

Add Mss 45751-58, Correspondence with Dr John Sutherland and Mrs Sutherland, 1091 pages; this file contains all 8 volumes of British Library Mss of Sutherland correspondence. Note: Dr Sutherland's hand is very difficult to read; excerpts from his letters and drafts are given as best as possible, but likely contain many errors; Nightingale's hand, by contrast, was very clear, and the text were carefully proofed, so that errors are likely to be rare.

Add Mss 45751 correspondence with DR JOHN SUTHERLAND 1856-64, microfilm, 254 folios, 69 pages, Adam Matthew reel 7

f1 JS to FN 25 Aug 1856 Southwood Place Highgate has her letter of 24th re her letter, she in position to give advice, nursing an art, no hope of improving except by introducing improvements gradually and incorporating with improved hosp system, agrees in taking no action re N Fund, long nice letter prior to her going to Balmoral.

I have just recd your letter of the 24th and am very glad to find that you are so well as to write so long a letter containing so many questions. Depend on the whole matter being kept by me in strict confidence, and I now proceed to give you the best advice I can.

1. It appears to me that your own good sense has pointed out the reply wh shd be given to Sir B.H. You are in a position to give advice wh ought *not* to be rejected. It wd be extremely difficult to enter into all the details of the nursing mgt of hosps so as to make them clear to persons not only unaccustomed to such mgt but prejudiced against it, and even if they were made thoroughly to comprehend it, and had every wish to carry it out, the greatest of all difficulties wd still remain, namely, the art of doing so.

You know full well that nursing is not a paper science but a very difficult art, and from these considerations my opinion is that there is no hope for the improvements we all desire to see carried out except in introducing them gradually and steadily until they become incorporated with an improved hosp system.

2. I see no reason since you have rightly determined not to send the suggs asked for wh you mt not offer to introduce into the home mil hosps an element wh has never hitherto existed in them, that of female nursing "*to an extent wh you could define,*" but I wd rec you not to call it *reform*.

3 I entirely agree with you as to taking no action at the present time in the matter of the N Fund. John Bull's organ of wonder is too much excited to enable him to arrive at any practical concls on the subject. It is being discussed however and from what I myself have heard I have every hope of its assuming a real working form.

4 I think you shd tell Ld Panmure fully and openly your experience in the East. He has every desire to carry out such improvements as wd benefit the public service. What he really wants is good reliable info. When you see HM your communications with her may take a form you mt not be prepared for. You will have to be guided by circs, both as to the info you may communicate and any request you may make. I wd rec you not to go prepared with any definite request as to having a female nursing est, but of course, as I have already said, you will be guided by the turn the conversation may take. I shd not think it prob that you will have an opp of entering into

the qu of army med reform with the queen. There is no reason however why you shd not do so with Lord Panmure. In that case, I wd advise you to restrict your communications to the defects wh have come under your notice, and not to suggest any reforms unless asked to do so. Facts are always facts, while advice may be returned w/o thanks, which in your case it is better to avoid. Unfortunately there are great differences of opinion as to what is reqd to reform the Army Med Dept. The sc defects cd be easily remedied but those defects you point at are not I fear of such easy removal. They are the fruit of the army system generally, and until the tree is rendered good, such will be the produce. One comfort is that in all the European armies the med system has been improving and has improved immeasurably within a century. The late war has raised the Br Army greatly at least in matters of detail, and I for one have every hope that your own work, like every true and good thing, will leave its impress on the great highway of human progress.

I hope you will enjoy your visit to Balmoral. It is a beautiful illeg. You will also no doubt go to Birk Hall where I am sure you will meet with a warm reception. I dined with Sir James the other day and we talked over "your case," but I fear from the character of your letter that you have already escaped our hands.

f3 JS to FN 12 Nov 1856 Highgate just recd hers of yesterday, re Amazon women myth; letter to FN from Ann Tainton, has secured a situation at St George's, gives address in London and hopes to see FN. Your project has developed itself far better than I expected and I think I see a way of doing good and therefore I shall serve on the commission.

Get Alexander. Nobody else if you cannot. He is our man. I am to meet you tonight at Sir James Clark's to dinner and shall be very glad to talk over the subject further.

f4 JS letter to FN Highgate [3 Jan 1856] can't get to town tomorrow, re medical school scheme

ff7-8v NOTES ON PRACTICAL TRAINING, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f7

- 1st 1. *Scientific* yes
 2. in what University is
 Physical Geography taught?
 3. scientifically, not practically

f7v

2nd The "specialities" seem to be the least of the wants or rather it is practical training in *all* specialities, practical specialities, which is wanted fully as much for civil as for military. Practical instruction, in "details" or "specialities?"

constitutes the desiderata.

"Hospital course" certainly
in all its practical details.

Why "in the *field*" only?

"Camping" the only strictly
military subject.

"Whatever practical matters
connected with health or lives"
of men, "as distinguished from
mere scientific knowledge".

"pure book=man" no use
anywhere - "Pupils take the wind

f8

out of" such always & everywhere

Query their being "quite ready for civil practice". Most men, after their scientific education is over, go to Paris or go on by themselves trying all the modifications of operations on the dead body as long as they live

It is not so much teaching as practical training & therefore ? one year.

How many professors question of consideration -

Govt to pay all the cost certainly.

"Men who have gone through the work" -- Why Military Surgery more than Railway Surgery? We knew little enough about gun shot wounds before -- But

f8v

what do we know of them now? What general results have been obtained?-- Cases have been kept in our civil Hospitals in such a way that one Pathologist collecting all the records might come to some general conclusions -- But in the army one man who has kept some records will tell you that he has arrived at a conclusion & another that he has arrived at a contrary one. Dr. McLeod, Dr. Lyons & Dr. Taylor have all valuable records. But the generality have none, the cases have not been kept at all so as to be of any use & no certain nor general deductions are to be had. The system of Army Statistics precludes it. And I have known many instances where a *fancy* case was made up after Patient's death.

f9 JS letter to FN 10 Dec 1856 re her visit results

f11 JS to FN 20 Dec 1856 saw Jas Clark yesterday, who sent plans for new hosp to be built at Aldershot to her

f12 JS to FN 27 Dec 1856 thanks for her long note, did a deal of good, delighted to find the big people no more than Gog and Magog

ff13-13v NOTES ON DEFICIENCIES IN HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED ca BEGINNING JANUARY 1857

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}

M. Boudin Sir B. Brodie
110 Rue de Rivoli

{WRITTEN NORMALLY:}

2. deficient cubic space
 3. deficient light
 4. deficient ventilation
 5. defective height of wards
 6. too great breadth between
 the windows
 7. arranging the beds along the
 dead walls
 8. selection of bad sites -- & bad local
 climate
 9. Hospitals in towns
 10. defects of drainage
- f13v**
11. having more than two rows of
 beds between the windows
 12. having windows only on one side
 or having a close Corridor connecting
 the wards
 13. construction without free
 circulation of external air
 14. washing floors of Hospitals
 15. defective accommodation for
 Nursing & discipline
 16. defective condition of W.C.s
 17. defective Hospital kitchens
 18. " " laundries
 19. " " ward furniture

ff15-16v NOTES ON HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f15

[archivist:] Netley [16:243-44]

This present Report
leaves altogether untouched
the question of site *

we made certain
objections regarding
deficiency of light &
means of ventilation
wh. appear to have been
obviated as far as
nature of plan previously
adopted permitted

great improvement
to abolish smaller wards
with borrowed light

f16

arrangement in end
wards seems simplified,
so that they have now
better means of light
& ventilation

in regard to Corridor,
its open space towards
the external air has been
very considerably increased
& no doubt advanta=
geously. And the danger
of the atmosphere of
the different wards
intermingling will be
correspondingly diminished.
But everything will
depend on air in Corridor
being at all times
in a state of purity
equal to that of external
air.

f16v

Altho Corridors improved
to this important extent
I still retain opinion
that a Corridor should
not extend along any
side of ward from
which it obtains light
& ventilation

& that if Corridor is
to be introduced into
Hospl consn at all
it should be solely
with view of connecting
detached blocks of
wards with a
comparatively small
no of sick in each --
& not made to cover
the ~~sur~~ whole surface
of one side of a
Hospital block intended
for from 400-500 sick.

[end 16:244]**f17v** NOTES ON SICK, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

{LEFT COLUMN:}

If you want to
prove your point
of non=contagion
it is conclusive.

{RIGHT COLUMN:}

Our Army was
 uncared for the *first*
 winter -- Theirs
 the *second* --
 They send in 8 months
 one third the force
 thro' Hospital
 We send in 4 weeks,
 twice the force thro'
 Hospital.
 What does it signify
 whether it was
 55 or 56?
 Certainly --
 Yes, but the *first*
 winter we admitted
 thrice that
 proportion of Typhus

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS, BELOW LEFT COLUMN:}

What do you want me to say?

Yes I think so

I think Christison shd be
 asked --

Where are
 Soyer's Diets?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS, BELOW LEFT COLUMN, BUT IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION AS
 ABOVE:}

I like Scrive
 much better than
 Baudens

f19 JS draft

f20 JS letter to FN Friday [26 June 1857] JS letter to FN re visit from Dr Zdekauer, prof of the Academy of Medicine of St Petersburg, who came with an intro to make inqs about hosp construction. He had been in Paris and fortunately I was able to help him in many essential points. He is sent by the emperor to draw up plans of a new hosp, and after examining all the best hosps he appears to have arrived at the conclusion that Lara plan, with two stories of wards, each to hold 25 sick, the pavs further apart, no artificial vent, but solely doors windows and fireplaces with an air shaft of a illeg and self acting water closets, contain the elements of the best hosp constr. Besides the san advantages there are great advantages in the way of classification for clinical instr, wh he also pointed out. All this is satisfactory, is it not?

I asked him about the sisters and the following is the result.

They are under the patronage of the grand duchess Helena, have been recently introduced, are not very acceptable to the admin, are very useful,

have special powers as to seeing diets and medicine given patients and beds and wards kept clean. Can order orderlies who must obey, are not under vows, are appointed for a year, have a special dress, wear a cross the first year, give spiritual as well as nursing aid to sick, are not a religious order, consist of Greeks, Catholics, Lutherans. After 10 years service they have a pension. If you want to know more write at once, as my friend goes away in a day or two.

How did you get on with Laffan?; I am a prisoner here today as everybody has filled every conveyance to Hyde Park. Yesterday I had to be at a school exam.

Any alterations you may feel disposed to advise with regard to the wards at Netley shd in the first place provide for the direct lighting and vent of every portion of every ward. No throwing of wards together or portions of wards behind will compensate for the evil produced by ill lighted and ventilated portions that may be left in doing so. The chief ward improvement made in the old plans consisted in clearing out all corners and reducing the structure to its simplest form, and we must be careful not to restore the defects in attempting to improve the plan. Again the back buildings are much too close to admit of any projecting wards or parts of wards being thrown out behind. To do this you wd require to pull down all the kitchen and dining room bldgs to remove them to a greater distance. If left they wd obstruct light and ventilation, In such a plan also every ward projected behind wd interfere materially with the lighting and vent of the whole bldg. The projections in the original plan of the chapel and dining rooms across the line of lighting from the E are grave defects, wh wd be increased by every ward projected unless indeed the distance between the wards so projected were at least the same as at Aldershot, namely 101 feet, which with a plan like Netley wd be imposs. If the adjoining wards were thrown together so as to produce longer wards with the beds along two sides, back and front, then the ward windows into the corridors wd have to be altered from the present plan in wh these windows are in reality glass doors, so as to leave a sufficient wall space between each two window for two beds. The plan of joining two wards by excavating a illeg passage thro the orderlies room wd not answer.

I have put down what appear to me to be the principles to be kept in view in making the alterations, but I shd like to see sketches of the proposed changes, embracing the prs I have mentioned. The cost of admn a I have shown it for different plans must also be considered.

Under any circs it is prob that alterations of plan will involve sacrifice of bed space and the hosp as a whole will not accommodate the number wh its vast dimensions wd lead us to expect. In this also there will be additional outlay.

f22 JS draft re alterations she may feel disposed to advise re Netley.

ff23-26 NOTES ON HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f23

The separate ventilated & lighted lobby with a door leading into the

ward on one side &
into water closet on the
other, tho' apparently
shewn in Ground Plan,
is found in reference
to Section to be merely
a partition apparently
of slate extending
about half heighth of
closet, an arrangement
which is inadmissible.
The plan must be so
altered that this slate
partition must be
removed & its place
supplied by a wall
perforated by swing
doors -- the wall to
extend the whole
height of water=
closet.

f25

In regard to sewerage
I take it for granted
that no sewer passes
under Hospl that
sewerage is to be
conveyed below low
water mark
& that the sewers are
to be ventilated at
a distance from the
Hospitals

At all events, -- these
conditions are indis=
pensable to health
of Hospital --

f26

Plans don't shew
method of ventilating
Hospl.

but provision shd be
made for ~~sufficient~~ thorough
ventilation of every
part of building by
natural means alone

Laundry matters not
shewn.

Further information
as to means of cooking
Extras --

Accommodation for
female Nurses as good
as was compatible with
plan, in which they were
not taken into consideration

ff31-33 NOTES ON HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f31

Great doubts whether
accommodation for
Orderlies will not
result in their suffering
from Hospital
atmosphere --

in my opinion, it
will be necessary that
they should sleep
elsewhere

7. I doubt, whether, with
all the improvements
in Corridor, the removal
of projection won't
interfere with
sunlight

f32

Without entering
into any discussion
as to site or
expressing any
opinion about it
& still retaining my
opinion as to the
other modes of Hospl
conscn than that
adopted at Netley
I am of opinion
that with further
alteration suggested
in water closet
lobby & ~~with due~~
~~alteration to means~~
~~of natural ventilation~~

f33

all appears to have
been done that the
plan admitted
to *remove* the
structural objections.

ff34-34v NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL GOVT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN [arch JULY 18
1857]

f34

Did not A. Smith's
evidence yesterday
amount to this?

I act upon no rule,
I have neither selection
nor seniority, I erect
myself into a judge
of what is best for the
interests of the service,
I have under me
gentlemen, educated men,
who are like beggars,
without any knowledge
of what tomorrow's
prospects are -- they

f34v

have no rule to depend
upon but my judgment
of what is best for the
service.

This is the System of
Army Medical Govt, &
I consider it a
perfect one, perfectly
administered."

ff38-41v NOTES ON RELIGION & FN, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED Sept 5, 1857

f38~~70~~

WRITTEN DIAGONALLY, IN PENCIL

To

Dr. Sutherland

[ca Sept. 5 1857]

{WRITTEN NORMALLY, IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

And now what shall I
say in answer to your
letter?

Some one said once

He that would save his
life shall lose it -- and
what shall it profit a
man if he gain the whole
world & lose his own
soul? ~~I suppose this~~ He meant, I suppose
~~means says~~ that "life" & ~~soul~~
is a means & not an
end -- & that "soul" or the
~~the end~~ object of ~~for which~~ life
~~was given~~ is the end -- Perhaps he was
right.

Now in what one
respect could I have
done other than I have

f38v

done? or what exertion have
I made that I could
have left unmade? Had
I lived any where but
handy, would Mr.
Herbert have used me?
Had I not been ever
at hand, could he
have used me?

Not if I had been
the Archangel Michael,
alive instead of in
stone, would any
Englishman have
come to the top of
San Angelo ~~now~~ to
~~to~~ find me, even lived

f39

he at its foot. And
you know very well
that the Angel Gabriel
~~living~~ when he lived at Highgate was
~~will not be~~ not sought
there.

Now, had I "lost"
the Report, what would
the health I should
have "saved" have
"profited" me? or what
would ten years of
life have "advantaged"
me, exchanged for ~~the~~
ten weeks this Summer?

Yes, but you say,
you might have walked
or driven & eaten meat.

f39v

Well, since we must come **[7:681-82]**
 to sentir della spezieria,
 let me tell you, O Dr.,
 that ~~the shortest~~ after any walk or
 drive ~~increased the~~ I sate up all night with
 palpitation ~~to such a~~
 degree ~~that many is the~~
 night I have sat up
 the whole night. And
 that only the mere sight of
 animal food increased
 the sickness ~~to such a~~
 degree ~~so as to make me~~
 incapable of taking any
 food. "The man here" put
 me on the sofa as soon as I arrived & told me
 not to move ~~nor~~ and to take
 any no solid food at all till
 my pulse came down.

f40

Do you think me one of Byron's
 young ladies? He, it was, I
 think, who made a small
 appetite the fashion -- Or do you
 think me an Ascetic?

Asceticism is the trifling
~~coquetting~~ of an enthusiast
 with his power ~~his~~ a puerile coquetting
 with his selfishness or his
 vanity, in the absence of
 any object sufficiently great to employ the
 first or ~~drive out~~ overcome the ~~latter~~ last.

Or, since I am speaking
 to an Artist & must
 illustrate & not define,
 the Cristo della Moneta of
 Titian at Dresden is an
 ascetic -- the Es ist vollbracht
 of Albert Dürer at Nüremberg
 is a Christ -- ~~hem~~ whom
 we call our example, though
 little we make of it. For

f40v

one Church has daubed ~~him~~ that tender beautiful image
 with coarse bloody colours
 till ~~he~~ it looks like ~~a~~ the sign=
~~post~~ of a road side inn
 & another has mysticized
 him out of all human reach,
 till he is the God & God is
 the Devil. But ~~I think~~
~~we should~~ are we not really to do
 as Christ did. And when
 he said the "Son of man" did he
 not meant the sons of men? He
 was no ascetic.

But shall I tell you
 what made you write to
 me? I have no second sight.
 I do not see visions nor
 dream dreams.

It was my sister.
 Or rather I will tell

f41

you that I have second sights.
 I have been greatly harassed
 by seeing my poor owl
 lately, without her head,
 without her life, without
 her talons, lying in the
 cage of your ~~little villain~~
~~of a~~ canary, (like the
 statue of Rameses II in
 the pool at Memphis)
 & the little villain
 pecking at ~~the~~ her.

Now, that's me -- I
 am lying without my
 head, without my claws,
 & you all peck at me --

It is de rigueur,
 d'obligation, like the
 saying something to one's
 hat when one goes into
~~one's pew~~, church, to say to me

f41v

all that has been said
 to me 110 times a day
 during the last 3 months.
 It is the obbligato on the
 violin -- and the twelve
 violins all ~~say~~ practise it [~~illeg~~] together
~~times~~ -- like the clocks
 striking 12 o'clock at
 night all over London,
 till I say, like Xavier
 de Maistre, assez ~~te~~: je le sais: je
 ne le sais que trop --

I am not a "penitent:
 but you are like the R.C.
 "Confessor" who says what
 is de rigueur, what is in
 his Formulary to say, &
 never comes to the life of
 the thing -- the root of the
 matter. **[end 7:682]**

f42 JS to FN Sept 7 1857 from Highgate reply to her scold of a letter,
 advises to stay, can get result without so much suffering

f44 JS to FN Sept 9 1857 further on her dead owl letter re Netley

f46 JS to FN Sept 11 1857 from Highgate, has recd her note caratina mia,
 regrets appeared unkind or illogical, will work with her at family or
 Malvern

ff50v-51 NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f50v**

But, even supposing you obtain the *best obtainable*, you know that the Departmt is wholly incompetent to organize itself, -- that it is no child's play organizing a new office -- & that not one of those men, suggested as the best obtainable, is capable of doing it. McNeill organized the Poor Law in Scotland -- Farr the Registrar Genl's Office in London -- Kay Shuttleworth? the Committee Army of Council on Education. Well or ill, ~~Bad or good~~, not one of the four could do anything like those organizations.

f51

It is indispensable to the practical carrying out of your Reforms that these things should be all done by yourself. And it is due to the honor of a Reformer that he should be allowed to work his Reform himself & not have to see others spoil it & say, it won't work.

ff52-53 NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f52** {LEFT COLUMN:}

A.M.D.

1a Mr. Herbert
 Dr. Sutherland
 Dr. Farr
 Sir J. McNeill
 the D.G.
 3 Members of Council

3q Mr. Herbert
 Dr. Sutherland
 Sir H. Storks
 Sir J. McNeill
 Mr. Alexander
 Beware of letting W.O. or A.M.D.
 touch it.

{THIS SECTION IN DR. SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING:}

1a Accommodation, Office,
 Officers,
 Byelaws, Limits of departments
 Books, Office forms,
 Expenditure

{FN'S HANDWRITING STARTS AGAIN:}

Forms } to be kept
 Diaries }

q. general Hospital Organization
 {Hospital Organization IN DR. SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING}
 limitations of functions of its
 officers.

a. Poor Law Board will give
 valuable information as to
 Books to be kept
 Diaries to be kept by all the M.O.S.
 Bye laws necessary to complete the
 Regulations
 Generally, the Dept ought to be put in a
 condition to furnish authentic information
 as to all that concerns 1. supply 2. sanitary state
 of an Army -- all over the world -- to Commissn & W.O.

f52 {CONTINUED RIGHT COLUMN:}

zc *School*

Dr. Parkes

or (Sir Fergusson

(Sir B. Brodie

Sir J. Clark

Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland

f. Sir H. Storks discipline

Dr. Sutherland science

{THIS SECTION IN DR. SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING:}

zc Lecture room

Accommodation,

Museum Laboratory,

Library,

Maps, plans, charts

Models,

Statutes,

Books

Expenditure

{FN'S HANDWRITING STARTS AGAIN:}

f. Gymnastics

discipline

scheme

c. Josephs Akademie, Vienna

first Medical School

in Europe, would give

hints as to Statutes.

Dr. Farr has the book of

its Constitution.

Dr. Sutherland wd

make the practical

arrangements at Chatham

f53

General Instruction to be given to Sanitary Members of Council to consult with Dr. Sutherland on all points, as long as Barrack Commissn lasts.

As to Bye=laws

Instructional matter &c Regulations pre=suppose a power of inspection which A.M.D. is at present quite incompetent to perform --

They do not see nor will the S. of S. where these Regulations are carrying them.

It has been decided that Army is to do its own work.

We know it to be incapable

Only by the most careful arrangement of its new work for it that it can be prevented from breaking down

Add Mss 45751

23

	per person per hour	" per minute	
<i>Chambre des Députés</i>	635	10 1/2	Amount not enough
<i>Institut</i>	1024	17	Can be increased
<i>Conservatoire Arts et Métiers</i>	469	7 5/6	Hall contains 494 000 cubic feet

In all these cases, there is a large balance of fresh air to begin with -- from the great size of the Salles in proportion to the audience. And the séances last only one or two hours & are rarely full except in the case of the Corps Législatif. [Perhaps the state of the air was the cause of the revolution of 1848].

[end]

f70 Farr letter to JS June 17 1858 with remarks on old returns

f72 SH to JS Supt 22 1858 elder sister's death so hasn't done, leaving for Scotland

f74 SH to JS Sept 28 1858 re Neison's paper, ought to be answered

f76 NOTES ON WELLINGTON BARRACK DAY ROOMS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED SEPTEMBER 1858

60 {PENCIL}

Mrs. Herbert has
written to Lord
Rokeby about
the Wellington
Barrack Day=Rooms.

f77 NOTES ON AVAILABILITY OF FACTS TO SUB-COMM, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED ca. 1858

I had not an idea that the "Sub=Comm",
had not all the facts before them in
black & white in an authentic form
satisfactory to themselves as to correctness.

For you know I have made it a rule thro' life
to make applications especially to Govt
offices only in such case -- or
where I myself had such facts in a
form to satisfy both sides as to their
authenticity.

ff78-79v LIST OF MEDICAL OFFICERS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 1858

f78

Major General Storks PREST

Mr. Herbert
Dr. Sutherland
Lt. Col. Lefroy

Dr. Alexander }
" Taylor } Medical Officer
" Beatson }

Ct. Finnerty Adjutant

One of the Purveyors in England

f79v

Dr. Ross Jamieson
Dr. Matthew
Dr. Jackson
Dr. Jephson

Mr. Robertson

Dr. Shrimpton Paris

f80 JS to FN 1 Jan 1859 has seen Warrren, who had written to her; JS gave him the answer; SH thinks meeting mt yet be done, re Gen Storks; War Dept fight council; SH thinks they have no plan of their own; we shd offer to organize for them

f81 JS to FN 3 Jan 1859 Balfour in a mist; paper he sends

f85 JS to FN 6 Jan 1859 question re council, salary, urged Alexander not to ask too much, he is worth £2000 if we cd get it

f87 JS to FN 7 Jan 1859 will return Hammick's paper to Farr with a rec; paper must be a little condensed in some parts, augmented in others; *Morning Star* an organ of the AMD

f91 JS to FN 8 Jan 1859 bad enough,, danger in Alexander giving way, will have nothing to do with Hawse's scheme

f92 JS to FN Jan 10 1859 glad to hear Combe the author of that article in the Warrant; SH struck with him at Dublin, good officer

f94 JS to FN Jan 11 1859 good as far as it goes, but we are sufficiently far advanced yet in our inquiries to make a list of commissioners; SH has raised no serious objection against any of our men; do you know Mill enough to know what course he wd take; our sec must be with us; if Mr M is with us in feeling and object and also in hopes, then we mt have him and with immense advantage; do not se how he cd be otherwise; altho identified with the past system we are not going to alter a system; our system does not exist

f95 JS to FN 12 Jan 1859 not yet recd the letter from Clough and cannot reply, re SH with him at AMD

f98 JS to FN Jan 15 1859 sorry to have given rise to any uneasiness on your part from ambiguity; re her note, what sent SH

f100 JS to FN 17 Jan 1859 sends proof of the Chatham School report; if you are able wd you go over it and send it with your remarks to SH; nothing new; saw Farr, re answering *Star*, Hammack to do a review of the anon pamphlet

f101 JS to FN 18 Jan 1859 a very satisfactory note, by an intelligent man; SH has written Gen Peel re the council; hope he has used the Dublin affair as an argument as he promised

f103 JS to FN 22 Jan 1859 admirably explicit account you have given! has dictated a few heads for an article

ff105-08v NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f105

Heads of Article on the
future administration of
the Army Medical Department.

The Royal Commission,
while exposing defects in
present sanitary arrange=
ments, and their results
to soldiers, appears to have
carefully considered means
of remedy.

Two places come out in the
evidence, one to place the
whole sanitary administration
under an officer quite
unconnected with the Army
Med. Dept. the other to use
the Dept. and its officers

f105v

for preserving health, as
well as curing disease.

There are strong arguments
for both methods. Hygiene
is a specialty, and like
other specialties requires
undivided attention.
Treating disease is also a
specialty, requiring a man's
whole thoughts, and it is
doubtful whether the train
of thought which makes a
good physician, would not
make a bad sanitarian
so thought some witnesses.
Others thought that as the
public paid a large staff
of educated medical

f106

officers, these ought to be employed for sanitary service.

Against this proposal stands the fact, that under the present system the Army has suffered so vast a rate of preventible sickness and mortality. Can we hope to reduce this by employing the machinery under which it has happened.

The R.C. appears to have considered that the machinery might be improved & rendered efficient by two additions,
~~one~~ 1. Educating every Med.

f106v

Officer in the specialties of Hygiene.

2. Creating a ~~Med.~~ Council to be attached to the Army Med. Dept. of three members, one for Hygiène -- one for Hospitals -- one for Statistics. It proposes that given the school and Council, the Army Med. Dept. might be entrusted with Army Hygiene, but only if both were granted.

Profiting by the experience of the failure of deliberative Boards, the R.C. proposed to make the Council simply consultative, that is that each Member should be

f107

perfectly free and unfettered in giving his advice, and minuting it if necessary, to the D.G. but that the D.G. should be sole administrative head over the whole Dept.

We learn from the evidence that this plan was recommended by so high an authority as Sir J. MacNeil that it had worked successfully under the Scottish Poor Law, and that it is the plan adopted in the govt of India.

The new Indian Council is so constituted. ~~is so constituted~~

f107v

It has long worked successfully in France.

In counting up our progress in Army Reform, we ask what has become of the Med. School and of this Council, are the deliberate recommendations of a R.C. of experts to be adopted, and future Armies saved, or has the whole plan so carefully considered and so intelligently framed, been shelved by the genius of dulness & stupidity, ~~to~~ in the W.O. to which Great Britain from time immemorial has committed

f108

the destinies of her soldiers
 in peace & in war?
 Why all this delay? or rather
 has the time not arrived,
 when the nation should call
 for a R.C. of enquiry into the
 manner in which the interests
 of the Army are neglected
 through the ignorance of
 a set of obscure paid
 officials, who in all probability
 would never have been
 able to earn their salt in
 any other walk of life.
 The H. of C. last session
 decreed Barrack Reform
 by a unanimous vote.

f108v

Thereby sanctioning by the
 national voice our recom=
 =mendation of the R.C.
 Our columns shew from time
 to time the progress which
 is made -- let them also tell
 the W.O. that unless other
 equally necessary reforms
 are carried out, it is quite
 possible that better men may
 be found to attend to the
 health and efficiency of
 the Army.

f109 JS to FN Jan 29 1859 The proofs are good and sufficient except that there appear to me to be a few verbal mistakes in the lettering. These I cannot correct till I get the plans from Mr Clough. For instance, I find "Lingerie" translated "drying room" and the place where tisanes are brewed is called a "kitchen." I shall correct all however and return them to you by the post *after* I get the plans.

I send you a rattling note about them. If you like it you mt send it. It shd go at the end of the paper and in front of the plans. You may promise the poetess that they shall reach her by next post or so, ready for the press. They are excellent as illustrations of the paper and will do much good I hope.

By the by. I have tried reading Isa's ode over several times. It grows on one. It has the true clink and I begin to think that it is poetry after all. Like you I am tired of reading sentimental trash arranged in long or

short lines.

f111 JS to FN 31 Jan 1859. I got the plans from Mr Clough this morning and have gone over all of them carefully. I have corrected the lettering of some of them, chiefly Lariboisière, which is now right. Somehow or other a letter got misplaced in your original big plan from wh the reduction was first made and the letter for "chauffoir" which ought to have been at the foot of the great staircase, got placed in the dining rooms and in between the pavilion. I have not altered it but I have changed the description. I have translated "communauté" by ward "Sisters" as coming nearest.

The additional letter I have put in will add interest to the plan of Lar. The words "hot ward" are copied from the plan prepared for our Netley report. They were put in by the typographical people. "Itch ward" is the illeg lettering.

I believe they are all right now and can be sent back to "Isa."

This is a delicious day here, is bright and bracing. I have been working in the house all day and am going up to the heath for fresh air.

The Plymouth illeg have just arrived.

f112 note Manner of Working

f116 JS to FN 3 Feb 1859 her Malvern tailors re service of army; blot on civilization

f118 JS to FN 7 Feb 1859 fear you are right, re tailors; SH letter to her tells what we saw together; Jas Clark letter from Berlin good; proves how careful the Prussian govt is of their med school; everything we do is a tittle. Here is Alexander, the most enlightened and practical man of the whole lot, so frightened about the school appt that he does not see that his course wd be futile, Burrell;

f120 JS to FN 8 Feb 1859 re her letter this morning has made me very very sorry, had hoped she was improving

In the meantime there is nothing to bring you up to turn at last connected with our work. The med school report will I hope pass the commission and be sent in within a week or ten days if we do not go illeg. Then we have this council or board and then the Regs when you next write to Mr Herbert please suggest his asking Gen Peel for the Regs as they passed the War Office committee. They must be nearly ready by this time and we must see them.

