours to  
 an extraordinary extent.  
 So with Malabar 376.7 -  
 & {illeg. S/Trichinipoly} 341.5  
 Saved wherever Cauvery  
 irrigation extended

Saved but crowded with famine-  
 stricken wanderers from  
 Coimbatore} & Salem.

The official figures with regard to  
 the grain supplied by these  
 Districts are really remarkable.  
 But, what is worst is that, in many parts, the grain  
 famine has now been followed by *money famine*. This  
 can only be relieved by *Govt advances & public works* -  
 and all this is *suspended for the war!*

**f65r**

2. with regard to the registration of Deaths:  
except in municipal towns, there is no legal power compelling people to register births & deaths. Every village is a commune -  
- there are more than 50,000 villages - each village has a separate 'accountant' [the man who keeps the accounts of the Govt. for the lands cultivated by each ryot & the tax due on them] who is *ex officio* registrar.  
- in ordinary times about two thirds of the Deaths are registered in famine times, not one half.

[We have destroyed the Village Communities & kept only their worst part:-  
& we have destroyed the Panchayats.] {pencil:} & their cheap justice.] {end pencil}  
The Village Accountants suffered

**f65v**

starvation with the rest  
& went away in search of  
food & work. Thousands  
upon thousands of people dropped  
down dead by the way side  
or in desert places: & were  
of course *unregistered*.

The Registration of the *Causes*  
of Death was yet more strange  
& curious.

*Famine Deaths* were registered  
under "*All other Causes*":  
*because* it was announced  
that 'no Death was to be allowed  
from *Famine*':

sometimes under '*Fevers*': yes,  
but *famine Fever*: (altho' it  
may have spread among the  
well-to-do):

sometimes under other affections,  
these affections being, especially  
among children, the very type

**f66r**

7

or characteristic of the famine state.

Their only rule of Registration often is: how to please the English masters.

[I have all these figures.]

In camps & relief houses, at least *three fourths* of the mortality was the direct result of 'innutrition' (in English, starvation)

3. The decrease of population is *not* to be accounted for by *migration*:

- all the population-movements were in definite directions to find food & work:
- e.g. from the districts surrounding Madras to Madras:
- from Coimbatore to Malabas or Trichinopoly:

**f66v**

- from Salem to {illeg. T/Sanjore} (the great irrigated Cauvery delta) & Trichinopoly.  
- from Kurnool & N. Nellore to Kistna (irrigated)  
  &c &c &c  
- e.g. in Madras out of some 130,000 in relief camps not a dozen came from Salem:  
- the great bulk were from Nellore, Chingleput & N. Arcot:  
[N.B. from Bellary & Cuddapah emigration was encouraged to 'Buckingham Canal' Works on Nellore Coast: but this was out of the usual (population) course. It was full of disaster to the people & had to be abandoned.]

The Madras Famine affected a population of about 20 millions:

**f67r**

- they did not go into Mysore,  
for all Mysore was famine:  
- nor into Bombay,  
- nor into Nizam's dominions,  
for these were worse off than  
our own.

[The Nizam's & Mysore people  
came into Bellary for relief.]

- Before the end of 1877, the great  
surplus of emigrants, including  
even those who went to Ceylon &  
Travancore - i.e. those who were  
not dead - had returned to  
their villages.

The Mansion House fund  
hastened the resumption of  
village life by its grants for  
repair of houses, purchase of  
implements, seedgrain, cattle &c

[Would that there were a  
similar fund to *re-home*  
Miss Irby's poor re-patriated  
expatriated Bosnian fugitives,  
now starving & dying in their  
worse-than-exile homes: twice  
fugitives]

**f67v**

We have in actual ascertained figures that children under 10 years disappeared in double the proportion of persons over 10 years: Now these children could not have emigrated: they must have died.

The Migration theory as accounting for the decrease of population is disproved.

Facts *ascertained* do not account for more than 100,000 of the missing people by *migration*: {pencil:} as has been said above {end of pencil}

**f68r**

8

4. Native official corruption filters thro' every pore of the Indians peasant's daily life.

Were this the case in England, should we say: the first thing is to revise the Constitution on paper - the 'Law & the Prophets'? Or is it to look to the network of daily life, of every vital want, of every moment?

[We have destroyed native public opinion: as far as we could: in its power for good:

we should not like now to hear what is said "under the village fig-tree":

but we could even now take the opinion of village 'exports'.]

The Famine Reports show unscrupulous headmen & village officials unashamed sending in bare-faced lists for relief - lists of persons long since dead - lists of their own

**f68v**

relatives as constituting the  
village -

- do English people know what  
these words mean?

"defrauding of government"

"insufficient supervising agency of Europeans"

"Indian native officials not above suspicion"

They mean:

- crowds being slowly & tamely  
starved to death, because they  
would not expose the {illeg. munsif}  
who misappropriated the  
funds entrusted to him -  
not only this but even when  
questioned, the dying lips,  
like Desdemona, "told deliberate  
lies to exonerate their unscrupulous  
headman" x

This sounds incredible to

x What might not be made of this  
heroric false 'witness even unto death',  
if we knew how to manage the natives?

**f69r**

English ears.

But nevertheless it was done.

They mean:

- wealthy villagers obtaining the munsif's connivance to their drawing from 6 to 10 rations daily, - making about 67 rupees in 6 months - & the Reporter adds with great naivete: "Only the more respectable (?) inhabitants could command sufficient interest to secure a large number of shares."

They mean this:

- any number of "retractions" by "persons whose only chance of getting any food at all would have been lost if they had 'peaked'"

And this:

"All evidence exonerating their tyrants" "would be backed up by the statements of respectable (?)

**f69v**

"inhabitants who perhaps had during a long period received their share of the plunder."

They mean this:

- that "special relief officers" "morally certain of the guilt of the parties," but "powerless to remove the oppressor, even for an hour, or to check his powers of mischief," could only "report". "Imagine reporting that a number of people are at the point of death!"

They mean this:

- that "village magistrates" "swindled" the government - assisted by the "Village Inspector by entering as paupers the names of the friends & relatives of the musif & other "influential residents" - by recklessly distributing money to well-to-do {illeg. Brahmins} by keeping fictitious registers  
&c &c &c

**f70r**

9

O for a 'free Vernacular Press'  
to bring the power of public  
opinion to bear on these myriads  
of native officials whom,  
as you say, there are only  
70000 Englishment to manage  
- We who have abolished  
their Panchayats have hardly  
any check upon them

We are like children: we  
have forgotten {pencil} to learn {end pencil} our lesson (on  
the state of the people of  
India) {pencil} in order {end pencil} to run to the  
window at the sound of the  
drums & fifes in the street  
going - ah me what devil  
has done this? - to Candahas  
& Tellalabad.

**f70v**

Our prayers & blessings  
are yours for your efforts  
to avert the meanness of the policy  
or impolicy ~~of proceedings~~  
concerning poor dumb India.

*May we not ask for  
more?*

ever your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

{pencil} I forgot to say that I am under  
the severe pressure of over work  
& illness constantly increasing.

This is my excuse. {end of pencil}

**f71r**

I am shocked at the length.  
& at the impertinence  
of this letter:  
I will not make it longer by  
apologies:

F.N.

{pencil} And yet I have so much to  
add: I will only say 1. it  
is ~~perfectly~~ incredible how  
completely *the most awful facts  
of the Famine* have been left  
out of all the Official papers.

And 2.

*More than one million persons,  
according to the official returns,  
were "supported" by the system  
of village relief, above described,  
"a proportion receiving a money  
dole at their own homes."*

F.N.

AM 44460 I

Input June 1999

Add Mss 44460, Gladstone Papers Vol CCCLXXV

Letter, ff33-38, pen

**f33r**

May 12/79  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I was so distressed at your having the goodness to make an unnecessary call at my door on Saturday, or that one minute of your invaluable time should have been spent in vain.

I hope I explained to you how it was not my fault.

I shall gratefully expect you on *Wednesday at 5.*

I read with tears of joy your great speech of April 28: "what this nation (England) will do in considering its own interests, & in making provision for its own fortunes."

India can neither consider her own interests, nor certainly

**f33v**

make "provision for her own fortunes."

She *must* look to us.

O that we could realise the magic of your eloquence on her side.

----  
----

Do people know what this stoppage of Government works means? It means throwing one hundred thousand labourers out of work (in the south of Madras alone) It means leaving half a million of souls to distress & death: when food is still from 50 to 100 per cent. higher than usual. It means making recovery from Famine impossible.

And all this for what? ~~is it~~ that the Govt. of India may be

**f34r**

able to show that the so called 'surplus' exists: may appropriate Indian funds to pay the cost of the War: may sweep in the 'Famine Insurance Fund' with the ordinary revenue: may show a surplus to justify the recent concessions to Manchester: is it not?

Military charges are *not* to be cut down: but Public Works are: cut down or stopped:

If English people could even realize for a moment what the distress is in India of a stoppage of government works!

I merely mentioned the south of Madras as one instance, because just in that part the people are suffering nearly as much as during the worst part

**f34v**

of the Famine: but then,  
 "officially" the famine is OVER.  
 So we do not think about them.

Think of what it would be  
 to throw a place larger than  
 Liverpool out of work: the  
 only work they could get.

In the letter you were so very  
 good as to write me, you said  
 that India's subjects must  
 now "force their way to the front."  
 You cannot think what comfort  
 that gives.

If it were not for the vastness  
 of the subject, I should not  
 dare to take up the time of  
 the greatest financier of the day.  
 Do you think that

1. *Cooperation* could be introduced

**f35r**

2

into India - (among the  
 measures to cope with this  
 terrible poverty & indebtedness)?

I venture to send you a No.  
 of the "National Indian Ass.n" if  
 you could find time just to  
 glance over the ~~article~~ report of meeting on  
 "co-operation": as applicable to India.  
 Do you think that

2. a *National Bank* could  
 be formed: - a private Joint Stock  
 Institution but under the  
 supervision of the Government  
 - starting with a paid up capital.  
 Say 5 millions £ - hoping that  
 the gold & silver lying dormant  
 in India may ultimately be  
 deposited with it:- branches to be  
 opened in every Collector's district  
 & afterwards other branches  
 at every central group of villages  
 - bank to make small advances  
 of capital to the Ryots for seeds,

f35v

tools, wells & tanks.

advances to form a *first charge* on the land.

[What will the Government say to that?]

interest to be charged at 10 p.c.

- native land owners to form in every Collector's district a local honorary Board of Directors:

the Collector to be *ex officio* Chairman

- Englishmen to manage the branches at first.

Would it be possible?

In Madras & Bombay Presidencies the "money lender" is often the headman of the village who, as head of the village community, & as the servant of government, is all powerful. The fact that the headman is frequently the "money lender" explains what

**f36r**

seemed utterly inexplicable that, while Ryots refused Government loans for works of improvement at 5 per cent, they readily accept loans from the "money lender", at rates varying from 15 and 20 to 100 per cent. & more. The village headman, when he is the "money lender", would of course permit no Ryot of the village to accept a loan from Govt. on terms *lower* than those he usually exacts.

The Headmen have enormous powers: their corruption, especially during the Famine relief, was & is hideous.

In the olden times, a bad Headman would have been quietly "got rid of". But now they are Government

**f36v**

officials, & collect the Revenue for Govt. & their power is great - for evil. And we have removed all check upon them.

It stands in the way of letting the Ryot see his true interests.

It is a perfect irony to wait till Education has enabled the Ryot to see them.

The School Cess is all on the *land*. And the Ryot pays that the richer classes may be educated: *he* cannot afford to send his children to school.

Even in Bengal, the total no. of male cultivators of all ages was 17,000,000. There should be 3,400,000 sons of cultivating ryots at school. There are 270,000, or only about 1 in 12 or 13 of those of a school going age.

In Madras & Bombay the Ryots pay: the rich man profits.

f37r

3

Do you think

3. that *Monts de Piete*  
could be instituted?

*Monts de Piete,*  
*Indian National Bank,*  
*Co-operation*

- would these have any effect  
on Indian poverty?

The quantity of bullion, available  
for pledges, (in the silver  
ornaments of every man,  
woman & child) must be  
almost incalculably large. [It was  
stated in the Ho. of C. that  
the "wear & tear" of these alone  
is £30,000,000 a year. This  
sounds incredible]

Is it true that there is no  
country in the world where  
larger sums of gold & silver  
lie dormant:

that during the past 25 years

f37v

Europe has sent to India nearly £300,000,000 in gold & silver, which has gone to swell the large quantities of gold & silver already in India?

Could the half-starved or wholly starved millions of poor Hindoos not benefit by having even a part of this capital; lying buried away, "energized" into a wage or mobilized fund? In India money runs to money-lending: Capital produces pauperism.

I am so ignorant: but I address myself to the greatest master of finance in existence. Do Statesmen sometimes ignore that the execution of Public Works is a perfectly distinct thing from the state of the Finances? The Finances are one thing, the investment of money is another. Are these two jumbled together in one account? The more defective the finances, the more urgent are Public Works which alone can enable the people to pay a higher revenue

**f38r**

Very many years ago, I had  
the honour of dining with you  
at Sidney Herbert's. Poor  
Lord Lincoln was there.

You were talking about Italy.  
You said that the 'man of Naples'  
was the first offender against  
law & order & Government.

But 'Italy would be free'.

They gently laughed at your  
hopes.

But you were nothing daunted.  
Now, all those hopes have been  
fulfilled.

In real horror at the length of  
this letter, pray believe me  
ever you faithful serv.t

Florence Nigtingale

Rt Honble

W.E. Gladstone MP

Letter, ff234-39, pen

**f234r**

*Lord Lawrence*

July 6/79

6 a.m

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I heard that you were  
yesterday at Lord Lawrence's  
funeral: & not knowing how  
far you were acquainted with  
the story of his last days, I  
have ventured to think that  
you might care to hear of them  
from one who has been privileged  
to know & serve with two such men  
as Sidney Herbert & John  
Lawrence:- very different  
but alike in the 'one thing  
needful': the serving with  
all their sould & minds,  
& without a thought of self,  
their high ideal of right.

Rt Honble.

W.E. Gladstone M.P.

**f234v**

Lord Lawrence's last years were spent in work: he did not read, he studied: - tho' almost blind, he waded with the help of a Private Secretary (who was a Lady,) thro' piles of Blue Books, - chiefly but not wholly Indian - bringing the weight of his unrivalled experience to bear upon them. Up to Tuesday night, tho' very ill, (he died on the Friday) he worked on. On the Thursday before, he had spoken in the Ho. of Lords on the Indian Finance question.

The disease tedious & trying of which he died was brought on by his London School Board work. He used to come home quite exhausted, saying that he could have done the whole thing "in half an hour" himself,

**f235r**

yet having entered into with  
a patience very foreign to his  
nature all the little niggling  
crotchets of every body on the  
Board, every one of whom  
*would* speak & *would* be noticed.  
The extraordinary virtue, the self  
denial, the love of duty of  
those 3 years of hard work on  
the London School Board by  
the Viceroy of the Indies, the  
organizer of the Punjab -  
will they have been wasted?

He gave an impression, I believe,  
of such sternness in public:  
but the tenderness, the playfulness  
of his intercourse in private  
were beyond ~~any~~ a woman's tenderness.

He had the blue eye & the  
expression in it (before the  
most painful operation to his eyes)  
of a girl of 16: & the massive

**f235v**

brow & head of a General  
of nations rather than of Armies.  
You remember in 1863 in December  
when he was summoned at  
a few days' notice to go to  
India as Gov. Gen.l, to replace  
the dying Lord Elgin - we had  
just concluded our R. Commission  
on the Sanitary State of the  
Indian Army (of which Sidney  
Herbert was the first Chairman,  
Lord Stanley the second) -  
he, Sir John Lawrence, came  
to me in those last hurried  
days, & we sketched out the  
whole plan of Sanitary  
proceedings not only for the  
Army but for the native  
populations for all India,  
which he carried out & which  
has resulted in so much.  
thank God for it.

f236r

2

I received a letter from him  
- received it the day *after* his  
death - dictated, but signed  
by himself - sending me  
some recent Indian Reports - private  
papers - which he had read  
& wished me to read - all  
marked - & the page turned  
down where he had left off.  
{pencil} This was his legacy: {end of pencil}

Afterwards, a paper, - one  
of the same series, - which  
arrived from India the  
day he died, & which they  
sent on to me.

O that I could do something  
for India for which he lived  
& died.

The simplicity of the man  
could not be surpassed: the  
unselfishness. It was always,  
Is it right? If it was, it was  
done. It was the same thing:  
its being right & its being done.

**f236v**

The end came thus {pencil} at last. {end pencil}  
he was very ill on the morning  
of June 24, the Tuesday  
before his death. but he  
insisted on getting up &  
going into the City (with his  
son: he could go nowhere alone  
because of his blindness) about  
some business, I believe  
connected with the Oxford  
Indian Institute of which  
he was Trustee: [he could  
not be Trustee like any other  
man: he *must* see to the  
investing of all the money  
himself - look into every  
detail of accounts himself.]  
on Tuesday evening he received  
Mr. Monier Williams &  
went thro' every point of the  
Indian Institute with him  
till a rather late hour.

AM 44460 I

Input June 1999

f237r

He had a bad night: then  
3 days & nights of constant suffering  
from sickness - then the end - it  
was perfect peace - at 10.30  
on Friday night, June 27.

A photograph was taken a  
few hours after death - Lady  
Lawrence sent it me:

if it had been an Annibale  
Caracci, a Leonardo, or a Michael  
Angelo sketch, we should have  
said: how far Art transcends  
nature - in the holiest  
pictures of the old Masters.  
I have never seen anything so  
beautiful or so holy:

the lips are slightly parted  
(like those of a child in a  
rapture of joy on first awaking)  
- with a child-like joy at  
entering into the presence  
of the Heavenly Father  
whom he had served so well:

## f237v

the poor eyes are looking  
down, but as if they were looking  
inward into the soul to  
realize the rapture of surprise  
that is there: God for the first time dwelling in it - like Milton's  
"And joy shall ~~rush upon~~ overtake him like  
a flood."

the face so worn [I think  
sometimes the youth, the  
physical beauty in the  
old Italian pictures of  
Christ ~~rather war against one's feeling~~  
do not give the full meaning of: 'it behoved Him  
to *suffer* that He might enter  
into His glory: or else like  
Titian's 'Moneta', it is the  
*mere ascetic*: but] here  
it was the joy *arising out*  
of the long trial, the toil:-  
the Cross out of  
which came the Crown:  
the expression was that of the

**f238r**

3

winged soul, the child soul -  
as in the Egyptian Tomb -  
paintings, - rising out of the  
worn out body - [he said on  
the Sunday: 'I can't tell you  
how I feel: I ~~am~~ feel worn out.']  
'Shuffling off the mortal coil,' &  
passing into the immediate presence  
of God.

All India will feel his loss:  
no one now living knows  
what he did there: in private,  
I mean, as well as in public,  
the raising of the people by  
individuals as well as by  
Institutions: Who will write  
his life? the letters  
& messages from Sikhs to him:  
the Indian gentlemen who used

**f238v**

to come to see him here, &  
all treated him as their  
father.  
And how the little curs here  
have barked & bit round  
the heels of the old lion.  
He heard them but he heeded  
not.  
And now he is gone to undertake  
yet greater labours, to bless more  
worlds in the service of  
God.

AM 44460 I

Input June 1999

Lady Lawrence wished to give every one ~~of us~~ something which had belonged to his personal use. But it was found he *had* nothing. There were some old clothes: & a great many boots, patched: but nothing else, not even a pin, except his watch, 20 years old, & his walking stick which she kept. The lady who served as his Sec.y after his blindness had his old shoe-horn.

This is so characteristic of him.

**f239r**

Pardon me if I have taken up your time with my thoughts of John Lawrence.

I felt as if I were paying him a last tribute in commending his memory to you. a tribute how unworthy of him is all I can make.

May I venture to write to you in a day or two about the revision of the Rent Law of Bengal?

Pray believe me  
ever your faithful & grateful  
serv.t

Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff242-46, pen

**f242r**

*Proposed "Indian Agricultural National Bank."*

7/7/79

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I venture to send you the sketch of the National Bank of India, - proposed by a Mr. Fox, a great Engine maker at Bristol - which you were so good as to discuss with me.

It has been submitted to Lord Northbrook, who "thought that gov.t would hesitate to interfere with the existing business of the native Bankers."

and to Mr Pedder, one of the ablest Collectors of India, the new Revenue Secretary at the India Off., who has only just returned from the Deccan. He recommends that English

Rt. Hon.ble  
W.E. Gladstone MP

AM 44460 I

Input June 1999

f242v

"capitalists should enlist the  
co-operation of some of the  
best of the native Bankers  
who he thinks would be  
more qualified to manage the  
details of the business than  
Englishmen:" {pencil} & to manage the Ryots. {end pencil}  
I remember that you did not  
discourage such an Institution  
& I fancied you might perhaps  
allow me to submit to you some  
details I have received, about  
a new Association of native  
traders, & ask how they strike you  
in connection with Mr. Pedder's  
suggestion.

The people in question are  
called "Nattankothia Chetties,"

**f243r**

so named from an obscure town  
in the Madura district,  
(Madras) from whence they  
sprung. They are I imagine of local  
origin, & were originally I believe  
a cultivating class, but of recent  
years they are almost entirely  
traders, dealing especially in  
grain & Manchester goods,  
also lending money to Zemindars  
& ryots on usury.

These people, I am told, have  
gradually absorbed nearly the  
whole of the local trade in grain.  
Originally confining their dealings  
between the Southern districts  
of Madras & Ceylon, they have  
now their agencies & branch houses  
on all our Coast ports, and in  
Burmah, Singapore, *China* &  
Mauritius. Now these people  
as regards our Gov.t schools are  
I believe entirely untaught. They

**f243v**

do not know English & the arithmetic they learn on the native methods is so accurate that no other class can compete with them in keenness of trading.

In personal expenditure they spend no more than a common cooly, & while a man may be turning thousands every day, his monthly housekeeping would probably be not more than ten rupees.

My informants do not quite understand as yet whether the clan or community work on a system of division of profits, but in regard to charity it is a point of honour to set aside a fixed proportion of profits for this purpose. These people at the present time are spending large sums of money

f244r

2

in restoring the great Temple  
at Madura, & lately in  
South Arcot a man told me that  
they had determined to repair  
the Chitambaram Pagoda,  
& so to spend 12 lakks of rupees  
(£120,000) on it.

He infers in these cases  
that the contributions for  
religious & charitable objects  
must be thrown into a  
common fund.

My banking friend informs  
us that these people are  
keenly alive to the advantages  
of our commercial system -  
that their money engagements  
are faithfully kept, - & that  
fewer losses occur in doubtful  
bill accounts with them than  
in any other class of the  
community. He admits

**f244v**

however that any *combination*  
amongst the clan to repudiate  
their engagements would be  
very unpleasant to the Banks.

Now these people are  
samples of the pure Oriental  
trader, money lender, & usurer.  
With external peace, order &  
contentment, their trading  
instincts reach a high development.  
Up to this time they have not felt  
the want of an English education,  
but, with the extension of their  
commerce beyond Indian limits,  
they will find it to their advantage  
to avail themselves of our Schools.  
Having established a reputation  
for keeping to their engagements,  
they can make use of the  
facilities the Banks give to  
traders, & in this respect  
they have not been backward.

These people are essentially

**f245r**

the monied classes of Tanjore  
& Madura. Their wealth &  
importance has received a  
new development from the  
grain trade of the Famine year,  
& they bid fair to become a  
power in the state,- for  
good or evil who shall say?

Now, could these people but  
be enlisted in ~~the~~ a National  
Bank Scheme, of what  
benefit might they not be?

[Just as I have always thought  
- what Missionaries would the  
Hindoo women not make?  
Girls who insist upon being  
burnt with the Mistresses  
they love as Suttee, (& are still  
in Native States) - What instruments  
of devoted love & charity they  
might be, if we could but  
enlist them? if we  
did but know how?]

But, to return to my Madura

f245v

traders:-

Indian races have such  
extraordinarily strong instincts  
both of co-operation & combination  
and of trading & *business* -  
what a pity it is that we  
never know how to utilize  
~~them~~ these for the good of the people.

And on the other hand  
what a power for evil may  
not these native traders  
from Madura become,  
if we do not succeed in  
utilizing them for some  
~~general~~ national good!

Could not Lord Lytton write them  
a note, & as they have a little  
money of "12 lakhs of rupees"  
frequently to spend, suggest to  
them to spend one or two on a useful  
Public Work, a tank,  
or a Canal, or road?  
{pencil} or port? {end pencil}  
ever your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

AM 44460 I

Input June 1999

**f246r**

Miss Irby 3

7/7/79  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

She has left Knin & her work there & is now on her way to Seraievo in Bosnia: a still higher & more difficult work, I think, this going on with Education there.

Have you seen the enclosed letters on Bosnia?

F.N.

Add Mss 44460, paper copy

signed letter, ff90-97, pen v & p done

**f90**

India

PRIVATE

May 28/79

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I remember your words that the day of India must come even thro' the very means taken to increase her burdens & to "poison" our minds.

[10:169-73]

I pray that it may & believe that it has come.

But it may be a dreadful day.

You see however that you & Mr. Fawcett have not only convinced the House: you have convinced the Governmt also. Why were they not convinced before?

In Bombay the reins of Govt Rt. Honble

W.E. Gladstone M.P.

**f90v**

seem almost to have fallen out  
of their hands (as in Russia)  
- When we have taken them up  
again, God grant we may have  
learnt our new lesson! We have  
a new language to learn, a new  
alphabet even to make, to write  
& to speak about India.

But Sir R. Temple himself admits  
dire distress in the Deccan.  
This burning down the Govt Offices  
in the Bombay (country) capital, -  
Poona, - & the manifesto which  
the armed gangs sent to Govt  
have lighted up with an awful  
light our broken promises to the  
poor indebted people who rose  
4 years ago against the

**f91**

oppressions of the money-lenders.

We promised to redress their  
grievances - & we have done  
nothing - nothing but report  
& lay fresh ones now on -

Those who knew prophesied that  
when the Public Works, essential  
to employ the people *now* in  
this second scarcity, were  
stopped: and there is no  
work, no natural work, to be  
had before July or August -  
the people would squat before  
their huts, then they would  
steal a little, then they would  
join the armed gangs, & those  
who were unsuccessful as robbers  
would starve & come upon  
famine relief. So the last  
state would be worse & more  
costly than the first.

It was prophesied that it

f91v

would be so: and it *has*  
been so.

O poor indebted Deccan peasantry  
- can nothing be done for this  
fine people?

It does not signify whether  
an assessment is light or heavy,  
- for they have *nothing*. x

But, such were the exigencies  
of the Govt of India that,  
whereas the 'remissions' were  
enormous, & necessarily so, in  
Madras, in Bombay the Govt  
boasted that it would make  
no 'remissions' only 'suspensions' -  
& would finally collect nearly  
all the revenue. And it *has*  
done so.

It was prophesied by those who  
knew that, if this were done  
the ground-down people would

x They are *obliged* to go to the money-lenders  
to pay it. That makes them slaves.

f92

-2-

rise at last. And this much  
enduring, patient Mahratta  
peasantry *have* risen at last -  
twice: this is the second time.

It is now prophesied by those  
who know that, should there  
be another Sepoy Mutiny -  
(& there will be - I suppose)  
the Mahratta peasantry, formerly  
our staunch friends, will join  
it to a man.

This is prophesied. May it *not*  
be so. May we learn in time.  
As for Mr. Fawcett's debate, it  
is only adjourned - I rejoice  
with 'silent delight' - I mean  
to live till June 12 to read  
your speech.

Might not 'Home' charges -

**AM 44460 I**

**Input June 1999**

might not Military expenditure  
be cut down much more than

f92v

Mr. Stanhope says?

Sir R. Airey - Lord Airey, I mean,  
will not do much for us, if *he* is  
President of the Commission for  
the Indian Army.

O that

Sidney Herbert were here now.

I bear in mind what you  
said that Mr. Fawcett's motion  
will be the prelude to much  
greater things - retrenchment  
but retrenchment to *spend*  
more wisely & more well.

Meantime the accounts from  
the East & from the West,  
from the North & from the South  
of India are terrible. It *is*  
a dreadful day that is come.

In the east one fifth of the  
whole cultivated land of Madras  
was let out of cultivation in 1877-78.

f93

What would it be if one fifth of the corn lands of Eastern Europe dropped from poverty out of cultivation?

Yet we should not like to be compared to Russia or Austria.

In the West of India there are these awful riots - real 'agrarian' disturbances, whatever Sir Rich. Temple may say at the very seat of Govt.

We are horrified at the communist destruction in Paris.

But *what is this?*

Bengal has a terrible year before it. The Governmt has been obliged to shelve for another year an 'Arrears of Rent Realization Bill' Some leaderS of the Ryots wrote to me, declaring this Bill to be in favour of the Zemindars.

f93v

which it was - tho' it professed,  
like the 'Greeks' to be  
'bringing gifts' to the Ryots.

I dare not take up your time  
with describing this Bill.

I have a delightful account  
from Mozufferpore (Behar)  
where the landlords (Zemindars)  
had by a certain Act to go  
& record in a Magistrate's court  
the rents they received from  
their Ryots.

I need not say that these  
were generally put down at a  
much lower figure than the  
truth.

The Ryots got wind of this  
{printed address,  
upside down}  
10, South Street, registration: [at least  
Park Lane. W.  
some of their leaders did who  
could read & write.] They came

f94

-3-

trooping in from every part of the District, paid their inspection-fee & took certified copies of the rents at which they were said to hold their lands.

And not a man has paid a rupee more than that amount from that time.

This is the true reform - [This would not have astonished one in Eastern Bengal, where one in 5 or 6 of the ryots' sons learns to read & write.

But in Behar & other parts where not one in 12 or 13 of the boy ryots goes to school it is truly refreshing].

There *is* some use at last to India from education, after all. But in Bombay it is a mere cruel irony to talk of our

94v

educating the peasantry.

I saw a despatch from  
Lord Cranbrook brushing up  
Bombay about this. And  
it was time.