Have you seen the article on our report in the last Quarterly? It is interesting from the manner of handling. It is evidently written by someone who has been considering the subject and indicates a decided advance in the proper understanding of army hygiene. All this is very hopeful and must tell on the dolts we have to deal with, if anything ever tells on dolts, wh is doubtful. "A dolt is a person who without any merit or illeg gets into a public appointment and opens his life and draws his salary in keeping himself in office and keeping out all improvement." This is a new definition wh perhaps may be useful some day or other.

Somebody sent me the Morning Chronicle with an article of Hammick in the Contribution. Have you seen it.

Tomorrow to dispatch more reports. Mr Cowie dines with us and we are going over the whole schools question.

God bless and keep you. JS

f122 JS to FN from War Dept Feb 9 1859 had a meeting and passed a report; Mr Rich

f124 JS to FN 10 Feb 1859 re Ms, will go into the whole matter about the schools with view of ascertaining what is poss

f127 JS to FN 11 Feb 1859 Mr Cowie and he laid out the whole school subject last night; personally will undertake it; improvement of training ests themselves, lectures, exams, and re common schools; will not be easy to do

f129 JS to FN 12 Feb 1859 re Irish reports from printer, to send to Gen Peel before we go

f131 JS to FN 16 Feb 1859 agreed between SH and Galton we shd visit Brighton and Chichester

f133 NOTES ON DUBLIN HOSPITAL, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,
DATED ca. MARCH 1859, bl online says City of Dublin Hosp

Dublin Hospital

If the whole of central
part gutted, quarters
& Chapel removed,
ward used for stores
given back to sick,
there would be the
same number of beds
(at 1200 cubic ft each)
as there are now
(overcrowded) viz. 200 beds.

[16:361]

The cost being:

1. Gutting centre building,
putting up floors,
opening windows &c
2. Building Chapel,
Medical Officers' Quarters

But 500 beds are the
amount required -- for a
Garrison of 5000.

[end]

f134 JS to FN 1 May 1859 Dublin

f136 Farr to JS Oct 4 1859

f138 letter of C.C. Prinsep Stat Soc to Farr re JS enclosed 29 Sept 1859

f140 Farr letter to JS Oct 30 1859. I saw Sir Charles Wood on Thursday at 4
½ for 5 ¼ as he was illeg by his. He called on Col Baker and gave him the
illeg orders. So I met the colonel of the next day, with Mr Hornidge at 10
½ and showed Mr H what he had never seen before--the annual muster rolls.

Mr Hornidge is to ask for the clerk and to vet them to work for ..

f142 JS note for FN nd ca 1 Dec 1859 did not promise to come today because
does not know what will arise in meeting; will come when knows if daylight,
or tomorrow early

ff145-46v PRINTED FORMS FOR THE STATISTICAL BRANCH, ARMY MEDICAL
DEPARTMENT, **SEE PHOTOCOPIES**

ff147-48v NOTES ON INDIAN HOSPITALS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 6
FEB 1860

Dr. Hunter **[9:941]**
 of Bombay

I saw him
I liked him the best of all the
 Indian Hospital men who have
 been sent me --
[I did so dislike Lady Napier's
 Madras Doctor (Porteous)
And he was so drunk.]
 Dr. Hunter was short, not sweet
& to the point.

 He says he wants a Trained
Matron for the Jamsetjee Hospital
-- which consists of
500 beds for General Cases
 one fourth women
about 250 Lying-in & Children
about 250 Eye cases --

 He is the head of the College --
he likes the Hindoo Students better
 than the Parsee -- (unlike Calcutta
 he says --

f147v

He says the Parsees quarrel
among themselves

Naoriji Furdoonjee against
Manockjee Cursetjee

and so on --

And you must think for a month
before you decide which of these
two gentlemen to address first

Dr. Hunter

proposes a married Englishwoman,
the wife of a Serjeant Major
who eloped with the daughter
of his *Colonel*

to be trained at St. Thomas'
as Matron of the Jamsetjee

f148

He says that Eurasian women &
European women born in India
if trained at St. Thomas'
would do very well for a year &
then fall into fine lady habits.
At least, he says that is the usual
course.

[end 9:941]

===

He said, of course they always marry

A propos to Students
he said (he knows Calcutta)
that the Hindoo Medical Students
there had fallen off, into
habits of intoxication
but not at Bombay --

He says -- they are more acute
than Parsees --

f148v

He says -- that Hindoo who has
been at Netley & got a Commission
was a pupil of his & a first
rate man --

But will he treat the European

ff149-50 NOTES ON SIR JOHN FORBES' MEDICAL BOOK, "NATURE & ART IN THE CURE OF DISEASE," PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f149

30 Old Burlington St
London W
Feb. 14/60

[16:541]

You would be puzzled to see Sir John Forbes's book "Nature & Art in the Cure of Disease" arrive by the post. It was I sent it. It just occurred to me that you might possibly like to put another book at the head of your Article And, ~~this~~ if so, this is the

f149v

only Medical book I know in our sense at all. And Sir John Forbes, who is slowly dying & *chair*=ridden, wrote to me, when my little book came out, saying that he "went along" with it entirely -- a great deal for a *Medical man* to say.

I was not able to write & tell you why I troubled you with the book yesterday.

f150

Many many thanks for ~~the~~ your letter.
F.N.

[end]

ff151-53 NOTES ON HARRISON, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,
DATED 4 MARCH 1860

f151

9

Harrison has now made
me "an offer", as he says --

He refuses to print a
cheaper Edition for a twelvemonth (before which
he says it would spoil the
sale of the present one)

He consents to print
a 5/ Edition of 2000
copies -- which he says
he shall not be able
to sell off in less than
2 years -- [In Harrison's
veracity let who will
trust]

He consents to do so

f151v

only on the ~~ground~~ condition
that I shall *add*
to it but not *alter*
& that I receive
nothing for it -- while
he says he shall lose.

He tacitly submits
to my having granted
the right of translation,
which indeed he was
told I should do,
whether *he* gave leave
or not.

Finally, he offers me
500 guineas for the
Copyright.

f152

Upon all this I feel
that it is founded upon
a roguery -- viz. the
having gone on
selling an Edition of
at least 15,000
copies, by his own
shewing without
giving any sign of
life to me -- & then
saying that he can't
publish a cheaper
Edition *on the score*
of his not wishing
to spoil the sale of this
roguery.

f152v

I am quite willing
to "add & not alter"
in the 5/ proposed
Edition -- For indeed
I have nothing I
want to alter.

F.N.

Mar 4/60

It seems to me that the
whole question turns
upon this: would *the*
trade consider it a
fair thing to call
fifteen thousand copies,
(at least) of a 2/ pamphlet
an Edition?

f153

And is there not
 danger of such a sale
 of a pamphlet being
 a "nine days' wonder,"
 without producing
 any permanent good
 effect, while to
 publish in addition
 a cheap Manual
 for the uneducated
 and a Library Standard
 Book for the educated
would produce a
 real permanent
 effect?

f157 Farr to JS nd

f158 E.A. Parkes to JS 4 May 1860 re discussion at Senate

f161 Major Graham to SH re Army Regs

f161v NOTES ON ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,
 DATED JULY 1860

R. Commn } { Dr. Edward Jarvis
 Report } { from Florence Nightingale
 { Berg July 1860

Regulation } -- Boudin
 } -- Levi
 } Austrian
 } Engel
 } Berg

f162 JS draft

ff168-69v NOTES ON THE WAR OFFICE, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED 9 JANUARY 1861

f168

Underneath this lies an immense Reform. It is only the root. *That* is quite sound. But it will of course need to be carried into the branches.

Lord de Grey's argument for making the Permant=Under Secretary equal with the Heads of Departments is quite conclusive.

It would probably be followed by Hawes's resignation -- another benefit.

The argument that this is not done in other Offices does not seem worth much.

The Home Office has nothing

f168v

to do but to hang people & look after the police -- the Foreign Office to make as many disturbances at as many places as possible. The War Office has to look after the security of the Empire. And it has entirely in its hands the lives, healths & morals of 400,000 people quite unlike any other position in the world is the English War Minister's.

He must have working men for this not fine gentlemen. And it is quite time to have done with this amateur system & adopt that one of Lord de Grey's systems, which puts the Permanent Under Secretary on a level with

f169

the Heads of Departments.

Most admirable is the way in which Lord de Grey prohibits the clerks from "giving opinions".

Of course Mr. Herbert's letter is only a sketch for the Treasury.

But there is no reference in it to the Registry, altho' the "minuting" is disposed of.

Also, no reference to the Weekly Committee.

Probably, such is not needed.

====

The scheme, if carried out into the branches will certainly reduce the W.O. business to ~~about one sixth~~

f169v

a fractional part

of what it is now.

====

I do not see any suggestions to make upon what is only a masterly general sketch except 1. to adopt the equality of Under Secy & Heads of Departments and 2. to carry out the same scheme into all the branches.

The more rapidly this is pressed forward, the better -- If it could be done before Lord De Grey goes!

Jan 9/61

ff172-73 NOTES ON MR. HERBERT'S EVIDENCE, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f172

Mr. Herbert's Evidence

1. Relation of H.G. to W.O. to remain as at present
2. S. of S. has control over all which he ought to control
3. Minuting system carried to excess --
Time to be saved by conferences
4. Military Officers should be more employed in the Office, but not with Commissions -- they could not be got rid of.
5. Further Military advice desirable

f172v

6. Council of
 - (1) Parly Under Secretary
 - (2) Permanent "
 - (3) Sec. of Mil. Cor.
 - (4) Artillery Officer
Military Stores
 - (5) Inspector General of
Fortifications
 - (6) ~~Store-keeper~~
 - (7) Director of Supplies
 - (8) C. in C.

f173

Accountant=General
Commissary=Genl
D.G. of A.M.D.
&c
to be called in to give
advice.

Does not say how
Office business to be
conducted.

ff174-74v NOTES ON OLD WOOLWICH HOSPITAL, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,
DATED 28 JANUARY 1861

f174

Old
Woolwich Hospital
I see, in the proposed
plan, "*Quarters for*
Female Scrubbers". None
such are required.
For the Regulations
admit no *female*
scrubbers.

2. It would be better
if all the females
were quartered
together -- and room
found for "*Linen Nurse*",

f174v

& "*Supt female servant*
near the Nurses'
Quarters.
Less necessary is it,
but still very
desirable that a
"*Mending Room*" should
be found *near the*
Linen Store

Jan 28/61

f175 JS draft case at present

ff181-82v NOTES ON FLOOR CLEANING, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED
ca. MARCH 1861

f181

107

{THE FOLLOWING IN PEN BY FN:}

[16:398-99]*About floor=cleaning*

In preparation for
the great event (of
Woolwich Hospl) I want
you to try at Netley
all the experiments --

1. the Berlin lacquer,
which I have always
been bothering about.
I don't want you to go
to Berlin. There is
a much greater &
more *improving* trade
carrying on of French
Polish in London than

f181v

at Berlin.

Could you not
consult the best
French Polisher here
as to the best lacquer
for Hospital floors?

Bowood & some
other places I know
~~where they~~ varnish
their floors & it
stands for years.

But I would tell
my polisher *of all*
a Hospital floor
would have to stand,
viz. constant passing to

f182

& fro, carrying of heavy weights; even dragging furniture -- which the Berlin lacquer does not stand -- coal fires, which also it does not.

The cleanliness (& the little labor of cleaning) of the Berlin lacquer is the beauty of it.

2. Then I would try (at Netley) saturating with mastic, saturating with beeswax & turpentine, the old fashioned way,

f182v

(which I did at Harley St) -- the French ~~floor~~ parquet &c --

The great Misery of the French "frottage" is its excessive labor -- which I believe to be unnecessary --

I have described a way of cleaning, which I have known answer, in my larger Edit. of "Notes on Nursing".

[end 16:399]

f183 NOTES ON GIBRALTAR REPORTS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. MARCH 1861

If you want me to write to Ellis tomorrow
you must say so

Ditto Major Malleson
" Officer of Health of Bombay

I have had your Gibraltar Reports here a month
You said you wanted me to send them to
Officer of Health Bombay
Major Malleson
Sir J. Lawrence
Dr. Shrimpton Paris

If you do, say so -- & write covering letters
As for me dunning you about your
own Reports, I am now quite unable
Insp.

f185 Harry Roberts, St Leonard's to FN 31 May 1861 re her kind note of 19th
with copies of recent ed of *Notes on Nursing for the Lab Classes*,

ff195-96 NOTES ON MRS. SHAW STEWART, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN blue pencil

f195

1. Would it not be civil to tell Mr. Peacock that I am going on August 1 not however pinning myself to the day & that I want to have a room in this house for my books & papers.

[About July 16, 1861]

Mrs. Shaw Stewart has accepted the superintending as I expected saving her inconsistency by a long letter of abuse of me -- to Lord Herbert, which really seems to have nothing to do with it -- & stipulating that all the nurses shall be Ch. of England, which he has granted her in wh. both he & she

f195v

are legally wrong as the regulations give absolute power to the superintendent in this respect -- which she knows -- She might have had all Mahometans if she had liked it -- She asserts to Ld. Herbert that I had told her the exact reverse of what I did tell her -- but I incline to let this rest for what is the use of engaging in farther self-defence -- either with him or her -- what do you think?

Please say exactly what she wrote to you about my returning all her letters to her -- I am quite ready to do so now, but she is just as likely as not to take it as a farther "insult" -- as she has often done before, unless one can show [regular pencil here]

f196

her chapter & verse --

f198 JS hand rough note [text below]

ff199-200 NOTES ON WAR OFFICE & LORD DE GREY, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 16-21 SEPTEMBER 1861

f199 JS rough note on

[written sideways] Of every other & almost without the knowledge of their common head, responsible as he is to ~~the~~ Parliament.

f199v

He died before his work was done. His great aim was to reorganize the War Office -- to substitute unity economy promptitude of action & responsibility in each of the heads of ~~a~~ Departments for the reverse of all this ~~to their opposites~~. He wished to ~~make each head~~ divide the War Office

f200

into distinct Departmts & branches, to ~~make~~ place the head of each in ~~distinctly~~ immediate responsibility for his ~~acts~~, own ~~office~~ Department & in direct commu= nication with the Secretary of State. He wished entirely to abolish the present slow & tedious system of minuting, of extravagance in Clerk=work and the present ~~system~~ process ~~possibility~~ whereby each branch may act independently.

F201 JS note. [end 1861]

1. The com of the N Fund propose on their part to set aside the sum of £300 to £450 per ann for the tr of nurses in King's College Hosp under St John's House.

@. By the terms of this trust, no compulsory religious tr and no denominational religious observances can be exacted from probs.

3. Acc to agreement maturely considered and entered into the gov of St Thomas' Hosp, where a number of nurses are being trained at the cost of the fund, certain prelim conds are exacted from probs, certain records have to be kept by the matron and reports made to the com of the Fund, observing the state of tr of each prob, and the matron has certain summary powers wh she can exercise in cases of misconduct on the part of probs.

ff203-04v NOTES ON LUNATIC WARDS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN, not FN hand, DATED ca. 1861, not JS hand

f203

Lunatic Wards

The proportion of lunatic cases 0.01 is not on the strength 6000, but on the 600 sick cases.

The number for which accommodation would be required is therefore 6 --

As these cases are only kept under observation for a short time, the arrangements necessary are rather those required for such a purpose (namely observation,) than for lunatic

f203v

asylum arrangements.

Occasionally no doubt cases of delirium tremens would be taken into these wards & perhaps a noisy fever cases now & then. The construction should therefore in a military hospital suit such emergencies --

There must be --

1. One dark padded room with about 600 to 700 cubic feet, which would be enough for mere temporary use.
2. 1. one bed ward of

f204

about 3000 cubic feet.

3. The only remaining point is whether there should be 2 two bed ward, or 1-four bed ward. For ordinary lunatic arrangements 1 four bed ward would be enough but considering the delirium tremens cases -- 2 two bed wards would be more convenient. With the present treatment there is less danger of delirium tremens cases disturbing lunatic cases, than of the latter

f204v

disturbing the former. There will be no objection to placing incipient lunatic cases, or far advanced convalescent cases, if there were such in a large ward with other sick, but of course the least show of excitement ~~would~~ ought to lead at once to the seclusion of the lunatic case.

ff205-06 NOTES ON PAPERS TO GO TO DR SUTHERLAND, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN
DATED 2 FEBRUARY 1862

f205 {THIS WHOLE PAGE IS CROSSED OUT:}

31 Dover St.

February 2 1862

Dr. Sutherland to collect & take
into his possession all the official
books, M.S.S.; Returns & Indian
Replies &c which I have -- belonging
to Government Commissions & Offices.

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

Also to select for himself
any Blue Books or other books
(referring to these Commissions
& their business) of mine.

Also the papers referring
to Colonial Schools & Hospitals

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

-- and those referring to the
Statistical Returns of Operations --

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

to go to him -- with an earnest
request that he & Dr. Farr will
make such use of them as may

f205v

seem to them best --

done by me FN {IN PENCIL}
9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

Also I earnestly beg Dr. Sutherland to edit ~~another~~ the Edition of my "Notes on Hospitals", as promised for me by Mr. Clough a year ago to Messrs. Parkes, omitting all that relates exclusively to the Crimea War, adding whatever seems to him desirable, but not altering anything which regards Nurses, Ward Offices or the Nursing administration generally.

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}
by me {IN PENCIL}
FN {IN PENCIL}

And I beg that Dr. Sutherland will accept due pecuniary compensation for such editing.

Florence Nightingale

f206

[Feb 2 1862] PEN

As to papers &c
to go to Dr. Sutherland

F. Nightingale

f210 JS note in rough draft

f214 NOTES ON BOOKS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. NOVEMBER 1862

[3]

& uselessness. In fact,
he says, *these* are
the "dangerous" books.

In this I entirely
agree ---

I send you our
Secretary of State's
learned squib to
amuse & enrage you.
Please return it to
me. The great man
sent it me himself --

{IN PENCIL [See also F.N. to Capt. Galton] Nov. 1862
The jeu d'esprit was a ~~Latin~~ Greek version of
~~Hey-diddle-diddle~~ Humpty Dumpty by Sir G. Cornwall Lewes

f215 note in JS rough draft

ff221-21v NOTES ON PAPERS & HOSPITALS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 18 FEBRUARY 1863

f221 {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE BY FN:}

You always take half holiday when about to proceed on a journey?

Had I not better send a copy of that paper to Ld Stanley if nothing turns up --

I think it would put us into open collision with our Chairman

if Sir C. Wood were to send him that Minute

& he were to find we had written the substance of it

& I had not told him

My dear soul, your letter was so cautious as to amount to being

obscure

~~I suspect~~ your own mother, could not understand it.

But I have written to Ld Stanley so often on this subject

that he, if he suspects anybody of the Minute, will suspect me

Amount of & necessity for soft water in Hospls means of laying it on

Parian & other cements & their cost --

Floors - (new fire proof) limitation of--of--

Convalescent Cottage Homes when there are insects

ff222-22v NOTES ON INDIA GOVERNMENT, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. MARCH 1863

[9:126-27]

f222

1. Ld Stanley is in earnest, however cautious
2. He is going to Sir C Wood today to try to persuade him to let the Home Commn work -- He asked my leave since it will depend ultimately on Sir C. W. it was no use saying No!
3. You are to go to Ld S. on Saturday at 11 with the Draft proposed as we wish it (of course we have not done that already) to hear what Sir C.W. has said
4. Ld S. thinks it quite impossible to submit the money part to the Commn
5. neither to put it into direct communication with the Presidy. Comm.
6. he dwelt of course on the great jealousy of the India Govt against the India/Home Govt & urged a Calcutta Commn which I answered & he gave up
7. he said that the Act was only for the three seats of P. (in which I think he is wrong -- he said afterwards he did not know.
8. Ld S. said that no India Govt would listen to a plan of sending their plans to be criticized by a W.O. Commn So I, said, put it as if the Commn were to be their own, Cautley & Martin upon it, & the W.O. Commn added on to theirs -- the detail can be arranged after
9. Ld S. says that you must reckon a year as the average delay produced by reference home to England

f222v

1. Lord de Grey entirely gives up his idea of a Calcutta Commn & adopts ours -- But
2. he strongly urges that it be put into the recommendations of the Report
3. he will do nothing till the Report comes out, unless he finds that the India balance, set apart for buildings, is to be expended at once, of which he will inform
4. he says that the *practical* success of the Commn will depend on whether we can make Lawrence, Cautley, Vivian defend its measures in the Home commission.
5. he sees great difficulty in putting the Home Commn in direct communication with the Presidency Comm
6. he did not know that Presidency Commissioners were recommended

he had read my paper every word & quoted it --
I mean my letter to Lord S.

Have you heard from Sir J

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE:}

Not Today

Ld de G. lays the *greatest* stress on a copy being sent privately to him *without delay* [end 9:127]

Today?

But is not that an insult to our Chairman

But there's nothing new in that

How does that solve the problem of *no delay*

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE:}

I am thinking whether you had better see Ld S or J. If you are as convincing as you were in your letter, you won't do much. You should have told me that you write in order not to be understood. I think you must judge. You don't distinguish between what the Presidency & Home Commiss Certainly, Ld de G. said so too. Yes, I told Ld de G. that what ought to be done was to represent a Barrack Dept & a Public Health Act in India -- to do what they have done in England. And he said Put that explicitly. It's what S. Herbert called cockadoodled.

f224 JS note in rough draft

f226 NOTES ON SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 23 JULY 1863

I must write to Trevelyan today. What shall I say?
tomorr

JS: because the 26 is a Sun. Galton says the position is changed. I never take any notice.

f227 JS note in rough draft

f230 Stanley embossed Chevening Sevenoaks, July 28 1863 to SH; Miss Nightingale has a right to the extra copies she wants and if I have any power in the matter I hope and wish that they may be assigned to her. Perhaps this expression of opinion may be enough for your purpose, if not tell me to whom to make a formal application and I will do so with pleasure. Address Knowsley, Prescot, yours truly Stanley

f231 JS note to FN embossed War Office 31 July [1863] sends report, will come tomorrow, re India affair

f232 Note by Dr Sutherland to FN, pen, dated July 1864. You are promised the copies tomorrow with the most vehement oaths & protestations.

I enclose the Geneva
Papers. Longmure & Rutherford
are to go, & we are to prepare
the papers.

J.S.

Friday

Is that what you mean?

Is that the Taylor with you
in the Crimea

f233

FN:

I want to burn.

I wish you had been

in that State for

7 1/2 months

No but the thing would

have been done

Fiat justitia

Quat houses

Have they? Will they?

They won't be sent

but with the

suggestion.

f233v

Of those 50, I am to have
 25. *20 immediately*
 What is become of the 8
 Where is Barbadoes?
 Where are the three Registrar}
 General's papers? }
 I ought to send one set out }
 to Sir J Lawrence with my }
 copy -- I promised it }
 What is to be said to Sir John about these
 I do not shake hands till the
 abstract is done. And I do
 not leave London till it is
 done -- copy of the *Report*
 I have never had Mr. Frederick

f236 JS note in rough draft

f238 JS note in rough draft

f238v NOTES ON THE DAYROOMS AT GIBRALTAR, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

You will want this Gibraltar map
~~fo~~ (about the Dayrooms at Gibraltar)
 with Sir H. Verney

F.N.

f239 JS letter to Toynbee

Private

115, Park Street. W. [printed address]

30 June 1864

My Dear Sir

Will you excuse the trouble I put you to in asking for the following information.

A patient of yours Miss A. Jones has been selected to undertake the nursing about to be introduced into the Liverpool workhouse. She is at present engaged at Kings Cross Hospital, and has been under your care for deafness. Every one interested in the Liverpool work considers her to be in every way competent for the office, but she herself has some doubt, whether with her deafness she ought to undertake it.

Would you be so very kind as

f239v

to help us in arriving at a decision by stating your opinion on the case. We are desirous of knowing whether the affection[?] of the ear is cerebral, merely local, or whether primarily or secondarily her present state is the result of a low state of general health. The practical object we have in view as you will perceive is to ascertain whether relaxation and sea side air, or any other change would remove the disease or arrest or diminish it to such an extent as to enable Miss Jones to enter on her new sphere of work, subject of course to the conditions to which every body is subject, that her health may suffer occasionally from anxiety and overwork & that she may require change of air, from

f240

her new sphere. At Liverpool she could always get to the sea side at New Brighton so as to be within an hours travel of the workhouse.

I think I have said enough to tell you the object, and if you will kindly send me a note *here*, I have no doubt we shall be able at once to decide how to act.

I am yours ever truly
J Sutherland
Joseph Toynbee Esq F.R.S.

f241 pen note by J Sutherland

After carefully examining all the evidence regarding the state of Miss Jones' health, it appears that she is suffering from partial nervous deafness of both ears, but not to such an extent as to incapacitate her for her work. Cases of this kind are always aggravated by ill health especially in nervous people, and are best treated by rest, fresh air, and other things tending to improve the health & to strengthen the general system. If Miss Jones is not fit for Workhouse Hospital service in Liverpool, she is not fit for Hospital service at Kings Cross Hospital Or indeed anywhere else. My objection to her going to Liverpool would apply equally to her undertaking any other nursing service. There is only one grade of nursing & that is "efficiency." The obvious way of dealing with the case is as follows. Let Miss Jones try sea air, rest & recreation until her health is restored to its *usual state*. Put aside the deafness in the mean time. After her health has been restored let her go to Liverpool & enter on her hospital work. We cannot take into account anything that may happen afterwards; all we can do is to decide on present facts.

f242 pencil note by JS in rough draft

Miss Jones would be responsible to the Governor for the conduct of all nurses placed under her.

Miss Jones would be responsible for the nursing to the Governor.

Miss Jones could not exercise discipline ~~rule~~ over either patients or nurses without the power were given her by the Governor.

The Governor is an autocrat who is *personally responsible* to the Guardians & through them to the Poor Law board.

If Miss Jones wishes any discipline beyond mere personal expostulation to be applied to a nurse she would have to report to the Governor who would exercise the discipline.

ff245-46v NOTES ON BUILDINGS & STREETS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED AUGUST-OCTOBER 1864

f245

What are those buildings? Are they Lansdowne Horse Stables? What are the buildings on the other side Bolton Row? What are the buildings behind?

the houses which connect the house with the passage -- what are they?

there's no door between 1 B Row & Lansdowne Horse Passage -- but plenty of buildings -- which are I am afraid Lansdowne Ho.

{SEE PHOTOCOPY OF DRAWING}

Is that mews

Is that mews

Is that mews

f245v

There is no door to the drawing room but one
And of course if I made the boudoir my bedroom,
I must take up the drawing room entirely
except that I know some one who would
sit by the front fire place --
Yes -- Were these
No -- It's a door

{SEE PHOTOCOPY OF DRAWING}

Are there folding doors
between front drawing room
& dark place.

Well have you no reflection
What kind of W.C.s
Where upstairs

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}
I don't think I
should take a house for
that -- anymore than I took
Cleveland R. for the drawing rooms --

f246

Bolton Row can be had all the year
Norfolk St only till April 30 --
 I never have
 It may be so -- I have always hoped I
should be able to come here by May --
 But I never have --
 † 115 Park St was perfectly sleepless
from noise for May June July --
What will Norfolk St. be?

 I think so too --
 But it is not near so bad --
 as Cleveland R
 Is Bolton R *paved*

f246v

We must have somewhere to live for the
winter course.

Who is James Selby

1. Bolton Row -- looks as if built for somebody to do
something wrong in --
very much entangled with stables --
but no thoroughfare -- no carriage
can pass the front --
deficiency of Western sun, but still
much better -- in sun than Cleveland

perfectly horseless {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN THE MARGIN UNDER Bolton Row}

Norfolk St -- quite brilliant -- beautiful -- the
sunsets will be glorious --
but horribly noisy -- at 115 Park St
the fashionable carriages went on
till 3 AM -- the heavy grinding luggage
vans began at 5 AM. Now
there is not a tenth of the space between
Norfolk St & Park Lane that there is
Norfolk St. is paved -- & it is almost
impossible to get a bed into the street
side rooms.

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN THE MARGIN UNDER Norfolk St.:}

dreadful

I ~~saw~~ heard the coal vans
grinding in P. Lane --

f247 JS rough note

f248 JS rough note

f249v NOTES ON NURSING STAFF, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Beds

28. 1 Head Nurse
 2 Day
 1 Night
 6 -- at least 1 Day Nurse additional
 but 1 Night -- may be required

separate 1 Day } Nurse
 6 bed 1 Night}
 Women's But then it has no Head Nurse
 ward

24. 1 Head Nurse
 2 Day
 1 Night
 6 at least 1 Day Nurse additional
 perhaps 1 Night

ff250-51 NOTES ON FLIEDNER, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,
DATED ca. BEGINNING DECEMBER 1864**f250**

What these good old German fogies say **[12:56]**
 is perfectly true: --

Fliedner actually reserved for himself
 an income only of £90 a year, for himself
 & his wife, (tho' *the whole of the capital*
 was collected by himself for the Institute)
 & of quite late years the salary, I guess
 about £20, for the private Tutor of his
 younger children.

The King (but this is not at all a
 special favour -- Tübingen educated all
 its theological candidates (*gratis*) gave him
 the theological education of his elder
 children.

Of course he was obliged to accept
 charity from friends -- among others mine.
 In proportion to the rest of his income,
 I have maintained my god child exclusively.

Well, now these excellent fogies desire
 me to put about this paper of theirs, which

f250v

tells absolutely nothing to English ears.
Just compare it with Fliedner's own
papers, & with mine about him.

No body *in England* knows anything
about Fliedner. My own father, when
I told him of Fliedner's death, said,
"Fliedner, Fliedner, who's Fliedner? I seem
to have heard the name somewhere!!"

And these poor old fools desire me
not to put any appeal in the newspapers
but to write myself to all my friends.
They might just as well ask Mme Fliedner
to write for me & my objects.

The only thing that I can think of
is for me to reprint the two notices in
"Evan: Xtendom", to add (printed) an appeal
of my own, & to ask the Office of Evan:
Xtendom?) to send it about. But this
(with having the covers put up at the Office)

f251

would cost me about £5. And I'll be
bound would get about 18/ -- So I had
much better send them the £5 direct.

All that I can spare goes to Mme
Fliedner direct.

I sent her £125 direct in 1862
out of my own savings -- And I got thro'
Evan: Xtendom 18/. **[end 12:56]**

f252 JS rough note re deaconesses

As regards the deaconesses: Like every other growth they should be judged by their fruits, and when so tried where shall we find in ancient or modern history any record so full & so touching as that of these poor women & their poor house & often poverty stricken founder? Over the whole earth they have laid their hands in nursing the sick & wounded & in other works of mercy. Looked at from a purely English point of view one would say with H.R.H. That as much good could be done without their special garb as with it,. But we must look at Germany & at the Kaiserswerth work as a whole, both in the points with which we entirely agree & in those in which we do not agree.

So considered the deaconesses institution is a pure good not only to Germany but to all lands & it is a great honour to the fostering care of Prussia that the small seed has become such a tree of promise. In England we have had the ludicrous failure of brotherhoods & sisterhoods who expected that the garb alone could make the nurse a teacher, but in the Kaiserswerth system the garb is [illeg] & a merely external badge of work & position
For the good of others, so considered of [illeg]

f253

and recent events have fully borne this out.

In all recent times [?] it has been considered necessary to resort to private assistance for providing sick & wounded men with attendance & care. The most splendid & costly example of this was the work of the Sanitary commission in America. Yet in no case has the result been satisfactory. In fact when governments go to war they do not calculate the chances of the battle field although they ought to be considered as closely as those of Army subsistence.