But what can be done when  
the people have nothing? It is  
the money-lenders & our own Govt that want *educating*.

The Schools are shut because  
the people can't pay the Cess.  
The people can't pay the Cess  
because every pie is screwed  
out of them to pay for the War.

[more going to money-lenders] more usury.

- a man high in Bombay wrote  
to me "To us in India it appears  
"that what is really wanted  
is more liberal treatment for  
India in England - e.g. a reduction  
of the home charges (by economy,  
by the guarantee of the debt, by a  
different system of Military  
service, & by less interference  
with the Govt in India.) More

f95

"liberal treatment would enable the Govt here to carry out a system of public works; & to complete the half measures taken for the education (in a wide sense) of the people. At present these half measures are probably nearly as costly as whole measures would be, because there is a permanent staff which could do much more work & because of the waste of capital which results from the slow growth of large undertakings."

The license tax, worse than any Income-tax, is screwed out of them, - not to pay for famine but to pay for War: [more going to money-lenders] to pay it. - the wicked salt-tax is raised 40 per cent., & just in this famine time. [Lord Lawrence says that this salt-tax grinds down the people, weakens the cattle & strangles manufactures, more

f96

-4-

An official writing to me from the East of India says, of the Famine Commission - 'these are the men who, with one or two exceptions are directly responsible (for the poverty & famine), because they have reported for years that 'the country was flourishing' & 'the people prosperous'. They ought to be on their *trial* instead of being the *judges*.' Thank you for introducing me to the 'Chronicles of Budgepore.' I got it & read it at once. It is too true. But I have to acknowledge very humbly a stupid blunder. I fancied you were speaking of the 'Chronicles of *Dustypore*'. This gives me the

f96v

pleasure of asking your pardon, but the duty also of repeating the warning-Mr. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, the author of this, was a very good man, like Mr. Pritchard, but is now 'enguirlandé' by the Viceroy.

O that we had an Indian Dickens or a 'Daily News' (Bulgarian) Correspondent in India! But an Indian Dickens would be hung in a fortnight. And an English 'Correspondent' would not know the languages. the 'Times' Correspondent, or rather General of the 'Times' Correspondents, Genl Vaughan, now at Gandamak, denies in private letters, *on the faith*

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f97

of what he sees in his railway  
journeys, all the poverty,  
& says: ' India is quite well off  
And it is quite a mistake to  
say the contrary.' !!  
'Once more, pardon me  
& believe me  
ever your devoted servant  
Florence Nightingale

[end 10:173]

Add Mss 45750, microfilm, 198 folios, 82 pages: "Presented jointly by Mrs Rosalind Vaughan Nash and her sister Lady Margaret Thyra Barbara Stephen" 1941

ff1-2, Windsor Castle, December 23, 1860 from C.B. Phipps in response to a letter of FN; the prince sent a letter in response to her letter of the 21st, to Mr Baggally, supporting her argument, even using your words, encloses copy of prince's letter see RA/PP/Vic/1860/6403

ff3-6v, December 22, 1860 copy of a letter written on behalf of Prince Albert by C. Gray in response to FN's letter about railway encroachment on St Thomas' Hospital

ff7-8, December 27, 1860 from C.B. Phipps, enclosing the answer of the Railway, response from Baggally Dec 24/60 from St T.

f8v, undated, unsigned comment on the Railway's response

ff9-9v, St Thomas' Hospital, December 24, 1860, from R. Baggallay with the railway's response, he has taken the opinion of council as to whether the governors have the power to compel the railway co. to take the whole site. The governors have only 21 days to decide.

Add Mss 45750i

incomplete draft, ff10-11, pen, original at Windsor Castle, in [8:426]

f10

-2-

This refers particularly to  
the two measures long promised  
now being carried out/ coming at last into execution of  
local self -government  
& of the due employment  
of natives in official positions  
together with the encouragement  
of local industries.

It is known that a largely  
signed petition of the European  
ladies of Calcutta & elsewhere  
in India against the  
so-called Ilbert Bill, an  
integral but by no means  
the most important part

Add Mss 45750i

**f10v**

of the present just &  
generous policy , so wisely  
carrying out Your Majesty's  
proclamation - is to be  
presented to Your Majesty.

May I be permitted to  
add my deep regrets to  
those of many worthier  
than I that such a  
movement should be possible  
in which The Queen can  
have no sympathy - &  
which would find a  
sufficient answer were  
the movers referred to  
the Queen's own words in

**f11**

that:

Her gracious proclamation  
Suffer, Madam, me to be  
the most humble & devoted

draft letter, ff12-13v, pencil

**f12**

May 13/17 1901  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Madam

& dear Queen & joy of all our  
faithful hearts

how can I thank your

Majesty for sending me

your own greeting on my poor old birth day - with those beautiful flowers  
which are like

you

After the blessing of the Divine Father of

~~our being~~/ us all yours is that we

~~year~~ look for & yearn after

for you are ~~a~~/our worthy repres-

-sentative of Him upon this His

earth - Not to weary your Majesty

I remain more than words can say

your loving nay adoring subject F.N.

Add Mss 45750i

{f13 is blank}

**f13v**

your own greeting on my poor  
old birthday with those most  
beautiful flowers - fit emblems  
of yourself -

After the blessing of the  
Divine Father of us all, yours  
is that we look for & yearn after -  
For you are our worthy represent-  
-ative of Him upon His earth

unsigned, incomplete letter draft, ff14-17v, pen, pale blue paper black-  
edged

**f14**            Sept 22/66  
{printed address:}    35 South Street,  
                    Park Lane,  
                    London. W.

[15:619-21]

Madam

I deeply felt the  
honour which your Royal  
Highness conferred upon  
me by writing to me a  
letter truly royal in its  
kindness, when acknowledging  
my poor little books.

None are ignorant of  
your Royal Highness's  
generous sympathy with  
human things apart  
from ranks & conditions.  
And I took the great  
favour of a letter to

Add Mss 45750i

**f14v**

myself, as I am sure it  
was meant, in the name  
of ~~all~~ the suffering, sick  
& poor.

I think your Royal Highness may be pleased  
to hear even the humble opinion of an old  
campaigner like myself -

My old trainers, the Deaconesses  
of Kaiserswerth on the  
Rhine ~~have distinguished~~  
how well the Army Hospital Service was managed  
~~themselves~~ after Sadowa/Königgratz in  
the late terrible war -

Your Royal Highness has so  
deeply sympathized in  
its sufferings, as in all  
~~the/your~~ people's sufferings,  
that ~~you are~~ doubtless I  
~~well aware of the~~ am not  
~~circumstances~~ offering  
information - ~~which~~/Mine reaches me  
thro' my old friends & trainers

**f15**

~~Not to weary your attentions,~~  
~~I will only mention that~~  
the Knights of St. John of  
Jerusalem took charge  
of all the Deaconesses,  
Sisters of Charity & Feld-  
Diakonen - ~~all presents of~~  
~~money & goods~~ - & all offers  
of houses & rooms for the  
wounded made to them.

The system seems to me to  
have been admirably managed.

- especially the sending  
away the wounded in  
hundreds to towns where  
rooms & houses & nursing  
were offered for them.

Thus Brünn closed its  
Hospitals, and all the  
advanced Hospitals are  
cleared - The overcrowding  
& massing together of large

Add Mss 45750i

**f15v**

~~bor~~ numbers of wounded  
is always more disastrous  
than battle itself. And  
terrible as have been the  
losses from Cholera & Typhus  
they would have been much  
more terrible, had it not  
been for this wise foresight  
in administration.

43 of my friends, the Kaiserswerth  
Deaconesses, were there, together  
with two son's & the son-in-law of Pastor Fliedner,  
their Founder, who is alas! dead.

From many different quarters  
I have heard of the great  
devotion, skill & generous kindness of  
the Prussian surgeons - alike  
to all sides - one of these  
accounts was from an  
English lady who volunteered  
being accidentally on the spot  
& was for ~~some~~/~~two~~/a days or two the only  
woman helping the Surgeons  
(whose humanity, kindness & gentleness, she says, can  
never be sufficiently admired)

Add Mss 45750i

**f16**

among the/~~large number of~~  
sick, & wounded, & ~~exhausted~~  
~~men~~ - for whom she had  
even to beg for food from  
the people as it had been an improvised battle-field ~~advisor~~ - But in two  
days the Prussian waggons  
arrived - the Deaconesses & Sisters of Charity - And then every  
thing was right.

We collected some sums in

England for the sick & wounded of *all* sides - not nearly so  
much as we could have  
wished - And we had the  
happiness of sending a  
little, a very little help  
to some of the ~~out-lying~~

Hospital & central Committees, & ~~had~~ German ladies who  
~~were not, so many supplies~~ /devoted all their time to the sufferers. x  
Many English ladies asked  
me to send them out as  
Nurses, in the German War-  
Hospitals - But, as this did  
not appear to be the kind

or who sent vans with different Articles direct to the  
Hospitals near the battle-fields. These were chiefly

Add Mss 45750i

**f16v**

extra comforts. The German Hospitals were, in general,  
well provided with all needful things

of assistance wanted - the  
Nursing Service was already  
so well organized - we did  
not accede to their wish.

On the other hand, some Surgeons ~~there~~  
~~appeared to be~~/wrote to us that there was an actual  
dearth of Surgical instruments  
They could not be ~~made~~  
supplied fast enough in  
Germany, ~~even by sending~~  
~~to London & Paris.~~ Your  
Royal Highness will be ~~glad~~/pleased  
to hear that at our request,  
an eminent Surgical  
Instrument maker in  
London not only supplied  
£50 worth ~~of~~ for nothing  
but our thanks - but agreed  
to let us have any quantity  
at cost price.  
I will not weary your R. Highness  
with more detail.

Add Mss 45750i

**f17**

I am aware that I am already greatly transgressing the privilege Your Royal Highness has ~~afforded/grant/~~appeared to grant me by writing to me - But I thought perhaps it might not be unpleasing to your Royal Highness to hear how the Prussian Hospital Service strikes with sincere respect an old servant in English wars & hospitals of Her Majesty the Queen. ~~of England.~~

Your R.H. is kind enough to inquire after my health. I am an incurable invalid, almost entirely a prisoner to my bed. But I ~~am~~have a blessing for which I cannot be too thankful that God still enables me to ~~do the~~ work. ~~in~~ which your royal Highness is pleased to express an interest in my work which, I need scarcely say, is a very great pleasure to me - The delay

**f17v**

in expressing my gratitude for your Royal Highness' letter of July 16, has been owing to this ill=health:  
& work

On this, the day of Manin's death, 9 years ago, the exiled Dictator of Venice & one of the purest & most far-seeing of statesmen, who fought so good a battle for the freedom of Venice but who did not live to see its accomplishment, I cannot but congratulate your Royal Highness at the risk of impertinence at seeing the fulfilment of that liberation wrought out by Prussian arms-

[end 15:621]

Add Mss 45750i

pen **f29?**

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Dec 21/68

ff18-27, Neues Palace, Potsdam, September 29, 1866, Crown princess to FN, thanks for her letter, describes situation of Prussian hospitals. She is anxious to hear how the party of nurses in New South Wales is faring.

unsigned note, ff28-28v, pencil in rough JS hand, added by LM April 1997, don't use

**f28**

I have consulted the Secretary to the fund for Training nurses at St. Thomas' Hospital & find that from engagements entered into at the W.O & a large Metropolitan [illeg] torn there will not be room to receive [illeg] torn Probationers in the present temporary St Thomas' Hospital for 15 months. The nature of the present building & the limited accommodation preclude their doing it. Afterwards however we could train. We are all of opinion that the women trained should be Germans: We have already trained a Swedish Superintendent who is now training nurses at Upsala. Perhaps the best class of German woman if she could be found would be a woman who has lived sufficiently long in England to acquire english habits, ~~of~~ if upon these we could graft good practical hospital training, ~~you~~ we should doubtless obtain suitable nurses & superintendents for a German hospital.

**f28v**

A similar course would be the best to follow in obtaining trained midwives. An English-German woman might be trained at Queen Charlotte's Hospital in maternity & then train others in German in work & habits.

**Add Mss 45750i**

signed letter, ff29-32, pen, pale blue paper

**f29** 35 South Street, Dec 21/68  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

Madam

In grateful obedience to  
Your Royal Highness' commands,  
directing me to forward  
to Osborne "before the 24th"  
the commissions with which  
you favoured me, I send

**[13:451-52]**

1. the Portfolio of plans for  
the Hospital near the Plötzen: See -  
and, in this Envelope, the  
criticism upon the plans -
2. a sketch of the Nursing  
"hierarchy" required to  
nurse this Hospital (with  
a Training=School attached)  
even to "ages" desirable -

**f29v**

as desired by Your Royal  
Highness to prepare it.

Also

3. the methods of continuous  
Examination we use (with  
full=sized copies of the  
Forms) to test the  
progress of our Probationers  
(Probe=Schwestern"

Also

4. lists of the clothing &  
under=clothing, (even to  
changes of linen) we give  
to & require from our  
Probationers & Nurses -  
& of the changes of sheets -  
Your Royal Highness

Add Mss 45750i

**f30**

having directed me to send patterns "in paper" of our Probationers' dress, I have thought it better to have a complete uniform dress such as our Probationers wear, for in-doors & out-doors, made for Your Royal Highness' inspection, even to bonnet, cap & collar, which will arrive by this Messenger in a small box, & a parcel.

I am afraid that the aspect of these papers will be quite alarming from their bulk. But I can only

**f30v**

testify my gratitude for your Royal Highness' great kindness by fulfilling as closely as I can the spirit of your gracious will.

I am sorry to say that I have not yet done encumbering your Royal Highness. The plans for Lying-in Cottages had to be completed at the War Office & are not quite ready. But they shall be forwarded "before the 24th." I think we have succeeded in producing a perfectly healthy & successful Lying-in Cottage, by means of great

Add Mss 45750i

**f31**

*subdivision* & incessant  
cleanliness & ventilation  
which includes the not  
having any ward  
*constantly* occupied.  
In one of these Huts, of  
which I shall send  
your Royal Highness  
the plan, we have had  
600 Lyings=in consecutively  
without a single Death  
or case of puerperal  
disease or casualty, of  
any kind. [This experience  
is, I believe, without a  
fellow - but will, I trust,  
have many fellows before  
long.]

Believe me, your Royal

**f31v**

Highness' enquiry about  
these things does the  
greatest good - not only  
with regard to what is  
proposed in Prussia  
but in stirring up the  
War Office, the Medical  
authorities & other  
Officials *here* - to consider  
these vital trifles more  
seriously. And thus  
thousands of lives of poor  
women, of poor Patients  
of all kinds, will be  
saved, even in England,  
thro' Your Royal Highness' s  
means -  
Hitherto Lying=in Hospitals

Add Mss 45750i

**f32**

have been not to cure but  
to kill.

As I have again to trouble  
Your Royal Highness about  
these subjects, I will not  
now enter into two or three  
other little things with  
which I was commissioned.

May I beg always to be  
considered, Madam,  
the most faithful, ready &  
devoted of

Your Royal Highness's  
servants

Florence Nightingale

Her Royal Highness  
the Crown Princess of Prussia  
Princess Royal

[end 13:452]

incomplete, unsigned letter, ff33-34, pen

[8:825-26]

**f33**

-4-

I am certain that I am only  
humbly echoing the mind  
of your Royal Highness & the  
Crown Prince, clement in victory  
with that quality of mercy  
which "then shows likest God's",  
when used in a victorious  
course of which the world's  
history has never seen the like,  
towards a fallen nation in its  
humiliation of which neither  
has the world's history ever  
seen the like - if I  
venture to say:

Prussia can now avenge on

France after 64 years her  
deeds of 1806 x x next page

But Prussia is too great to  
follow the example of  
France & will set the world

Add Mss 45750i

**f33v**

a higher lesson -  
the future wars always to  
be dreaded by trampling  
too violently on a fallen foe  
- the deaths & misery always  
brought about by too great exactions,  
sooner or later.  
- these will be borne in mind  
And Germany will show to astonished  
Europe that moderation of  
which victorious nations  
have hitherto shewn themselves  
incapable in a career of  
victory to which history  
affords no parallel.

**f34**

La leçon que la France va recevoir  
est la plus douloureuse sans doute  
que le monde ait jamais vue-  
C'est le fruit de 20 ans de règne,  
i.e. de mensonge, d'orgie, de  
dilapidation, de vol et de  
démoralization. Pourrons-nous profiter  
de cet affreux châtement?  
Madame et très honoré confrère-  
Votre dévoué confrère

Mais nous! Je n'ai pas d'expressions  
pour rendre ma douleur présente et  
future

xx last page  
Juste retour des choses d'ici-bas. Mais,  
Si la Prusse est un peu sage, elle  
profitera de notre exemple, et elle n'ira  
pas jusqu'au bout de sa vengeance.  
Ce serait une grande prudence.  
By St Hilaire

Add Mss 45750i

ff35-37, Neues Palais, Potsdam, crest. August 19, 1870 from the Crown Princess to FN, thanks for her letter, re the suffering of many hundreds of wounded soldiers

How am I to thank you for your kind and delightful letter which has given me such true pleasure.

I know how great a sufferer alas you are and how precious your time is so I was doubly grateful for your letter.

4 English doctors have arrived at Berlin. I am to see them tomorrow before they go to the places of their destination. In spite of much care and trouble on the part of officials and the greatest generosity on the part of the public I fear that at this very hour 100's of poor soldiers are in the greatest suffering and deprived of the comforts and attention they ought to have. But you know what an advancing army in a foreign country is and what is the state of things after an awful battle.

This thought is too cruel and heart rending but this is one of the inevitable horrors of war!

I am most likely soon going to that illeg whether I can be of any use there where the hospitals are crowded with poor sufferers. Whereas here and at Berlin only those slightly wounded are received and have every imaginable comfort and attention.

One feels quite unhappy to be of so little use when those poor men who have so nobly and devotedly sacrificed themselves for their country are in pain and suffering!

I will write to you again soon and tell you what I saw and what is going on as your kind and noble heart takes such interest in all sufferers.

Ever yours with sincere admiration and respect, Victoria C. Pss .

Add Mss 45750i

unsigned, incomplete letter draft, f38-8v, pencil

**f38**

It may be necessary to say a few words about the Examination of Probationers Our Training School includes 2 things a continuous Instruction & also continuous examination & record of progress. And we only admit a nurse to a certificate who has passed both Ordeals to the satisfaction of the Committee - It hence follows that no Examination at the conclusion of the course of instruction is required.

[13:453]

In order to shew the working, I beg to enclose a copy of a paper prepared by myself at the request of a Special Committee on Workhouse Hospitals - appointed by the President of the Poor Law Board - I also send full-sized copies of the Record sheets we use.

[end 13:453]

But since ~~the our~~ this Report was sent in, we have been obliged to close the Midwifery ward at K.C.H. & to give up our Midwv's training - on account of puerperal disease - attributable solely to

{at side on vertical:}  
the fact that lying-in cases were received into the same building (& that a bad one) as general cases- altho' isolated from them as completely as possible

Add Mss 45750i

**f38v**

NB. There are no details of drainage,  
ventilation or warming shewn in  
the plans -There should be WCs in the wards  
Hot & cold water should be laid on to  
all Baths, ~~Sculleries~~/Sinks & Lavatories -  
Ought we to say anything about lifts or shoots?  
about sinks & hot &  
cold water  
Operating Theatre?

Hot &c

There should be of course centrally an operating Theatre  
with a [illeg] light & two  
operating wards adjoining it one  
for Males & the Other for females  
{upside down & in ink:}  
But a good Training Matron will  
carefully watch the inclinations &  
proficiency of her Probationers, whether  
for Medical or Surgical work - &  
appoint them accordingly afterwards  
to what they do best & what they

ff39-41, Homburg, October 31, 1870, from the Crown Princess in praise of  
Miss Lees and telling of the problems in securing fresh air for Patients;  
Miss Lees has promised she will tell FN all about German hosps (report in  
LMA). Miss Lees is excellent, has a great career before her--she shows the  
greatest tact and good temper.

F39 I have no time to tell you in detail of what has been done here at  
Homburg during my stay. I will leave it an abler pen than mine and ....Miss  
Lees has promised to tell you all about our hospitals here.

I am indeed very grateful to you for for having commended Miss Lees to  
me. I think she has still a great career before her. She seems so  
thoroughly to understand her work. Of course I am no judge of her illeg  
abilities, I believe them to be great, but I *can* judge of her intelligence  
and her character which I think thoroughly illeg

If you have any opportunity of letting her mother know this, I wish you  
would kindly do so. I am sure her mother ought to be very proud of her.  
F40

f39v The amount of suffering and misery is immense but it is something  
illeg the efforts that have been made to alleviate what one cannot cure.  
illeg is becoming bad and our poor patients

f41 will soon be deprived of the little fresh air they get. I try to force  
illeg benefit upon them wh illeg\On has even to fight with doctors and

**Add Mss 45750i**

nurses on this point as there are many who still consider warmth far more beneficial to their patients than fresh pure air in the rooms.

Again thanking you for your kind letter wh I shall illeg

Add Mss 45750i

Note, unsigned letter, ff42-49v, pencil, original Hesse-Darmstadt  
[13:454-57]

f42 {archivist: [ca 1872]}

If this be impossible (sending out a Trained  
Nursing STAFF) then we train a SUPERINDT  
as well as we can & send her out to tr{ain right corner torn off}  
& govern her staff as well as she can -  
[Poor thing! she has generally a hard time of {?}  
it is something like a Sisyphus & his stone]  
It has always proved vain to have the women away from their work  
And the head of the Nurses must be the head of their work.  
There is scarcely any thing in which discipline  
is more wanted than in Hospital Nursing  
Because, whereas, on the one hand we cannot  
& do not wish to make use of the R.C. art  
for enforcing obedience, blind obedience -  
on the other, a want of discipline or training is  
life & death importance to the Patients  
By discipline one means the art of inspiring  
*intelligent* obedience to the orders of the Medical  
authorities (in which the Deaconesses are singularly deficient) & to the  
governing spirit of the  
  
place  
which includes I suppose the art of carrying  
individual responsibility downwards thro' every Wa{rd?}  
Sister, Nurses, Assistants, servants & scrubbers - thro' every element &  
thro' every detail which may also be called

Add Mss 45750i

**f42v**

{left corner is torn off} {Organ?}ization for unless every  
{?} shown how to do his or her own work,  
to help & not to hinder every body else's  
{?} there can be no 'organization'  
{?} one may remark, by the way, that the  
{ut?}ter freedom of Protestant/secular Nursing or of mixed  
{?}Stations as it requires or ought to  
require greater individual responsibility, so  
it requires or ought to require greater obedience.  
And I know of no way in which a Superior  
unarmed with the terrors of an 'infallible' Church,  
can obtain legitimate obedience except by  
inspiring confidence in her greater knowledge, skill  
ability & real powers of training - nor, except by  
*having* these qualities can she inspire confidence in  
them  
{page torn}{ It is?} much easier to obey a Religious Rule than  
{it ?} is to exercise with 'discretion' either command  
{o}bedience founded on present views of justice & freedom  
{?} vital to this age  
(From all this it results:  
and I should justly scruple to write dogmatic  
{con?}clussions to Y. R.H. did I not know as all the  
{?} does that she is much better able to draw

Add Mss 45750i

**f43**

them than I am.

that it is but small use to train (or two or three Nurses) to go back to her Institution unless she be invested with requisite authority & distinct charge as to train others in the Hospl knowledge & of management she may have acquired. Either she breaks her heart at finding herself unable to do so - or she falls back into the old ways - a *fortiori* because she sees herself not expected to exercise any charge of inculcating the new ones.

2. Experience has also taught that under a year's training, nothing very material can be acquired by a Nurse & to form a Supt properly 2 years are better than one of training

Previous training rather disqualifies than {edge torn} qualifies a Nurse to acquire a new system. With a *Supt*, it is different. She can scarcely have had too much experience of different Training Schools. in order to enable her to take the best of each But this is not a reason rather against for giving less than a year training at the new School in order that she

**f43v**

{left corner torn} acquire its system. {I spe?}ak for myself when I say that it is {not?} possible to "train too much" - and {were it?} only possible, I would gladly go myself {for?} a year's training.

*The more* one learns the more humble it makes one - with regard to knowledge, already possessed - and - the more eager to acquire more Previous experience aids more than anything else - a Supt to see & grasp those points in Hospl discipline which are most essential

Agnes Jones

Add Mss 45750i

**f44**

I should not care a button  
nor I am sure would you  
tho' we could turn out perfect Nurses [corner torn]  
if these women were not also good. Ward N[urses]  
i.e. women who can really keep Xtian or[der]  
not merely superficial order in their w[ards]  
keep their wards so that children shall [torn]  
nothing but good especially in Workh: Infirm:  
so that the Dying can die in peace - so that  
the living can go out with more strength  
instead of less, for life - with a good wor[d]  
'to help them thro' their lives -  
so that Probrs shall be put in the right w[ay]  
& not in the wrong way

For let the Devil say what he please,  
a Hospl is, or rather may be made, a [torn]  
great School for life - Or it may be,  
especially a Workh: Hospl an abomina[ble]  
place, where bad women grow worse, w[here]  
children & young people are corrupted,  
where bad habits are made or confirmed - &  
among Probationers earnestness & good intent[ions]

**f45**

checked & stifled in the [torn]  
I would not give a button eit[her]  
good *Wardmistress* which is not [torn]  
a perfect Nurse - no more than for [torn]  
who was not also a good woman  
if the thing could be  
which it can't  
1. for there can be no really good Nurse  
if the Nurse is not of a high cast of  
character as well as of training can there?  
For who am I to say these things?  
I know we agree:

Add Mss 45750i

f46

1. that women can pursue the {edge of page is torn}  
without an danger to their delicacy of {?}  
nem: con:
2. that ladies & all womankind require educ{ation?}  
Phys: Acc: sos to attend them not only in child{birth?}  
but in all diseases of women & children  
nem: con:

The only question (in which there can be any differen{ce is? }  
a practical one: how to attain it.

To obtain for women *the same* Medl education  
as for men: hitherto the answer as in Vien{na?}  
so in London & Edinbro' - as from Frau Littrow, so from  
all the "Women's questions " ladies here

Only by degrees & most unwillingly does the conclusion  
come that women have begun at the wrong end  
While struggling to obtain *men's* professional educat{ion?}  
of which little or nothing has come but perpetu{al?}  
law-suits, legal quibbling, verdicts & damages wh{ich?}  
strange to say have not made one Midwife

~~and~~ not one woman, not even one of the best {?}  
has now ~~ma~~ succeeded in making a large Phys{?}  
practice in London has ever thought - can {?}  
improvements be made in Medical men's educ{ation?}  
& *nothing* has been done to improve the large class  
ignorant, absolutely ignorant Midwives who do ex{ist?}  
who must exist & who always will exist till impro{vements?}

{f47 is blank}

Add Mss 45750i

f47v

{left top & margin are torn}  
{?} that this is beginning  
{?} that beginning at the right  
{?} the practical end [we are not trying for  
{?} real possible but for the Ideal practicable]  
{?} begin with Midwives, to educate these up to  
{?} work, so as ultimately to be Physicians of women &  
{child?}ren & to make Midwifery such a profession as  
{edu?}cated women can enter -  
{Jus?}t as we have made Hospl Nursing an occupation  
{whi?}ch respectable women can enter -  
{?} including in Midwifery the diseases of women & children  
Meanwhile we are actually - in spite of  
perhaps because of - all our *literary* struggles after  
female M.D.s actually drifting away from  
instead of approaching to this object (on which  
perhaps F.N. & Vienna are agreed -  
{?} Paris & Berlin the midwives who 20 years ago  
were really Physn-Accoucheuses are now retrograding  
{?}{illeg} practice, into mere Midwives

This is grievous -  
{?} of raising our ground, we have actually lost the  
{groun?}d we had without contending for it, 20 years ago  
{?} terrible that this is the same in many other things  
{?} all not answer to shew one's hand, to put all this forward  
American doctresses, estimable as they are, have not tended  
to raise our ground. Only an educated woman obtaining herself the  
perfect/ best education to be had in Europe as a Midwife, & then  
~~trying/adding~~ to it  
~~illeg they & insight~~ the best men's education (this in England is nil) -  
first of course by men Professors)  
{?}ing her midwives - this, I believe, is the only way to make women not  
{Medica?}l men but Medical women.

Add Mss 45750i

f48

{right corner torn off}

-2-

But farther Medl men now wish {?}

Nurses to be trained to the highest po{int?}

In Germany hitherto Medl men have she{wn?}

higher & nobler spirit in aiding all they can

the instruction of those hereafter to act

their "aides" in the great battle against

disease & death

And the Deaconesses' Institutions have retaliated against them by  
plac{ing?}

*their* Hospls entirely under Chaplains & Vorsteherinn. which is of course  
mons{trous?}

3. Theoretical training at Darmstadt & Carls{?}

such that there is little or nothing further

to be learnt in this respect at St. T.'s

The *practical* training, if I may say so, is

probably all to be learnt. In a large London {?}

where a system & machinery for imparting

practical instruction to Nurses has been orga{nised?}

& working out for years this only can be{?}

as also of management of a large Institut{ion}

When there is a *secular hierarchy* of above {?}

women at work, from Matron down thro' Ward S{isters?}

Nurses, Asst Nurses, down to Ward Maids &

scrubbers. [pen here]

German Hospl where each nurse seemed to do every thing,

responsible to no 'head' of her own for any kind of discipline

or other ~~excepting~~ but only to the Dr or what is worse the Stattha[cut  
off]

{f49 is blank}

Add Mss 45750i

f49v

{page torn}  
{?}organized distribution of  
{?} lities & offices thro' a number  
{?}car women with the duties & discipline  
{?}ed wh. appears so much wanted  
{?} lately so little regarded in large  
{insti?}titutions at home & abroad.