When 100,000 or 150,000 men are sent on a great military service in which great battles are most likely to follow, it is always possible to arrive at some estimate of their contingencies and every effort should be made to provide for them. Governments are the only parties who should be held responsible for the wounded & sick in war. This should be one of their highest responsibilities. But to fulfil it there should be an organization in peace which could be easily expanded to meet the necessities of the field. If this were done no separate voluntary effort, other than that which could be rendered by inhabitants near the battlefield would be

f252v

necessary. Where Mr Dinant erred was in [Dunant] supposing that a voluntary agency of any value could be extemporized. The duties all require training, discipline & prompt obedience on the part of the agents. Afterwards, when the Conference at Geneva limited its recommendations to the neutralization of the field medical service I joined heartily in its principles, and it does not speak well for Austrian foresight that they refused so small a boon to humanity as this.

f253v in rough JS hand

Dr Sutherland.

The letter is extremely interesting and conveys just the kind of practical information which a person who has had experience in these matters desires to obtain. The fact about the comparative results of treating the wounded in a well appointed hospital and in the open air is most instructive, and is a new illustration of a thing being suspected, namely that if wounded men were simply placed on the battle field under a roof without walls to keep off the rain & were there operated on at once the recovery would be far greater in number.

Hospital influences are the great cause of hospital mortality at all times, but chiefly so in war. In our new Herbert Hospital at Woolwich we have 650 beds, but we have made provision for wheeling out a number of the beds on to terraces in the open air if necessity should arise for doing so. I was in communication with M Dunant long before the Geneva Conference, and found that I could not on functional grounds join the basis then proposed, which amounted to the introduction of voluntary lay agency as a supplement to or as a substitute for government action, because my own experience was all against this.

f254 NOTES ON PRUSSIAN DEACONESSES, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. END 1864

These Prussian Deaconesses are doing the work we

[12:56]

ought to be doing in the E. Mediterranean ports & the least we can do is to help ~~them~~ with money.

[end 12:56]

Add Mss 45752, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland, 1865-67, 265 folios, Adam Matthew reel 7

ff1-2 JS hand [beg. Jan 1865]. Draft

1. The revelations wh have been made about the treatment of sick poor in the London workhouse infs have shown that it is no longer possible to continue the present system of mgt.

2. As an instalment of reform in the Metropolitan Poor Law, there shd be a final separation made between the sick, infirm, incurable, mad and imbecile and able-bodied poor.

3. All those classes which suffer from any disease bodily or mental shd be placed under a distinct and responsible administration answerable directly to Parliament.

4 Uniformity of system in this matter is absolutely necessary in order that the suffering poor shd be properly cared for and in order that vacant beds and places may be filled up wherever spare exists.

FN: sell houses
cheap & nasty

f3 NOTES ON SICK POOR AND LUNATICS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. 1865

What I say is: why are poor Lunatics so much more valuable than poor sick? You say: oh but the poor sick's Doctor may do something else. Well, this man tells us he can't.

Well: this man ~~had~~ was Master of the Infirmary--with the Nurse, as his mistress.

It was not the case in the Pauper Lunatic Asylums I have been connected with

~~h~~ In the St. Giles' Union it is obvious that the Doctor, *IF* *ANYBODY* was Master, was supposed to be Master "I've heard quite enough"

~~Club yesterday~~ Parker & who? {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY OVER ~~Club yesterday,~~ UPSIDE DOWN}

f3v FOOD LIST PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {IN PEN:}

Hare
2 Rabbits
Leg of Pork
2 Pigeons
1 Chicken
Apple Pudding
Tongue
Orange Jelly
Bread
Brown Do
Twist
Fingers
Oat Cakes
Sponge Cake
Salad & Sauce
Flowers
Apples
Strawberrys
Rhubarb
Celery
Asparagus
Beans Sod & Moss
Broccoli & Watercress

{IN PENCIL, WRITTEN SIDEWAYS:}

Am I to say anything to Mr. Farnall as to the

f4v

2. The Supt Genl must be herself a Trained Nurse
ask particulars about system of government possible

3. Wherever there ~~will~~ are two Nurses, there must be a
Matron

she must be supreme & have power over
discipline, just as Beatson claimed for himself
same Matron might do for female Hospital

At Regimental female Hospitals, one
should be Matron again.

All Nurses at any given Station under
one Matron

position of Native Nurses & midwives with regard
to English Nurses?

pay of Matrons *must* be liberal -- she must
have the power to select & take on Probationers

f5

The Med Off

4. who must be the Court of Appeal over the
Matron? as the S. of S. for War is here
what Commandg Officer? to whom must she be
responsible?

5. should there not be a Superintendent Genl for
each Presidency?
can single ladies travel in the way she would
be required to travel?

6. how far would English method of Governors for General
Hospitals do in India? what relation should the Governor
have to Nurses & Superintendents? **[end 9:948]**

f5v {THE FOLLOWING PAGE IS CROSSED OUT:}

What shall I say to Strachey about {CUT OFF}
is that that?

Am I to tell him what you said that the
diminution of Mortality may not be a real one
am I to say that

show me

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

No -- But shall I break the
way with him to this

But not to say anything about
telegraph

{THE FOLLOWING HAS A BOX DRAWN AROUND IT:}

widows -- yes --

I hate wives

f6 JS hand, pen

00000000!!!

000

Miserable lot NO. 2

I believe I said all you can say to Massey with any good effect,
namely,

1. To instruct him generally in the sanitary improvement of India.
2. Point out the fact that there are 70,000 troops and 150 millions of people to be cared for. That every soldier who dies costs the Indian Exchequer £100. That labor is more than double the value in India it was before the Mutiny, that the value is rising every day, that the illeg the pop is swept away by preventible epidemics. That they are our fellow subjects now as much as Londoners. That India is the hot bed of epidemics from want of sanitary care, that the most costly of all manufacturing of disease and the most illeg . That our holding the country depends on the present high death rate in the army being brought down, that the prosperity and civilization of India are impossible with epidemics. That the social state of India is a disgrace to us. That the required outlay for sanitary works will form a very wise expenditure: that Trevelyan thought so and said so. Ask illeg to support us in the Council and the grant expenditure for health purposes. Explain the san campaigns of the presidencies and their relation to us. Tell him that Ellis's plan was approved by the govt but they said they had no money. Point out the losses the public service has sustained by preventible diseases. Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning Lady C. Illeg Laing injured, Trevelyan injured, Sir J Lawrence threatened. Calcutta illeg Say what you like about the municipality and also about the projected illeg for India, but do not admit the latter, as the scheme was only put out for info. Show Massey the paper was sent to Trevelyan.

A general talk will do most good for you will have to write to him on any parts that come up after he arrives in India.

ff8-9v NOTES ON POOR RELIEF LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. MARCH 20, 1865 checked by LM at the BL Oct 2006

f8 {DATE: IN PENCIL, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [ca. 20. Mar. 1865]

To-day is an Indian mail

Yes: and when I do shew you anything,
You say "I saw that". You have
communicated to me that information
15 times this morning. Why, man,
do you think, man, I shew you
things to hear that?

Yes

1. I wanted to know whether as they
call it "re=organization of the W.O." they
were going to do anything such as S.
Herbert & we call "re=organization".
2. whether any thing has come of Capt
Galton's Intendance proposal?

3. Whether Dr. Murchison's Typhus letter
has any reference to the case?
of what? viscera?

f8v

O I read those two. It's the only reading I do do.

~~They want to oppose the Unions Chargeability.~~

f9 {FN WRITES:}

just write down for him in 3 lines the pith of the Unions Chargeability

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

You are aware that ~~we have~~ the poor in England have a legal provision for relief under the Poor Laws. This relief is at present ~~the~~ given by ecclesiastical parish officers mainly & the ~~illeg~~ rate for each parish is levied on the ~~property of the~~ Parish. Besides this however, in many cases checked by LM at BL the adjoining parishes are united into unions for certain purposes such as Medical & Workhouse relief &c. It is found in practice that the poorest families have the most paupers & hence the poor rate is highest where the people are least able to pay it. To equalize this ~~it h~~ a Bill is now before Parliament to extend the Parish rating over the whole union. This is strenuously objected to & some of the objectors wish to learn what the French system of poor relief is.

{FN WRITES -- INSERTED FROM **f8v**:}

They want to know ~~most of the~~ particularly the French system of ~~upon~~ relief of the Poor by Bureaux de Bienfaisance & others

others?}

Whether any body can starve to death in France

whether there is any *voluntary* system of GENTLEMEN Relieving Officers, besides the Municipal Sisters of Charity

whether that arrondissement system obtains in the country as well as at Paris --

~~The Speaker asks~~

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

can you refer me to any printed documents giving an account of the method of funding for the

{BACK TO **f9**:}

poor in France in which the information required ~~are~~ could be obtained.

f9v

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

The point I am desirous of ascertaining is the best method not only of ~~estimating~~ testing the presence of ~~orga~~ vegetable organic matter & animal organic matter together with nitrates & ammonia in water but also the best existing means of ascertaining the ~~amount of~~ ~~each~~ amount per cent of each ingredient vegetable organic, animal organic, nitrates & ammonia in drinking water

I should feel obliged if you would let me have the information as soon as you can. A short statement will be sufficient for this purpose

{FN WRITES -- WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

But I don't understand myself why Sir J. Lawrence issued that paper under his authority -- which so vexed Ld Stanley unless it is to be explained by what he said to me that I should "think" him "timid & time-serving"

f10 JS pencil note

f11 JS pen note. [April 1865] IN order to understand the statistical bearing of the question it would be necessary to make a general table for the Metropolitan Workh infirmaries, showing the results of the enquiry. All the existing headings which contain statistical facts, but no numbers & cubic contents of wards, numbers of sick, cubic space for bed, nature of nursing established and a illeg to put on a single sheet. The reports by themselves exhibit a state of matters which certainly requires reforms. The cubic space per sick bed appear to vary from under 400 to 700 cubic feet, showing excessive overcrowding, with the exception of St Pancras and one or two other parishes, there appears to be really no nursing. There is some kind of infirmary housekeeping with or without paid aid, but in the great majority of cases, whatever sick attendance there is is of the same character as it used to be in the army, when comrades from the ranks asked to be the nurses. Only your best pauper comrade is no doubt very much worse than the worst soldier comrade used to be. In the best parish infirmary, you will find that the trained attendants, many of them, are not employed for the purposes for which they were trained, e.g., persons trained in lunatic asylums being put to ordinary ward work &c.

Taken on the whole, the reports clearly indicate the need of further enquiry. For instance, there is no account of the nature of the nursing and this could only be got by enquiry by a illeg qualified woman. If you thought it would be illeg I dare say we could arrange to get a thoroughly competent report for you on this part of the enquiry.

You may however rest assured that with the machinery exposed in these returns anything like nursing or even due care of the sick is put of the question.

The infirmaries also require inspections by more competent sanitary officers. I mean persons who really know what a good well aired prospect is when they see it. If medical men, so much the better, but it does not at all follow that a medical attendant simply because he is a doctor knows a good hospital ward, a bad one, when he sees it.

Since I began to write this, I have seen the inquest on that most wretched St Giles' case. It is really doubtful. I have asked myself whether such an occurrence could have been prevented by having good nurses, and I fear that a good nurse would have been impossible in such a case as she would certainly never have allowed such a thing, and she would have in all probability been turned off if she had tried to do her duty.

In short, the whole nursing question requires a making up and in doing so some means of training nurses must be devised. Workhouse schools would be excellent sources of subjects for training, provided you could arrange a system. So far as these returns go, it would appear that St Pancras Workhouse is about the most hopeful as a place to try training in.

ff13-14 QUESTIONS REGARDING WORKHOUSE NURSES PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f13

questions

No of Nurses employed in each
workhouse

character

whence obtained

pauper or otherwise

paid or otherwise

f14 {SEE PHOTOCOPY}

[6:333-34]

QUESTIONS REGARDING WORKHOUSE NURSES.

Name of Union or Parish. Name of Workhouse Infirmary or other Parish or Union Infirmary
Number of Beds. Males. Females. Children. Average Beds occupied. Name of Matron.
Average beds occupied. - - - - -

										Remarks
										Under this head state.
										1. By whom Nurses are selected & on what grounds the selection is made.
										2. Who is responsible for the efficiency of the Nursing
										3. How many Nurses are on duty by day -- how many by night.
										4. Nature of the administrative arrangements. & duties of nurse in regard & her relation to Matron, Medical Officer & Governor.

{THE FOLLOWING WORDS APPEAR SIDEWAYS IN THE COLUMNS ABOVE (EXCEPT FOR THE WORD Qualification):}

- Name of Matron & Nurses
- Age
- Qualification
 - Pauper/Trained
- Where trained
- How long employed as nurse
- Annual wages
- Employed for males or females or both
- Employed constantly or casually
- Read or write

ff15-16 SURVEY OF WARDS BY UNION OR PARISH TYPEWRITER DATED 1865
{SEE PHOTOCOPIES}

f17 NOTES ON SICKNESS IN JAILS LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED APRIL-MAY, 1865

In regard to Jails the diminution of over crowding with the increase of sup area, has been the result of progressive experience. every climate has its limit. Thus, for Turkey the Inspector who is at present in E. informs [us?] me that 124 [?] sq. ft. are allowed both in cells & in common rooms, this Turkish experience is probably the nearest to yours. One wd think the recurrence of Epidemic disease in Ind Jails a different reason for increasing the space. If you have any prison in which epidcs prevails, your area is too small. If you have any exempt, your area is sufficient Increase your area & cubic space until Cholera, Dysentery & Fever disappear *epidemically*. Of course ventilation & cleanliness are inferred

Prison epidcs in London had been taken as the test of Sanitary condition. Formerly they killed prisoners, jury & judges. Now they have ceased to exist in prisons -- this is your Indian test

stat. very good & quite a great deal of
information

{THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

To-morrow is Indian mail.

I *must* write both to Walker & Strachey
& not put off till I get the Water supply
question

{BACK TO RIGHT SIDE UP:}

But we can't help seeing that a great part of the lower
Death rate is due to the absence, epidcs especially of Cholera

ff18-21 NOTES ON WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES PEN & LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED END APRIL - BEGINNING MAY 1865

f18 PEN {DATE: PENCIL

Govt of Workhouse Infirmary **[13:583-85]**

Master to be responsible Governor
with Sub-Committee of 3 Guardians
to report at each Meeting of Guardians
on each of these heads:

- Sanitary state of building: cleanliness &c
- Bedding & Patients' linen
- Diets
- Medical attendance
- Nursing: cleanliness of Patients
- Complaints

Regulations for Nursing

Preliminary Inspection by a Nurse
(read A. Jones' Ext.)
to go round with Poor Law Inspector

{work the
{Infirmaries up to it
to make a (with Mr. Farnall) { {to make a
Preliminary Sanitary Inspection { {Report which
{ {shall be a
{ {kind of Manual
{by which to judge
{of future Efforts

a member of B. & H. I Commission (shew General Report
or Sutherland, Rawlinson & Logan {with permission of
Lord de Grey

or Officer of Health of the Parish
to go round with Poor Law Inspector, noting
with Inspector what he sees so as to obtain
{a minute report upon the state of every Workhouse Infirmary
{in London, comprising all the points, including Nursing (find

woman

f18v PEN

we will give points to enquire into, if desired.

a quite independent examination to ascertain the
state of things what it is -- & then some step
to be taken to regulate & prevent evils in future

Officer of Health too dependent on Guardians

regular Sanitary inspection of Workhouse Infirmaryes
quite independent of Vestry

whether P.L. Board can issue Regulations
as to cubic space
ventilation
shutting up unsuitable wards
&c &c

Annual report to shew up Guardians before
Parlt

why are Lunatics so much more valuable
than sick?

[FN rewrite of top para]

f19 PEN & LIGHT PENCIL**[13:583-85]**

GOVT ~~Master~~ Governor {Governor IN PENCIL} to be responsible
 with Sub-Committee of 3 Guardians
 to report at each Meeting of Guardians
 on each of these heads: --
 sanitary state of building, -- cleanliness &c
 bedding & Patients' linen
 diets Yes {Yes IN PENCIL}
 medical attendance
 nursing: cleanliness of Patients
 complaints Yes {Yes IN PENCIL}

PRELIMINARY SANITARY INSPECTION

(with Mr. Farnall)

a quite independent examination to ascertain
 the state of things what it is -- & then some
 step to be taken to regulate & prevent evils in
 future

{THIS LINE IN PENCIL:} Yes: of the Consolidated Hospitals
 to make a Report which shall be a kind
 of Manual by which to judge defects in future
 -- & work the Infirmeries up to it
 by a member of B. & H. I. Commission

(shew General Report

or Sutherland, Rawlinson & Logan { with permission
 { of Lord de Grey

{THIS LINE IN PENCIL:} Yes -- yes yes --

{A LINE IS DRAWN THROUGH THE FOLLOWING:}

or Officer of Health of Parish

(we giving points to enquire into)

to go round noting with Poor Law Inspector
 what he sees

result {minute report upon state of every Workhouse

{Infirmary in London, comprising all the points

including Nursing {find woman No -- {No IN PENCIL}

{ read A. Jones

?{Regulations for Nursing

f20 LIGHT PENCIL

[1]

Union Workhouses to be divided into 3s --
each 3 to have one Hospital
present Hospl unimprovable
Hospl to be governed by a Governor, probably a
Military man

(& his wife -- to this I totally demurred)
with a Sub-Committee of Guardians.

He will have the (third) Workhouse Infy
entirely gutted.

He will thankfully avail himself of the
B. & H. I. Commn's help.

If the Boards of Guardians put themselves
under the protection of local Acts, he will
have a new Act of Parlt to compel them

It is intended only to put the sick & not the
aged infirm into these new Infs.

Incurables to be put into these new Infs not in the same
wards.

{not in the same wards WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

[end 13:584]

f20v LIGHT PENCIL

x

[2]

I feel excessively nervous about this

[13:590-91]

He has, he says, about 2800 girls in the Union
Schools to put out to places --
about 200 every year -- of the age of 16 -- to put out

x

He proposes to derive his Staff of Nurses from
this material.

He proposes to send a Circular to all the
Hospitals to ask them to take in these girls
as apprentices --

& a circular to all the Bds of Gns to ask
them to apprentice out such of these girls
as are willing as apprentices to Hospls.

When arrived at the age of 25, to be placed
as Nurses in the new Workhouse Infies

Here comes the hitch -- I can't conceive what a girl
of 16 could do in a Hospl but scrub -- And I am sure
Hospl Nurses (except ours) will not be good mistresses.

f21 LIGHT PENCIL

He took away the General Report under his arm with great gusto:

Yes yes yes --

He was delighted with A Jones' letter.

He said: "*that's a jolly woman*".

Therefore,

He proposes that the salaries of *all* the new officers, including Nurses, shall be paid out of the Consolidated fund -- putting these apptments into the hand of the P. L. Board -- & giving the P. L. B. the power of issuing Regulations &c, independent of Vestry.

You know the salaries of the Medical Officers are already paid *half* out of the Consolidated Fund.

But the Bds of Gns actually mulcted them of the other half

f24 JS rough note

This letter touches the whole question & contains the true political economy of it.

I would simply avoid all difficulties in the administration of definitions patent to every one.

The Med Officer can always tell who is sick, who is infirm, who is incurable, or mad.

Anybody can tell a destitute child.

The only remaining class are able bodied, casuals & tramps.

All cases certified by MOs should be sent at once into hospitals or asylums out of London, there to be treated or cared for as Christian people under affliction, not as malefactors. I would do all this in the way of the best London Hospitals & Asylums & charge the cost over the whole metropolis.

Able bodied, casuals, & tramps should leave to the Parish authorities. In some parishes

f24v

This would lead to the abolition of workhouses altogether. Outdoor relief under proper restrictions would do much better.

London workhouses contain about 30,000 persons & we now know that 24,000 of them come under the Medical officers' hands. These should be properly cared for by the entire community. The remaining 6000 men be left to the Guardians.

[end 13:501]

f25 NOTES ON LONDON POOR RATE LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

I have received two offers

1. from a writer in the Times
2. Saturday Review

to work the London poor rate in the sense we wish

- if 1. I will give them heads
2. " " where to get information required

f27 NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

If any thing were wanted to prove the ~~very existence~~ want of the very foundations of knowledge of what with regard to the ~~sick-poor~~ administration.

ff31-31v NOTES ON WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f31

Is that a glorification of Marylebone Workhouse?

[13:584-85]

1. sick & maimed
2. incurables
3. helpless from age
4. lunatics
5. imbeciles {CIRCLE DRAWN AROUND imbeciles AND A LINE
CONNECTING IT TO POINT 3.}
- 6.5. children
[on right in JS hand]
 1. Hospital Sick
 2. { a Helpless for example Imbeciles
{b Incurables
 3. Lunatics
 4. Children

[FN] The incurables should be under the same Establish
with the sick & not with the helpless. still
less imbeciles

{ incurables
{ sick
 helpless

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}
a Workhouse *Infirmary*
should hold incurables
but *not* helpless still
 less imbeciles

f31v THIS FOLIO VERY FADED, to faint to verify and can read little sur
place very rough notes, ignore
{illeg} {illeg. save?} nothing to do with it
replied by criticizing the Infirmary Report
with great trouble to myself
that I have not answered these questions
I *must* answer

Villiers has sent me this & this
Villiers or Farnall's coming here to day
Now what have I to say?

[end wkk]

{illeg} the Workhouse
{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}
I have sent her £20
{illeg} told her it was quite
impossible for me to write contributions in the {illeg}

But now I want to write to her on the
business point

What you've just been saying

I can't --one copy. There's the old.

[water damage on folio]

ff32-33 JS note re A.B.C. [good material, FN reworked it] pencil

These statistics divide themselves naturally into several groups.

- A. { 1. Sick
 {2. Those always requiring more or less medical care
 {3. Imbeciles & Idiots requiring care & attention
 {4. Lunatics requiring care.

 B. children at school or not.

- C. 1. Able bodied. Paupers in Workhouses
 2. Persons receiving out door relief.

Group A

1. In this group are contained those who cannot provide for or take care of themselves.

Here there is an *impossibility* to consider.

2. Sick, infirm, Idiots & Mad persons require special constructive arrangements

Special medical care & nursing & special dieting. They are not "paupers" They are "poor & in affliction." Society owes to them every necessary care for recovery. In practice there should be consolidated & uniform administrative arrangements. Sickness is not Parochial, it is general & human & its cost should be borne by all. ~~The poorest people are generally the most sickly~~

f32v

For sick you want hospitals as good as the best Civil hospitals. You want the best nurses you can get. You want efficient medical attendance. You want an energetic & efficient administration. Look at the Assistance Publique at Paris. That is something like what you want. All the great Parisian hospitals, the schools for half the medical men of Europe are managed by the central authority. It has its bureau of administration It knows where there are vacant beds, it distributes its sick accordingly, & it provides the cost.

You will do no good without some such administrative authority.

Form a board with elected members if you will. But keep it distinct & independent of the Guardians, because as already said sickness is not parochial but general.

All the officers of these hospitals should hold direct from the board an authority & should not be under the Guardians.

F33

Group B.

Children. Get them out of the workhouses by all means. This is a state question. You want to prevent the Generation of Pauper, well take all the children, train them to work in asylums & schools, & put them in the way of getting a living The colonies would take the whole of them especially the young women thankfully (But get them out of the workhouses.

This is again a matter of *General rather than of Parochial interest.*

Group C

To deal with this group requires special local knowledge. A central board could not do it. Leave these to the Guardians. But look what this amounts to. It is $64000 + 1850 = 65,850$ persons ~~receiving~~ in health receiving relief

Query would it not be a great thing to abolish workhouses & also the two sums together. Convert all paupers into outdoor

Recipients? It is evident that the workhouse

test is of little use as regards ablebodied.

I would leave all illeg in the hands of the Guardians, together with the casual Medical [?] As they require apparently for the whole class, one illeg would suffice if the present method of relief were continued. Apparently the matter would arrange itself thus:

1. Illeg appointed hospitals for sick
2. Asylums for aged poor
3. " for Infirm & incurable poor
4. " for Idiots & imbeciles
5. " for Lunatics
6. Schools & Asylums for children

-
1. A few workhouse beds for able bodied
 2. Machinery for outdoor relief.

-
- A. Hospitals for sick should be separate buildings or Pavilions.
 - B. Aged & Infirm. Imbeciles & Idiots with incurables might occupy different and detached pavilions in the same building.
 - C. Lunatics should have a separate asylum.**

The number & locality of each class will depend on the existing accommodation & on the organization adopted.

f34 NOTES ON WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {SUTHERLAND RESPONDS DIRECTLY BELOW EACH OF FN'S POINTS IN BRACKETS}

FN: They say:

here are three objections we shall have urged:

1. if we make the sick & infirm comfortable how are we to prevent them all being "Incurables"
{SUTHERLAND:} (By a proper medical inspection. Have high med authorities on your board)
2. it is charging five sixths on the General rate
{SUTHERLAND:} (Cannot be helped) checked by LM at BL necessary
3. want of a check on Out door Relief
{SUTHERLAND:} (No. Leave out door relief as at present. I am not sure that out door relief would not be the only relief required Leave the Guardians to deal with these cases subject to Poor Law audit & inspection If the Parishes have to pay individually

Add Mss 45752

94

for their out door relief they will take care
not to exceed or tax themselves) **[end 13:585]**

f35v JS note

1. It is not difficult to determine what cases are infirm & unable to provide for themselves.

Nor what cases are incurable.

The Asylum Medical attendant would very soon be able to detect at a glance what was about.

But you might have a first rate man or two in the Boards to whom to appeal in doubtful cases as is done in the army.

2. By the assumption, Sickness & incapability from any of the causes stated in the table are taken to be independent of men ? parochial Boundary or management. They are so to speak "Visitations of God" & in a Christian Community if not provided for by Charity their Costs would be born by the Community

?? which the calamity happens. It is quite certain ?? that the existing method of administration of Parishes is simply abominable as regards their cases.

ff36-40 July 15 1865 Storks letter from Palace Malta to JS re blue book, with tables

unsigned draft letter, f41, pencil [added by Gwyneth Blair] in rough JS hand {archivist: [Bef 30 July 1865] [**x** Draft of letter to Mr. W. Rathbone re "Organization of Nursing in a large Town"]}

f41

Your **x** statement and appendix are very good & very business like. The way in which the work is forming itself is most interesting, and deserves careful watching & study by all who desire to benefit the poor. The budget is unexceptionable Your means & methods excellent, and what one so rarely finds in any schemes of benevolence - you have afforded an outlet for real humble self denying work. I will make no change in your M.S. but if you will send me a proof complete I shall be glad to consider it carefully. Perhaps you might add a paragraph somewhere ~~that~~ to state that your object in issuing the paper is to inform your townspeople on your measures, to create additional interest in the work & to ~~in~~ induce others to join you. and to let other towns know what you are doing in order that they may consider the propriety of following your example.

Add Mss 45752

96

ff41v-42v continues above
f43 JS in pen, with FN comments

ff44v-47v NOTES ON MALTA LIGHT PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED 1865

f44v LIGHT PENCIL FN

1600 beds appears *enormous* for that island.

1000

600 Incurable

1600

Did he increase occupation?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:} [checked by LM at BL]

Has Storks seen

my book

{BACK TO WRITING LEFT TO RIGHT:}

What was I to tell him of your papers?

last night

have you forgotten that you told me you were going home

to look at Maltese

Why could you not say so?

favourably

So do I only I don't sleep --

Will you look for the Malta photographs

Portfolio stand in dining

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

What is Mr. Inglott

Is the population 10000

I want my book

f45 PEN DATED MALTA 1865**[16:672]**

Malta [archivist]

1865

"

F.N.

1. Overhauling the towns, with reference to reconstruction & opening up of worst parts.
2. improved model dwellings outside lines, to provide for increase of population, & keep down crowding within lines.
3. sewers to be relaid outlets to be improved. [It would be a great benefit, if all sewage were applied to land for manure, where practicable.]
4. W.C.s & water latrines properly constructed, instead of present Maltese stone troughs.
5. improved house drainage by drain pipes.
6. extended supply of water & better means of distribution, so as to have it always laid on to house & barracks.
7. new cemetery & abolishing interments in churches
8. new Incurable Hospital
" Poor house
prison
9. general improvements in education

f45v PEN

10. oversight of progress of Barrack improvements
11. new military hospitals required for Valetta & Cottonera
12. day & reading rooms, game rooms for soldiers --
soldiers' gardens
Gymnasia

f46 LIGHT PENCIL

The Gd Master is the keenest man I have seen for
3 years --

We are to write a Memo to day for him -- And he
is to come back here, after considering it, to discuss
it.

He wants to know whether he had not better begin
on the Vittoriosa side, instead of at Valetta
He says they will spend £12000 or £14000 a year
on Sanitary works.

-----He
wants to write to us } two or three times a day
He wants to be written to }

He wants to know whether Sir John Lawrence's
Municipalities are [~~illeg~~] elected? yes, so far as
} appears
are paid ?} No.

{Yes, so far as appears AND No SEEM TO BE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}

He says he fears they will be corrupt, if they are

He had a *paid elected* Municipality at Zante

And he

| He says there has just been
That was only by the way | an Epidemic at Malta
& 3 officers have died

He asked particularly about outlets

about laying manure on land &c

He is quite willing to be guided by us -- almost too willing

f47v LIGHT PENCIL

{yes AFTER Did you see Galton MIGHT BE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}

Did you see Galton yes. Storcks has been to Galton.

He says Floriana Barracks are improved but no others

He wd have succeeded if he had not been ~~broken up~~

recalled -- if Ionia had not been given up --

He says so he was very popular -- **[end]**

That's all you gave me.

Have you no copy at home?

And you leave me to hunt?

Muir
Paynter
F.W. Innes
Wm Home
Rutherford
Beatson
Arthur Anderson

f48 JS note, pen 5 May Could you persuade Storks to illeg & Hospital at Malta illeg. Gov Hospital into a barrack? That is the BEST arrant, but unless it comes from him, I fear we shall not like it done.

f49 JS pen note. This is a very good paper, and is intended to show how for in what manner the hospital regulations in use here are adapted for India.

The only real difference between the plan proposed and ours is that Dr Gordon thinks the Indian Hospital steward if he is empowered to illeg all requisites of the med officers will have done his duty, while we require him to supply *according to a scale* & besides this to comply with all requisites of the med officers. Our is better and safer than his illeg a distinct responsibility.

I have given the return to Dr Balfour who will write about it to illeg.

pencil comment
but in this matter you in
India can also form
practical opinions you
know your local habits best

ff50-51 JS pen note I wonder if Mrs W wishes to sound you in the points. Her letter reads so.

3. About Liverpool. I do not regret by any means the present aspect of matters of there. The governor s intention which has been unmasked by Mr Rathbone's letter has all along been to subordinate the nursing to himself, just as if the supt and nurses were paupers. Now this cannot be, and after the fact has been discerned it must be dealt with.

The facts state by Miss Jones are in direct opposition to her proposal to take no notice, and if the coach cannot be kept on the road with a fair prospect of arriving at the end of the journey then it will have to be spent. You could not advise Mr Rathbone to spend £3000 on such a system as Miss Jones has described. I believe you will get everything right yet, but there is risk of failure. Any way you will now get Mr Rathbone's version of the facts and his opinion. This will give you safe ground to go in. If there is little or no importance in Miss Jones facts, then no notice need be taken, if, on the contrary, they are of a vital nature, you will have to get a proper scheme introduced. Its basis might be, simply to give Miss Jones the sole regulation of the nurses and probationers, and giving the governor the same general authority over the supt which he has over the medical officers. But you will see after Mr Rathbone has enquired.