Either there has been the R.C. Religious Order  
{?} - little of organization, discipline, system in  
{N?}ursing & training at all - above all, little  
of that organized gradation of a Corps in ranks  
{in?}volving not exemption from duties, but  
{D?}efinition of duties & responsibilities, without  
which a Corps is not a Corps - as necessary  
in a Nursing Corps to save life as in a  
Corps d'Armee to destroy life - & if possible  
{mo?}re essential among women than among men -  
{?} release Y.R.H from my tediousness, knowing  
whatever may be true in what I have said,  
{?} not new to her but rather only a truism  
{?} of no way but beginning at the *practical* and i.e. *making* as  
{it?} fit for respectable women to enter. [And this some educated  
{woman?} must do herself]. I have never known, at least in England  
{go?}od come from beginning at the *literary* end, & writing up ~~"that~~ it  
{?} a " life "fit for the Gods".]

ff50-52 Crown Princess and Princess Royal to FN, crest. Norris Castle [next to Osborne, Isle of Wight] 31 July 1881. she is very sorry not to have had time to meet with FN in London. Wanted to discuss sending Fräulein Führmann to train at St T. signed by Countess Kalkreuth; Crown Princess can come to you Monday at 6 p.m. after all.

I was so very sorry not have seem able to see you in London, but our time there was so short and hurried in every way that it was impossible.

I am doubly sorry because I was so very anxious to ask your opinion about Frl Führmann and to consult you about her further training.

I fancy she promises very well and has the energy zeal and common sense wh are necessary for really serious standing. I think she wd mind no trouble or hardship illeg through a very thorough course of training wh I know the other German probs who illeg no way up to.

I do not know whether our have allowed her to come and se you or what her..

I do not illeg whether you will be in town the whole of August and if I go ...to London whether I shd have the chance of seeing you?

I have the matter of Frl Führmann very much at heart and hope that she may be of great use for the cause of nursing in Germany

ff51-52, Norris Castle, July 31, 1881, from Countess Kalekreuth re nurses' training

**Add Mss 45750i**

f53, postcard, Osborne. from Countess Kalekreuth, postmarked SOUTH AUDLEY  
ST, B.O. A AU 20 81 re a visit by the Princess Royal

Add Mss 45750i

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff54-61v, pen & pencil [8:828-31]

**f54** {archivist: incomplete}

*Private*

May 18/86

10, South Street,

{printed address: Park Lane. W.

Madam

First of all, may I express  
what is uppermost in all  
our hearts our deepest  
sympathy with the heavy  
trial, our thankfulness, our  
warmest joy for the happy  
recovery - I will not  
multiply my poor words -  
Our Almighty Father's blessings  
are only limited by His own  
infinite Power & Love to bless.  
My brother - in - law, Sir  
Harry Verney has shown/told me

**f54v**

of Your Royal & Imperial Highness'  
letter about the arrival of  
Professor Weinbrenner in  
England to study the  
"specialities of Hospital  
buildings" & also of those of other  
"Institutions, Schools &c"

The man who undoubtedly  
understands best the principles  
& practice of Sanitary & Administrative Hospital  
architecture, as regards  
administration, health,  
distribution of wards & offices  
&c for the good of Patients  
is Capt. Douglas Galton R.E.

Add Mss 45750i

**f55**

Both at home & from abroad,  
He is ~~more~~/constantly referred to ~~than~~  
~~any other~~ he was for many  
years in the War Office,  
he built the Herbert Hospital.  
I will immediately write to him  
on behalf of Prof. Weinbrenner  
& Your Royal Highness' wishes.  
But, if I might venture to  
suggest - should Prof. Weinbrenner  
wish, when he has decided  
on the *sketch* plans for the  
Clinique, to lay them before  
Capt. Galton, I am sure that  
he would give them the  
most careful attention and  
should it be Your Royal

**f55v**

Highness' desire, I need hardly  
say that I would also do  
my poor possible to examine  
& suggest upon them.  
Prof. Weinbrenner should also  
see in London the new  
St. Marylebone Infirmary.  
And I would give him a  
letter to Mr. Saxon Snell,  
the Architect.  
I would also consider, according  
to Your Royal Highness'  
command, so joyfully  
obeyed by me, what  
other Hospitals in London or  
England he should specially see  
[would he go to Edinburgh

Add Mss 45750i

f56

-2-

& see the great Edinburgh  
Royal Infirmary - recently  
finished?]

If I knew where to send to Prof  
Weinbrenner when he arrives  
in London, I would send  
a List of Hospitals & letters of introduction  
if any are necessary Or if  
he would call at my house?

{the following is written diagonally at the bottom of the page}

For the time being,  
those who are most in earnest  
seem to turn their interest  
in God into interest in man.  
- see the promising young  
University graduates who go to  
work in the East End of London.  
And this too is good. But the  
highest, the most persevering  
motive is wanting - the  
greatest grace. What  
would St. Paul have  
been without the  
Divine  
'constraining'  
love?

Add Mss 45750i

**f56v**

May I take this opportunity  
of sending to Your Royal Highness  
my heartfelt thanks for the  
beautiful Report so kindly  
sent me last year.

[8:829]

Alas! would that I could  
answer satisfactorily the  
gracious letter which  
accompanied it - the  
difficulties stated as to the  
selecting & finding of good  
& suitable candidates for  
training as Nurses & above  
all as Superintendts of Nurses  
are ours. And the causes  
are ~~difficult~~/hard to find & harder to remedy. While  
the number of applications increases

**f57**

immensely every year, the calibre of  
not have so high a calibre  
applicants' diminishes. We have not such  
of women as we used to  
have by 10 and 15 years ago  
by a great deal from among  
whom to promote our Heads  
of Wards & our Heads of  
Hospitals. I do not mean  
so much intellectually - women  
who can pass Examinations  
& prepare others to pass  
Examinations of these  
probably we have more,  
as might be expected from  
the singular uprising of female Education  
- nor am I thinking so much  
of physical strength tho'  
it is true that ~~every~~/some years

Add Mss 45750i

**f57v**

more Probationers fail to complete their year's training from lack of physical fitness. [Unhappily Doctors tell us that the ~~high~~ standard of robust female health is everywhere lower among young married women also.] But what I would speak of is the apparent deterioration in high personal character, in the moral disinterested qualities of high Christian citizenship of women to ~~which~~ whom one would confide the government of 50 - 100 Nurses & their training.

**f58**

-3-

If ~~one~~ we would hazard the reasons [8:829]  
~~one would~~ should we not say for one reason,  
as far as England goes  
the want perhaps of ~~religious~~/religion in education  
In the best of the women we  
used to have, God was everything.  
Their earthly duties were  
scrupulously well performed,  
but or rather because still God  
was all. It was truly as  
Christ washed the disciples'  
feet, "knowing that he came  
out from God & was returning  
to God". And so the interval,  
the pathway to the other world  
was magnanimously & humbly  
filled with the service of  
God & man but they did not  
stop to dabble in the "puddles"

Add Mss 45750i

**f58v**

by the road side. And they  
talked very little about religion.  
They loved God.

The second reason may be, which  
hardly differs from the first.  
There is perhaps less regard to personal,  
to so to speak, domestic character  
than there was. Now it is  
all the 'ologies'.

It is delightful to think that  
nearly every considerable  
Hospital in London or indeed in England now has its Training  
School for Nurses. But many  
of these Hospitals give certificates  
at the end of 3 months, 6 months'  
training. At the end of 2 years  
all, I believe - & then probably lose  
sight of the Probationer. Some  
of these Hospitals have as many

**f59**

as 100 Probationers. ~~The certificate  
is of great pecuniary value.~~

This system ~~does~~ would not  
~~signify~~/matter if the public knew what  
value to attach to these certificates.  
But it does not. The certificate  
signifies a certain degree of  
skilled professional training.  
It has nothing to do with  
personal or domestic character.  
But the public know nothing of  
this. And many Institutions  
engage their Nurses & Supts  
upon certificates alone (Which  
are thus of great pecuniary  
value). Without any  
personal reference to the  
Matrons &c who besides have probably lost their  
Probationers out of

~~perhaps~~ view

All this tends to destroy in the  
public mind the perception of the  
real qualities which stamp a woman  
as fit for responsible Hospital life.

[8:830]

Add Mss 45750i

**f59v**

The entrance to these Training Schools is besides so easy - vacancies occurring perhaps every week - the obligations so little binding a 3 months' perhaps - no more - that the Hospitals which will not ~~take~~ admit for less than a year's training & a two or three years' obligation, & keep in sight their trained Nurses always, or as long as is desired - (tho' applications are, as has been mentioned, more overwhelming in number than ever,) ~~nevertheless~~ have fewer serious Probationers

**f60**

-4-

Among more material reasons for this may be mentioned: the rise everywhere in England of High Schools, Colleges & professions for women - the ~~higher~~ pay which these give to their heads, higher than that given by Hospitals tho' the qualities needed for a Hospital Matron are perhaps the highest of all, yet less book learning is required. Those who come to Hospitals from the profession of Education are generally the failures the greater independence of School Life over Hospital life which takes up the

Add Mss 45750i

**f60v**

whole time & being.

Perhaps the Medical Staff of a Hospital do not yet admit the Matron as one of themselves, but rather oppose her - tho' we have not found this at St. Thomas' Hospital.

These are the reasons which may in England be some of those to account for the present we will hope only temporary lack of the highest calibre of women to entering Hospital life.

But these reasons possibly or probably do not apply to Germany

**f61**

The extraordinary moral power which a real Christian citizen ( I know not how to coin a short name otherwise) exerts over say a Men's Ward far above that of a Teachers over pupils - for she is always with them might well tempt a good woman. A little boy of 5 or 6 years old is brought in knowing literally no words but oaths & curses. Without preaching she raises him till he becomes an unconscious little missionary in the Ward. The men Patients will not say/speak a word he ought not to hear - As Christ might well say ~~said~~: 'The little child is the best preacher of you all.'

[8:830-31]

Add Mss 45750i

**f61v**

On the other hand, the men  
Patients are so sharp witted.  
All now are primed by  
~~free thinking~~ infidel or vicious books & orators.  
If a Sister (Head Nurse) does  
not act up to her profession,  
their eyes are lynx eyes to  
see it.

A Head Nurse who is not  
a Christian citizen, or who  
talks common Scripture  
phrases without meaning/acting  
it out is the best recruiting  
serjeant for the ranks of  
~~vice & utter~~ indifference  
to everything noble or decent.  
The men are well up in the  
arguments.

I could write much more but

**[end 8:831]**

unsigned letter draft, ff62-63v, pencil

**f62** {archivist: [ca 1891]}

Empress Frederick  
not think that I & those  
who had taken up the same  
views were actuated by  
any other motive.

We are very sorry to think  
that she the Ps. Xtian  
should be in any way  
that opposition we  
had raised to the Charter  
arose from any other motive  
than the desire to  
promote what long  
experience induced us  
to think was for the  
interest of Nurses.

The differences are not

{f63 is blank}

Add Mss 45750i

**f63v**

based upon any  
misunderstanding of facts  
or upon any personal  
questions but upon a  
divergence of views  
with regard to the essential  
requirements of Nurse  
training & the position  
which Nurses ought to  
hold with regard to  
their Patients & the Public.

ff64-66, Darmstadt, September 29, 1866 to FN from Alice, Princess Louis of Hesse. She and Louis thank FN for supplies sent from England for soldiers;

f64-66 Darmstadt. Alice, Frauenverein f. Krankenpflege Sept 29/66

My warmest thanks for your kind letters and for all the interest you take in our poor wounded and suffering soldiers.

The succour so kindly sent from England is very acceptable and it has just arrived at a moment when a fund is being raised in support for the wounded and invalids who can never quite recover and if the king givers will be satisfied if I give it for that increases. It is the way in which at this moment the money will be most serviceable.

I hope I will be acting according to their charitable intentions in disposing of it in this way.

You would be pleased to see how well nursed and cared for the poor people are--plenty of air and water and excellent nurses--both the so-called "diaconissen" and the Sisters of Mercy.

Some of the poor men whose limbs are shot into slivers and have not been illeg later suffer dreadfully but with nobility cheerfulness and patience. They are mostly so young that it makes one's heart bleed to see these maimed as they are for the most of a long life which they may have before them.

Those who have seen war nearby know how horrible it is and what misery and suffering it brings with it.

Your kind assistance and I am so grateful for and Louis wishes me to thank you in his name, for all the interest and illeg to our troops and begs you kindly in is name as their commander to thank the kind givers who sent the money.

Believe me every dear Miss Nightingale, yours truly Alice

## Add Mss 45750i

ff67 printed Alice-Frauenverein für die Krankenpflege, in German.

ff69-70v, Neues Palais, Darmstadt, February 19. 1872, re sending two nurses to finish their training in England; Miss Lees has given advice, 2 of our nurses have finished their training in an English hospital, wd like to send 2 more to St T, more training not required because they are experienced.

ff71-74v, April 18, 1872, Alice to FN, from Neues Palais, Darmstadt, thanking for her reply and St. Thomas' for being willing to train German nurses; will send a lady who is to be supt for training at St T about New Year's.

ff75-76v, Schloss Kranichstein, near Darmstadt, August 20, 1872, re her decision to send only one lady to be trained as a Superintendent at St. Thomas' in Noel 247

ff77-78, Darmstadt, October 27, 1872, Alice, Darmstadt to FN thanking her for her letters and asking her to continue to send information, grateful for papers sent through Miss Carpenter; excellent letter to the nurses, Noel 248

ff79-82v, Alice to FN, Neues Palais, Darmstadt December 16, 1872, asking if the length of training might be shortened to nine or ten months; wd like to send Miss Helmsdörfer to start for only 6 months, not the usual year. FN wrote in blue pencil after this, "No." Even 9-10 months wd be better than a year. Also they wd like her to go to Liverpool to see Miss Merryweather's district nursing system. Miss H. already possesses theoretical and practical knowledge. Noel 248

ff83-84, Christmas Day, 1872, Alice to FN, Neues Palais, Darmstadt, accepts proposal for the training of Miss Helmsdörfer who will begin it in January, wd be pleased to have a personal interview with FN. Noel 249

## Add Mss 45750i

ff85-85v, Alice to FN, September, 1873, hoping that FN will be well enough to receive Miss Helmsdörfer, give advice.

ff86-88, Alice to FN, Darmstadt, November 14, 1873, re extending Miss Helmsdörfer's training in England, envelope postmarked DARMSTADT 1873

ff89-89v, Frogmore, Windsor, May 9, 1872, from Lady Susan Melville on behalf of Princess Christian sending a report about the Alice Frauenverein

ff90-93, Cumberland Lodge, Windsor, April 30, 1894 from Helena, Princess Christian of Schleswig Holstein, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland, Dear Miss Nightingale

It is so many years now since I had the pleasure of seeing you. I don't think I have seen you since I married that I am almost fearful of troubling you with these lines. Yet its object which I feel sure will appeal to your illeg plead my excuse. Since I have been so much occupied with nurses and the great work in which they are engaged, my thoughts have often turned to you, for your illeg every remains associated with those changes which have raised the care of the sick to the rank of skilled and honoured calling.

I think it is possible that you may hear within a few days that I am endeavouring to make some additional provisions for our sick and wounded soldiers in case of war, and as the subject is so peculiarly your own, I feel that I shd like you to know first and from my own self the scheme I have in view. Since I have two kingdoms ... the wish to do what I can to be of use in times of war has ever occupied my thoughts till illeg with the subject than ever before.

What I propose doing is this, with the aid of the Nursing Assoc over which I have both the honour and pleasure of presiding, and whose work is always a source of the deepest and truest interest to me, I hope to second from among the best of Br nurses an organized volunteer body which will always be ready to be placed at the disposal of the authorities in the event of our country being engaged in war on a large scale. Far from rivalling the already existing corps of army sisters, it wd become the subordinate auxiliary of those admirable public servants. As a first step towards carrying out any scheme I am addressing to the Metropolitan hospitals to which schools of nursing are attached a letter of which I venture to enclose a copy. If you can give me the benefit of your sympathy and counsel and make any suggestions, I need not say how warm my gratitude will be.

Believe me very truly yrs, Helena, Pss Christian of Schles-Holst, Pss of Gt Britain & Ireland

ff94-95 copy of letter to "Sir" (attached to above) explaining BNA scheme of organizing reserve of nurses for army service. dated 30 April 1894. Signed Helena. I have the pleasure to inform you that it has been decided by the Royal Br Nurses Assoc to organise a reserve of nurses for army service, with a view to placing it at the disposal of the authorities in the event of war. The project is one in which I take a personal interest and I venture to invite your cooperation in giving effect to it.

Add Mss 45750i

It is proposed to enrol a limited number of nurses, actually engaged in the performances of their duties at each of the metropolitan hosps to which schools of nursing are attached, who may have been trained or actively engaged in the wards for three or more years. They wd be prepared to proceed on service after due notice and to act in subordination to the army sisters where required to do so.

I beg you to devote the favour of informing me as soon as may be convenient whether I may rely on the assistance of the governing body of your hospital in carrying into execution a measure which cd not fail to win the approval of the country and to become a boon to its defenders.

Should your reply be in the affirmative, I will cause you to be informed of the date on which I hope and shortly to meet in conference those who may be disposed to afford me the benefit of their influence and counsel.

I am Sir your obedient servant Helena  
April 30

f96 envelope May 1 stamped, cancelled  
Miss Nightingale  
10 South Street  
Park Lane  
W.  
Pss Christian

rough letter draft, f97, pencil, use ff98-100, FN draft response to above

Madam I beg to answer your ~~good~~ gracious letter. I feel most deeply your kind intentions towards soldiers & Nurses - naturally I feel the heartiest sympathy. on this very account I am compelled to

But I equally feel that the system proposed is inapplicable to army purposes.

One ~~small~~ thing may be pointed out/ tells both ways as a small illustration of this that in peace time Army

Nurses have very little practice - scarcely any surgical. & the Nurses to be recruited will be those who have had the best & most recent

experiences in Surgical Wards & in Fever Wards

Another small illustration is that it is so contrary to the Military system which is to put the privates under their own officers. The Volunteers would serve much better under a 'Sister' of their own as Company Officer.

II. I am sure that the kindness of Y.R.H will not only pardon but believe me for saying that/ pointing out that the difference on my part & on the part of the opponents to

Add Mss 45750i

signed letter, ff98-100, pen & pencil, black-edged paper [12:570-71]

**f98**

*Private* May 9/94  
{printed address} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Madam

I beg to answer your gracious  
letter. I feel most deeply  
your kind intentions  
towards Soldier & Nurses.  
Naturally I feel the  
heartiest sympathy.

But on this very account  
I am compelled to feel

I. that the system proposed  
is inapplicable to Army  
purposes for several reasons  
follows I

II It may also {also circled} be pointed  
out ~~in~~ by way of illustration that in  
peace time Army Nurses  
have very little practice -  
scarcely any Surgical indeed.

**f98v**

And the Nurses to be  
recruited will be those  
who have had the best &  
most recent experience  
in Surgical Wards & in  
Fever Wards

Another illustration is that  
it is found to answer so  
little & to be so contrary  
to the Military system,  
to put the privates under  
other Officers than their  
own. The Volunteer Nurses  
would serve much better  
under a 'Sister' of their  
own as 'Company' Officer -

Add Mss 45750i

**f99**

- ~~there~~ of course to be under  
the Military authorities go on to III  
I It is a matter of frequent experience  
~~II. What appears to have  
been overlooked is the  
worthlessness of a~~  
that a certificate or recommendation becomes worthless  
even a ~~year or less~~/short time after  
it has been issued when  
the Nurse has left her  
Training School or {Training School or circled} Hospital  
Add the improbability that  
many of the Nurses after  
their 3 years' (so called)  
training will still be in  
the same Hospital or even in  
Hospital Service at all-  
Add the absence of analogy

**f99v**

between a reserve of  
Soldiers who can be taken  
out every year for drill &  
exercise purposes -  
and one of Hospital Nurses.  
These are *among* the reasons: go to II  
III But these are only  
remarks by the way.  
I feel confident that the  
kindness of your Royal  
Highness will not only  
pardon but approve me  
for pointing out that  
the difference on my  
part & on the part of  
the opponents to ~~the~~ any public Register  
is one of real principle.  
It can scarcely be supposed  
that it is of personal

Add Mss 45750i

**f100**

-2-

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

antagonism, or of pecuniary  
interest. I merely state  
the fact as one that  
must be taken into account  
in making such a  
proposition as the present  
one to the "Metropolitan  
"Hospitals with Training  
"Schools. viz. that any  
opposition was based  
on general considered  
principles, & on practical  
& long experience.

Most truly do I regret  
that there ~~is~~/appears to be no way of

**f100v**

meeting Your Royal Highness  
on the ground of your  
benevolent project.

I beg to remain  
Your Royal Highness  
faithful humblest servant

Florence Nightingale  
Her Royal Highness  
Helena  
Princess Christian of  
Schleswig Holstein  
Princess of Great Britain  
& Ireland

**[end 12:571]**

ff101-02, Helena, to FN, Cumberland Lodge, Windsor, May 16, 1894,  
announcing Princess Helena's intention to proceed with her scheme; she  
agrees there are difficulties with her scheme but believes it is feasible,

f103 envelope postmarked May 16

Add Mss 45750i

ff104-05, King's College Hospital, Lincolns Inn Fields, London, May 17, 1895, copy of a letter to HRH from Katharine Monk, refusing to become a member of the Royal British Nurses Association; "because the nature of the [nursing] work is so peculiar and so distinct from that of any other profession that it requires distinctive treatment, and I am of opinion that the special recognition of skill and efficiency would rather hinder the development of the moral qualities required in a Nurse, and that a lower standard in point of character. Of the importance of the latter features in a Nurse's qualification there can be no doubt...." Affects comfort of the sick, relations of nurse with household, family of patient, Hospital mgt and the medical profession wd bet the first to resent the lack of any proper attitude in a nurse towards her patient and the doctor." cultivation of character = most important of qualification of a nurse.

f106 envelope, Foreign Office, December 3, 1860, from Mr. E. Hammond acknowledging receipt of a packet to be forwarded to Carlsruhe by next FO messenger, which will leave London 26th

f107, Buckingham Palace, December 5, 1860, from Mr. Harrison wishing to be informed whether FN received a parcel forwarded to her from Germany, he forwarded on 22 Oct from gd duchess of Baden [seems one name is Harrison, one is Hammond]

f108 blank

unsigned letter draft, ff109-14, pencil, presumably re Carlsruhe

**f109** {archivist:[ca 1861]} [16:555]

Generally speaking: rule without exception that there should be only one door & one entrance - & *that under supervision* for every unit in a Hospital.

Thus: a Ward & its Offices shd have only one door guarded by two sentinels. (Sister's room on one side, Duty Kitchen on the other, so that at any moment of day or night, Sister or Nurse should see where every Patient is or is not.

No Labyrinth

No superfluous exit or regress.

**Add Mss 45750i**

{the following is written diagonally at the bottom of the page}

? Corridor

& dining room

wide enough for there

no operation basin

bow windowed

Ovariectomy

**f109v** pencil line drawn vertically through the whole

Ovariectomy room

sh'd be isolated

studies

Desk & chair

Night supervisor

what Head Night Nurse?

Probrs shd be

employed by day while

Head Nurses matron

& every body about

what is Assistt

Matron to do?

**[end]**

{f110 is blank}

Add Mss 45750i

**f111**

*Gd Duchess of Baden's Plans 1 for Clinique & Training School*

Extracts from *her* letter {archivist:[ca 1861]} for Nurses at Carlsruhe

"Our little Clinique is intended to be as well a [16:554-55]

Clinique for Patients of *chirurgical* kind as for eye patients - two specialities

"The Surgical Wards and Department are on the left from the main entrance - the eye Patients' wards on the right. On the upper floor there are besides the Nurses' rooms & some more wards some rooms for the purpose of being occupied by sickly persons, invalids &c wishing for a quiet place to be taken care of & restored to health.

"We intend to offer some rooms to several Doctors in town if they wish to have them for their Patients. But you see the whole is very small - not much more than 60 Patients. The *home* for our Nurses to be one of the chief objects of the new building. There we shall place too the Stations for the Nurses going into town to nurse the Patients" (? in their own homes) There too is to be the Training School for our Nurses So the objects are rather numerous And I know well that their influence on the

Add Mss 45750i

**f112**

-2-

"Whole of the building has not been quite favourable

"In the souterrain there are rooms for disinfection of Nurses' dresses -

"We have but four or six deaths in the year - therefore there seems no objection to put the mortuary room near the wash house - a thing impossible in large Hospitals with cases of inward illnesses & inward infectious diseases of which we have none in our Clinique.

"Some changes will yet be made in our plans for providing, I hope, one more large room for the benefit of the Nurses, & for cross ventilation in the passages. The Wards are intended to be provided with folding doors so as to allow of using the passages as *day-wards* shutting them by folding doors likewise and making them comfortable little rooms, obtaining too cross ventilation X X

"Well do I know the many defects. Yet I hope & trust it will answer for the somewhat complicated purpose it is intended for"

"Let me add for explanation that the kitchens are in a *half* souterrain under the chapel"

**f113**

The Kitchen Dept appears good.

But are all the Nurses to have their meals in that Speise kammer?

Mortuary? Tho' there are so few Deaths, is not the effect on the imaginations & the gossip of the Patients bad of having if but one dead body a year in such close proximity to Wash house & Kitchen?

Is there a lift from Kitchen to Upper Floor ?

Is there Hot & Cold Water laid on all over house?

One sick Room for Nurses very desirable.

Above all, a little Scullery with Stove & dresser where late at night a poultice may be made or hot drink which so often prevents an illness.

Add Mss 45750i

**f114**

G.

The Night Nursing x will be difficult to arrange for  
in the number of small Wards especially on the  
Surgical side

There would almost need to be 3 Night Nurses But supposing  
there is one for the Women & Children & one for the  
men & single bedded rooms - they would require a  
small room or Scullery, would not they?

Where are the Night Nurses to sleep *by day*?  
They should have sleeping rooms undisturbed by  
*day noises*

The Clinique seems difficult of supervision  
whether by night or day

[end 16:555]

x It is desirable, if possible that the same Nurse,  
especially by night, should not attend *men & women* Patients

Indeed it is desirable, where only possible, that *women & children*  
should be on *one floor* or in *one Wing* & *men* on *another* [end hosp60s]

ff115-16v, {archivist: [March 18 1862]} from Grandduchess Louise  
introducing Mr. Dietz, their aid in business re Badish Frauenverein and  
requesting that he be allowed to meet FN

ff117-21v, Louisa to FN, Carlsruhe, January 23, 1864 reporting on the  
progress and difficulties of training nurses; public has been supportive  
but we have educated only 30 nurses, now dispersed in numerous places. But  
very few are such as I wish---they all belong to lower classes, poorly  
educated. chief difficulty - can't find a good Supt.

ff122-25, Louisa to FN, Carlsruhe February 9, 1868 or 1866?, describing an  
association for the alleviation of misery which has been founded in the  
Granduchy and the necessity of training nurses and the usefulness of FN's  
book "Notes on Nursing". A year ago Frauenverein began trying to develop a  
nursing service in every town of the grand duchy. Have succeeded in many of  
the 95 towns. We send nurses to our best hospital and have published a  
little book on nursing. f125 envelope

## Add Mss 45750i

ff126-27, May 26, 1869, black-edged, from Amelie and August von Ungern Sternberg, in German announcing death of Elise von Ungern-Steinberg; env Miss Florence Nightingale. Via Calais. Stamped Carlsruhe 31 May.

FN note, pencil, at top:

She was mercifully spared the severe trial of *decline & helplessness*. The Grand Duchess spoke to each of the objects of Elise's peculiar care from a Russian Princess down to poor country people. each volunteered a promise to try to behave as their late friend would have wished, in honour of her memory, like children penitent. (the worst & most helpless cases of insanity).

ff128-34v, June 26, 1869, from Louise, re nurse training, difficulties in nurse training--they lack qualities of self-denial, wd like to be rid of our authority. Grand duchess of Baden, Princess of Prussia

ff135-41, Louisa to FN September 24, 1872, Mainau Castle [Lake Constance], reporting on developments in training in the last few years, in 1869 our nurses began working in Carlsruhe military hospital. Stylized

ff142-49v, August 20, 1869, in German, Louisa to FN; lists number of nurses and where they are working in Baden autumn 1872. Stylized printing

ff150-55, June 24, 1870 in German. Doc, stylized printing 20 November 1868

ff156-57, in German Einleitung October 1874

ff158-58v, August 10, 1870 crest Louise to FN, Baden requesting an appointment with FN, coming to England

ff159-60v, August [illeg 21 Aug? 1870 informing FN of Louise's trip to England, Burlington Hotel, Eastbourne, hopes to visit St T, KC and St Bart's, signed your affectionate Louisa.

f161, Claydon House, Bucks. undated note on Louise's visit there, in Louisa's hand, "I was in your dear little room. thought much of you! Sir H. Verney's kindness itself to me! Louisa". Arch see HV 10/9/73



Add Mss 45750i

**f162v**

Miss von Miller

Gd Duchess of Baden

Vienna

[March/79

It is now almost a truism & recognised as such that to put good new pupils under bad old Nurses or conditions ("a new patch on an old garment") is to make the new like the old - or to put the "cart before the horse" 1. One, St. Bart's of the oldest & grandest Hospls in London after trying this strange experiment, has now resorted to us for a trained Lady Supt of Nurses & for trained Assistants. These have begun work and the experiment has now begun at the right end

30 years ago, all the English Medl profession were against any improvement in Nursing

2. At the largest Medl Sch. in Great Britain, Edinburgh it was the recognized duty of the Senior House Surgeon to have the drunken Night Nurses carried in on stretchers every night

this comes of the Medical men `doing' Matrons that Hospl some years since asked us for a trained Lady Supt of Nursing & trained Nursing staff, which has answered to the delighted recognition of all the Hospl authorities & is now in entire possession of the Hospl Nursing with a Training Sch

3 St Mary's

4. Guy's

The Military Hospitals are those which altho' recognizing the value of women Nurses, least recognize what real `training' is or the undesirableness of the Medl Officer being chief Administrator and chief over the Supt of Nurses & her Nurses Our attempts to import properly organized female Nursing into the Army Hospitals have not been successful

Add Mss 45750i

**f163**

Gd Duchess of Baden March  
hopeless, uneducated state, overfed & lost in laziness, of the richer  
women in the Zenanas/Hareems (Madras) / who may see no man;  
& with the half starved or wholly starved, violently overworked  
& equally uneducated state of the poorer *Indian women*

*Lady Probrs*

Those who undertake teaching the sacred little infant mind  
because they don't know how to do *any* thing & *must* do  
something: (these *Governesses* don't make good Probationers  
sad & sordid aspects of the work

Nurse Probrs

shop (young lady in a) preferred to Hospls (in Nurse class)  
old confidential servants disappearing & better sort of servants  
come to us

almsgiving

pauperizing

*District Nursing:*

The Nurse, especially if she be not a gentlewoman, deteriorates  
too, & wd rather be the Goddess of Gifts than the  
useful, hardworked, skillful Nurse of the sick  
Hospls only an intermediate state of civilization  
And to make *home* among the poor is  
the real thing

{the following is written diagonally in the left margin of f163}  
that you could recommend

plans either

as to be imitated new children's Hospl to be built in or  
avoided? Heidelberg wishes for

"plans of the best Children's

Children's Hospls Hospitals" (a new branch)

Victoria /Chelsea "any new progress in the

Evelina /Southwark different parts of these

most important questions

E. London / Shadwell

Great Ormond St.