It has occurred to me that perhaps the best reply to Mrs W about the nurses accommodation at St Thomas would be to say shortly that you agreed with her in thinking that a separate house would be better, and that you had written in that sense already to Mr Hicks. This wold avoid all further controversy and as you cannot *compel* them to give you the accommodation you ask for, you could accept what they gave at the same time telling them that it was not what you expected.

ff52-53 JS note pencil

The only additional question that comes out of these letters is the following Suppose that as Dr illeg the treasurer should become ill mannered or abusive to the matron as she considered unjustly, and suppose the treasurer were to interfere with the efficiency of the nursing in any way, would the matron have any resource except to submit and take the blame of inefficient nursing which the treasurer has been the means of making insufficient, or could she appeal or complain to the committee.

Same question about Kings College with regard to the Secretary.

The system of government at the illeg that at Kings College would do for you.

The corresponding arrangement for Liverpool would be as follows.

1st the governor to be executive of the workhouse committee

2. Workhouse committee to appoint illeg

3 Supt to enlist appoint, censure nurses, probations scrubbers without interference of governor.

4. Supt to report sisters for dismissal to committee, but illegs

5 Governor to execute nurses acts of discipline, necessary in workhouse nursing on the request of supt

6 Governor never to interfere with the nursing staff and report inefficiency to the committee if he think necessary.

The scheme for working a training school in Mrs W's letters would answer for you. You would have to appt a committee to whom she would be responsible qua the training, and then you could make what arrangements you think right about binding the nurses to serve.

The great difficulty could be to find a medical officer capable of training, and who would stay. All house surgeons are either army men who find little employment in a year or two or do men who have been unsuccessful in civil practice. Very rarely do you find a man who is stationery and competent.

f53v NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED JULY 3, 1865

Have you anything to say about Col: Sargent's plan to
the Committee

There is a box of flowers from Embley for Mrs. S. here

How is it to go?

M. Husson

any of their Statistics of Pauperism which would correspond &

could be

compared with those in this paper -- 442 (A V111)

3 July 1865

f54 [Dr S to F.N. ca 17 Sept. 1865] pen

Sunday

It is useless to say that there is nothing serious in Miss Jones letter. But the seriousness comes out of Mr Rathbones letter. It comes of the state of things which that letter has brought to light. On first reading Miss Jones letter I thought it would have been wiser in Mr R. to have taken our advice and simply to have ignored the present difficulty by providing against it in future in the way we advised, viz, to have organized a proper system.

On consideration however, I feel that we did not know all the case. We know it now, and what would have been a matter of proper organization before, now becomes of vital importance to the

f54v

entire scheme. I would send Miss Jones letter to Mr. Rathbone but tell him that it is for his information only, & that he must not use it or cite it in any way. The governors reply to him will be the best ground for future proceedings. If as I expect the Governor has asserted his supreme right over the nursing department, then a case will have to be made out from the past experience elsewhere, (St. Thomas', Kings College, your own book &c) showing that although the Department *as a whole* should be under the Governor, the departmental details must be under the Superintendent.

Mr. Rathbone should be told

f55

that the revelations, accidentally made in this letter of Miss Jones' shows that up to the present time the training has been a mistake, & that it has been so because there has been no proper method of selecting candidates, and no efficient control over them.

I don't despair by any means. The entire proceeding has in it the elements of an Irish row, for they are all more or less Hibernian. They will cool down, and the points which are reasonable & necessary will keep hold of their minds. Nothing must be done to aggravate the mischief.

The whole policy now consists

f55v

in benefitting by the revelations which have been made
 The practical result is that the Governor must cease to interfere in any way with nurses, probationers, duties or difficulties. He must be simply executive a part of any thing the superintendent may require,

f55v NOTES ON MR. RATHBONE (WRITTEN ON A LETTER FROM DR. SUTHERLAND)
 LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

FN in pencil:

This is the gist of what I wrote to Mr. Rathbone a week ago. I think my letter to the Govnor should bear out what I say to Mr. Rathbone

ff56-56v NOTES ON GOVERNOR VS SUPERINTENDENT'S AUTHORITY OVER PROBATIONERS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, blue paper, pen

f56

Notes gathered from questions to *Dr. S* --

The governor should be asked to recommend the pauper women who are to be trained -- Miss Jones should have the power to accept or reject any so recommended.
 When in training the superintendent should have power to remove any woman -- who has once been guilty of drunkenness, untruth or in chastity --
 For more venial faults -- should she think it proper to deprive a nurse of beer or any privilege such deprivation should be submitted to the governor --
 It is quite unsuitable that the governor should enter into details of management. If a woman

f56v

be disobedient, dirty or guilty of any other misconduct -- the opinion of the superintendent as to such a woman should be received as final -- the governor accepting her decision & not himself interfering with the details --

Mr. Rathbone & the Committee should insist on the respective limits of the governor's & superintendents functions -- The governor to be supreme over the department but the superintendent's authority to be unquestioned in matters of detail --

Mr. Rathbone's letter shewed such a mastery of the subject as probably to cause the governors annoyance.

F57v-59 JS pencil notes

ff60-61 NOTES ON MR. BEGGS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, on back of bill of C. Humphrey for work on FN's house

f60

I don't like your Beggs.
He wrote at first
that they *were going* to bring forward his scheme in the Jurisp. Lecture *this winter* & that they *were going to bring forward a Bill next Session -- upon his paper. He writes so himself.*
He writes now
in a kind of suggestive cursory paining (?) way that they may perhaps bring it forward in the Jurisp. Lect.
& not a word about the Bill

f60v

I can shew you his letter
to you --

YES IT WAS

I have all his former letters
to you
You never read this
And you never told me
What to do with that
I think so too -- When?

f61

If you mean Mr. Thos.
Hare he did bring
forward his paper at a
previous Jurisp. Lect.
in London --
he was *not going* to
read a paper at
Sheffield --
and the Bill was not to
I take Mr. Beggs'
story
has he bought

ff62-63v NOTES ON DUTIES OF A MATRON PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED OCTOBER? 1865, pale blue paper black-edged

f62

Then it amounts to this:
that, in order that the Probationers may be
neglected by the Matron, they are to be placed
at a distance from her
which is of course a reason for us to place
them at a still greater distance by removing
them out of St. Thomas' altogether.
Since it is deliberately put to us -- that St. Thomas
wishes them to be neglected

that the Matron is to be prevented by mechanical
means both from having leisure & from
not enjoying it.

~~She is Her occupation~~

f62v

Her duties are not to be facilitated by saving her steps & her strength -- But ~~they~~ are to be hindered as much as possible by giving her the greatest distances to traverse.

The Treasurer does not know his Matron --

And if his Matron were what he thinks her, better get rid of her altogether

Let us have her --we will soon find another Hospital for her & for our Probationers

Of course, if the Treasurer's arguments are correct, it would be better to remove the Probationers out of their Matron's reach altogether except when they are in the wards.

f63

The circumstances under which women have to perform their duties about the sick are so different from those of men --

~~It is now~~ If Mr. Hicks' argument were correct the Head Nurse ought not to have her room off the ward, so as to be in command of it day & night -- but ought to be on the contrary as far from it as possible. Yet it is universally acknowledged that the former is a sine qua non --

Till this moment also, I have always heard it urged as an objection to the Pavilion system (& I admit it) that it is essential for a Matron

f63v {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE:} pale blue black-edged paper
to live *within* her Hospital
so that she may go to all
parts of it at unexpected
times without being seen
coming, without being
expected.

But the very contrary
is now alleged as a PRINCIPLE
for, I should think, the very
first time.

{IN PEN, WRITTEN SIDEWAYS:}
I heard twice from
Brocket (Lady Palmerston's)
with the most interesting
account of Lord Palmerston's
last

ff64-65v NOTES ON MATRON'S OFFICE & RESIDENCE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
DATED END OF OCT. - BEG. OF NOV. 1865 [pale see again and f65]

f64

These objections (1) & (2) surely cannot be serious.
The points put by Mr. Hicks are such as no
person, not actively engaged in Hospl Nursing
can judge of --

My authority explicitly stated on the following

1. That the proximity of the Matron's Office &
Residence cannot afford inducements to spend
too much time in the latter -- but that on
the contrary this proximity will save a
great deal of time in the Hospl administration
In the Herbert Hospl & at Netley the whole
Nursing Establishment Nurses, quarters,
Day & Dining room, Matron's quarters & office,
Linen Store & Mending Room are all within
one outside door. It is absolutely essential
to efficiency that they should be so
2. Interruption to leisure -- Any one who would
put forwards such an objection can know very
little of the feelings & principles of action
of a good Matron.

f64v

2. Matron's time too much taken up with Probationers. Too much time spent in dressing might just as well be urged as an objection. A bad Matron will always find the means of mis-spending time, whatever the structure may be

And a good matron will use common sense in apportioning her own duties

[And they think nothing of the time she will waste (& the strength) in going to & fro between all these scattered Probationers' & other quarters]

3. In working a long line of building, it matters very little whether your office is at either end or the centre. For distances are the same.

f65

4. Cost of extensive alterations --
My opinion should have been asked before the plans were decided on, *if* they meant to retain our Probationers -- Because I was not asked, therefore the cost of alterations to meet our wants is to be thrown in our face. Do not we pay rent for good accommodation not for garrets & cellars?

The Nursing Establishment is, to say the least of it, as important as the Medl School They are Trustees of National money -- & are bound to act as they are acting & to get the accommodation required for carrying out the end for which the Fund was raised
The Committee & Miss N. are all of opinion that

f65v

this course cannot be attained by the course proposed by the Treasurer

ff66-68 NOTES ON ACCOMMODATION FOR MATRON & PROBATIONERS PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f66 {To Dr. Sutherland IN PEN}

To Dr. Sutherland To be returned to FN [red]

I want to say: --

1. that I *have* said that the best place of
accommodating "Sisters" & Nurses in a
Pavilion Hospital *is* that each Pavilion
Nursing Staff should be accommodated
in its own Pavilion separately

but that with Probationers it is a totally
different question -- it is proposed to
accommodate them in two Pavilions but
without any reference to their work
whatever and totally away from the
matron, who is their mistress.

It is entirely subversive of any moral
discipline whatever --

And Lifts have nothing to do with the
question at all.

2. that there is not a good Training Matron in
the world (with our present ideas of
training Nurses) who will not tell the Treasurer
that she would *prefer*

a: that her Office & Residence *should* be

f66v

together [N.B. The Matron's Office *if* in the end block, would certainly be rather far distant from the other end block -- but with regularity of arrangement, this would not matter. And I am extraordinarily mistaken, if there is a single good Training Matron in the world who would not infinitely prefer that her Office, Residence, Probationers' Dormitories & Day Rooms should not be all together in that end block].

b. that she *CANNOT* undertake to train or exercise moral discipline over Probationers unless their quarters are *all together & near her*.

3. One large Day-room suffices for dining & all other purposes, if the quarters are, *as they must be*, together.

It is nonsense putting a Day-room *and*

f67

a Dining-room *together*, as in the proposed plans. There must be a separate Day-room to every Dormitory in such plans.

4. No (or very little) advantage accrues from the Dining & Day rooms being near the Matron's *Office*. Were the Office, Residence & Probationers' quarters to be all divided, I should say: put their Dormitories & Day room near her *Residence*.

f68 {WRITTEN BY CURRY:}

A separate House for 40 Probationers
 A separate sleeping room for
 each probationer of the dimensions
 set forth in Miss N's paper --
 Matron House as near as possible
 Distinct entrance from
 without
 1. Day & Dining Room
 3. floors of Dormitory
 not objected to

{WRITTEN BY FN:}

I made Curry write down this

f69 JS note with FN blue pencil

To be returned to FN. Mr Curry's last plan

ff70-70v NOTES ON GOVERNOR EYRE & SIR CECIL BEADON PENCIL
 HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AFTER OCTOBER 1865 [5:317]

f70

Well, I say that, take Governor Eyre *at the very worst* that can be said of him
 & take Sir C. BEADON at the very best that can be said of him
 & Sir C.B is a Devil compared with Eyre -- Eyre acted under fright, because he thought the blacks would be too much for the English I say he was responsible therefore he killed a few hundreds -- whom he took to be rebels
 Beadon, because he knew that he need be under no fright, because whatever happened to the wretched blacks, nothing could affect the English, killed 750 000 -- ~~of those~~ blacks for whom he was responsible & whom he knew nothing could make rebels --
 Had the blacks been capable of any resistance they would not have been killed.

f70v

My dear -- you remind me of Sir John
Ramsden who when a boy of 16 was found
by his mother lying under the front door --
"What are you doing there?" --
"Trying to catch a cold to prevent my going to
school" --
Now -- he was the only child of a widow --
And he had £120000 "a" year --
Now -- she went & fetched a riding whip
she gave him a smart cut over the
fingers
That's what I ought to do to you --

Have it framed --

Might I send him an Algerian Report now

Passaglia is even now the most liberal

& far more so than Manning

[illeg] 99 [29?]

f71 JS pen 20th Nov [1865] on War Office embossed.

Th enclosed little man is a
surgeon (consulting) of Chorlton Union. [prob George Greaves]
They have had much fever & have
had nurses such as they are killed
& wounded thereby. The Guardians
have deputed this card to come to
London & try to get a Supt
It has been at Mrs Wardroper
without success. It has got one
In a illeg from Miss Jones, but
it wants a good nurse to take
charge permanently as supt
tendt of the pauper army
with the view ultimately of
having trained nurse throughout

f71v

I have sent it to Dr Steel at
Guys. And now I send it to
F.N. to see if she can find a
suitable woman.

The new hospital is nearly
finished & is to be completed
within the excessively low estimate.

J.S.

ff72-73 JS rough note re Poor Law, faint pencil. It has struck me
forcibly that having given

f73 NOTES ON NURSING, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

But about the Nursing
You know there is nothing I would
not do to promote such an
object But -- I can't *invent*
a woman. About the Chorlton Union man I must have time

That's not the question
We only can supply a Supt
of course not. Do you suppose
our Nurses go about begging?
We must have time

Is the man gone?
If he

f74 JS hand pen

Mem. On accommodation for Probationer Nurses at New St Thomas' Hospital
1. The number of Probationers for whose accommodation shall
is required in the block of building illeg to be set
apart for their use would be

A. The number which could be provided for out of the Fund

FN pencil: This is the Fund concern.

+ B. Such others as might be sent for training at the
cost of private individuals or societies. FN pencil: This is
the hospital concern. (illeg

2. The requirements for good nurses for hospitals at home,
in India and the colonies are rapidly becoming so
great that it is highly probable that any amount
of accommodation likely to be provided in the new St
Thomas' hospital plans will be much too small
by the time the hospital is built.

It is necessary to fix a limit, and I should say about
40, more or less to suit the size of the building.

3. A. The accommodation should consist of a small room for each nurse.
- B. Dining room to be used as day room.
- C. Vice superintendents sitting and bed room.
- D. Kitchen.

f74v

- E. Matrons office for probationers. (? If necessary)
- F. One or two small rooms for convalescent nurses sitting room
- G. Baths, Lavatories, W.C.s Stores &c &c

The dining room may be 12 feet high

The nurses room - - 8 feet - -

The nurses rooms should be at least 12 feet by 10 - 120 square feet, and 960 cubic feet which considering the peculiar & dangerous nature of the nurses duty is not too much. (A window to itself] Each nurses room should have half a window (one window between every two rooms.)

The simplest arrangement for this accommodation would be Sir Joshua Jebbs penitentiary at Fulham, which has been badly copied in the Liverpool nurses training school. This plan admits of each nurse having a separate sleeping room with its own half window, probably warmed and sufficiently ventilated, while every bed room door can be seen from any point where it may

f75

be considered advisable to put the Vice superintendents accommodation.

Both at Fulham & Liverpool, there is a single pavilion consisting of a central hall extending from the floor to the roof, which is of glass. The rooms are arranged in separate floors on the sides of this hall, so that they have their doors opening or open in a corridor running the whole length of the building.

The advantage of this construction is that it admits of outer windows, while the doors all open on a central hall a corridor like those in model prisons. Ventilation is secured by windows, & by having means of admitting & warming air at the glass of the Hall.

The illeg is warmed by a stove in the hall. AT Fulham certain changes have been introduced in the structure to make it as unlike a prison

f75v

as possible. [sketch]

f76

Other arrangements could easily be planned. This sketch is intended merely to show the nature of the arrangements required.

The whole quarter when complete should have its own entrance from the public street.

F76 8/12/65 JS note to FN, Rough sketch of what comes out of the corr about the nurses quarters at St Thomas'

f77 NOTES ON FARNALL PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED 1865

I wrote to Farnall to send me back these books --

You appear entirely to have forgotten the pledge we gave him on that fatal first of January, when you came --

He said: if we had helped him then, he could have done it.

But: he does not say so now --

[1865] {IN A HAND OTHER
THAN FN'S}

There's Fish for you at 1 --

And then you'll do it

Yes: and the

f77v NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

{CUT OFF} my seeing it again?

Who is that Capt. Wrottesly?

I've sent it back.

Is he the Sub-Governor of Netley?

He dates War Office

It is possible there may be some truth in

But it's been

made use of to weaken her position

& ~~weake~~ make her unhappy in another

direction. They're a bad lot -- a {CUT OFF}

problem for her to solve.

ff78-79 JS rough hand re Shaw Stewart

ff80-82 NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. 1865 re JSS

f80

CODE Y Y

I have been unwilling
not to try & see how a
compromise which seemed
to be satisfactory could
be left undisturbed -- And
this is the reason why I
have kept it so long.

But I fear that the
few alterations introduced
into this code Y are
rather in the wrong
direction, & will be
found rather to tend
against the principles
of administration in
the "Purveyor's" own
"Regulations" -- & in the
Med: Reg: --

The principle * which

x The Supt is never responsible for
the *supply*, only for the *distribution*
of linen within her jurisdiction.

f80v

the Supt Genl of Nurses is trying to grasp, viz. that ~~of complete responsibility within her own jurisdiction,~~ would be a most desirable one -- if only *all* General Hospitals, in peace & in war, were certain to be provided with a complete Staff of Nurses & a Linen Store *under* a *Superintendent*. But this neither is nor will be the case, for a long period to come.

And everything must be arranged meanwhile for Field Service, where the General Hospitals might have

f81

to go on without Nurses, at least for a time. The responsibility of the Capt. of Orderlies must be kept intact & no alteration admitted which weakens this in the slightest degree.

E.g. *Page 40*. Foot Note added.

Has not this a tendency to destroy the distinct personal responsibility of the Purveyor (Steward) & Capt. of Orderlies in furnishing the wards with linen? If this note *must* be retained, should it not be,

f81v

merely a "permissive Bill",
the Governor (Commandant)
to grant the permission

Page 41. Art. 196. Mrs. S.
Stewart's M. S. annexation

Is not this proposed
amendment inadmissible?

Page 41. Art. 197

It was purposely laid
down in this Article
that no foul linen
should be retained
either in the "Nurse's
room or in the ward
or its vicinity". This has
been altered by taking

f82

[2]

out the words "Nurse's
room" and "or its
vicinity" -- thereby
enabling foul linen
to be kept in the
"Nurse's room", which
is entirely unjustifiable.

f83 pencil note

What does or used the War Office
to pay per bed for female patients
sent to civil hospitals
W.R. Purveyor Victoria St. Westm
1 Est the local
causes of the disease
from the Medical attendants
2. & report through the
"local authority" in
Your case the Guardians
or Vestry

f84-85 JS rough note and prob f86, Rawlinson

ff87-87v NOTES ON INSPECTION OF WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES LIGHT PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE ca. DATED 1865

f87

[ca. 1865] {IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}

In how far is the Medical Officer
of Health dependent on the Guardians

Do not you feel that there ought
to be a regular Sanitary inspection
of the Workhouse Infirmarys, who wd be
quite independent of the Vestry

by whom?

a Member of the B. & H. I. C. to
make a preliminary inspection
with permission of Ld de G.
with Mr. Farnall
to make a Report which shall
be a kind of Manual by which
to judge in future of defects

f87v

But ~~will~~ for permanent periodical
Inspection, is there no Officer
independent of the Vestry? No
But without going to the expence
of having a Poor Law Sanitary
Inspector for all, is there no
Officer independent of the Vestry
in each parish, or might not one
be found who cd be appointed
to do each Workhouse Infirmary

to make a preliminary Report &
work the Infirmarys up to it

a quite independent Examn to
ascertain the state of things
what it is -- & then some step
to be taken to regulate & prevent
evils in future.

ff88-93 NOTES ON HOSPITAL SERVICE, blue PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JANUARY 23, 1866

f88

[3]

{Private WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

Private [~~1865?~~] *D.G.'s Minute*

{DATE: IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [Bef. 23 Jan 1866]

1. I agree that it is desirable *not* to omit "with the concurrence of the Governor".

[But the Governor should remember that these words are merely to ensure his being supreme -- only in as far with the Female staff as he is with the Medical staff & not for him to fid-fad in vexatious interferences with the women.

It is for General Hospitals on foreign stations where the Supt Genl is *not*, that I think it desirable to preserve these words.

2. The Supt Genl should *always* be (and not *only* "when practicable") "consulted as to the Medical Officer who may be directed to attend the Nurses when sick".

f88v

I do not see the force of the D.G.'s objection. But surely there must be some medium course, whereby the "P.M.O." can have "the distribution of the professional duties" & yet the Supt, if not the Supt Genl, In foreign "consulted" "before designation" as stations) be to the Medl Officer to attend the Nurses

3. The next two Paras -- from
 "with regard to" down to
 "for the Nurses"
 show total ignorance on the part of the D.G. of the subject as also his *animus* against them.

Not only is there "sufficient ground for assuming that the Medical Officers ignore the Nurses", but it has been proved (*not* "assumed") before a Govt Committee

f89

What does "it is more than probable" mean? viz. "that the Nurses wish to ignore &c" -- If there are facts to make it "more than probable", state them --

In this instance, the woman has so much the advantage of the man in the clearness of her statements.

And I never heard a "more than probable" taken as evidence any where.

But the "more than probable" goes on -- it becomes in the next sentence a "measure" -- (like Falstaff's eleven men in Kendal green) Nay, in the next sentence, it becomes resistance -- an émeute -- send for the Police

f89v

"Resistance" is "provoked" -- altho' qualified by the little words "I fear" -- pretty little timid womanish words.

Then, what does he mean by his "demonstration" "that a mixed Male & Female hospital service cannot be worked in the same wards".

It is really too absurd to require a contradiction --

Does he propose to work one wing by women entirely?

The Wardmaster's duty is to maintain the Nurse's authority. The Nurse's duty, among other duties, is to teach the Orderlies certain offices about the sick.

f90

[4]

What the D.G. means by "manual" I don't know. If it is cleaning, that is certainly the Orderly's duty, & not the Nurse's. If it is poulticing, that is the Nurse's duty to teach the Orderlies.

But what can you expect when a D.G. writes such stuff as this?

In no way can a Nurse interfere with a Wardmaster learning his duty --

And, even if she could, which she cannot, Sir E.L.'s {EDWARD LUGARD} marginal note is a sufficient answer.

To all who are in the least conversant with Hospitals, the

f90v

part I have marked in blue of the D.G.'s minute is absolute nonsense.

f91

6998

- 134 1. I agree "that the Regulation respecting the age of Nurses on admission should be abolished -- & that the point should be left entirely to the discretion of the Supt Genl, with whom the whole responsibility rests of organizing an efficient staff of respectable women as Hospl Nurses" --
- [I agree under protest -- i.e. I think ~~the~~ a Supt Genl finds an "ages" Regulation a very great protection against assiduous *friends* (?) who wish to palm off upon her their discarded protégées. In all the Hospitals with which I have been associated, some such Regulation very properly exists, to be broken "on

f91v

emergency" -- a word which applies much less strictly to such old-established Hospitals than to the (infant) female Service in Military Hospitals -- But when a Commandant makes it the subject of an official letter that the word "emergency" does *not* apply to such infant service. I agree that there is no other resource but to abolish the Regulations & make the Supt Genl entirely free]

2. I agree that the pay of Nurses (these are Head Nurses) should be raised to £30 as a beginning rising £2 yearly to a maximum of £50 -- the pension to be on a scale graduated to the pay.

f92

3. I consider that it would be better to give a Superintendent £150, without deductions than a higher rate with deductions.

There are advantages both ways. But for one Supt who would manage better, if she had to supply the several articles mentioned as deductions, there are 9 who would consider the articles so supplied as her "private property", which is very undesirable.

These articles should be "public property".

I think the increase of £25 after 5 years' service -- & a farther & final increase of £25 after 10 years' service -- on the recommendation of the Supt Genl -- a proper course.

f92v

A ration should certainly be allowed for the Supt's servant.

And the Supt should have her other allowances, the same as the Nurse

4. I agree as to the rate of Mess money -- & as to the sum for an annual dress.

But I consider the P.M.O.'s proposal preferable that the "things for the Nurses' Quarters" "for each additional Nurse" should be provided by the Supt & paid for by the P.M.

5. The fact has been established beyond any doubt that the Nurses are "ignored by the Medical Officers" -- that they do *not* occupy that position in the wards which Head Nurses -- as they are -- occupy in Civil Hospls -- & Hospl Serjeants in Regl Hospls -- & which alone can render their position useful & efficient

f93

I beg leave to draw attention to
this Para: p. 104 in 6998

105

Messrs. Galton, Logan & Sutherland's
Report

"We consider it necessary that in
future the female Nurses should
have the status of head-nurses
in the wards, & should be regarded
by Medical Officers & orderlies,
in the same manner as the Head
nurses in the best civil Hospitals".

[This never has been done,

F.N.]

It is *impossible* for a woman
to do her duty in a ward
full of men, if it is not
done.

f94 NOTE TYPED copy DATED MARCH 10, 1866 Original owned by T. Cowie
Scott

TYPED
COPY

35 South St. [printed letterhead]
March 10/66

O! {LARGE PRINT IN PEN}

{TYPED:}

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE
("lonely & weak")

Dr. Wombwell

f95 NOTES ON CATTLE PLAGUE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. MARCH 1866
[6:528]

I will shew you the first
 account of a Cattle Plague
 extant in the 6th century
 & the remedy applied
 which is 1/1000th part
 less barbarous than
 slaughtering the healthy
 cattle to prevent them
 dying.

f96 Subjects for discussion at the meeting of the ASC 20 April 1866

1. Sanitary condition of Windsor Bks
2. Measures for averting disease known as "Delhi ulcers"
3. Sanitary condition of the Bks at Cape Town.
4. Scarlet Fever at Aldershot, Chatham & Woolwich.
5. Quantity of water necessary to be supplied to each individual in Bks.
6. Water supply of Calcutta.
7. Method of calculating the death rate in Prisons.
8. Dover, Increasing Hospital [illeg].
9. Ventilation of Stables.
10. Aide Memoire of Sanitary experience to be prepared.
11. Ophthalmic ward, Herbert Hospl.
12. Of what dimensions should Provost cells be constructed.
13. Health returns of the Army? By whom prepared.
14. Cubic space in Bks at Hong Kong.
15. Rations for Troops in China. [with pencil notes of what]

f96v FN pencil note F.N. will have to see the whole thing.

J.S.

21/4/66

ff98-101 NOTES ON MORTALITY OF CHINA TROOPS PENCIL
 HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED APRIL 12 & 21, 1866

f98

Anent "*Mortality of China Troops*"

"We" (the party in the W.O. which does not wish to
 screen Government)

"we" think that the surest way of arriving at the truth
 is for the Committee

to go at once to the *facts*
 then to the *causes*

(not to take any particular Report &
 not to go back to the beginning)

- i.e. we think that the Committee should enquire
1. what was the mortality & disease at Hong Kong among men, women & children
 2. the causes of such mortality & disease
 3. Should the Committee be satisfied after such enquiry that the chief cause, or an important cause, of disease & mortality was: defect of Barrack & Hospital accommodation -- then enquire what has been done in this matter
 4. If it appear to the Committee that the

f98v

absence of the Medical Officer was a cause
of mischief, then call him to account.

===

Sufficient hints for every part of this enquiry
except for (3)
can be found in the Parly paper --
[I have not this before me -- But if you
would read over what I have now
written with the Parly paper & my
notes upon it, I think you will see
what "we" mean]

No (3) will follow naturally. And
questions should be asked then of
the W.O. -- and papers called for from the W.O.

Sir Hope Grant would be a most
valuable witness
He will give every information
about Kowloon

f99

N.B.

"We" don't think in this case the Treasury to blame

Whether Col. Guy is to blame is to be ascertained.
The point about the "guards" is supposed to be a
very important one.

And we want to know specially about the new
Barrack plans
begun by Sidney Herbert
sent out there long ago

12/4/66

f100*Anent the Mortality in Troops China*

We find (at the W.O.) that the Commandg R Engineer has never done any thing in putting up the trial Barrack at Kowloon. He (the C.R.E.) has now left the Service.

===

The central point of the whole enquiry is: whether it was necessary to keep so many men at Hong Kong at all.

===

The facts about the (proposed) Barracks, of which I told you, are as follow: --

In 1859-60 Sidney Herbert decided to build new Barracks to afford more space, and, if possible, on a more healthy site.

Reports on sites were obtained by the W.O. from Hong Kong

[Hong Kong, as you know, is a miserable hole which would hold 10,000; & into which John Bull has insisted upon putting 100,000.

N.B. John Bull always expects God Almighty to obey him -- & not that he shall obey God almighty --

Col. Sargent's plan of a floating Barrack might do -- provided it were in the direction of a healthy wind. But Col. Sargent himself says that troops which had been healthy

f100v

at sea were sickly at sea off Hong Kong --
And ~~troops~~ seamen have often to be landed
for health. To build a healthy Barrack on
shore is cheaper, we believe, than to keep a
floating Barrack. But every thing depends
on the situation]

It appeared that Kowloon was the most
healthy.

Plans for a Barrack (excellent, giving 1000
cub. ft. for every man) & Hospital, Married &
Officers Quarters, Day-rooms &c were prepared
as I mentioned.

Just at this time, Governor & Colonists
interfered & wished to appropriate all the
best ground shoving the Barracks into an
unhealthy hole.

This led to long discussion & loss of time.
[The W.O. says the Colonists ought all
to be hanged.]

The W.O. examined all officers who had
been at Kowloon -- all agreed upon the
goodness of the site proposed for the Barracks.
~~But~~ Dr Rutherford, the Sanitary Officer,
recommended that a single block should

f101

be built on trial first.

This was decided upon --

But the Commandg R Engineer never
executed the work (as I have already
stated)

This should be enquired into.

Capt. Galton should be examined.

21/4/66

ff102-08v NOTES ON TROOPS IN CHINA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. APRIL, 1866

f102

|p. ii|

A

As regards the sending of ~~troops~~ the 99th to Kowloon,
because there was a riot, & keeping them
there for five months -- the Committee
should ~~adopt Para. 8 of Ld Hartin~~
~~as follows~~---

consider the following points: --

1. the Governor had power to request the
Commanding Officer to remove the troops
2. the Medical Officer, according to Regulation,
did his duty in protesting against it
3. the Commanding Officer, according to
Regulation, was bound to have refused to
send them, unless he stated in writing
sufficient military reason for ~~not~~
doing it. He was also bound to
shew that there was sufficient Military
reason for keeping them there *for 5 months*.