Prs Alice

Nottingham Love sprang up under her steps

But now she *knows* - she *sees*  
She sees that 'sight of sights'.  
the 'unveiled majesty of God'.  
She has entered in

Add Mss 45750i

{written diagonally in the bottom margin of f163}

With very/ hearty thanks/ Louisa/ Gd Duchess

I feel so thankful  
that you know how  
deeply I feel interested  
in her, whose precious  
life is so ~~interesting~~/  
necessary to mankind.  
How I wish that it may yet  
be granted to me  
to see her whose  
image is so  
very dear  
to me I send back  
the lines of her much  
beloved  
hand writing &  
speaking  
of those events all  
Europe  
witnessed  
with  
mournful  
sympathy  
yet  
With very  
hearty thanks  
Louise  
Gd Duchess

f163v

-2-

to the whole system, to the Trained Matron  
(her duties & office ~~as~~ over above those of the old-  
fashioned Housekeeper Matron) is the *head* of the  
whole system

You have left out the head: you have put in  
only the hands & the body

You leave out yourself: who are the head  
Should you not put in yourself - your duties  
immediately under the title?

*What you do.*

*What you are there for.*

In St. Mary's, as in every other Hospl where the  
Nursing has been reformed, it has been mainly  
done by the appointment of a trained & training  
Matron

And in the applications for a "system" which reach  
me from abroad & at home, the first thing always  
is to tell them to obtain a Trained Matron who  
*can* train

to tell them what her responsibilities, her duties  
& powers are to be: - &c &c discipline & governing  
of every Nurse, Sister, Probationer &c in the building.  
subject, of course, to the Hospl authorities - to whom she is responsible  
for the responsibility of the Ward 'Sisters' to carry out the Medical  
orders for treatment of the Patients [end 13:462]

Add Mss 45750i

signed letter, stylized printing, ff164-71v, pen [8:833-39]

**f164** *Private* 10 South Street  
Park Lane. W.  
March 31/79

Madam,

I wish I could say what I cannot say how the great goodness of Your Royal Highness fills me with reverence. Would that I could do the least little thing to help in the noble objects which you so nobly pursue.

As to the number of Nurses who give up the work either during or after training in Baden we know & feel very much the same here, & also as to the number of applications from gentle women especially desiring to be trained.

Those who fail during the course of training after every care in selection either from not being strong enough for the work, or from not being fit for the work, or from not liking it when they try it, are disappointingly many.

We have many more "lady" candidates; This seems to be the experience of all Training Schools for Nurses but whether it is a wave of human experience as so often happens in human life, or whether it is from more permanent causes I could fancy that the quality of these Lady Candidates has decreased while their quantity has increased.

There have been years when we had a set of perfect jewels among our gentlewomen - Probationers fitted for superintendence & who after serving

**f164v**

3 or 4 years as Ward Sisters (Head Nurses) are now Superintendents or Assistant Supts in large Hospitals, unless death or disability has removed them.

There are years, and these are unhappily now when few or none fitted for superintendence come to us.

On the other hand the quantity of Nurse Candidates is often not enough to fill our vacancies, while their quality has of late years, at least, of some of them, greatly improved. It may be that, if this is not a mere `wave' the reason is not far to seek.

For gentlewomen, within the last five years especially, openings for the Higher class Education have greatly multiplied: the Oxford & Cambridge Universities have examinations for Women, Cambridge has two Women's Colleges affiliated to her University, Oxford University is about to have one "High Schools" for girls are being founded, a great contrast to the miserable education & ill taught 'accomplishments' so called of the old "Boarding Schools" for Girls.

It is difficult to show to Your Royal Highness in Germany where, for so long diplomas, examinations &c have been required to prove a lady capable of teaching, while in England, the only Certificate a woman wanted was that she must earn her bread (any Girl was good enough to teach others) how essential this movement was.

**f165**

Now Englishwomen must be taught to teach and thank God it has come! But it has robbed us in Hospital life I fear.

Teaching the young appeals more to the imagination than Nursing the Sick & there is more freedom about it.

Then there are the Primary or Elementary (Board Schools) under the last Act of Parliament for poor children. These must have Certificated School Mistresses and possibly ladies who love liberty may enter the race for them.

Then some ladies who aspire beyond being Nurses, to being 'Medical Women' have now the opportunity by a late decision of the "Medical Council" [I saw the other day a lady wife to one of the Secretaries to Govmt at Madras in India, who after a 4 year's Medical training at Madras, has come to London to qualify by examination & a further 3 year's course for a Medical Degree at the London University. Her object is to return to practise in the Zenanas at Madras, she is so impressed with the hopeless uneducated state, overfed & lost in laziness of the richer Women in the Hareems, who may see no man; & with the half starved or wholly starved violently overworked & equally uneducated state of the poorer Indian women. I have been for just 20 years working for India; an enormous subject, and I just hail this

**f165v**

sort of devoted woman.

One is not impressed in general with "Lady Doctors' efficiency, and oh may nursing never be mixed up with Doctoring!

So many ladies come to us, at our Training School asking just to "pick up" a little among our Nurses at the Hospital, as if that would qualify them to go out and practice among the Women in India where no Doctor can be admitted].

But I am taking up Your Royal Highness' time with what is too exclusively English - I should return to the reasons for the failure of candidates during training Only knowing that nothing is foreign, nothing English, but all welcome & home-y to your Royal Highness, I am led away by the joy of sympathizing with her.

But there are sad and sordid aspects of this work as there are great & generous ones.

Many of our gentlewomen Candidates are from the old incompetent class of Governesses those who undertake teaching the sacred little infant mind, because they don't know how to do any thing & must do something. These as a rule are by no means the best suited for Nursing work though we have splendid exceptions. Our present Mistress of Probationers for whom I never cease to

**f166**

thank God, was a Governess. She is a first rate Class teacher, & she has a mother's heart for every one of her daughters, rough or refined, tho' changing every year. And she does all, as in God's presence.

But as a rule, the previous career of most of these Governess ladies is not such as to fit them for this work, & the difficulty of our choice, owing to the absence of any thing in the way of a real test of qualification from work performed is very great.

But we have some bright examples to comfort us for many disappointments.

About women of the ordinary Nurse class, there has for several years past, until recently been a lack of applicants to fill the vacancies among the Nurse Probationers. The ordinary woman much prefers the more 'genteel' occupation of being a 'young lady' in a Shop or a servant, whose wages now are good. On the other hand, we have recently had very good specimens of this class. women better than the 'lady Probationers' & far better than the old "Sisters" class of the old Hospital.

This is the converse of the other proposition The aspirations after a more devoted life in God's service are not satisfied by the occupations open to the domestic servant class and

**f166v**

therefore they come to us. For the class of old confidential domestic Servants who live and die in the same family, & are friends to their Mistresses is alas! very much disappearing.

II. There is great progress in public opinion & among the Hospitals generally of this Kingdom as to the necessity of having trained Nurses, but there is still a deplorable lack of insight, even among the Medical profession, or chiefly among the Medical profession - of what training is: or of how Nurses are to be trained.

I. What is meant by "Training" is the key to the whole, as I need not tell Your Royal Highness who has done so much for it so wisely & so well.

One of the largest & richest Hospitals in London calls "training" what is there taught, or not taught, to non resident Probationers who are admitted into the Wards in the morning after every thing has been done & leave the Wards in the afternoon before any thing has been begun - for 3 months only.

The regular systematic year's training with all its tests, examinations & records with its Training Matron - training Ward

**f167**

Sisters (Head Nurses) - disciplined "Home" with all its moral & religious & comfortable helps - its Classes & Lectures & its 'Mother'-ing by a good mistress of Probationers with instructions to the Ward 'Sisters' how to train this has hitherto been adopted by few Hospitals.

2. Trained & Training Matron (Lady Supt of Nurses) her office & duties; as distinguished from the old fashioned Housekeeper Matron; these two (Training System & Trained Matron) are the key stones to the whole reform of the organization of Nursing. And where we have made any real advance in the organization of Nursing in Hospitals, it has been by an efficient Trained Matron who sometimes by chance, sometimes by the help of a few among the Managers has been introduced into the Hospital to fill a vacancy The Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh a Hospital of 500 & more beds with a school of 1000 Students the largest Medical School we have. St. Mary's Hospital in London a hospital of less than 200 beds - St. Bartholomew's the oldest & largest Hospital in London (a quite recent reform) are examples.

As the system of Training is the foundation so the Trained Matron is the

**f167v**

head of the whole reform. The rest is only the hands & the body - What the matron does - what she is there for - this is the first thing. To advise Hospitals to obtain a Trained Matron who can train - to advise what her responsibilities her duties & powers are to be including selection, appointment dismissal, training, &c discipline & governing of every nurse, 'Sister', Probationers &c in the building, subject of course to the Hospital authorities to whom she is responsible for the responsibility of the Ward Sisters to carry out the Medical orders for the treatment of the Patients - this in the "Nine Hospitals" which Your Royal Highness has so happily captured with your "100 Nurses" appears to be as in England the main spring.

It is now almost a truism & recognized as such that to put good new pupils under bad old Nurses or conditions (a "new patch on an old garment") is to spoil the new & not amend the old St. Bartholomews Hospital - the oldest & in all other respects except indeed its Nursing, perhaps the best in London after trying this strange experiment, - resorted to us last year for a trained Lady Superintendent of Nurses & her trained Assistants. Fortunately we were able to

**[8:837]**

**f168**

supply the first, and two or three of the second. These began work with the first of this year: A real training School we hope, will follow. And the experiment will have begun at the right end.

Thirty years ago all the English Medical profession were against any improvement in Nursing.

At the largest Medical School in Gt. Britain - the Edinburgh Infirmary - it was the recognized duty of the Senior House Surgeon to have the drunken Night Nurses carried in on stretchers every night [This comes of the medical man doing' Matron.] That Hospital some years since asked us for a trained Lady Superintdt of Nursing & trained Nursing Staff - which has answered to the delighted recognition of all the Hospital authorities, & has been for years now in entire possession of the Hospital Nursing with its permanent Training School [ I am expecting the Supt here now to stay with me] . In August they move into the new Hospital which has been building for them; a very large & complete building.

The Military Hospitals are those which altho' recognizing the value of Women Nurses

[15:228]

**f168v**

least recognize what real 'training' is or the undesirableness of the Medical Officer being chief Administrator: and chief over the Supt of Nurses & her Nurses. Our attempts to import properly organized female Nursing into the Army Hospitals have not been successful.

[end 15:228]

[8:838]

III. Your Royal Highness asks whether we have undertaken any new branch of activity The latest movement in which we have taken a part is that of providing trained Nurses to nurse the poor at their own homes. This had been organized years ago by one of our very best Merchant Princes, Mr Rathbone in Liverpool, one of the most active - but alas! one of the most drunken and therefore wretched of our large towns [We call it District Nursing]. But the great mischief lurking in this if the District Superintendents are not first class trained Supts & of the most energetic disposition is that the Nursing constantly degenerates into relief giving - alms giving of the most pauperizing description. And the poor of course prefer it they would rather have the money or the food (which they sometimes exchange for drink) than the Nursing. The Nurse

**f169**

especially if she be not a gentlewoman deteriorates too, & would rather be the Goddess of gifts than the useful hard worked skilful Nurse of the Sick.

Add to this, that District Nursing requires even a higher standard of Nursing training than Hospital Nursing . It is more difficult. the Nurse has no hospital appliances at hand, she has not the Doctor always within call, tho' she must report to him yet more fully than the Hospital Sister she has not the constant publicity & 'esprit de corps' of the Hospital Ward to keep her up to her work.

All this makes it needful that the District Nurse should be of a yet higher calibre than the Hospital Nurse more, if possible Mistress of her work & under trained supervision of the very highest kind. She has, besides, the very first thing in entering on her sick case to put herself the most wretched room of the most wretched poor in the worst London or Liverpool Lodging house into Nursing order to see that the family afterwards keep it so - to teach the poor the very simplest cleanliness & sanitary knowledge; & to report sanitary defects in drainage &c &c which people can not remedy themselves to the proper sanitary

**f169v**

Authorities. We do not find any, but the very highest kind of trained Nurse will do this.

[Alas! I often think that it would be well if the Palaces of the land also had their District Nurse].

Typhoid Fever, Diphtheria &c almost [8:838] invariably come from defective Drainage.

In London as a beginning some good work has been done under the direction of Miss Florence Lees (who is known to the Crown Princess of Germany) an example has been set of thoroughly good skilled Nursing (including all that real District Nursing means - & dissevered from alms giving - & mere preaching to the Poor) brought to the homes of the poor.

Hospitals are, after all, only an intermediate stage of Civilization and to make *home, home*, among the poor is the real thing.

The nurses are mainly gentlewomen living under a superintendent in separate "Homes" of which there are now three in operation.

The Cost has however been comparatively great and it remains to be seen how far the Public will support it. Ultimately

**f170**

it is hoped to connect it with some kind of Provident Fund or Dispensary whereby the Poor, by paying in some very trifling weekly sum might have a right to a Nurse (as in other Working mens Clubs or Benefit Societies to a Sick allowance) People little know what poor peoples half pence will do.

We gave a years Hospital training to these District Nurses besides 3 months direct District training under Miss Lees who is I think the very best trainer I know, she is unique in the homes of the poor. So far as can be told these homes in which she has established order and cleanliness do not fall back into their former condition.

IV. My brother in law Sir Harry Verney tells me that in consequence of the desire to build a new Childrens hospital in Heidelberg Your Royal Highness wishes for some plans of the best "Children's Hospitals" in England There are three new Children's hospitals in London & another enlarged - the Victoria, in Chelsea, the Evelina, in Southwark, the East London in Shadwell, and the old Great Ormond Street one There is a very splendid new

[8:839]

Add Mss 45750i

**f170v**

one in Nottingham.

I cannot say that I think England has been successful in her Children's Hospital. But I will endeavor to procure and forward to Your Royal Highness what she desires. And I bid 'God speed with all my heart to the new Heidelberg Hospital.