The evidence certainly proves that the
Commandg Officer committed a grave
error in not listening to his Medical Officer

f103**B** p. vii

call upon the Committee to introduce
proof into the Report from the evidence
that the Circular No 361, 17th December
1858 did not contain sufficient
powers to have any amount of
accommodation acquired

there should be something like a
legal decision on its meaning

C p. v

ask what is the present amount
of hut accommodation for troops
at Japan -- [I hear for 1500 men]
(ask Ld Hartington)
if this be so, it shews great activity in
providing accommodation

f104

that, although, from the evidence of Commanding Officers, it appears that no diminution of the Guard duties required of them was practicable, the Committee is not satisfied that the amount of Guard duty asked for by the Colonial Government was necessary & that the safety of public property could not have been otherwise provided for

D p. iii

f105

p. vii **E**

as regards the demand to be made on the Admiralty to instruct the Admiral in China to furnish accommodation, evidence is wanted that such instruction was necessary

F. p. v

In stating that every exertion appears to have been made by the authorities at Hong Kong to provide accommodation & that it was completed 6 weeks too late, it ought to be said that the troops arrived before they were expected (or might have been expected according to past experience of sea-voyages) You have this on evidence.

F p. v.

f106 {DATE: IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [ca. April 1866]

p. vii **G**

Genl Guy did *not* spend £18,610. The amount spent was *at that rate* per annum, provided the expenditure had gone on for a year, which it did not -- call for evidence on the point

H p. vii

It should be stated in the Report that Lord de Grey considered the authority given to Genl Guy to hire accommodation & to dispose of the force amply sufficient

I p. vii

Regarding the W.O. Report of 1863 about Kowloon, it should be shewn at what date that Report came into possession of the S of S for War

f107

Sir E. Lugard

clearest explanation of the system
& at once its strongest condemnation

There is no system

no nervous system connecting the hand with
the extremities in the British Army

You ought to be able to do with one Regiment,
a few native troops, & native watchmen

And you have not been able to do with
less than three (Regiments)

The first official information was in April
1865 of the unhealthiness of Kowloon
pointing out at the same time what would
be required to make it healthy --

Genl Guy's two errors

1. the using troops for any duties
2. the not incurring any amount of
risk in providing accommodation

These are the two points in Lugard's Examination

Walker's evidence

Guards used instead of Police -- These colonial fellows --

It's monstrous

f108

Questions for Report out of this evidence

1. decide about the number of guards required
at Hong Kong.
2. Police could evidently have done most of
the Guard duty -- which proved fatal
to the men
3. The question of embodying native troops.
This is always best in these climates
where native troops can be depended
on
4. Might not some rule be adopted
whereby Officers at distant stations
might have power to incur expence
for accommodation &c?
5. Ought not the whole question of these
Chinese & Japanese Stations to be now
definitively settled?

It is evident that there should be permanent
accommodation for at least 2 Regiments
at 1000 cubic feet per man with
Hospital at 1500 -- with the means
of providing ample temporary accommodation

f108v

(panelled wooden huts in store) e.g. for
any excess over this number.

It is evident that the whole peninsula of
Kowloon should be bought up, improved
& rendered healthy -- & then Kowloon &
Hong Kong might be made the centre of
the Chinese force.

Lastly, the whole thing is a mess & confusion.

There is a head in London -- there are
extremities all over the world but
there is no proper nervous system
connecting the head & extremities

f109 see diagram in hard copy, then:

JS rough hand:] When F.N. sees the dispatch she must look
carefully to ascertain what the proposed
will do for us. We must simply reply by
describing what sanitary administration in
India should be & by pointing out what
must be done, and then we must ask
whether the proposed scheme will answer.

FN:] How is "FN" to see the Dispatch?

How? How?

Shall I tell Ellis to say something to Ld de G

f110 NOTE ON LORD DE GREY PENCIL, PEN & TYPEWRITER HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED MAY 5, 1866

ON HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE. [printed]

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, SIDEWAYS BY FN:}

Oh don't tell me about it
I'm scarcely alive

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL BY FN, NO LONGER SIDEWAYS, TO THE RIGHT OF ABOVE:}

I'm very uneasy about not hearing from Ld de Grey --
Sir J. Lawrence's letter would justify me in looking up Ld.
de Grey.

Yes yes yes --

I'm thinking of the Despatch now -- [May 5 - 1866]

{IN PEN,
IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}
Robert Rawlinson
{TYPED:}

{IN PEN,
IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}
Miss Florence Nightingale
South Street
London W

Rivers Commission Office,
2, Victoria Street,
Westminster, S.W.

G [861] 250 5/66

- f111 JS rough hand re school
- f112 JS pen
- f114 JS rough hand
- f115 JS rough hand re separating sanitary inspectors from medical

pencil

Of course Mr Rathbone & you know much better than drs the illeg committee & how they are likely to receive your report, but reading it at a distance it appears very much like an attack on the former system of the committee & a laudation of your own work.

It is no doubt most illeg to to find words in which to express such a charge. Possibly if you had made the report longer and more diluted the strokes would not have been so heavy.

Numbers in wards when nursing has illeg

Admissions in 9 months

Discharged cured illeg

a for other causes

Dead

Remaining at the end of the 9 months

The influence of good nursing in diminishing the sick time in the wards cannot be ascertained except after ~~long~~ a considerable longer time than you have been in charge

v

If Dr Gee would keep the statistics ...

unsigned letter, ff119-21, pencil in rough JS hand [added by Gwyneth Blair]

f114 JS pencil notes

f115 S pencil notes on separating san inspections from medical and from prison inspections. [clear]

ff116-17 JS pen, re cubic space, Angus Smith

ff118-19 pencil JS

f119 FN note on back of JS

Women of this class command very high rates of pay in Civil life. St. Johns house nurses have a guinea a week & their board when on service, & even these women don't follow nursing as a profession. It is with them a vocation as well. The present low rate of pay for Nurses in Military hospitals has led to considerable cost, because the comparatively inferior class of candidates ~~her~~ which has been obtained all require extra cost of some kind in their training, which besides has been lost in consequence of dismissals for unfitness. The importance of this point will

be seen when it is stated that the total number of women admitted at Netley under the present scale of wages has been _____ & the number discharged or resigned as unfit _____ while it to be feared that ~~those~~ of those left in the service *all* are not of the standard aimed at. The present proposal ~~for~~ increase of wages from ----- to ---- a year is simply intended to put a stop to this by enabling the War Office to compete with other people for the better class of women. ~~which~~ The proposal has really no relation to the Naval hospital nursing question, but it is one which lies at the root of the entire scheme as now carried on at Netley. The India Government however ~~has~~ proposes to obtain ~~nurses~~ head nurses from England for the Indian hospitals. These should come properly from Netley, but up to this present time Netley has scarcely been able to supply its own demands & it is ~~for this~~ to meet this difficulty that Ld. Hartington has requested their Lordships to grant increase of pay.

f119v {half of the first seven lines is too black to read; I have transcribed the legible parts}

... usual mistake of
... questions. The no
... hospitals is rather ideal,
... than nursing
... undertake it are
... mentally and
... required for Military hospitals.

The result ~~illeg~~ of transferring Admiralty Nurses to Military Hospitals under any kind of Government may be imagined, but must not be described, at least, by me.

In the army we require a well disciplined corps ready for the field at any time, or to go to any foreign station where they will be placed in positions of great trust; and for none of those purposes will any admiralty nurse, or any woman of her class answer at all. We have in short to create a service which with the devotion & morale of the sisters serving in Foreign Military hospitals will possess at the same time a nursing qualifications as much higher than those of foreign nurses as it is possible to arrive at.

The great difficulty hitherto has been in obtaining candidates for service relevant at any cost, and of those who could be obtained, at the present rates of wages a large number has been sent away by the Superintendent as inefficient. It is not the case in England as in Catholic Countries where nursing sick is a branch of Conventual obligation. Here everyone expects to be paid for their labour, and nurses as well as others At the present time there is such a demand for the better class of woman that they can scarcely be obtained at any price, &

f120 {archivist: [June - July 1866]} in rough hand JS
Nursing

Dr. Sutherland
1866

In so far as the management of sick & wounded in hospitals is concerned, this will have to be done by the Medical service of the Italian army. Any increase of Medical officers over the establishment which may be required, may be made either officially by the Government, or by volunteers from the Civil Medical Service either directly, or indirectly through the agency of voluntary societies like your own. But in any case the whole medical & surgical service would have to be placed under Military order & command.

The Government & its agents would have to provide all the hospitals . and would govern them all. Voluntary effort would do nothing in this case.

Government should provide all the bedsteads, bedding, linen, dresses, lint, bandages, splints, instruments, dressings, hospital diets, comforts, medicines, & indeed all appliances, but voluntary effort might materially aid in this matter by collecting quantities of all such supplies, to be issued for use and to hospitals & localities where from unforeseen circumstances

f120v

which always happen in war, assistance of this kind would be required.

You might have stores at all the cities along the frontier line of operations, with suitable agents ready at a moments notice to supply any wants, and you should have the means of transport, horses mules, carts &c to send out the supplies as soon as they are asked for.

To do this thoroughly you would require a very good staff of volunteer officers who would give their whole time & their lives to this service

You should proceed at once to make lists of volunteer nurses for hospitals, ~~La~~ women of all ranks should be invited. And without loss of time they should be sent into existing civil & military hospitals to learn the work they may have to engage in. They would have to consent to place themselves under any superior authority which the ~~Governor~~ Government might appoint in the hospital they were to serve.

f121 in rough JS hand, pencil

You might also obtain a voluntary staff of male nurses to cooperate with the Infirmaries, & these volunteers should have some preliminary training as well as the women. They too should be placed under the governing head of the hospital to which they are to be attached.

You might have volunteers for ambulance purposes, such as for collecting wounded on the field, carrying them, using the various kinds of field cartlets, wagons & in pitching hospital tents. In all these duties your volunteers should be trained now, & placed under the commanding authority in the district where they are sent to serve.

All voluntary agency of this kind would have to consent to place itself unreservedly under the ~~gr~~ authority appointed by the officer Commanding to ensure unity & to prevent failure.

f121v rough hand

Supplies, medicines &c should only be issued on the requirement of the governing authority in the hospital or of the officer commanding.

For all this you will require money, & another part of your agency should consist of collectors & of persons ~~to~~ conversant with the subject to purchase, keep & issue the required stores.

~~These are~~ There are no books except those of the United States Sanitary Commission which would tell you about voluntary efforts of this kind. I have asked M. Heath to apply for them to the Americans minister.

I have sent the Regulations of the British Army which are intended to render voluntary aid unnecessary & always to provide every thing required for the field. The lists & quantities given in these documents will shew what our practice is.

ff122-24 JS rough hand, pencil

So far as the general arrangements for convenient temporary & field hospitals are concerned, you will find all necessary details in the printed paper now sent. These details were used successfully during the late American war, and I have no doubt you will be able to apply such of them as are necessary to your present unfortunate circumstances.

At this season of the year, you are not likely to have much suffering in the field, that is, the men's constitutions will not become so deteriorated as would be the case in a winter campaign, but nevertheless whenever you have sick or wounded men to provide for and accommodate you will have hospital fevers & mortifications unless every attention is paid to general management.

Of course your surgeons will do all that is necessary in the way of treatment, but there is much that a surgeon cannot do and which can only be done by good nursing. The following are the very essence as to aspects of military hospital management and what can only be carried out by the greatest and most constant care.

1st absolute cleanliness of sick wards, rooms, beds, bedding, clothing &^c at all times by day and night. This requires the most constant care and attention on the part of nurses.

2. Immediate removal of all evacuations of patients and of all dressings and washing away from the buildings, and cleaning all the vessels.

3. Taking especial care that all lint and linen used for dressings are perfectly clean and good, and that the waterbasins, sponges, towels &c are perfectly illeg. Want of attention to these things loses many lives in all wars.

4. The greatest care should be taken that the ventilation of the

wards, rooms &c is so perfect both by day and night that no difference is perceptible between the freshness of air outside and the state of the air inside. Open windows in military hospitals are just as essential for the wounded and sick as is their daily food.

5. Never overcrowd a ward where there are sick and wounded men. The more space they have, the better. You should never give less superficial area to a wounded or sick soldier than 100 square feet, that is 10 feet by 10 feet or some similar proportions.

6. Nurses should be most punctual in administer diets, stimulants, medicines, drinks &c at the times ordered by the surgeon.

7. Whatever articles of food and drink, diets &c may be provided by private efforts in military hospitals should be administered solely under the directions of medical officers.

8. Nurses should attend medical officers on their visits and receive and obey their instructions.

9. Where trained female nurses are attached by the government to military hospitals, it is advisable to direct the orderlies (men nurses) to obey their instructions.

10. Each ward or two closely adjoining might be placed under one head nurse. A female nurse is required for every 25 serious cases to do them justice.

F124 JS note, pencil. Hard to read. I saw the par on the illeg and it appears to have been written to support a proposal of Miss Louisa Twining to undertake the nursing of Middlesex Hospital by illeg. Nearly all the med staff the governor opposing. I should think the occasion illeg.

I should think the occasion is reason which to raise the question of the qualifications of lady nurses.

Your letter could support the governors. I know nothing about the proposed nurses or their arrangements, but I should illeg .. consider it desirable or even positive to advocate either one side or the other. What we must do is to supply as many trained nurses, and lady nurses as we can, but I fear we should come to grief if we appeared to go out of our way to mix in any disputes.

I see also that you say that the wkh nursing is as good "*and is possibly superior*" to that of any other hospital. I do not think we should institute comparisons.

ff125-29v STATEMENT BY THE MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL ON NURSING (WITH NOTES BY FN INSIDE) TYPEWRITER & PENCIL DATED DECEMBER, 1865
{PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPIES}

Proceedings of the Medical Committee Relative to the Nursing. 16 Dec. 1865, considering proposition of Miss Louisa Twining to place the ladies of St Luke's Home, Queen's Square, in connection with Middlesex Hospital, with the view to their becoming Probationary Nurses. The first resolution carried at the meeting, 10 to 1 was "That, in the opinion of this Committee, the performance of the duty of nursing in this Hospital is unsatisfactory."

f128 FN comments:

Report: The recommendations of your Committee are as follows:-
1st. That the superintendence of the Nursing of the Hospital be separated from the duties of Housekeeping.

FN: but the Housekeeper must, of course, be under the superintendent.
3rd. That the Superintendent and a certain number of the Nurses reside in a separate building, to be designated the Middlesex Hospital Home for Nursing.

FN: No the Supt. *must* reside within the Hospital where her chief duties must always be.

6th. That Nurses be relieved from menial duties, such as scrubbing the wards.

FN: but the Scrubbers must reside *within* the Hospital & be under the Superintendent.

F130 Acland letter to JS. I have made a few corrections in this paper. But it ...Can you kindly suggest to me or to Captain Galton any modifications or any other points to be hinted at. The point is to ... with FN comments. What is this?

F131v FN: You see Villiers writes to me & Galton does *not*.

Ff132-33 JS pen. In reading over this paper by Dr Acland I am strongly impressed with the fact that the com of which he is a member and the assoc for improving the tr of the poor sick in Metro workhouses are not proceeding from the same ground. One of the earliest reforms proposed in workhouse mgt was a classif of the inmates...young, aged, lunatic, illeg, sick. [good material]

ff133v-34 pencil still JS:

Supposing you all come to a unan decision. The thing is perfectly certain, and that is that unless you appoint a separate and specially qualified gov for the sick wards and give the nec staff and nurses, your questions however you reply to them will leave the matter exactly where it is.

You ought but to forget that the public complaints although in some cases resting on deficient space, in all or nearly all were founded on bad admin, clearly traceable to the fact that the workhouse masters had not knowledge of sick and were trying to suppress pauperism by oppressing the sick. [good stuff]

f135 JS rough note pencil, re Miss O training at St T

f137 NOTE ON SISTERHOODS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. 1866

If I were to spend £1000 a year on extending

Sisterhoods & were to say to a man of mark

Will you be on my Council but only in name? --

You are to be responsible for everything I do
to the public

But you are to have no control over anything I do

What man would accept it?

It would be different if you & the Sisterhood collected all the funds yourselves -- & constituted a Government in yourselves -- a thing which has been done & may be done quite well.

but it is not *constitutional* to do the other

"guarded power" can't be --

The Supt must be made responsible as it were to herself

ff138-45 JS pencil good statement re metro and numbers but legible re needs of hospitals.

1. It appears that there are on an average 6000, what may be called acute sick in the London workh infs, and the disclosures recently made in report to the mgt and nursing of these sick have been such that it is imposs to continue the present system.

2 enquiry has shown that those sick poor are all more or less subject to great evil and hardship from defective hosp accom, defective medical attendance and treatment, defective nursing, defective general admin, want of classification

3. It appears, moreover, that these sick people have been considered out of much as a separate suffering class requiring very special arrs and appliances for their care and treatment such as are afforded in civil hosps, but that they have been included so to speak among the

other paupers and subjected to the same general admin arrs.

4. It is undeniable that to this mixing up of classes of poor who are altogether distinct from each other much of the present evils are due.

1 In remedying those evils it is absolutely necessary that the classes of sick, infirm and paupers shd once for all be separated and placed under distinct administrative, med and nursing arrs

2 What these arrs mt be has been long decided by the universal voice and experience of all civilized countries and continual improvements during centuries of trials have been going on until we have arrived at the present position, which is as follows:

3 All sick who cannot be treated as outpatients or at home are recd into special ests and have the best medical and surgical advice together with the best nursing and mgt which can be obtained. A first class London hosp shows what is necessary and no more than what is necessary for the care of sick,

4 this being so it is evident that the proposed reform shd aim at providing for the parish sick class the same appliances wh have been found necessary for the sick into of the parish for instance it were determined that all the parish sick of the metropolis shd be sent to existing civil hosps (provided they were large enough) in such a case these parish sick wd be at once liberated from their present unfavourable cond and placed in the same position as other sick. (Of course I take it for granted that the mere fact of sickness makes a total difference between the sick poor man and the able bodied pauper) we may discourage and suppress pauperism, we cannot suppress sickness, and nobody wd seek to discourage pauperism by miss using the sick poor.)

5. What then distinguishes the civil hosp from the wkh inf? 1st, a very special adm whose foundation is humanity and charity, and an earnest desire to restore the sick to health as soon as poss. To this end all the arrs are directed. 2. The best obtainable medical and surgical skill. 3. The best obtainable nursing 4. sufficient diet, comforts, clothing, medicines.

6. Now these things are so special and so important that they no more admit of being continued with illeg wkh mgt that with any mercantile pursuit. They are specialties. And if any good is to be done we must seek to realize them.

7. This can be done only in one of two ways: 1st to contract with civil hosps if there were sufficient of these. N.B. All the sick poor in Paris, inc those classes which enter a London wkh inf, are treated in the great civil hosps.

2nd to provide a sufficient amount of new hosp accom at the cost of the parishes similar to that afforded in the London civil hosps.

8. The first proposal is impracticable from room except for fever cases for which it is now in force. The second proposal is the one wh will have to be adopted.

It never follows that hosp accom: in 6000 sick must somehow or other be provided for London, you cannot deal efficiently with more than 1000 sick in one illeg; 6 hosps will be necessary

9. These must be found either by appropriating some of the best London workhouses after altering and enlarging them to make hosps up to the present requirements, or else some of them shd be so used and other

hosps built. Or if none are found suitable after special inq then 6 hosps will have to be built.

10. Having provided your hosps, the best and cheapest mgt will be to have one board or authority for the whole, under wh wd be a governor for each hosp, and under the gov the necessary staff.

11. Considering that the costs must be paid out of the rates, the central board must in some sense represent the ratepayers, but it ought in no sense to represent the present parish system with its traditions. If any good is to be done we must break once for all with the parish adm. But as the metropolis of the Br Empire is something more than a mere aggregate of parishes, and as the whole empire is more or less interested in the higher administration of its metropolis, it wd be very wise to add some member or members to represent the country and to be responsible either directly or indirectly to Parl. You ought to have two elements, one to ensure that the work is done, the other to satisfy the ratepayer that their money is properly spent.

12. Suppose these great fundamental reforms, viz., suitable hospitals and a suitable governing body provided, there wd be every facility at once for carrying out the details in the most satisfactory manner.

f146 NOTES ON A SANITARY REPORT PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED 7 JANUARY 1867, pale blue paper black-edged

Sketch of Report

or a Sanitary "Punch". Jan. 7/67

35 South Street, [printed address]
Park Lane,
London. W.

{BACK TO PEN:}

1. It has no foundation of
evidence for its conclusions
whatever.
2. The *opinions* upon which
it rests would not be
taken in any scientific
enquiry as a foundation
3. It defeats itself, by
resting the question of
cubic space on ventilation,
with which it declares
itself incompetent to deal.
It is self=contradictory.
4. It does not deal with the
administration of the wards
at all.

F147 JS notes embossed War Office pen Confound all cats and women.
Galton's points.

f149 NOTES ON A WORKHOUSE PAPER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

I wrote yesterday --
£32 per bed per annum
exclusive of "Establishment charges"

Yes = for you to contradict every word
I say.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

I hope we shant finish that
Workhouse paper -- marking it for the
general purpose -- for 2 months.
Because that will entail upon me
the expence of keeping up the type,
which I like

f150 JS War Office embossed pen 3 Jan 1867. I have put down the enclosed
as notes on the question. If you see meet, could you write to the clerk
of the Guardians at Chorlton on Medlock and ask him the question as to
cost per bed. If you agree to this perhaps the following might do.

"I am desirous of ascertaining the cost per bed per annum of your new
workhouse inf and would feel obliged if you would kindly tell me.

F151v

The annual cost per bed should include the following items:

- 1st. The proportion of cost & repair of buildings for sick
- 2nd. The proportion of administrative expences
3. The cost of bedding, inf clothing and the like.
4. Cost of food and medicines.
5. Cost of nursing and medical attendance.
6. Any other incidental charges.

You give I believe 1200 cubic feet per bed. Will you say whether this
is so.

F151

I am desirous of obtaining the information as a fundamental fact,
based on your experience of a new workhouse inf. In London hospitals it
is general considered that £30 per bed per annum includes everything,
and what I wish is a corresponding est derived from the Chorlton case,
which is one of the most important instances of improvement which has
yet occurred."

This fact if you could get it would be a capital foundation for the
estimate for London. I am not sure about the £30. Please put this right.

ff152-56 rough JS hand re Hardy's bill different from Hardy's speech

f157 JS War Office embossed Wed [20 Feb 1867]

ff160-61 Memo on WR letter on wkh reform stylized and 162

ff163-63v NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS (UNIONS, THE VOTE) PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED FEBRUARY 20, 1867

f163

[ca. 20 Feb. 1867]

Yesterday he asked Sir H. viva voce to tell him
the name of the Union --

Sir H. came to me --

And I said that, as we should receive no
more applications if we gave information against
Unions, I could not give the name unless Mr
Hardy gave his word not to use it.

There it remains.

Well, exactly, but Hardy will have the name.

Ld Houghton's little girl
called after me

The controversy is still raging.

Col: Reilly says: nothing could be worse} than the
others : " " better} Prussian
Hospls.

who melted? the F

what? in the D. of W.'s lines?

f163v

What is a Compound Householder?

It ought to be a Rates-Compounded-for-Householder-

not, that pays rates --

But you would give a vote to a {LINE DRAWN FROM THIS POINT TO ABOVE
PHRASE a Rates-Compounded-for-Householder-}

now? --

But -- on the "ancient presumption" every free
woman, married, with 4 acres of land
had a vote too.

If women had votes, they would vote so well
that men would have to be disfranchised.
As for me, I have had more political power
than if I had been a borough, returning 2 M.Ps.,

45752 f163 FN note to JS

sugar

Do you mean to finish reading that? --

f164 JS pencil rough note re debate last night, all against the fundamental pr of bill

f165 JS note Thursday War Office embossed [ca 8 March 1867], attack on him in House

f166 JS War Office embossed 10th Sir Proby has agreed

f167 JS rough pencil hand re bill out of House [March 12? 1867]
The Metropolitan Poor Bill is now out of the H of C committee. The great question now is whether any reconsideration of the principle cd be got in the H of Lords.

The adm machinery is really an extension of the present system of boards of guardians, with a minority of nominated members added. It is greatly to be feared that there will be the same quarrels, bribery, and inefficiency under this new system as there has been under the old. As the care of sick is an admin matter and not a question of guardians cd the pr be discussed fully in the H of Lords of having one central committee instead of a number and over this central com a first executive chairman to take charge of all the hospitals and their affairs?

F

If the H of L were to affirm this principle we shd have a most efficient admin whereas by leaving the matter in the hands of a number of boards there will be no uniformity of procedure and the Poor Law relief idea will still be carried into the care of sick with which care it has nothing to do.

ff168-69v NOTES ON SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S MINUTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f168

To Dr. Sutherland {IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}
March 15 1867

F.N.

As you renewed yesterday the conflict about
the Indian question, & directed me to
believe, on the authority of Sir Proby Cautley
that a S. of S. for India would *not* do
what a S. of S. for India *did* do, I
must remind you of the facts: --

[9:564]

[No answer is necessary -- indeed
no answer is desired -- as I am
positively certain that you will,
the very next time, repeat, for the
101st time, in spite of the facts,
the same thing.]

[end 9:564]

Lord de Grey empowered, in writing, you & me
to write such a Minute as we desired.
Lord de Grey accepted, in writing, the Minute
which we did write.

[9:564-65]

That the Minute did not go (to India) was
entirely our own doing.

We lost it by a day -- by our own fault.

I will give the dates, without comment: --

f169

Lord de Grey accepts the Minute.
-- For the next fortnight, Ministers
wavering in their seats
-- Ld de Grey wavering whether he
shall have a Committee in the
India Council to despatch
this Minute -- asks our advice
-- Daily Messengers between
Lord de Grey & F.N. & between
F.N. & Dr. Sutherland for a
fortnight.
-- Ministers go out -- Ld de Grey
leaves Minute in India Office
authorized by him & for his
successor

July 3

One more thing

[You have so repeatedly told me that *you had*
seen a letter to me from Ld Stanley, saying
that he would "trust Sir J. Lawrence
against us" -- that I must put down
the dates for you --

For altho' you made me get out of bed
to find the letters & show you the dates
& *you must have been convinced by your*
own eyes -- you again renewed the same

[end 9:565]

f169v

error]

II.

Lord Stanley & Sir John Lawrence

1866

[9:565-66]

January 3

Ld Stanley writes to me, about quite another matter, that he "would trust Sir J. Lawrence".

JANUARY 20

Date of Sir John Lawrence's famous Minute (& of his letter to F.N.)

February 20

F.N. receives Sir J. Lawrence's letter.

May 5.

Sir J. Lawrence's Minute found at the India Office

May 12.

Lord Stanley writes to F.N. that he "entirely concurs IN OUR VIEW that Sir J. Lawrence's proposal is wholly inadequate for the purpose & that Inspectors of Prisons are NOT the proper instruments."

===

No answer required but that you shall tell me the first Thursday in every month till

Doomsday that Lord Stanley concurs in Sir J. Lawrence {CUT OFF} Minute (against us--)!!! **[end 9:566]**

f170 JS note Friday [15 Mar 1867] Gulf. Thanks for your parting kick which it is always pleasant to receive by them as likes it. I hope please God to get back before long.

I have read last night's debate. It was very good, & makes one feel the evil of too great haste, a couple of months more time would have carried a complete measure. However, men's minds are strongly open now and permanent good has been done. Adieu.

F171 Friday. [15 March 1867] I wrote you about Mr Mill's speech by post this morning. Thank you all the same for sending the info. We must hope that Villiers will win the carrying out of the measure and the felicity of having a central admin.

2nd Thanks for the parting illegs. The "bunch of diets" is very interesting and nourishing and I hope has done you as much good as it has done me.

It is always best to be strictly accurate in these things 7 I send you the food back again according to your desire. We will renew the affair afterwards.

f172 JS rough note re principle, utterly failed re Xn charity ca. March 1867

The principle which has utterly failed to realize any one object of Christian charity is just this, Leaving the poor to themselves, trusting to their power of providing work under all circumstances and applying a starvation test to them if they fail.

On this failure there can be no difference of opinion.

If it be said that it is not a function of the present government a constitution to alter this then I fear the reply must be that we must begin to look about for another government or another constitution.

v

Of all the tests of inefficiency of any constitution a form of government surely no stronger could be found than just this, that in the Metropolis of the greatest empire the world has ever seen, & amongst the most practical people in the earth 7 millions a year are spent in Charity.

f173 JS pen note to FN re Jones's authority. No you are wrong. You could not get at the menagerie when it was in the desert, now you can.

In regard to the note of Mr Rathbone's, Last year you and I thought it quite necessary that some understanding should be come to as regards the future position of Miss Jones and the system which was to have been introduced for training pauper nurses. You remember, they would have their own way and ever since they have been in a state more or less of war in an enemies country. It is evident that they have proved, what nobody doubted, that good nursing is better than bad. It is evident that their class of cases admits of trained nursing being used to train

future nurses. It is evident that under the system or rather no system, they adopted, that pauper nurse training has burnt itself out. They have gained a footing for trained nurses at Mr Rathbone's expence, they may gain a footing for probationer training provided FN will throw her shield over them, in they paying the cost in a not very open way through F.N. The have given up the idea of training pauper nurses.

This then is the position. In what way can you help in this? I don't think that either you or your committee would like a pious fraud. No good could come of it. But I have all along thought that you might take training schools under your protection provided they conformed to your rules and their pupils came up to your requirements. Personally, I should object decidedly to receiving and paying money as Mr Rathbone proposes; amongst other reasons, because it contemplates an entire change in the main original intention of training pauper girls as nurses and intends to found a training school for nurses in a workhouse, where without a very distinct and definite system of responsibility, a position on the part of the training head, there would be the chance of success. So that so far as the main question of even trained probationers (not paupers) is concerned, they are still without system, Miss Jones is still without authority, and the governor has still the same power to appoint spies and to make or unmake the nursing as he thinks fit.

The *unsystem* is the same, the subjects are only altered and want of system is forsooth to be guarded against by F.N. and her shield. (Besides I feel strongly that the governor will care for no one, nor no shield so long as the law enables him to do just what he likes.)

As the matter now stands, I fear that you could not interfere. I remember Mr Farnall's note to you in returning Mr Rathbone's letter, and I should feel disposed to say to Mr Rathbone that you do not think you could be of service in the present state of the question. He had better see Mr Farnall and Mr Villiers and tell them exactly what has taken place from first to last, and hear from them to what extent they can help him extend directly or indirectly, But I think all this had better be done without you. When the time comes you can help most certainly, but at present you are called to take the side of *no-system* & to throw your name over it, which I do not think you should do. Let him write you after he has seen Messrs Villiers and Farnall, telling you about what they advise and then you will be able to see your way. J.S.

...pauper nurse training has burnt itself out, have got a footing for trained nurses at Mr Rathbone's expense [good strong letter of JS

ff175-75v NOTES ON MIDWIFERY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. APRIL 22, 1867 **[8:176-77]**

f175

[illeg. Can you attend? No!!!]

Now -- *This is one of many things.*

This is a question constantly arising.
Our Midwives trained at King's Coll: are, on the
one hand, *not* employed in the country because
the Guardians have no power to allow them the
Parish Fee.

On the other hand, we are besieged with applications
to give paid Workhouse Nurses *one* month's
instruction in Midwifery to be employed
not certified as *Accoucheurs* in Workhouses.

This I flatly refuse.

And I think there should be a regulation
of the Poor Law Board to prevent Guardians
from employing uncertified Midwives
any more than unqualified Medl Officers

~~The~~ Our Committee
upon the recommendation of their
Medl Officers & the Supt

{REST OF FOLIO BY SUTHERLAND}

f175v

Now let me tell you what is constantly happening

Yesterday the Winchfield Bd of Guardians,
a powerful Union of 38 Parishes
appoint for the first time a paid Nurse
to their Workhouse
And they ask us to give her *one* month
to qualify her *as Accoucheur*
adding "*Of course we require no certificate*"

Paris gives 2 years

I did so -- And they immediately reply --

we don't want you -- we can get it elsewhere
and they have done so

f176 defect of this pamphlet. C..

ff177-78v NOTES ON NURSING IN INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED JUNE 7, 1867

f177

Well: --

[9:956-57]

Miss Carpenter came here yesterday on very serious
business.

She began by telling me what every one knows but which
seemed to have struck her as something new --
the awful state of the India native women --

I won't dwell upon this --

She has got some enlightened Parsees who have
followed her to London --

She enlarged -- upon the horrible Parsee observances
the women defiling themselves with the priests as
an act of worship -- at Bombay --

at Calcutta, the Bengalie women. mewed up in
dark close out of the way cells, while the men
enjoyed the drawing-rooms --

(but that's the way of men all over the world --)

Editors Note

Now for the business she came to me about: --

f177v

she says the Hospls are in the most awful condition --

she gave me the most curious account of the
Memorial Nursing School founded in memory of
Lady Canning --

It is *entirely broken up*.

The Englishwomen all drank.

But in the Medical College Hospital at
Calcutta where it was founded the Eurasian
women who before would not lay their hands
to anything when they saw the Englishwomen doing
it began to do it too.

And the Eurasian Matron & Eurasian Nurses
make a very tidy staff now at Calcutta Med:
Coll. Hosp. --

she says the material *is* there, if it were trained: --
that there are many Eurasians, many natives & even
many Englishwomen out there who could be trained
-- Englishwomen who don't marry because they
are too poor to marry educated men & too
well educated to marry soldiers

f178

she describes the state of the Nursing in Bombay & Madras Hospitals as something inconceivable -- both by the native men & native women -- worse than anything you can possibly describe.

she says, if I wait for the action of Government I shall wait for ever.

she wants to put me into communication with divers people at Madras & Bombay -- & she says) if I don't do it, she shall ask Miss Edwards, of Bristol.

she says, Ld Napier would do anything -- & she would advise me to write to him, as I know him --

she also says, there is a Dr. Hunter, of the Eye & General Hospitals at Bombay, who is now in London (he came over with her) who would do anything.

also: she says there is a Parsee, of Bombay, now in London for a month, whom she would like to put me in communication with.

f178v

This is on another subject.

Miss Carpenter says: she finds Sir S. Northcote very amenable indeed.

both on the subject of her Model Training Schools & of Jaols --

He actually wrote to her to come up & see him. [end 9:957]

ff179-82 NOTES ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE DATED JUNE 14, 1867 **[9:569-71]**

f179

Sir B. Frere told me more in an hour of Indian administration & its difficulties & what ought to be done than Ellis told me in 6 months or than I learnt from Strachey in 2 days or from the whole India Council (S. of S., R. Commission & all) in 6 years --

I will do my best to give you the chief points. But I am afraid, so overdone with business as I have been, that that will I have no time.

The main point is: --

that under Ld Dalhousie & Ld Canning, great steps had been taken to give responsibility & a certain degree of power to local administration keeping of course the strings of the purse in the Supreme Govt, which is & ought to be the Treasury

that, under Ld Elgin, this began to go back -- that Sir John Lawrence has done his very best, has struggled under the *genius loci* in vain. & that during the last 4 years, things have very much resumed their former fatal course

f179v

which I am going to describe --
 that things are in such a position now that
nothing is done -- & that they must soon
 come to a *dead lock* --

The process is this: --

~~F~~a it is *all* Reporting --
 there is *no* doing --

there is absolutely no responsibility anywhere

what is done is this: --

a Report is drawn up say at Bombay, which
 as Sir B. Frere says, is as far from
 Calcutta, as the Easternmost point of
 Europe is from London --
 it is then sent to a number of authorities in
 & out of the Presidency Govt --
 it is then sent to Calcutta --
 it is referred from Calcutta to a number
 of authorities all over Bengal
 it comes back to Calcutta --
 it goes thro' the Supreme Council --
 it comes back to Bombay, after a period of

f180

perhaps 3 years, tied up with a quantity
 of minute restrictions, perhaps impossible
 to be realized --
 it may even happen that it has to be referred
 back to Calcutta a *second* time --
 Now a 3 years Officer is an *old* officer in India
 And when it comes back again, the old Officer
 is changed, a new one is there, who has some
 new crotchet in his head --

And the course of Reporting has to be gone
 thro' again --

But there is something more: --

an active Engineering Officer (say at Bombay)
 may be ordered by Sir B. Frere during the
 rains when the men can't work to prepare
 plans --

Well, the *shortest possible* time when these
 plans can come back from Calcutta will be
 just when the *next* rains begin --
 And so with every thing.

f180v

Sir B. Frere says: --

it has come to such a pitch that everything
must come to a *dead lock* --

He said in the most impressive manner

I have done nothing

I have been like a squirrel in a cage

And my heart is broken -- And so is Sir

R. Napier's --

But, he says, my successor, Mr. Fitzgerald, who is a
very good man, with Sir R. Napier, might do
much. But the system paralyses every
exertion.

He said -- there can't be 3 better men than

Dr Leith of Bombay

Ellis

Madras

~~Malleon~~

Calcutta

Strachey

But they *have done nothing*.

f181

He says --

in a country like India

the only thing to be done

would be to have a Budget --

to give the Presidency Govts the responsibility
of action

up to that sum

tie them down to that sum --

but says -- that work is to be done --

you have the responsibility of it --

we shall send a whip to report on the

work done -- & to shew you up if you

have not done it

And *you* must report to us every year as

to the work done --

Now, he says, it is just the contrary --

the whip is to *prevent* the work being done --

till every minute detail has been reported

on by a parcel of people who know nothing

f181v

the whip says to them, "the work shall *not* be done" --

He says they won't --

He says: -- he himself (Sir B. Frere) is looked upon as a rebel in the India Council & has been told that he must "make things pleasant" --

But, he says, Sir S. Northcote is well disposed.

He says that when he was in the Punjaub years ago, it was not so -- that, on the contrary they were told, get up those improved Barracks in the shortest time possible & that he himself (Sir B. Frere) when he was a little man, in the Punjaub & in Scinde, has incurred large expenditures in housing

f182

troops, & had it *sanctioned afterwards* without a day's delay --

He says: -- Sir J. Lawrence has not one good man about him -- & that Sir W. Mansfield is the best.

He says: -- he always knew when Sir J. Lawrence had had a letter from me -- or even from the D. of Cambridge -- for a little action took place at once. **[end 9:571]**

He says: -- there *must* be a total alteration of the system -- or Indian Administration will become impossible

He says: -- he (Sir B.F.) has done nothing for Bombay.

ff183-84v NOTES ON THE LYING-IN WARDS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED JUNE 17, 1867 [8:193-94]

f183

This was written (5 weeks ago to Dr. Sutherland when Miss Jones was pressing me for an immediate decision (as far as regarded advice to her)

[ca. 17 June 1867]{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}| to be returned to F.N.

It's a very serious matter -- |-----

It amounts to this: -- that I am to decide whether the Lying in Ward, with all its advantages to the poor in training Midwives, is to be given up

There has been either real or fancied increase of illness among the Lying=in women --

Miss Jones, who ~~is~~ is the only one who has any sense, is positive that it comes mainly from the Post Mortem Theatre & its proximity --

Dr. Priestly says that it comes from having a lying in ward in a General Hospital.

But, she says, that is nonsense -- There are no other Patients on the floor -- or near them.

And, she says, Dr. P. does not like the Midwifery Nurse School, which he thinks beneath him & wants to have the ward for the students.

However the matter is serious enough & has to be decided.

f183v

She had said: -- 1. that no students were to go into the ward, except in the regular course with their Professor --

they go in perpetually, & straight from the Post Mortems

2. that the smell of the Post Mortem Theatre is *quite* perceptible in the ward.

They won't believe it.

3. she had said that no unmarried Lying=in woman, was to be admitted *except* by an authority from her --

they have admitted such -- latterly 5 with disease upon them --

& there has been Pyaemia in the ward.

f184

Certainly I don't mean to advocate it.
 But -- Dr. Priestly, *she thinks*, is going to condemn
 it, to abolish the Lying-in ward
 he has been at the Directors already --
 & to take extraordinary Parturition cases
 into the *same ward* for *his* students.

I can't do that
 The Lady Supt comes here herself, lays the
 whole case before me & says that a
 decision is imminent.

It is not exactly so --

The Council of St. John's House pays for the
 ward.

We pay them.

Miss Jones really manages the whole affair --

She & I -- She comes to me, & says: What

f184v

do you advise? --

How am I (Miss Jones) to ascertain
 whether the ward is really (under proper
 management) so unhealthy as that this
 invaluable School is to be given up? --

Because, there *is* strong ground for suspicion
 that Dr. P. is only intriguing to get the ward
 for his own students with a worse
 kind of cases --

But, she says, they *can* only do that, *if* she & I
 consent. They don't dare --

And her & my consent depend upon whether we
 really think that we are killing women to
 teach midwives --

1 case of puerperal fever which recovered --
 Pyaemia

2 cases of small pox came in with it upon them
 " " scarlet fever " " " " " "

ff185-85v NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED BEFORE JULY 10, 1867

f185

Sir B. Frere spoke most earnestly
against Standard Plans --

Won't Sir J. Lawrence say that we want him to adopt
our Standard plans? --

You must say something about their
own Sanitary Commn advisors
Clos By is quite an old man
I am sure it is quite 30 years since I read
what you refer to in his works.
let me see it

f185v

For me to write to
Sir J. Lawrence -- well
Sir S. Northcote} I postpone, tho' I have
Ld Stanley } postponed too long already.

Sir P. Cautley - I mean to write to him --
if you don't conjoin with me,
I shall write by myself --
as I did before

{REST OF PAGE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND} and f186

ff187-87v NOTES ON CORRESPONDENCE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED JULY 16, 1867

f187

I never dreamed for an instant of not
taking Galton into it.
What have I else been writing to him
for for 6 weeks?

I can't read your Draft --
I must mention Ld S'law
He will see, as he will think, on that paper
that there are Commissions
Did not you mean to mention that paper by
name?
Did you mean me to say that I have written to Sir
J. Lawrence
Sir B Frere would do anything I asked
I should certainly let Sir B. F. know what
I have done any way
Lady Napier has written to me that she is in
England -- returning to India next week -- &

[9:577]

f187v

asking to see me -- to communicate a message
from her husband -- & ask for mine in
return. She comes tomorrow afternoon.

[end 9:577]

If they could have framed a set of Rules
on purpose to secure disorder, these would
be they

~~You say Yes~~

Edgill (of Chorlton) called here
Ungrateful pig -- he sent me his pamphlet
(20) on the Chorlton Union Infy

ff188-91v NOTES ON INDIA OFFICE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED JULY 22, 1867

f188

Sir B Frere was here for more than 2 hours, [10:36-38]
reading papers & letters --
He entirely approved of my letter to Sir S. Northcote
which he said was a very moderate
statement of the case --
He said he would present it himself, -- if
we liked it --
[The only mistake he said is that the Bombay
Commission was *not* broken up]

He said he thought it better that we should
know exactly the state of the case as to
[June 19 1866] {DATE:IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}
Lord de Grey's Minute (which *he* had
never heard of) before we sent in the
letter to Sir S. N. And he goes himself
to the I.O. this mornng to rout out the Minute
& to let us know what has been done --
He believes nothing --
He says, the I.O. is in a state of inexpressible
confusion -- that when he asks for a paper

f188v

in the Military or Public Dept, he is told
that those papers are partly in the Public
& partly in the Judicial Dept.

[He did not at all admit Ellis' excuse for
not finding Sir J. Lawrence's Despatch,
which he, Sir B.F., had of course seen.
Because, he says, the above fact is well
known]

He says that *nothing will ever be done*
till there is a special Public Health
Dept *in the India Office here* -- as well
as in India.

And he offered, almost with tears in his
eyes, to be "our Aide de camp", to work out
such a Dept.

f189

Yes, but he says the defect of the W.O. Sanitary Comm: is that they have no power to ask, *Has the thing been done?* that it is absolutely necessary to have a man or a Dept in the I.O. to ask & to see, *Has the thing been done?* -- & to furnish the S. of S. annually with a Report, not bigger than an 8^{vo} pamphlet, to be laid before Parlt annually as to what *actually has been done.*

And he actually proposed that he himself, Sir B.F., would undertake the Dept if we thought him fit, if he could get the S. of S. to consent, & if we would help him.

f189v

Sir B.F. will write or come himself this afternoon to tell me the fate of Ld de Grey's Minute.

He says, that there could not be a better time than the present to urge our suit -- But he says, it must be between this & August 15 that the I.O. is actually come to a dead lock because of the badness of its arrangements that they are *compelled* to turn into the new I.O. *before* August 15 -- that there is then to be a general (compulsory) re-arrangement of sub=Departments, papers & the like -- that Sir S.N. would, he is sure, consider

f190

the subject now, both because Parlt will soon be up, & because of this compulsory re-arrangement of the I.O. -- that he, Sir B.F., is going to stay in town on purpose --

~~What does cancelled mean? --~~

Sir B.F. laughed immensely at that paper -- he said quite right -- quite right -- quite right for the official mind -- keep *that* for the official mind.

You know, he looked at that -- & said, it is all very good. But what you want is some one man or Dept here, to ask of India, What have you done? -- He says,

f190v

there is absolutely *no means at all* in the I.O. to forward a Sanitary administrative point at all -- And he told me -- some dreadful stories to that effect -- resulting in disease & death -- under his own Bombay administration --

He is going to send me the Orissa Report, some Jail Reports, & some Poona Reports -- which he says particularly the Orissa Report, illustrate better this fact than anything he could say --

He says the Orissa administrative disaster is beyond historical parallel --

He says -- that only applied to Bengal

f191

Shall I accept his offer of fathering the letter by presenting it himself? --

There's no doubt about that.

Sir B.F. read that. And he was of opinion that that, or something like that, should go in to Sir S.N. as a criticism on Sir J. Lawrence's Minute which he said he (Sir B.F.) had, when he saw it at the time, totally disagreed with

But he afterwards said that as Sir S.N. would be quite certain to show my letter to the Council, we had better send something of that kind in afterwards, as private.

He also read this -- & wished me to send that in.

But I said that, till we knew what

f191v

was the context of Ld de Grey's Minute it would not do for us to appear as if we had in any

[end 10:36]

f192 NOTES ON THE SULTANS OF THE GULF & OF TURKEY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. JULY 23-24, 1867

you see when the Sultan of the Gulf says come on Thursday or Saturday or Friday considerably puts out the Sultan of Turkey whom Sir B. Frere for the moment depends hurry is that then Sir B.F. must come to day or tomorrow?

"made my own arrangements". And they are all undone -- I have. But I've had no answer -- dear soul, I've 50 other people to see. And I'm not at all "at ease".

f192v NOTES ON RATES PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE & ANOTHER HAND

Angleterre {IN PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}

{IN PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

If that letter means anything, it means that till he knows that those rates &c will be sanctioned, he won't give the list of names

{IN PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}

Miss Florence Nightingale,
35 South Street,
Park Lane,
London

{IN PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

He means me to get the rates agreed to first.

The question is: -- what am I to do?

f193 25 July [1867] note to FN no minute copied, decided doc to be signed by all the members, FN pencil note on: how many minutes are there between 12.20 & 3.45 The minute has been copied, but it was decided that being a document of great importance, it should be signed by all the members. Half the signatures have to be got yet. Dr Massey is at Portland and is expected tomorrow. Mr Frederick says it will be sure to be sent tomorrow. It is certain not to be sent in today, but it will make no difference about your letter. They have a copy of the India paper at the India Office, and can get it there.

ff194-95 NOTES ON ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. JULY 25, 1867**f194**

Army Estimates on to night --

Sir Harry comes here at 3 to know whether we wish him to say anything about a greater scheme of Army re-organization than this miserable two pence --

Whether he should propose a Commission to enquire into the whole question as a whole --

Well but that's just what Sir H. says -- a Commission to enquire into the *whole*

D or [?]

Well, then, do it -- Let us do what Cap G. asked us

f195

He asked us to send him something farther.
 D__l take me if I would have been
 inveigled by you to send for that d__d
 Report --

Well but about to night
 Sir H. says -- it's worth while if you have anything
 to propose to bring it forward year after year --

Well but it's tonight

Sir H. says, Ld Grey's plan is the best: for
 having men for a few years' enlistment only --
 But our authorities say: -- we have not the
 means of training them.

F196 JS pencil notes Doors and Windows

ff198-201v NOTES ON INDIA OFFICE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
 DATED ca. 25 JULY 1867

f198 [archivist: F.N. to ~~Capt. Galton~~ reporting
 on conversation with Sir
 Bartle Frere --
 [July 24
 1867]

1.

He has seen Lord de Grey's Minute -- **[10:34-36]**

Then, he was told that nothing had taken
 place upon it --

Unlike Ellis, he was not satisfied -- And
 he went ferreting on

[He says, *by the way*, that Anderson is one
 of the best men they have -- but that
 Anderson told *him*, as he told Ellis,
 that there was nothing, absolutely
 nothing -- when there were *three*
 Despatches --

But that *we ought to get hold of*
 Anderson, because if he once takes up a
 thing, *he will go on with it*.

He says, *by the way*, that there is a
 Standing Order at the I.O., that I, F.N.,
 am to see any paper I call for

f198v

He says that he has found a Despatch of Lord Cranborne, upon Ld de Grey's Minute (which Minute, he says, is almost word for word our Memo)

Ld Cranborne's Despatch is most unfortunate.

He says, finance must come first -- when he sees what they can spend, then he will see what can be done to save life --

instead of, as Sir B. Frere says, saying --

Save our lives, cost what it will --

then we can work

he says

We will save your lives if it does not cost too much --

At the end, there are some good Suggestions as to using municipal bodies & local Governments --

To this, he says, Sir J. Lawrence replied.

And he says I (F.N.) have seen his reply.

But I don't know what.

He Sir B.F. has seen the Reply

f199

In April last, Sir S. Northcote wrote a Despatch, "a good administrative Despatch", which Sir B. Frere found.

But, he says, nothing in all this alters our position.

He says, with regard to my letter, I ought to say civilly to Sir S N. that he must go back to Ld de Grey's Minute --

& that I ought to call for all these intermediate papers --

He wished very much to have taken my letter *with* him (which he read over again most carefully)

and to have taken the famous "doors & windows" paper with it (my letter) at once to Sir S. Northcote --

I said: I didn't think that would do -- that I must return the "doors & windows" to you --

f199v

He said -- well, the sooner you do anything
the better --

If you could send me (Sir B. Frere) your
letter *to day*, to give to Sir S. Northcote --
taking care that the "doors & windows"
paper goes in *to day* to the I.O. so
much the better --

f200

Sir B. Frere says: --

that, if the administrative system in India is bad,
that in the I.O. is worse

he says --

we are divided into 8 Committees of 5 or 6,
who all do the business which would be
much better done by one man, Clerk or
Secretary --

the business is actually not done
we meet every Thursday the whole lot
of us --

every thing that is unimportant is then
done

every thing that is important is left undone

for, if any one man moves that the
papers be adjourned, every one else accedes
personal questions, of course, come up first

those are always brought up

but *no* administrative question ever gets
on a single stage

there is no time for it

we have just time to do the useless things the
trivial things.

f200v

So, every thing is adjourned from year
to year

it is like the Delhi sores

it is always on the list

& no one puts on even a plaster --

I miss him so --

He says -- the thing is now to let drive at
Sir S. Northcote without a day's delay
to get Anderson (who is efficient) on our
side --

& to take advantage of the move to the new
Office

& of the recess --

¶f He says -- "I will make 35 South St
the India Office, while this affair is
pending".

f201

Sir B. Frere told me most curious facts --
(he was here for hours)

he said: -- you need not be so miserable
about the delay in the Public Health Service --
for you have given such a stir to the
natives that we hear of nothing else --

This last year no European in Bombay could
get a house --

All the good sea breezy houses belong to
Parsees -- who, tho' rich, lived in the
miserable parts of the town, & let their
houses to Europeans --

This last year all the Europeans came to me
& complained they could get no houses --

I made great enquiries -- And I was
told this: --

the boy Parsees go to the Grant Medical College
& "Sir, we read there Miss Nightingale's &
other works on air, & construction &c".

f201v

The Mama & Grandmama in Parsee families are the tyrants.
 The poor Papa had begged in vain to be allowed to live in his own house --
 They *would* live in the bad parts of the town
 But when the boy came home & found a sick child at home, he would say
 "Grandmama, you're killing that child
 Miss N. says so" --
 And Grandmama listened to the boy, tho{CUT OFF}
 she would not listen to Papa --
 And Grandmama became a Sanitary reformer in spite of herself --
 And they moved to the new house out of the narrow street with no window to the sea-side house. [end 10:36]

 Sir B.F -- says "Miss Carpenter did much good" -- [9:700]
 He says -- the gaols were like D. Dalgetty's horse -- when he had been taught to live on 1 straw a day, he died the gaol mortality from starvation -- excessive [end 9:700]

ff202-02v NOTES ON PERSONNEL IN INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
 DATED ca. 26 JULY 1867

f202

Lady Napier | [9:577-78]

Ellis is afraid of me & does not dare to come home --
 He says, if he is deluded away to Norwood again, his life is not worth 10 minutes' purchase --

Pycroft is leaving India --
 Arbuthnot, Chief Secy is to have Pycroft's place on the Council --
 Ellis is offered the Chief Secyship but waits my concurrence --

Lady Napier did not know of Macpherson's death.
 She brought me this letter from Ellis
 Oh no he refers to Europe

f202v

I *have* heard from him
And I have alas seen Lady Napier
And I have also heard from Sir B. Frere

Capt. G.
says the jealousy is of the Army Sanitary Comm
that our paper must dwell as exclusively
as possible on the mode of procedure
to be deprecated in India --
as little as possible either on the disregard
of the Army San Comm
or on the door & window

he also says that it is essential to obtain
Sir B Frere's support
as Sir S. Northcote is quite sure to shew
our paper to the Council

[end 9:572]**f203** ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

H.W.

Deputy Insp Genl Porteous Eq. MP
E. India United Service Club
St. James Square

Madras

ff204-08v NOTES ON PORTEOUS' COMMENTS ABOUT NURSING IN INDIA PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JULY 31, 1867

f204

Porteous

[9:958-59]

Well -- he came evidently intent on proving to
me that no Matron was wanted --
that the Doctor ought to be Matron --
& that wretched coolie women under the
Dr. were the best Nurses --

But, luckily for me, he was drunk --
And, before he went, (he was here 2 1/2 hours)
he had admitted every thing.

The General Hospl is half Military -- 3rd Batt.
& half Civil -- The Military (60 Patients) have
the same amount of room as the Civil (290 Pat.)
The Civil are 250 beds male 40 female --
The female is so bad that Porteous recommends the
Govt incessantly to pull it down -- He says,
nothing else will do.

[By the way, he says that no respectable woman
goes into Hospl -- They are all prostitutes]

f204v

He says that these (which is made such a fuss about) "Hospital Nurses" are only for the small Infirmary (10 beds) all scabies & sore eyes) of the asylum itself -- that the "passed Hospl Nurses" know nothing whatever -- & are *never* "passed" into any other Hospital & are no use -- They only have a few Lectures from the Dr.

And this (he said) after having said that there was no need to send out any Trained Nurses to Madras -- that their Nurses were perfect.

However, he came to. And he said that, in that General Hospital our Training School must begin -- that it was no use connecting it with that.

Well, he said, first of all that they had Nurses & to spare at Madras -- then -- that we could get *no* material at all to

f205

train at Madras --

then that we, might get a few Eurasians & natives to train.

He gave a most deplorable account of the prospect of European life --

He said -- why you can't get your drummer boys out of soldiers' children --

And you won't get your Nurses out of soldiers' girls.

You are obliged to have your lady's maids out from Europe. And they won't stay with you. They get sick & either have to be sent back or ~~to~~ marry --

He said, he was afraid, our Nurses would not be able to keep their health there --

He is strongly of opinion (I don't agree) only to send out a Matron that she should be supreme in the Hospl -- that she should train Eurasians & natives (I think she *must*

£205v

But -- which was the one built by Sir C. Trevelyan
which he says is capital.

have 2 Head Nurses *at least* to support her)

He says -- we must ask *not* less than
£20 to £25 a month & *a house* -- that no
woman could keep her health for less -- &
that her position ought to be *supreme* --

He says -- the Eurasians & natives are most
untrustworthy --

that they never can command the respect
of the soldier Patients who always rebel
against them & call them 'blackie'

He says -- he doesn't believe we can find
more pupils (& *no* European pupils) than
will do for Madras alone in Madras
nor for Bangalore alone in Bangalore --

He says -- it's no use looking for supply
to soldiers' widows or daughters.

£206

Monthly salary? of teachers of College
of Medical College & High School?
Government teachers? normal school? --

[end 9:959]

a refrain
sufficient pay

250 sup: a month & a house

Eurasians at the Lying-in Hospital (half-caste) **[9:959-60]**
Bangalore

Mrs. Seckina

Lying-in Matron

f207

Lying-in Hospital

he repeated over & over again -- we are so proud of this --

200 beds -- no Puerperal Fever --
all Eurasian Patients (half-caste

Midwives here trained

But -- no Permanent Midwife --

the Matron, of whom he spoke enthusiastically,
only housekeeper --

The pupils deliver *all* the ordinary cases
without a Midwife & without a Doctor.

(No native Patients) {ACTUALLY ONE BIG BRACKET}

(All Eurasians)

The Dr. comes in for the extraordinary cases --

And the Dr. gives lectures --

I said -- & they are by to see the extraordinary
cases delivered.

Here he got so drunk that he spent at least
half an hour in explaining to me that there

f207v

was nothing to be "seen" -- that everything
was under the bed-clothes

But -- he says -- these Midwives (who are
paid by Govt) are employed exclusively
among the rich.

He gives the most deplorable account of
the Medical subordinates --

He says -- the money we have spent too
in sending natives to be educated as
Drs here is lost -- that they pass
their examinations splendidly -- but
that they don't live like gentlemen
afterwards -- are not respected --
& sink into contempt.

He says that all these "Dispensaries" have
20-40 beds -- chiefly alas! prostitutes
-- that they are waited upon, by native
women who know *nothing* --
that they ought to be abolished.

The Native Infirmary is large -- & he would
like to unite the female part of the

f208

Genl Hospl with it

They have 80 Leper beds -- always full

He says: the Lying-in Patients always have their food brought in to them at the Hospl by their friends -- The Hospl neither feeds nor cooks for them -- And all the women, except the Europeans, are naked in bed.

He says: -- it answers very well.

(I can't understand it)

He says: -- the Hospl Patients never stay in bed. They pull off the bed clothes (the moment the Dr. is gone) & lie about the floor -- the same in the Asylums

He says -- that Ld & Lady Napier have devoted themselves entirely to the Hospls, & would do anything

f208v

He gave me a most interesting account of Ld Napier's famine tour

Ld Napier used to work 16 hours a day & would actually go to see the sick put up (on the tour) after the day's work

[end 9:960]

ff209-09v NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED END OF JULY, 1867, very rough, can't read all even at BL

f209

That is well provided with just [PAGE RIPPED] the {illeg}
This very badly -- she wants funds for it {PAGE RIPPED} of the {illeg}
My son my {illeg. Lord?} is white
{DATE: IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [ca. End July 1867]
{CUT OFF Galton?} says: -- it won't do to take up the door question
{CUT OFF} Till I get that, I can't re-write my letter.
{CUT OFF} perfectly impossible for me to see 3 men on the
{CUT OFF} same day --
{CUT OFF} Sir B.F. expressly says: that he had better not
{CUT OFF} introduce the other two to me --
send me some Tomorrow is India mail
Algerian Report Yes What books shall I send Hewlett
the Health officer of Bombay --
Algerian Rept

Whether Sir B. Frere would not be able to
criticize my paper more freely if I were to send
it to him instead of showing it
then I don't see much use in the Exhibition

f209v

I sent [illeg] with that to Ld Stanley

I don't trust to that
It was he who invented the
India Council -- which it
just on the same principle
So you think you {illeg} {illeg} at a day

Where in second?

Will they go before next year?

only for £28 {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

14 {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

Now I have taught you to read
Must I teach you to write?

f210 NOTES ON SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S TIME IN OFFICE PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED BEFORE 1 AUGUST 1867

write that down {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

{THIS SECTION WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}

{FN WRITES:}

That's just what I say -- and
If nothing is done before August 1, it will be just
as it was last year -- & nothing will be done
this year -- And next year Sir J. Lawrence's
time of office is up.

ff211-15v NOTES ON SIR B. FRERE, SIR S. NORTHCOTE & INDIA OFFICE
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 14, 1867

f211

[archivist: Probably after interview
of FN & Sir B. Frere Aug. 14]

{FN WRITES:}

[9:591-94]

Sir B. Frere says:

that now is the time to attack Sir S. Northcote
that if we don't do it this autumn, we shall not
do it at all
that Sir S. Northcote is willing but weak --
very hard working & conscientious
but always anxious to be *safe*
that he won't do anything revolutionary but that
he is anxious to do something --
but that the whole thing turns upon my seeing
him personally
& that I must make his education like a
baby
that he is far more hard working than Lord de
Grey
but has far less insight & perception than
Sidney Herbert (which of course I knew)
that he would like me to write, offering to
see him
that he Sir S N -- is only going to leave
London for 10 days this autumn
& he Sir B. F. -- only for 2 days --

f211v

that they don't go into their new office till
 Sept 15 --
 & that in short he Sir B. F. thinks these
 next 2 months are the time for work --
 Sir B.F. says the two debates have only
 unveiled their excessive weakness &
 confusion
 that Ld Cranborne is full of splendid fallacies
 that he is energetic, imaginative -- & that when he
 talks about the confusion of Indian Affairs in
 the Ho: of C. he positively foams at the mouth
 Sir B.F. says it's all very well to talk of a despot
 Viceroy or Governor being the right thing.
 Yes. it's the right thing if he can have
 20 Wazeers in his Cabinet behind him, & cut their
 heads off if they don't give good advice --
 but what they want is not more Councils but more
 Counsel -- counsel from men who know
 something about it --
 That we talk about India as they talk about
 Europe -- a man remembers something about
 Devonshire in his youth & he thinks

f212

Spain & France are like it
 or he talks about Shields or Wapping &
 thinks England is like Shields or Wapping
 So, he says, we talk about India --
 A man may know 20 things about India -- &
 he mayn't know 20 other things

He says -- the stuff that has been talked about the
 failure in Orissa -- about it's not the men
 but the system -- is like:
 if you have a bad mariner with bad barometers
 who can't foresee or provide for the storm
 which wrecks his ship -- which a better
 mariner could provide against -- it's no
 use saying -- it's not the man but the
 system -- What you must do is to give
 the man better training

Then he went into more details --

He said: -- Lord Elphinstone first, at Bombay,
 saw & acted upon the absolute necessity of
 reclaiming the marsh lands --

I did what I could --

But now -- we can't sell the lands we reclaim

f212v

we've *too much* land.