&c &c &c &c &c

Florence Nightingale [end 8:839]

to Her Royal Highness,  
the Grand Duchess of Baden

With Enclosures

Report 1876. M. & N. Nursing Assocn

Letters from Montreal Nurses

? Letter to Times M.&.N.A.

{f171 is blank}

**f171v**

31 March 1879

F.N.

to

Grand Duchess

of

Baden

Add Mss 45750i

letter draft, ff172-73v, pencil

[5:546]

**f172**

Gd. Duchess of Baden Feb. 18 1882  
reverent sympathy - all this long painfulness  
& weariness

God who is her example will give her His life  
She who forfeits never the happy position of being His  
daughter may cast all her cares upon Him.  
the dearest work of God's hand Centre of so many  
hearts of so much good work in His cause  
& of government in His name

Cooking training Nurses  
Ward Kitchen work  
practical Classes Nat. Sch. of Cookery  
- Supt no Lectures Clinical or other  
writing out the receipts best Cookery book  
of everything they did  
No Cookery Book  
No " Lectures

Germany

Nothing to learn from England

Cookery stoves & tastes so different  
Material better Cookery infinitely worse  
& more indigestible

Edinbro' Cook gives Probrs Lessons Nurses' Home kitchen  
saves expense & time

suggest a German cook (from Emperor) to instruct heads of  
Baden Nurses' Training School in German Sick Cookery - who cd then  
train the others - Vienna Cooking good

{f173 is blank}

**f173v**

-2-

thanked for clock  
for Edinburgh too  
& for letters with them  
Glad about Romberg  
best wishes for Heidelberg Children's Hospl  
all H R H good works  
& among these best of her Mother's works  
C.P. of Sweden  
all have most affecte fervent prayers  
if I wd so gladly give if I could, what will *He*  
not do?  
most devoted & faithful  
of her loving servants

ff174-77, April 23, 1883, from Louise discussing problems in Nurse training; she is disappointed nursing has not made more progress in her part of Germany. No upper class nurses, a few middle class & primarily working class. They lack the spirit of Christian faith & love. The work has spread wonderfully over the past 20 years but is not rooted in Christian faith. Many nurses come but many go.

The Empress's work in Berlin is prospering & is attracting daughters of the Prussian nobility. Their work is excellent- she has found an object in life for them, but Louise fears nursing becoming fashionable.

unsigned letter draft, f178, pencil

**f178**

Gd. Duchess of Baden 10 Sept /89 Mainau  
I think that we all learn to live on & to work on  
not as we think it to be right but as God  
thinks it best for us - Hard sometimes is this  
school to go through but we learn daily more to  
be humble & to try by self-abnegation to follow  
the examples of one who has borne His Cross  
for us all

[end 5:546]

unsigned letter draft, ff179-80v, pencil

[5:546-47]

**f179**

G.D. of Baden {archivist: [6 April 1890]}  
Easter Day

Madam

It is indeed a privilege  
to receive a letter from R. & I.  
so full of the divine Spirit  
with which Work should be  
carried on.

There is so much superficial  
work here, shouting ladies  
making Societies to carry out  
they know not what, instead  
of seeking as you do.

that Centre, that Fatherly S  
sanctuary in their deepest  
selves whence comes the

Spirit. Which creates  
Which inspires Which  
renews us all if we will

**f179v**

have it.

In elementary education  
here the following of Christ  
had taken the place of  
dogma & dividing doctrine  
The new Education Bill  
seems if it is passed that  
it will bring it back -

You are so good as to  
ask me to tell you  
something about our work  
It is so good of you  
to interest yourself about  
it Some defects  
increase - some good  
increases. Nursing is the  
fashion. That means decay  
At the same time it is

Add Mss 45750i

**f180**

necessary to catch the  
movement, the élan of a  
people as it exists/flows  
And to try to guide it -  
above all, not to let the  
high standard of Nursing  
fall.

The latest development - the  
Queen's Jubilee Nurses  
for nursing the Sick Poor  
at their own homes  
The Rural Branch  
difficulties  
successes numbers  
affiliated  
Ladies' Committees  
Inspection but does not  
supersede training  
The London & Liverpool

**f180v**

Kindness of the poor  
to each other homes  
Hygiene - Child - feeding  
ignorance of mothers  
Scotch perhaps the best  
Rural X  
Midwifery - general Nursing  
difficulty

Hospitals  
Workho: Infies  
differences made  
by cultivated women  
education of Patients now  
moral effect  
souls as well as bodies  
order, kindness, moderation  
children first effect of Good  
Words  
X Inspection will not  
supervise training  
esprit de corps

You have not  
to contend  
with drunkenness  
& extreme poverty  
as in London  
Tenements [end 5:547]

Add Mss 45750i

ff181-82v, Louisa, gd duchess of Baden, to FN, condolences, March 3, 1896, speaking of Sir Harry Verney, asking for news of FN and giving news of her work, now interrupted due to failing health; we have 300 nurses working at 50 stations but they are not all good nurses.

Marked Dict.

I hope you will forgive my writing to you once more to ask how you are and to tell you of my faithful remembrance and of the never altering great interest I always take in all your doings, in all your work. Well do I know how great is the burden of your occupations and I feel I must apologize for asking you to let me know how your life is going on amidst all the great interests your time is devoted to. How often I think of dear Sir Harry Verney and how well do I know that loss of that kind heart and great void, not a sadness because the light and peace souls of that kind have entered cannot give any shadow. But the missing remains the same and the longing for that peace and that light, poor working mankind in this restless world knows so little of. Life goes on, work goes on, but one feels more than ever that both of them have but one great illeg which is the glory of God Almighty. It is a blessing I feel, and one, coming from Above, that one can get on, thankful at heart, faithful and joyous before the Lord and that life seems beautiful when looked at through the prism of eternity.

I fear I shall never come to England any more, because of my great invalidity. My eyesight is so weak and gets so more and more that I have to give up many dear occupations. It is a dreary cross but sill [?] God has always helped me to bear it so sometimes the increasing darkness is difficult and painful but if God wants me to serve Him in that way I have to give up my own views about it and I must learn to serve Him after His holy will and not mine.

You have always been so very kind to all our work here that I must tell you about its progress. We have now about 300 nurses and nearly 50 stations where they are at work. Alas! could I say that they are all good! So many drawbacks, so many deceptions, so many difficulties. But discouragement is not allowed and we must never be disheartened but rather thankful for each good experience made, going on illeg patiently. The inner life is the great question and the right way of looking at their nursing work. And now forgive once more my intruding upon your time. But for so many years I have been allowed to write to you and it is a privilege I feel so very grateful for.

Ever yours affectionately

Louise

Grand Duchess of Baden

Karlsruhe

3.3.96

Add Mss 45750i

letter draft, ff183-86, pencil

**f183**

Grand Duchess of Baden April 6-16/96  
Elementary Education Bill restores teaching Dogma  
& doctrine to the exclusion of teaching  
simple deeds & Work & God's Will like  
Christ

*Nursing* 1. Nursing: fashion: Fashion  
means decay. Yet we must catch the  
movement as it flows of a people - yet  
not let high standard fall  
Some Defects increase, some Good increases

2. Latest development *Rural Branch*  
*Queen's Jubilee Nurses*

3. London & Liverpool District Nurses  
highly trained - kindness of poor to each other  
In same tenement: 2. months old Bronchitis  
what Nurse got - drunkenness: getting  
rid of it

Tenement Act  
necessity of a "Home" & trained Supt  
or will degenerate to level of Patient

4. Rural Branch H.B.C.'s paper  
Inspector will not supervise training

5. -Jan 1. numbers

**f184**

-2-

H.B.C.'s paper increasing numbers of District Nurses more than one year's Hospl training increasing number leave the service

Enormous extension of (so called) trained *private* Nursing without "Homes" or Supervision

Some leave private Nursing Service from good motive - to re-enter Institutions

6. more or less systematic Hospital training of Nurses - extension of H.B.C obligation 3 years H.B.C.'s paper

we consider *five* years none too much to make

a Sister raise her salary then

St. Thomas' too poor

Character of training sometimes means nothing more than picking up. H B C's paper.

7. Sisters & Nurses have a moral as well as technical work to do.

let the Sisters live out of Hospl !!!

Miss Ferguson

8. *Registers* failure - can't register conduct intelligence embracing "case" character idiosyncrasy - (individuality) of Patient & technical part

**f185**

-3-

9. Immense engine in hands of District  
Nurse - regeneration of Patient's abode  
tidiness & cleanliness  
putting down drunkenness without  
preaching - by shame & love & respect for  
Nurse Who has done them good  
letter to "Times - realized where conditions  
observed
10. great multiplication of inferior untrained  
Nurses for the poor & rich too

Also - multiplication on the other hand of  
spheres for educated women in Schools,  
Colleges & Education - so that we do not get  
so many of the first rate women as we did  
when we stood alone, tho' perfect deluge  
of applicants

11. *Lecturing* cultivated women take to  
& care not for results.

Ld Palmerston - no very deep sympathy but  
knew his man & his country - none better  
used to say

**f186**

-4-

11. Ld Palmerston  
Just so with our Ambulance Classes,  
our Nursing Lectures &c &c

≠

O that we always had the "inner  
"life" as described by you

Add Mss 45750i

signed letter, ff187-90v, pen

[5:547]

**f187**

No 2 April 14/96  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Madam.

Accept the deepest  
sympathy for eyes which  
have done so much for  
the world from one  
who is also suffering  
from failing eye sight.

Let me say that we  
rejoice with God who  
has made such a Princess  
for the world - a Princess  
of high courage & patience,  
of grand religious faith,  
lovely before God - of  
devotion to work & duty.

There have been  
grand soldiers, types of

**f187v**

hardihood & of successful  
command over themselves &  
others, who have won  
battles which have saved  
kingdoms. For such we  
must be thankful. But,  
before God, the same  
qualities are dearer in  
the patient intelligence  
of suffering workers -  
the vigorous holy will  
always at one with  
God's - the highest  
exercise of which as  
far as we know, heavenly  
spirits are capable. And

Add Mss 45750i

**f188**

this, as far as we know,  
is the highest result of  
His training, of His discipline,  
& is dearer far to Him.  
"The Son of God goes forth to  
war  
"A kingly crown to gain  
"His blood-red banner streams  
afar-  
"Who follows in his train?  
"Who best can drink the cup  
of woe  
"Triumphant over pain;  
"Who patient bears His cross below,  
"She follows in His train"  
&c &c &c

[This was written by a Missionary  
Bishop who died in India]

[end 5:547]

**f188v**

Let me continue the  
letter about Nurses - so  
graciously asked me for.  
1. We find that the want  
of *early training at home*  
which many of our Nurses  
suffer from, is irreparable,  
except by a year's Probation  
in what is really a 'Home',  
attached to a large Hospital,  
under an experienced  
"Home Sister", who not only  
gives them classes, more  
valued (& more valuable, if  
I may say so,) than mere Lectures,  
not clinical - but who  
also looks after their habits  
of cleanliness, order, a loving  
punctual obedience to duty  
Such an one we have had

[13:468-69]

**f189**

-2-

for 22 years. We know not  
how to replace her.

10, South Street {printed address}

Park Lane. W.

2. "The Royal National  
"Pension Fund for Nurses"  
we have found a help.

It teaches the Nurses,  
gentlewomen & others,  
thrift & rewards it.

3. As already mentioned,  
the movement after liberty  
& independence, conspicuous  
here as elsewhere, is very  
much shown in the  
*private* Nursing.

& as mentioned, it is  
difficult to keep up  
any `esprit de corps`,  
any discipline among  
them, so sudden & immense

**f189v**

has been the extension.

4. Three other difficulties  
- ludicrously small & terribly  
large.

One is, difficulty among  
District Nurses in keeping  
up their own knowledge  
of *Hygiene* & of the  
importance of it among  
mothers, poor & rich.

A lamentable example of  
it is *infant feeding*  
among the poor. And the  
dearness of milk in England  
contributes to it. They  
will sell their milk to  
the large towns, & feed

Add Mss 45750i

**f190**

their infants on "what  
"we have ourselves". viz. steak,  
bacon, often brandy, sometimes beer.  
5. We have now a  
*Tenement Act*, & are  
seeking to have Health  
Missioners attached to  
the tenements. Overcrowding  
in London & Liverpool  
& overcrowded Tenements  
are fearful.  
6. *Lectures*. In this rush  
of Lectures for Midwives,  
for Nurses, for every body,  
some know as much as  
a *Doctor* in WORDS, &  
cannot make a Patient  
comfortable or teach  
others to make a Patient  
comfortable

**f190v**

Let me thank again for  
your precious letter,  
and let me be  
Madam  
your Royal & Imperial Highness'  
devoted servant  
Florence Nightingale  
I take the liberty of sending in  
a pamphlet a new experiment  
we are making of nursing  
*Health*, (not *Sickness*,) among  
the poor in England.  
What we are trying to do in  
India in Sanitation shall  
not trouble Your Royal Highness  
now.

[end 13:469]

Her Royal & Imperial Highness  
the Grand Duchess of Baden

**Add Mss 45750i**

envelope, f191, pen

**f191**

-No. 2-

Her Royal & Imperial Highness  
the Grand Duchess of Baden  
Karlsruhe  
Baden

F. Nightingale}  
16/4/96 } Germany

ff192-93, 88 Finchley Road, N.W., June 5 1877, from E.B. Mawer re Rumanian Nursing Society for Roumanian soldiers. se encloses a letter from Princess Elizabeth of Rumania. P 127:

Madam, Some time ago I had the honor of writing you a letter from 12 Redcliffe Street, asking your advice as to forming a nursing society for Roumanian soldiers. You were good enough to reply to that letter but I was advised for cogent reasons not to be too precipitate. Now on the eve of my leaving for Bukarest I receive this autograph letter (in English) from our gracious princess, a good Protestant lady, and I think that you, Madam, may like to see how her highness expresses herself with regard to you. I shall take the liberty of enclosing your letter to me in mine to her highness, and I shall now remain some little time in London with the hope of taking out medical aid and some efficient nurses.

I do not ask you to answer this, dear Madam, but I thought your kindly heart mt like to know that something was being done.

Very truly yours E.B. Mawer

f196-96v, copy, December 10, 1907, from P. Metternich with a gift of flowers from the Emperor

copy of letter written on FN's behalf, f197-97v, pen

**f197**

*copy of reply* 10 South St.  
10. 12. 07.

Your Excellency

I have the honour to acknowledge on behalf of Miss Nightingale, the receipt of your letter of to-day & of the very beautiful flowers which she greatly appreciated.

Miss Nightingale desires me to request you to be good enough to convey to H.M. the Emperor how much she values H.M.'s gracious expression of esteem & good wishes- She has always thought most highly of

Add Mss 45750i

**f197v**

the Sisters of Mercy at Kaiserswerth,  
She also recalls with deep  
gratitude the friendship & sympathy  
with which H.M.'s August Mother  
the late Empress was pleased to honour  
her.

Miss Nightingale would write  
personally but that failing health  
& eyesight prevent her.

I have the honour to be

Yr. Excellency's  
most obedient humble servant

L.H.S.N

H.E.

The German Ambassador