Well -- they can't see that it's a matter of health, not of market.

And we've got the subject up now at the I.O.

Then -- about the Barracks --

You must be cautious with Sir S.N. --

If you say every man must have -- cub. ft. & then multiply that by the men -- it mounts up to such a sum that the Council snub Sir S.N. (who really doesn't know anything about it) at once -- What you must say is -- do the worst first -- & find out which are the worst.

Lastly, he said that he was quite sure the "doors & windows" paper *had* attracted Sir S. N.'s attention in my letter. For, last Thursday, at the Council, when it came up, he, Sir B. F. was prepared to stop it & bring it forward instead of its being lost with the other papers -- but that he (Sir S.N.) was beforehand with him & brought it forward. And it is to be discussed to-day He says -- the Council is quite sure to go wrong.

f213

Lastly, he said that I must begin Sir S.N.'s education -- that I must have him here as soon as possible -- & go thro' the principal points with him since Sir J. Lawrence's accession.

Lastly, he said, that the state of the I.O -- is inconceivable that just the routine of the old E.I.C.-- the worst part has survived the wreck that there has been no master hand to create anything that *nothing has* been created & that they are just wading & waddling on & doing *nothing*

[And I'm sure he thinks that Sir S.N. is *not* the master hand which *will* create anything. Ld Cranborne he says was a genius -- but then he positively "foams at the mouth"-]

He is quite shocked at the indifference of the Ho: of C. He says the speeches were good -- but that the few M.P.s who were there sat like gulls -- & only

f213v

stayed "to defend Sir S.N. if he were attacked, --
 that the Manchester school & people who live
 by commerce on manufactures relating to India --
 & the country gentlemen who have sons & relatives
 making their fortunes in India --
 ought to be there, taking part in or at
 least interested in the Debate" --
 But devil a bit does one of them care --

Sir B.F. told me (by the way) that Ld Elphinstone
~~that~~ had been the first to bring a water-supply
 to Bombay -- It was thought excessive -- But
 the people drank & washed to such a degree
 that the only fruit of Ld Elphinstone's supply
 has been to show that what was thought
 excessive is wholly inadequate --

f214

Look here -- you said I was to show Sir S.N --
 my papers to Sir J. Lawrence
 I have hunted them out

But there's no one but Frere I could trust

My son my beard is white

Sir B Frere said: -- I was to show Sir S. Northcote
 all the papers I showed him
 Now -- shall I?

 I always feel with a S. of S. that they are
 so jealous of each other.

If ~~Sir S.N.~~ I show Sir S.N. any other
 S. of S.'s letters, he will think I shall show
 his --

If I show him what we have done for
 Ld de Grey, he will think I shall show
 any future S. of S. what we do for him

f215v

Shall I ask him
 to let me see Ld Cranborne's Desp.

[end 9:594]

f216v

Sir S. Northcote was very confidential
He says -- he is going to make Constitutional changes
& actually asked me my opinion.
I lilted up with my Budgets & responsibilities
for local Govts
And he was quite agreeable --
He says -- should you not leave drainage,
water-supply &c &c to local Govts
& Barracks to the supreme Govt?

He asks -- whether it would not be better not
to have those grand, permanent buildings at
all -- whether buildings to be pulled down
every 30 years are not better in a
climate where the very walls get saturated

He asks -- is there not danger of any building
in India getting polluted in 30 year's --

I told him that

f217

Sir S.N. is going away to-day, but comes back
the week after next.

He spoke with great feeling of the Orissa
business

He said -- they tell us we could not
save all -- But we did not try to save
any. We were actually told that no
famine was expected that there was a
Fever, but not the result of famine.

He is very well-intentioned -- but he has not
the elements of Sanitary

He asked me -- why I said there was
no organization -- no Govt Officers of Health
when there were Sanitary Commissioners.

And I was obliged to explain from the
beginning -- that Officers of Health are
not Sanitary Commissioners

f217v

He is a man of very much the same style of
mind as Ld de Grey --

[5:527]

None of the rapid unerring perceptions
of Sidney Herbert

None of the power of Sir J. Lawrence

None of the power & keenness of Sir B. Frere

But he is very well-intentioned -- And I think

has great industry & also perseverance --

I believe he will carry out exactly what he

consents to do --

[end 5:527]**f218**

[archivist: Report of F.N.'s interview with Sir Staff. Northcote
to Aug. 67]

{F.N. WRITES:}

He took away Sir J. Lawrence's Minute & my
criticism upon it (to study)

That's not the Minute --

No -- it was written on May 5 1866 here --

when Sir J. Lawrence's Minute was first found --

He is intent upon making great constitutional
changes in India -- so as to localize
responsibilities --

Ld Napier appears to be badgering him to death --
he is always writing for something --

he has sent him home an account of the
success at Conjeveram --

he has told him -- his next letter will be
about Hospitals

Age, I said, & his next letter after that
about Public Health Service --

f218v

Then I began about Nurses --
And he said he was pestered by private people
with their philanthropic schemes about
India (like Miss Carpenter, he said)

I said -- I'm not a philanthropic person.
It's *they* who are pestering me to give
them Nurses -- I sit here like a
stupid Paged & say, Well, well, give me
money & I'll see what I can do for
you --

He said -- the India Off. at home was
rather a controlling power as to expenditure
-- that they did not propose to the G.G.
to spend but rather checked him --

He said -- they had had no proposal,
he believed, from G.G or any Presidency Government
Governor

to spend about Nurses --

I said -- will you favour it if it comes?

f219

He said -- yes, I'll do more than that --
I'll write to Sir J.L. about it.

He talked a great deal about Jails --

He said the Mortality was "monstrous".

I don't know that he saw how afraid I was of
him. For he kept his eyes tight shut all
the time. And I kept my eyes wide open --

I went fully into the question with him about
sending R.E.s to be educated --

I showed him Capt. Tulloch's Report.

But I told him he must not expect to find
another R.E. who would make so good
an one --

He said he would talk the whole matter over
with "Clinton" --

[end 9:596]

f220 NOTES ON MAJOR MALLESON & SIR J. MCNEILL PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. AUGUST 24, 1867

Am I to acknowledge Major Malleison --

I want carefully to leave a door open for myself
and I want also to consult Sir J. McNeill, as he
had so large a share in the original paper
But Sir J. McN. is absent in the Highlands for 3
weeks x Then I will write to him.
It would delay my acknowledgment for at least 6 we

{FLOOR PLAN -- PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPY}

f221 NOTES ON NURSES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca.
END OF AUGUST, 1867

Miss Rappe

the account she had given had deterred a young
person, Luise Dell, a Nurse, from going over
to Manchester to be as Nurse in the Hospital
from the Hospital at Gothenbourg --

Miss Emily Nonnen
at Mrs. Morgan's
Rose Hill
Conway

N W

ff222-22v NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 27-28, 1867

f222

Sir B. Frere

[10:39]

is actually taking the trouble to write for us a paper on Dr. Farquhar's paper -- which he says is full of serious mistakes --

And we must read this before he comes

He says -- that about Trees is a mistake

He says -- it's an utter mistake to talk about the natives as if you were a father taking charge of an infant --

The natives can, *will* & do think for themselves --

And you must make them work for themselves --

He says -- what Farquhar says about the Hurdwar [?] fair is all nonsense --

that the natives can perfectly well understand & be made to take care of themselves & to avert Cholera during pilgrimage fairs

but that Farquhar & Co. won't believe it.

He says -- you have the Mehratta, the Sikh, the Bengalee, the Madrasses &c &c -- & they are as unlike one another as Spaniard & Laplander --

but Farquhar & Co. -- apply to all India what they know of the Bengalee.

But he (Sir B.F.) says take the Bengalee & in keenness

f222v

& subtlety of intellect he is superior to an English man. It is true he tells lies --

But still it is nonsense to talk of him as an uneducated savage.

He laughs at you & thinks himself (& is) superior ~~to an~~ in intellect to an Englishman

And you must not treat him like an infant but take him into your counsels --

This is the grand mistake of Sir J. Lawrence's present advisers --

Then, he says, Farquhar is all wrong about many points of administration --

However, Sir B. Frere's paper is coming -- And we are to look it over together --

And he will come here on Tuesday at 3.30 to talk it all over with you in this room if you like it.

12. He asked to bring Sir H. Anderson to see me

He did not propose to bring him on Tuesday. **[end 10:39]**

f223 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST - SEPTEMBER, 1867

Sir B.F. took away with him all those Instructions & things about Bermuda &c --

And he suggests that they should be sent out to Sir J. Lawrence --

He also told me that they have laid on a quarantine on the river Indus -- & he feels sure they will do a great deal of harm.

He says -- that 10 years ago there was not a single man in India who would allow that the causes of Cholera could be remedied.

[9:886]

He says that from Calcutta to Peshawur is as far as from London to Constantinople -- & it is positively necessary to have four responsible Sanitary Centres in that line --

Your population is increasing every year--the epidemics strike a greater blow at the people & property in a week than the whole cost

of the Sanitary Works to have **[end 9:886]**
building a city on the bed of a torrent then would be --
to be swept away every year -- only it's a death bed you build it on --

f224 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 7, 1867

Sir B. Frere

He is going to send the answer to our papers *to-day*.

The reason why he has been so long about it
is: -- that he wanted to put down *all* he wanted
to say & then found it was impossible.

He is coming here "early this week" -- Because
he wants to consult.

He does not himself think that we shall get
the India Off: Comm: for "a few weeks" --
But this is the very thing he wants to talk
about.

He says he has a great deal to say --
He wishes he could throw all the blame on
the "Emperor Theodoris" --

He wants me to write to Sir J. Lawrence by
tomorrow's mail --

I don't myself see that this will do --
And the Bombay mail of the 18th reaches
Simla not much later than the Calcutta
mail of the 10th

ff225-27 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 11, 1867

f225

Sir B. Frere [10:39-41]

is quite clear about what he wishes us to do but whether it can be done is quite another thing. I feel quite terrified when I see how much he thinks depends upon our bringing our personal influence to bear upon Sir J. Lawrence.

He says -- whatever originates from that end will be sanctioned by Sir S. Northcote --

But nothing will be originated by Sir S.N. except what we tell him to do --

He wishes us to write to Sir J. Lawrence by next mail --

[I asked him & he said he would look over any Draft we chose to send *in time*]

He wishes this letter to be like a Minute on Education which Sir C. Wood sent out to India some years ago --

which was not controversialist -- not blaming -- but simply ignoring all the foolish objections that had been made "harking back" -- saying -- now let us begin, could you not do so & so?!

f225v

He says -- no time should be lost --
 that nothing is to be gained by waiting to see
 what Sir S. Northcote is likely to do --
 because Northcote has not an idea
 except of doing what we ask --
 what we ask will either be done or not be
 done --
 it is *not* as if Northcote was going to suggest
 anything of himself -- For he won't

Nothing will be done for a fortnight --

Sir B. Frere thinks we are *quite* certain
 to have the Committee -- for Northcote has
 already discussed it with Sir H. Anderson --

And Anderson has opposed some retrogradists
 being put upon it

Yes -- I asked -- And Sir B. Frere thinks
 that that is all *at first* which his
 Committee is likely to do -- viz. to receive papers
 & call for papers --

In October *all* the Committees of the India Office

f226

Are remodelled -- And then Our Committee
 will be started.

They are now in their new House. But
 all the papers are in vans in the streets.

Sir B. Frere says that if we don't revolutionize
 India, revolution will come of itself --
 that they are incapable of bearing the
 smallest shock
 that they have no organization anywhere --
 that it is absolutely absurd for the Viceroy
 to attempt to be Providence to 180 Millions --
 that he is like L. Napoleon, who is already
 an old, broken-down & disappointed man,
 from attempting the same thing -- viz. to do
 every thing for the French, instead of helping
 them to do for themselves -- & yet that it
 is easier to play Providence for the French
 than to do so for India --
 He told me many curious stories -- especially
 about the present Govt of Sind & the Punjaub

f226v

showing that instead of their having a Govt there is nothing but a Police force, a Military force & a Civilian Administration all quarrelling & not co-operating with each other.

And he re-iterated what he had said that, if no improvement were made, there would be a revolution.

About the Sanitary part, he asked me over & over again whether Sir J. Lawrence had changed his views --

I said, I thought not. But really, I hardly knew how to explain otherwise than that he has been over-ridden.

You have not brought in the Peshawur papers. Sir B.F. asked about them --

Our letter to Sir J. Lawrence, he says, ought to be written at once. And the moment that is gone he says we ought to write to Sir S. Northcote, because we ought to profit of this moment of comparative leisure to keep pegging [?]

f227

our letter to Sir J. Lawrence he says should be -- to call him back to the time when he first went out

we should embrace a (not controversial) answer to Dr. Farquhar & to Col. Crommelin we should ask him to consider what is to be done in India -- ask *him* to propose something --

We should go upon the ground of Lord de Grey's Minute & Ellis' papers --

And -- he says -- we should ask him to allow Ellis to try *his* plan in the Madras Govt

Sir J. Lawrence says & it is true -- that it would not suit the Bengal Govt without great modifications

Well, then, let Ellis try it in his own Govt

Sir B. Frere says I ought to show Ellis' paper to Sir S. Northcote

& send a copy again to Sir J. Lawrence

He says -- I ought now to write a note to Mr. Ellis --

& say -- press it *now* upon Ld Napier to write home to have it done.

[end 10:41]

f228 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 11-22, 1867

Sir B.F. says (I tell you this in the strictest confidence) **[10:43]**
that Sir J. Lawrence is now so cross that he & the India
Off: are scarcely on speaking terms --
that if *they* were to write to him any proposal of
this kind, it would just set him against it
that he, Sir J.L., will not take a word from
any one but me, F.N. --

I would add something in order to mollify Sir J
Lawrence to the effect that Ellis might make
the plan for Madras -- not as if we wished
Ellis to legislate for the whole of India --
and Strachey & Malleson for Bengal -- but
all together.

[end 10:43]

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

put up in boards
not put in a press
& covered with unlettered cotton cloth
not to cut the margins
All this is done to preserve the pencil
notes

ff229-29v NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 22, 1867

f229 [archivist: F.N.'s letter to Sir W.E.N. 11 Oct. 1867 shews that she did not] go. * [22 Sept: 1867]

22nd

{FN WRITES:}

I am going to Lea Hurst
but I will tell you what Sir B. Frere
says -- for you to do --
Sir B. Frere
says that the next fortnight will decide
our fate.

[9:597-98]

{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}

[x Sanitary Committee & Dept.
in the India Office -- appd -- Nov]

{FN WRITES:}

that it is *not* at all certain that the x Committee
will be appointed, *unless* we keep worrying
Sir S. Northcote
that Sir S. Northcote comes to town tomorrow for 2 days,
but that he has enough subjects before him,
to take *weeks*, if they were to be considered
properly, which they will not be --
that he then goes to Manchester & then to
Balmoral --
that our letter ought to be before him *there*,
when he will have a little time --
that if we let it stand over till Cabinets
begin in a month's time or till the Reform
& Parlt begin again, we are lost
that he proposes we should write Sir S. Northcote
a letter, summing up & reminding -- reminding

f229v

him *also* of the Committee -- & explaining also in words
which he will read Mr. Ellis' plan to be tried
in Madras --

He says, upon this depends not only whether
the Commee will be at all, but, what is
far more problematical, whether it will
be allowed to be of any use at all.
that then when the Commee is appointed, he
shall ask us to draw up a plan of procedure

[end 9:598]

f230 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. SEPTEMBER 22-26, 1867

Sir B. Frere

[9:598]

says that as Sir J. Lawrence's Despatch refers only to Bengal & Provinces, we ought to say either in our private letter to Sir S. Northcote or elsewhere that we hope something will be done for Madras & Bombay -- & that we ought to send him Ellis' paper with abstracts from his letters -- He is going to send back our whole concern this morning.

[end 9:598]

ff231-35 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 26, 1867

f231

Sir B. Frere

Sept 26 [1867] [9:598-600]

was here 2 hours -- (Sept. 25)
 {[1867] & (Sept. 25) IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}
 he has no alteration to make in the letter to Sir S. Northcote which he would wish to go to Balmoral on Saturday or Monday he thinks that a letter ought to go out without delay from Sir S. Northcote to Sir J. Lawrence (without even waiting for the appointment of the Commission) on Oct 3 -- & he thinks my letter should reach Northcote in time to prompt this --

But he thinks it is of the utmost importance that we should privately write to Sir J. Lawrence on October 3 asking him to enquire into the Peshawur

~~he says that~~ Sir B. Frere says: not

Sir B. Frere says that they are now (at the I.O.) granting £400,000 for *works at Peshawur* -- that, so far as they know, these plans contain not one of the Sanitary conditions which we require -- they won't --

Certainly -- But Sir B. Frere says that, when he said

f231v

something, he was told that Ld Cranborne had made this promise -- that Peshawur was to have the £400000 for works alone for the cantonment of Peshawur -- that no enquiry was to be made -- that the plans would not come before the I.O. at all --
Well, it's going to be done -- it's sanctioned by Ld Cranborne --
Sir B. Frere says that he knows of his own personal knowledge, that Sir J. Lawrence will do that for me which he won't do for the Secretary of State
And he thinks we might interfere successfully about Peshawur --
Sir S. Northcote is not going to decide at all
Ld Cranborne has decided
We *shall* have that Committee -- but not till November. And

f232

Sir B. Frere told me all about that --
He knows Peshawur & Meean Meer well --
And he gave me a long account of the cantonment of Poona, which he says will do just as well for Peshawur --
He says that Poona is as we know a town of 90000 people -- that the cantonment grew up *below* & under the prevailing wind of Poona -- that the interval became filled up with another town of 30000 people --
that the drinking water was supplied by a river into which the whole drainage went --
that they had always Cholera or something else --
that Sir Jamsetjie at last said he would pay a fabulous sum to give them good drinking water -- that the river was dammed up (to make a reservoir) by the Military Engineer -- that the dam gave way --
-- that the river was dammed up by a Civil Engineer -- & the dam gave way --
that it was then asked how the native Engineers made tanks -- & it was then done according to

f232v

their plan -- & the dam did not give way --
 but that the whole drainage was still allowed
 to run into the river --

that Dr. Leith remonstrated --
 that they made a plan & Estimate -- & sent
 it to the Supreme Govt --

that they said it was too dear --

that they made another --
 that, in the meanwhile, it was found out that
 they could irrigate a ground of 90 miles --
 at a remunerative cost of from 5 to 20 per
 cent

that *this* was referred to Calcutta

that then they said *that* came under the
 head of Irrigation Loans

& they must have a new & minuter Estimate
 for *that* --

that Sir B. Frere said -- well, the Estimate
 is for £200 000 -- make it £205 000 --
 if you will --

But let us have it --
 the *least* return will be 5 per cent --

This has been going on for 19 years -- And

f233

it has been up to this moment lying at
 just the same point that it has been
 for 19 years --

Sir B. Frere told me exactly that about Meean Meer
 He says it might be remedied -- but that nothing
 has been done --

He says so -- And he says Sir J. Lawrence is not
 only trying to drive over the heap of stones (like
 the hackney coachmen) but to break them,
 all by himself

And he can't --

Sir S. Northcote has appointed a Committee
 on the Orissa business which holds its first
 Meeting to-day -- Sir B.F. is on it --

He says, the only proposition that has reached
 them to make 40 millions of uncivilized starving
 people into 40 millions of civilized people is: --
 to have 2 Commissioners &
 10 Stipendiary Magistrates

f233v

He says that everything must come from Sir J. Lawrence

that Sir J. Lawrence would do for me what he won't do for Sir S. Northcote

Sir B.F. says it is of the utmost importance that Sir S. Northcote should write to Sir J. Lawrence by next mail before the effect of our letter to him of last mail has gone off --

He says it will be effective in the same way as telling a drowning man to swim --

Sir B.F. says that Sir J. Lawrence is about India exactly as England is about Ireland -- trying all kinds of every imaginable specific -- but never going to the root of giving India a good Govt.

He says, with regard to all those things, the refusing a guarantee of 5 pr cent to railroads when no one knows that the possession of India may not turn upon being able to throw in a few hundred men from Kurrachee --

f234

& such things as the supply of water to Poona when there is a certainty of remunerative return in irrigating 90 miles of land if you ask -- well, who is it who prevents these things? --

the answer is, nobody --

the answer is, there is no one to shake the Financial Minister & say You find us this money somehow, for we must & will have it.

Sir B.F. says that it would be highly advisable if I could only get Ld Stanley to say to Sir S. Northcote --

Well now, this was a subject which interested me very much -- do look it up now --

Only Galton never does anything for me -- but criticize *my* letters (for which I am very much obliged to him)

For the matter of that, Galton does less for me than Ld Stanley. For we do know that Ld Stanley spoke for me both to Sir Northcote & to Ld Cranborne

f234v

Sir B.F. says that Ld Cranborne may possibly be the next Gov. Gen. or the next S. of S -- that he is a very dangerous enemy -- & Ministers would gladly do something for him -- & that it would be most desirable if we could get hold of Ld Cranborne now --

Sir B.F. still thinks that we ought to write to Sir J. Lawrence & tell him that we understand large sums are about to be expended on Peshawur as a cantonment & strong hold -- And have such & such Sanitary considerations been attended to -- *He says, we ought to apply to Sir J. Lawrence* The expenditure was sanctioned by Ld Cranborne --

Sir B.F. says -- they can do nothing farther (he has tried) But I could --

You stated (in this which Sir B.F. has seen) that we have no hint in *any* document as to the cause of the disease

Now, you say, that we have a hint as to the causation (in those papers.) That's just what he says --

Well, Sir B.F. says I ought to ask for that. He said so on the grounds in this letter. **[end 9:600]**

f235

[DATED Sept. 1867]

You know that the £400 000 voted for Peshawur has nothing to do with the Tunnel under the Indus -- & that Sir B. Frere considers that ~~nothing~~ questions more will be asked from the I.O. -- unless we privately ask questions.

He says, he has asked questions.

But the answer has been Ld Cranborne gave it without conditions -- And we can make none now that I personally could easily say, I understood that a large sum had been sanctioned for works at Peshawur &c &c &c it's for fortification works --

No-- but that's just what Sir B. Frere says -- they appear to be "going at" it, without taking a single step to make Peshawur healthy.

Sir B.F. says -- the water=supply at Peshawur is exactly in the same condition as that at Poona --

Sir B.F says they have less --

ff236-37v NOTES ON NURSES, SISTERHOODS & MISS JONES PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. SEPTEMBER 26, 1867

f236

I think perhaps I ought to enter very briefly into this --
that we never could sanction *Assistant Nurses*
nor such punishments as stops

f237

involving not only the future of persons I hold very dear
but the whole question as to whether Sisterhoods can
exist in the Ch. of E. or not.

to my mind the question will be decided in the
negative if Miss Jones fails -- i.e. if a Sisterhood
cannot be conducted on a secular basis.

===

the object is to introduce some kind of spiritual discipline
headship in Miss Jones or

at least one (a spiritual headship) to make discipline
easier

The Chaplain is to set up an altar in Miss Jones'
private room & exhibit the Sacraments on it

And one seventh of the Clergy in England at this
moment would do this

===

Julian the Apostate's arguments to re-establish
the worship of the Pagan Gods exactly the same
as those used in "The Ch. & the World" to re-establish
the use of vestments.

===

Miss Jones makes conditions about her Chaplain --
As it happens, the two prohibitions/rules wh the Bishop
makes are not those which they want to break.
But -- they want to introduce some kind of
spiritual headship in Miss Jones -- Miss J. is the

f237v

only person who sees this clearly -- Mr. Bowman has
never seen it.

===

As I understand the Council won't enter into any
agreement, by which the Sisterhood should not
be an integral part of St. John's Ho: --
They say -- yes, you shall have lodging in St. John's,
a Chaplain of your own -- But -- we reserve
the power to part, if the Chaplain plays fantastic
tricks -- if he is Archbp Manning in disguise

===

I think the Council ought to have got rid of the
late Chaplain, whether he were an Irish Protestant,
a High Church or a Jesuit in disguise -- if
Miss J. showed reason why he was an unfitting
Chaplain.

I think the Sisters ought to have a Chaplain
of their own choosing --

But then Miss Jones makes conditions

===

The Council is determined it shall be on a secular
basis.

Miss J. says No: --

ff238-39 NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED ca. 12 OCTOBER 1867

f238

1 Here's that dreadful St. John's House

2 Council coming on again --

Yesterday I had Pelham Dale here the
whole afternoon --

*There ought to be a Bill preventing men
from interfering at all in administration.*

3. Here's Mr. Rathbone

Then she says, she can't.

She says, she would rather resign.

f239 [ca. 12 Oct. 1867] pencil note, pale blue paper black-edged

It is the more aggravating because the real reasons of the separation which were almost entirely, first, the mismanagement, and secondly the ill-temper, of members of St. John's Council, are of course attributed, even by those who know them best, to Miss Jones' "High Church" "views".

f240 NOTES ON SISTERHOODS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 13 OCTOBER 1867

And so ends the only good & successful attempt ever made in any Protestant Church to establish a real efficient working Sisterhood. Fliedner on the strict "spiritual supremacy" principle -- evading the real test -- secular Hospl -- not a Protestant at all --

failure mainly from fatal ignorance of Council of first principles of administration -- governing body putting itself in the place of its Officer -- judging its Officer not by her results but by her methods -- interfering perpetually

Calumnies ridiculous calumnies
women bow down to eccles -- No
Not those who have anything to do -- not in any Church (rather eccle: -- always make opposition to women who do anything well --
Why is it? --
eccl: always takes part of eccl. against woman

Miss Jones created St. J.'s.

six most useless specimens of animal creation six nurses financial support
would she go for these "little? things" if she cared for the work the answer is -- would the Council ~~let her~~ do such things as to make her go if *they* cared for the work? --
not one knows the difference of her work -- & others
If we had fid f too too med med with Mrs W
No: Councils are best quiet
That is the real answer -- that Miss Jones goes, because she can't do the work which she cares so much for under the Council's interference

ff241-41v NOTES ON SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, LORD CRANBORNE, INDIA PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f241

Sir J. Lawrence's PostScript

[9:604]

The important part is the P.S.

Oct 217/67

In it he says that the S. of S. does *not* support him.

Now the S. of S. says, Sir J.L. has only to propose -- and
it is done --

Ld Cranborne "foaming at the mouth" says (about
irrigation?) he never can make out why when the
S. of S. is all anxiety to sanction & the G.G. is all anxiety
to do, why it is not done --

That is just what the S.S. says to me

[I am not a big enough man to "foam at the mouth"]

He says -- *he* is willing

The S. of S. says -- *he* is willing

Why is it not done? --

I believe the answer is --

there are two supreme powers

India Govt in India

" " at home

But there is a higher power than either

And this is: --

English jobbers

Men who have neither money nor principle

but only wit

I believe this is the true answer to Ld C --

e.g. in the works at R. Janeiro -- ditto at Malta

but for English jobbers, the works might have been
done at 1/10th the price.

f241v

e.g. The ~~English~~ British Railways have spent 700 millions
& are paying (~~many~~ some of the greatest who are insolvent)
their dividends out of borrowed money -- money not
earned.

We are given up to bribery & corruption E.g.

At this moment it is quite uncertain, at the Met. Board
of Works, whether, in the Thames Embankmt, there has
not been the same jobbery.

About India -- I often think that I, a fool,
rushed in where angels feared to tread

Govt in India must take these great works into its
own hands & not leave them to "private enterprise"

[end 9:604]

ff242-43v NOTES ON BARTLE FRERE, JOHN LAWRENCE, STAFFORD NORTHCOTE
& INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f242

Oct 22/67

Sir B. Frere

[9:605]

The Commn is actually appointed -- I have seen the
letters of appointment -- and it enters on
functions on Nov 1

Sir B. Frere Chairman
 Sir E. Perry
 P. Cautley
 Mr. Arbuthnot
 Capt Eastwick (the best
Sir H. Anderson Secretary

===

Sir B. Frere says that there is a nasty
prejudice expressed in the very letter in
which he received his appointment by
Sir S. Northcote, against the R. Commn
& the Army Sanitary Commn --

And he came to me, knowing that Sir S.
Northcote was coming here, to ask me to
explain to Sir S.N. the real state of things.

Sir B.F. says there is not the slightest
difficulty about it.

===

He says: Sir J. Lawrence has written a
Despatch which neither Sir S. Northcote nor
he have yet seen (such is the state of
disorder at the I.O.) that it is of the
utmost importance I should see it --
that he is told Sir J.L. has asked for a
Public Health Service, with a central
responsible authority --

that Sir J.L. has since telegraphed, asking

f242v

for an immediate answer

that he wants me to say to Sir S. Northcote --
-- telegraph at once: --"We accede to your proposal
we will send you a Despatch mentioning the
heads of what is to be done & await your
answer as to how"--

that he thinks it of the utmost importance
that we should see this Despatch -- because,
he says, tho' his (Sir B.F.'s) C

[end 9:605]

====

Sir B.F. says that Sir S. Northcote should
in his Despatch summarize the past history &
then call on Sir J. Lawrence to point out the
methods by which the past history can now be
developed & organized & extended into
practice.

[9:605-06]

But -- he wants us both to initiate & to
revise the Despatch

He says -- the first thing is to find out what
Sir S. Northcote proposes to do -- what he
has in his mind.

====

Sir B.F. says that the Court of Directors always
managed in this way -- if one local Govt proposed
some scheme, they, sanctioned it -- they then
wrote to another local Govt, such & such has
succeeded, if you wish to do likewise, adapt
it to your own varieties, & we will sanction it.

f243

He told me a good deal, *without* wishing it to be embodied in the Despatch.

He says, there must be a central responsible authority in Bengal, N.W. Provinces, Punjab, Madras, Bombay --

that this should be the President of Sanitary Commission

that all Officers of Health should report to him but that it should be left to Sir J. Lawrence whether this man should be one of the Secretariat (to which he, Sir B.F., acknowledges that he sees some objection -- he says the man will get overwhelmed with routine business)

or whether he should be a man to stand at the Governor Genl's or Governor's elbow -- to have a day every week to bring all his business before Governor or Gov. Genl -- He (Sir B.F.) thinks this the best plan --

He says -- the President in Bengal should be the superior deity of the other Presidents.

He says -- this man in *each* local Government should decide as to whether the execution of works or rather the funds should come from the central Govt or from the Municipality -- that nearly every city has its Municipal Act now -- tho' some are very bad -- that it will be either the Public Works or the Municipality which will have to do it.

f243v

He says -- nothing can be easier --

5 He says -- that the Vaccination people (who have been improved & educated) might be improved (instead of being cut down, as is now the case) to be Officers of Health of the districts.

He says -- the President -- the centre man -- ought however to be rather an Inspector Genl than a Director Genl

He says -- that the small towns should have a Civil Surgeon, in some cases a native Surgeon, as Officers of Health.

He says -- that the natives are very much coming on in Engineering -- that at Bombay they have lately developed a College to teach native Engineers not only Surveying but real Sanitary Engineering -- & that this will develop native Engineers

Then he says that hitherto the fatal difficulty in India has been that no one had any idea that there was any necessity (e.g. in an outbreak of Cholera) to do anything but look after & report -- that all this look aftering & reporting ended in nothing -- no works were undertaken to prevent another Cholera -- that the great business of the I.O -- Committee will be to call upon them -- what is going to be done? -- what *has been* done? -- & to publish it yearly

[end 9:606]

ff244-45v NOTES ON BARTLE FRERE, JOHN LAWRENCE, STAFFORD NORTHCOTE
& INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f244

Now you're going to be good aren't you?
For I *am* so tired & feverish

[9:606-07]

Sir S. Northcote Oct 23/67

said he came for 2 things --

1. because he wanted to announce Sir B. Frere's
Committee, in the I.O. tomorrow, (to day) where it
meets with some opposition from Ahriman Ross
Mangles & he wanted me to coach him as to how
to put it -- i.e. how to arrange the connection with
the Army San: Comm:

In this I think I shewed him there was no difficulty.
And I think he was satisfied.

He read over the names, but very fast: --
they were these

Sir B.F --		I think I settled
Genl. Baker	lh	that
Sir P. Cautley		
E. Perry		
Capt. Eastwick		
Sir H. Anderson		

He wanted to know whether Sir P. Cautley shd remain
on the Army San: Comm:

2. he wanted to ask us what answer shd be made
to Sir J. Lawrence. And I have got his Despatch
here. I don't like it very much -- But, since that,
Sir S. Northcote has had a private letter from Sir
J. Lawrence, which he read to me, saying that there

f244v

was the utmost urgency, because of the state
of country villages --
Sir S. Northcote has given me the Despatch
& begs us to give him the points for an answer

I should tell you.

Sir S. Northcote thinks of sanctioning this with
any suggestions we may make --
for Bengal & the Central Provinces only
& then of asking Ld Napier to do Ellis scheme

f245

[ca. 23 Oct. 1867]

I wrote it out & sent it to Sir B. Frere
with a letter.

He said: -- with regard to Ellis' Memo, "if he
has in any way modified his view, you ought
to give him the benefit of it -- because we
Indians never look again at any of our
Mema without wishing to add or alter
something" --

I have therefore looked out Ellis' 2 letters
which bear upon it Here they are

[end 9:607]

He also said, that I ought to write to Ellis
to know if he wishes to modify anything
farther

Yes: *he said*, so ~~so don't put off~~,

But he said, I ought to write to Ellis
by this mail to tell him so

Or Had I not better send these letters to Sir B
Frere? --

Should I send Sir B.F. the Conjeveram [?] letter?

Yes -- we named it to Sir J. Lawrence

Yes: -- but Sir B. Frere has not seen that.

f245v

I don't want to do what's "no harm."

Sir J. Lawrence

You put it into the Draft

I'm quite lost without Temple

You've never sent me the Malta Reports

You'll say so every day

Exactly

Come over here & show me the parts
in the Peshawur papers

ff246-47 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 27 OCTOBER 1867

f246

Sir B. Frere

says that every one of Sir J. Lawrence's Council is against him

Mansfield because of that very thing that Health Officers have interfered with Engineering questions & his good sense is revolted

Massey on the financial question -- Sir B. Frere says that Massey's financial papers would disgrace a child of 12 years old

Durand because he thinks there is sufficient machinery already for every thing -- & he does not want to see any new machinery

Grey -- because he is a "capital clear-headed Secretary" -- but -- nothing more --

He says -- the state of Indians is *most* serious -- the officers are discontented --

the Civil Service equally so --

we could not bear the slightest shock --

if at this moment, there were a rising of the Hill tribes at Peshawur, which *could not be* had

f246v

Genl Jacob lived, we could not resist it --

for we have 4 conflicting authorities at Peshawur -- & no administration --

& a *great many too many* ~~men~~ soldiers --

Sir B.F. is speaking of this last year --

To return

Sir B.F. says I should show Ellis' paper to Sir S. Northcote --

that he has never seen it --

But then -- I ought to show him Ellis' letter written afterwards

f247

Sir B F says

All that we have done at present is to get
75000 halters (for 5000 mules)
we had a dim idea that mules were wanted
-- that the mule was a contrairy animal --
therefore we indented right & left for
halters --
with a dim idea that what was over
would do to hang King Theodore --
& we have got 75000!!!

ff248-49 JS pencil rough draft re Wardroper [30 Oct 1867]

ff250-51v NOTES ON MISS CARPENTER AND INDIAN PRISONS PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST OR OCTOBER, 1867

f250

I had Miss Carpenter here for 2 hours yesterday. [9:700]

She is always a great deal too much for me -- But
she certainly told me yesterday much that was useful.

She says that it is perfectly useless for the Indian
Govt to go on as they do now about building prisons --

She says that there is a prison just built at
Coimbatore or Ootacamund (I forget which) at
I forget what enormous cost for 1000 people
on the model of Pentonville
that in each of these cells, there are 4 or 5
prisoners

that there is no water supply, no privies, no
Hospital, no sanitary arrangements, no sufficient
ventilation,

& yet that the Govt of India make use of
the fact of their having built these prisons at
enormous cost to say that they can do nothing
more.

that a *better* prison might be built -- she says --
at no cost at all -- just of huts -- for the Prison
Cells --

She says that the Council of Engineers which

f250v

sits at Calcutta on the Prisons is the
destruction of everything good.

She says that a *Dr. Wiehe* whom Sir B. Frere
employed about Prisons (Bombay Presy) is a
very good man.

She also praised Dr. Mouat -- but says
he has no influence with the Council
of Engineers.

But, she says, they *will* put 4 or 5 into each cell
made for one -- She says, they *have* -- at
Ootacamund

She says -- never. She says Dr. Wiehe has
published an excellent
Report.

She says -- the mischief done by putting female
prisoners under male warders -- a practice
universal in India -- tho' denied -- by Sir J.
Lawrence is incalculable --

She says -- `what Dr. Mouat says that hecatombs

f251 are yearly sacrificed in Indian prisons to preventible disease -- is the exact truth. [end 9:701]

ff252-58v NOTES ON MISS JONES' RESIGNATION TO ST. JOHN'S, KINGS COLLEGE & CHARING CROSS HOSPITALS; MR. BOWMAN, MISS BYRON, BISHOP OF LONDON PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 12 NOVEMBER 1867 [8:184]

f252

My cares are more in number than the hairs of my head, even tho' I've torn out half of them
===

Bowman has got himself into an impossible position
Miss Jones " " herself " " " " " --
And both come to as to ask what they are to do --
===

The thing is this: --
Miss Jones, without going to Bowman, who has done all the Council work for 15 years, writes to the Secretary of the Council to resign, giving these two reasons: --
that the Report was not honest or straightforward
that the Bishop would not let them have the Chaplain they were to pay themselves without interfering with him --

Miss Jones also writes, without waiting for any farther communication, both to King's College & to Charing X, saying that she has renounced her connection with St. John's --
===

Bowman was so exceedingly overcome & depressed in telling me this -- & at the prospect of having the whole arrangements of Nursing the two Hospls thrown on his over worked hands that I really hardly knew what to say --
===

In the mean time, the Bishop of London writes a *private* note to Bowman (and this is absolutely all that is known) saying that Miss Jones has sent him in her resignation to St. John's -- & asking Bowman what is Miss Jones' connection with St John's? -- Note well

f252v

how much this Bishop who is *both* Visitor & Chairman knows about the matter he undertakes!!!

Only Miss Jones has stated, alas! but too explicitly & too far too imprudently that she & *all the Sisters* resign --

Next, *in the same letter*, the Bishop writes to Bowman that he has had several "unsatisfactory" letters from Miss Jones -- & that he has ~~for~~ 'veto' d the appointment of the Chaplain, because the Sisterhood wished ~~to~~ the Chaplain to "administers vows" --

Bowman says, this is *all* he knows about it -- that Miss Jones may probably or possibly be able to explain this -- but that he (Bowman) is so hurt by Miss Jones taking such a step without even giving him notice as writing her resignation officially to St. John's, to Kings, & to Charing X that he can't send for her --
===

He is at his wits end -- And he went away from me more at his wits ends than ever -- Because -- he did not seem to see the difficulty *before* of replacing Miss Jones -- He said he was going to Miss Twining -- and also to the Clewer Sisterhood to see if they would undertake the Hospitals -- And he did not

f253

seem to anticipate (what I told him quite plainly) that I should never dream of [leaving [?] the Midwifery ward under either the University Sisterhood or the Clewer or Miss Twining.

I told him that I should think it my duty immediately to lay a plan before him as my Council as to *what* we should do -- but that I should not remain at Kings

===

Bowman asks me to write to her certain question upon the letters which he knows I have had from her, but which I neither showed him nor told him about -- & to try to make out from her something --

He would prefer that I should not tell her what he told me -- nor even that he had been to me --

But he would rather that I should tell her all than that I should not learn from her *something* for them to go upon.

===

f253v

Bowman is going to the Bishop this week
And he is coming here again on Saturday
to know what I advise him to do

!!!

The matter is finally to be settled on Nov. 22

Bowman says he is quite sure neither
St. John's nor Kings Coll. nor Charing X
will keep a Sisterhood with vows --

But then you see he contradicts himself --
For he told me that he could not
conceive how Miss J. could be such a
fool as to throw up all this work for
such nonsense -- & then he told me
that he could not believe but that
she had already made some arrangements
for keeping on the work --

Bowman says -- "on the 22nd (Thursday week)
I shall be in the chair -- *What am I to do?*
What am I to say?"

But, if she asks me point blank
whether I have heard anything from
Bowman, what *can* I say?

Bowman himself does not see the essential difference
between Miss Jones & all the other Lady Superiors --
that she trains & the others do not
And the Bishop -- you know he sanctions &

f254

Miss Jones: {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

 applauds those idiotic Deaconesses
 & Pelham Dale -- & he does not see
 the entire superiority of the training
 principle of Miss Jones

How I wish there were no men --

Bowman jawed away -- reading me up all the
back papers -- shifting his own ground every
moment -- instead of the one clear
statement which Miss Jones gives --
justifying that stupid Report -- when Miss J.
says -- if only they would not have mentioned
anything but finance --

He has seen Miss J. And they seem to have
come to some sort of reconciliation --

And he has written to the Bishop --

And we are trying to make the Bishop
see Mr. Labart, who long ago offered
to come up to see the Bishop --

The Bishop has convoked a Meeting
at London House of St. John's Council
on Friday next --

And Bowman consents to try & see the
Bishop first -- & has written to ask --
also for Mr. Labart --

f254v

| not Miss Jones --

Nothing can be | _____
arrived at, unless the Bishop gives in
& with draws his letter, which perhaps
he may have the gleam of sense
necessary --

f255

This is a *dead* secret.

What do you think that idiotic Council have done? -- gone, without consulting even Bowman, & asked Miss Byron of All Saints (University) to undertake the work -- And Miss B -- without a moment's consideration, undertakes the whole work --

Very well, I said to Bowman -- then I will tell you a dead secret --

Miss Byron has not one Sister who knows anything of Hospl work but one who was discharged from another order for untruthfulness.

Miss Byron's Sisters all take vows as a regular thing -- And if the Bp who

f256

{whole IS UNDERLINED 5 TIMES}
 {having IS UNDERLINED 4 TIMES}
 {The whole contract IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}
 {St. John's IS UNDERLINED 4 TIMES}

The **WHOLE** of the details are virtually settled between Miss Jones & me --

If we say nothing, nothing will be done.

Miss Jones & I **HAVING** settled to give up the

Midwifery ward in

K.C.H. She asks me whether she shall do, as above.

Harry B.C. is absolutely nothing but my Officer in reality.

Harry B.C. is absolutely a person non-existent as regards K.C.H.

THE WHOLE CONTRACT is between

K.C.H. & **ST. JOHN'S** --

We repaying

f256v

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

Miss Jones is to ask Kings College to ask
St. John's to ask our Committee to with=draw
from the Midw
ifery ward? --

Is that the right way?

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP:}

You see -- I don't --
I manage it with
Miss Jones --

the agreement to terminate
by mutual consent
found in practice not to answer

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS:}

Miss Nightingale

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

They're all idiots
but Miss Jones
I spoke to Bowman myself
He's an idiot

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP:}

what they pretended to do with regard
to the P.M. Theatre has entirely failed
& the effluvia are as bad as ever

f257

The Drolesses & the Droles are too much for me --
 But I could do with the Drolesses -- They are reasonable
 But it's the Droles -- I never would have
 created men, never, never --

Such a Drole as the Bp of London I
 really never contemplated.

Well, I had Bowman here jawing away all
 yesterday evening, till I am much more dead
 than alive.

I believe I brought him to reason -- He
 acknowledged & assented to every thing --

But, he says, what am I to do next? --
 I say: -- see the Bp of London --

Well, he says, I will -- But 1. the Bp of London
 is at the N. Foreland -- And 2. the Bp of L.
 won't take a verbal statement from me --

But, he says, I will write to the Bp of L -- at
 once & say that I have seen 2 or 3 people
 (he wished to mention me, but I said, Don't)
 & I want to see him before the Meeting --
 And I will also write to Miss Jones & ask
 to see her & kiss & be friends.

⊕ So I said -- But he says "the Bp won't
 take a verbal or a written statement from him (Bowman)
 He says -- Miss Jones must go with him -- Or
 he must take a letter from Miss Jones --

Now I (F.N.) don't think Miss J. will do either

f257v

{entirely IS UNDERLINED 4 TIMES}

{any IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}

This is a difficulty of the Bp's making.
And I don't believe (tho *I* might) that Miss
J. will choose to be had up in the dock
to make explanations.

But the "vows" & the "oaths" & compulsory confession are

ENTIRELY the Bp's own
megrim.

Well, then, Mr. Labart replies to that,

Neither I nor *ANY* one would take *ANY* [3 underlines]
kind of care whatever under *ANY* Bishop
who chose to write such a letter as that.

Well, the only person who is straight=forward
& above=board is Miss Jones.

As for the Bp, Bowman showed me
letters of his last night which I could
not have believed, if I had not seen them.

That's just what I told Bowman to find out --
But the Bp's word is "oaths".

f258

Bowman showed me a letter of the Bp's last night to this effect: --

that he could not conceive why this arrangement should not be made --

that the Council should keep the Nurses with a housekeeper over them

that the Sisterhood should be set free to engage with the Governors of Hospitals as they thought fit --

& that they (the Council) should put out their Nurses to Hospital Nursing as to private Nursing as they thought fit.

I told Bowman as mildly as I could that such a proposition was absolutely untenable

that my whole life had been but one protestation against such a plan

that any one who could propose such a thing simply showed that either he had not considered or was incapable of considering the question --

Miss Jones always told me that the Bishop {INSERTED FROM **f257v**:} had tried to sever her from the Council -- And I actually never believed her till I saw it last night in the Bp's own hand.

f258v

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

1. To tell Mr Bowman exactly all
that Miss Jones said. {FN WRITES:}I did & he was
satisfied

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

2. Let Mr. Bowman see the Bp
& *tell him all* & see whether
an arrangement cannot be
come to. {FN WRITES:}He says he will. But he says the Bp
can will
not accept a statement from him.

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

3. The Council to restrict its
reports in future simply to
Finance & general matters
without touching on the
Sisterhood.
4. If it be considered desirable
to have a report on the
work of the Sisterhood this
report to be supplied by the
Superior personally.

{FN WRITES:}

3 & 4: He says -- he consents to directly -- But
he says, if Miss J. had but said she
wished this, it might all have been settled

B

ff259-60 NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & DESPATCH TO SANITARY COMMITTEE
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED NOVEMBER 23, 1867

f259

I have been so hard-worked --
And my cares are more than my hairs

[9:609-10]

Nov. 23/67 {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

Sir B. Frere

He says the Sanitary Commee (I mean to call
it Departmt) sits now every Monday --
To-day it takes our Despatch in hand --

He says -- it will then come before the I.O. --
on Thursday --

that Sir S. Northcote who is (he says) a very
good judge as to what will pass the gate,
doubts whether our whole Despatch will
pass the I.O. on Thursday -- He thinks it
better to proceed by steps -- to adopt Sir
J. Lawrence's proposal first -- & then to
creep on -- *But* -- he says -- if the Commee
of this morning should strongly recommend
to go for the whole thing at once, he will
try it on Thursday.

Well -- Sir B.F. hopes that he's got the
Bombay drainage referred to Rawlinson --

He says that he is sure Sir S. Northcote
means me to see the Despatch before it goes

f259v

{strongly IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}

but that, if it does not go the whole length,
he **STRONGLY** recommends us to lose no time

but write immediately to Sir J. Lawrence
& ask HIM to INITIATE the rest

Sir B.F. says that at present, the I.O. send
him (the Publ. H. Commn) all the papers they
are bothered with & want to get rid of --

~~He~~ They have got a most curious set of
papers about Fever in the Ganges Delta &
at Goa & Canare--

~~They~~ He told me the contents -- & asked
me whether they should be sent to you --

I said Yes -- if without jealousy --
I told him so -- to ask for observations -- even
if not for opinion --

to send all the papers for observations or
remarks (for a Minute which will
guide them)

They have got the Hurdwar Fair papers --
& he asked me whether

f260

{an attempt IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}

I did not tell him of Sir J. Lawrence's
letter --

He says that Ld Napier has a little the credit
of writing finding=fault Minutes & going
no farther.

He says -- it is quite impossible to describe
how entirely the Govt of India is running to a
Govt of detail --

He says ~~Ld~~ Massey is worth nothing
Ld Elgin inaugurated all this Govt
of detail --

He says -- under Ld Dalhousie & even
under Canning, the G.G -- really reigned --
that he said to his Council: -- You disagree
with me -- shall I record your dissentient
Minute & send it home --

They sometimes said Yes -- but more often
No --

The consequence was that the G.G. really
governed --

Ld Elgin did not make **AN ATTEMPT** at
governing.

f260v

He had not an opinion of his own -- [end 9:610]
 He sent

I wrote Miss Jones an affectionate
 Epistle last night
 Now here comes the dry dust

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE:}

There's only one as great goose as you are --
 And that is Norman Chevers. And he's
 coming to-day -- as if I had not enough geese
 without him --

What am I to say to him?
 Am I to give N. Chevers any thing?
 Go & find me what I am to give him.

ff261-62v NOTES ON DR. NORMAN CHEVERS & MEDICAL COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA
 PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED NOVEMBER 23, 1867

f261

Norman Chevers gave me the most
 remarkable account of his Medical
 College at Calcutta -- especially
 in reference to whether these
 Native Surgeons could be employed
 as Sub=Inspectors in the Sanitary
 Service.
 He is Head of the Medical College
 & has under him 600 native
 Students, educated by the Govt --
 Part go into the Civil Medical
 service, as "Sub=Assistant
 Medical Officers", & "Dispensers"
 in country districts.
 Part, encouraged by the Govt, set
 up in private practice.
 He says their knowledge is quite
 remarkable --
 their want of conscience equally
 remarkable.
 The first would entirely qualify

f262

them for the sanitary service -- the second is a grave difficulty.

He says: -- they all take to intemperance & opium -- & are old men before they are 40 -- But he says -- compare them with Medical Students in England -- & their knowledge, their power of acquirement, their quickness in practice distances the Anglo=Saxon out & out.

But -- their idleness -- their want of sympathy with human suffering -- their want of professional conscience!! -- their agreeableness & their courtesy -- are all equally remarkable --

He says -- they are all Monotheists -- none of them Hindoo Mythologists

& that their grand children will be Christians.

He says -- I say to them -- if I had had the professional advantages

you have -- you are much cleverer than I -- and you know it -- you are the most conceited fellows I ever knew -- Now -- be a little industrious when you reach your Stations. If you are sent for to Patients, go at once --

Not they. They are too idle to ride -- They never ride -- They can't afford buggies -- sometimes they go in palanquins.

He says -- this will be a most grave difficulty -- If employed in Sanitary service, they *won't* ride about to do it.

But -- he says -- their love of gain (*not* of professional work) is remarkable.

f262v

And, he believes, that a selected number, if paid for it, are capable of admirable sanitary service

He says: the Vaccinators are a very low set. And, he fears, could scarcely be turned to good Sanitary service.

f263 JS letter 22 Dec [1867] Another letter is very common sense, ...marks of effect of your letter to him. The point gained is that if they illeg will prob get H of C com apptd for a gen inq into the whole poor law qu. No cal for a special reply from you for he agrees and asks no questions. If you write an ack (which is not nec) you may say that you are glad to find that he agrees so closely with you on the points wh shd be include din the inq, that you are in comunic with others on the subject and that altho for obvious reasons...cannot promise active help at present, much hope of being able to exert beneficial infl in having the entire poor law subj enquired into, labour test and workhouse test have equally failed either in relieving distress esp in sickness or in checking pauperism, no use in trying to force a man by punishment to find work if he ha snot the faculty of finding work, and that so far as concerns the able bodied and deserving poor the real function of a poor law is neither to punish nor to feed, but to train the poor to self dependence and industry. This is a great branch of a natl educ wh is in no sense helped by reading writing and figures ...Must now wait the result of HV's letter to Ld. C., Very much will depend on the view he takes of the qu. But even if the view is unfav we may still put forward the principles for his consid.

ff264-65 NOTES ON LORD NORTHBROOK'S REPORTS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 19-31 DECEMBER 1867

f264

I don't know whether you have seen the last of the 3 of Lord NORTHBROOK's Reports, upon which it is understood that Mr. Cardwell is going to act.

It is almost impossible to believe that a Minister can be so mad.

All the Departments which failed so miserably in the Crimea as in the Peninsular War are to be put under one man, Storcks -- Commissariat, Clothing, Stores, Transport, Pay, Barracks, Hospitals. And as if this were not enough he is to be Head of the Ordnance stores, ammunition &c &c -- And as if that were not enough, he is to be Chief of the Manufacturing Branches.

It does not need a prophet to foresee what will come in time of war.

Storcks is not a great man. He is rather a superior specimen of the combination

f264v

of what makes a good Military man & a good business man.

In the field under the Commissariat Officer who has already too much to do are to be placed Transport, Clothing, Stores, Equipment, Hospitals -- & besides this, Ordnance & Ammunition.

But -- he is to be called for euphony Controller.

This is the exact reverse of Sidney Herbert's plan -- Our plan, under him, was: -- to perfect the organization of each Department separately -- & then, to bring them into direct communication with the Secretary of State --

all finance & pay mastering to be divided from the other Departments --

And this is what will have to be done at last.

Next: Sidney Herbert's principle was

f265

that Military appointments should be carefully separated from the political element. Now, the only thing which, it appears, is to remain with the political man, the Secretary of State is: the appointments, the Military business

Notes from an interview with Sir Bartle Frere for John Sutherland, ADD Mss 45752 ff198-201

[ca. 25 July 1867]

He [Bartle Frere] has seen Lord de Grey's minute. Then, he was told that nothing had taken place upon it. Unlike Ellis, he was not satisfied and he went ferreting on. (He says, *by the way*, that Anderson^x is one of the best men they have but that Anderson told *him*, as he told Ellis, that there was nothing, absolutely nothing, when there were *three* despatches, but that *we ought to get hold of* Anderson because, if he once takes up a thing, *he will go on with it.*)

He says, *by the way*, that there is a standing order at the I.O. that I, F.N., am to see any paper I call for. He says that he has found a despatch of Lord Cranborne x x x x upon Lord de Grey's minute (which minute, he says, is almost word for word our memo). Lord Cranborne's despatch is most unfortunate. He says, finance must come first; when he sees what they can spend, then he will see what can be done to save life instead of, as Sir B. Frere says: save our lives, cost what it will. Then we can work, he says; we will save your lives if it does not cost too much.

At the end, there are some good suggestions as to using municipal bodies and local governments. To this, he says, Sir J. Lawrence replied, and he says I (F.N.) have seen his reply. But I don't know whether he, Sir B. Frere, has seen the reply.

In April last, Sir S.N. wrote a despatch, "a good administrative despatch," which Sir B. Frere found. But, he says, nothing in all this alters our position. He says, with regard to my letter, I ought to say civilly to Sir S. Northcote that he must go back to Lord de Grey's minute and that I ought to call for all these intermediate papers. He wished very much to have taken my letter *with* him (which he read over again most carefully) *and* to have taken the famous "doors and windows" paper with it (my letter) at once to Sir S. Northcote.

I said I didn't think that would do, that I must return the "doors and windows" to you. He said, well, the sooner you do anything the better. If you could send me (Sir B. Frere) your letter *today*, to give to Sir S. Northcote, *taking care* that the "doors and windows" paper goes in *today* to the I.O., so much the better.

Sir B. Frere says that, if the administrative system in India is bad, that in the I.O. is worse. He says we are divided into eight committees of five or six, who all do the business which would be much better done by one man, clerk or secretary. The business is actually not done. We

^x Henry Anderson became secretary to the India Office Sanitary Committee later in 1867.

meet every Thursday, the whole lot of us; everything that is unimportant is then done; everything that is important is left undone for, if any one man moves that the papers be adjourned, everyone else accedes. Personal questions, of course, come up first; those are always brought up, but no administrative question ever gets on a single stage. There is no time for it; we have just time to do the useless things, the trivial things. So, everything is adjourned from year to year. It is like the Delhi sores, it is always on the list and no one puts on even a plaster. I miss him [S. Herbert?] so.

He says the thing is now to let drive at Sir S. Northcote without a day's delay to get Anderson (who is efficient) on our side and to take advantage of the move to the new office and of the recess. He says, "I will make 35 South St. the India Office while this affair is pending."

Sir B. Frere told me most curious facts (he was here for hours). He said you need not be so miserable about the delay in the Public Health Service, for you have given such a stir to the natives that we hear of nothing else. This last year no European in Bombay could get a house. All the good sea breezy houses belong to Parsis, who, though rich, lived in the miserable parts of the town and let their houses to Europeans. This last year all the Europeans came to me and complained they could get no houses. I made great inquiries and I was told this: the boy Parsis go to the Grant Medical College and "Sir, we read there Miss Nightingale's and other works on air, construction, etc." The mama and grandmama in Parsi families are the tyrants. The poor papa had begged in vain to be allowed to live in his own house. They *would* live in the bad parts of the town, but when the boy came home and found a sick child at home, he would say, "Grandmama, you're killing that child; Miss N. says so." And Grandmama listened to the boy, though she would not listen to papa. Grandmama became a sanitary reformer in spite of herself and they moved to the new house out of the narrow street with no window to the seaside house.

Add Mss 45753, Correspondence and notes with Dr Sutherland, microfilm, 1868-69, 280 folios, 200 pages, Adam Matthew reel 8

ff1-4v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 12-13 Jan. 1868] (ARCHIVIST) **[3:475]**

f1

It's all over --
They've turned out the Sisters of St
John's --
And so ends the only good &
successful attempt of Hospital
Nursing by *Protestant* Sisters
that has ever been made
I couldn't have believed it.
Miss Sellon has been Popish from the
first -- tho' I love her --
Miss Jones never has --
It's *entirely* the Bishop's &
Council's fault **[end 3:475]**
I shan't see

f2v

I wish I could shew them you
Unfortunately Miss J. has kept them
They were as absolutely
unbusiness-like as all you
have seen.

It's not the least worth while
to trouble you with these papers
(especially as I have not
Bowman's propositions)
But will you look at them? --
They are the papers of Sunday.

f3

Harry B.C. asks me to tell him the
 "main points at issue which have
 ended in the separation & breaking
 up of St. John's --

It is his right --

He will be repeatedly asked about it
 while I am away --

[And he will also be asked to
 furnish Nurses]

But, for the life of me, I don't
 know how to state the "points at
 issue" --

Ⓑ Could you put down the case
 for me in a few lines? --

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

But how came they to have no Statistics of
 Syphilis? --

f4v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}: [3:475-77]

The Bishop was there
 & never said *he* was the author of
 the proposition which Miss Jones
 has been so condemned for

That's true -- But then Fliedner [7:599]
 always evaded the great difficulty
 -- of undertaking a secular Hospital --
 You know I have myself seen him
 interfere with the *Drs* in the Hospl
 in a way no secular Hospl ought
 to or would tolerate for a moment.

You know how dearly I loved
 Kaiserswerth

But I have never in all my life
 seen a Hospl so ill-managed, so
 beastly, so unhealthy.

[end 7:599]

ff5-6v NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND RE: SISTERHOOD, TAKING VOWS, AND THE BISHOP PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 14 Jan. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f5

Miss Jones was here 3 hours --
Now, mind, it is really rather hard upon me
to have to play the Devil's advocate
on BOTH sides.

I don't defend Miss J.

But I see absolutely nothing that could not
have been arranged with a *little* temper on
both sides.

Mr. Bowman & the Council have shouted
against vows as if Miss Jones were in the
Act of leading the whole Sisterhood to St.
Alban's to make a public vow -- like R. C.'s --
the word vow has not been so much as
mentioned.

Miss Jones accepted the whole "reformed
Resolutions" bonafide even tho' not satisfied
with them.

These included that the Sisterhood should
name & pay a Chaplain -- to be of course
appointed by the Bishop --

Miss Jones took considerable pains to find
a man (*whom Mr. Bowman admits to be a*
moderate man) Mr. Labart or Labarre (I
don't know how to spell his name) If you
remember, he was the man who went on
board the Fever ships at Liverpool

She went down to the Bishop at Fulham.
He accepted the man without a word.
He did not say one word to her about enquiry.
He said to her: I *know* the man -- & I accept him --

f5v

The Bishop -- she not having said one word as to wishing for vows or anything of the kind of any "irreversible promise" towards herself -- writes to Mr. Labart a letter which he sends to her -- saying that he (Mr. L.) must not urge any Sister to "Confession" & must not "administer" any "oaths" -- (such an extraordinary word) to any Sister --

Mr. L. & Miss Jones decline to have any conditions made at all --

Mr. L. says (most justly, I think) that he would not accept a cure in London to have the Bp dictating to him one way or other as to the "inner life" of his Parishioners. But that no Bishop would do it.

Miss Jones says -- `the Chaplain might never `be asked by any Sister to "administer" any `oath" at all --

`As for any "vow" to me, the question is `absolutely groundless & insane -- It is a `fantasy of the Bishop's -- a Fata Morgana.

`As for any "urging to Confession" it would be considered by Mr. L, by me, & by all the Sisters, as simply sacrilege --

But he had made *no* conditions with the last Chaplain.

f6

At this very moment, the Bishop HAS sanctioned a Sisterhood & a Chaplain (without a Council) to take vows -- And this can be brought up against him in black & white.

He is always telling Miss Jones that she ought to have no Council --

And the real fact & explanation is that he is afraid of the Council --

Miss Jones whose Sisterhood is the *only* Sisterhood which does *not* take vows, is the only woman who chooses to be above board, & to say, No, I won't accept conditions which some of my Sisters *might* evade privately, as a thing between themselves & their God -- & which ALL other Sisterhoods *do* evade publicly.

I (F.N.) know of my own personal knowledge that the Clewer Sisters, (whom that infatuated Mr. Bowman wants to offer Kings Coll: to) *do take*

f6v

every one of them vows, altho' it stands in their Regulations publicly that they are not to take vows. That is the Bishop of Oxford all over. He puts "no vows" in his Regulations -- & he "administers vows" in private.

The Bp of London knows perfectly well that the Sisters of University Coll. to whom he is Visitor, take vows privately. He has made no such condition with them --

Asses.

As to Miss Sellon's sisterhood, they have always taken vows.

====

Miss Jones says -- that she will do anything to reconcile herself with the Council.

She authorized me "to say anything" to Mr. Bowman--

But she says -- the primary condition must be -- that the Council do *not* interfere with the "inner life" of the Sisters. She says -- that I have no idea of how many Sisters have refused to enter on account of the perpetual interferences reporting &c &c &c of the Council --

ff7-8v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 15th Jany. 1868 BY SUTHERLAND, embossed WO, asked her to consider following point and give opinion when comes Monday, re sever cases at Woolwich, all wish to have a night female nurse to attend to them, besides the day female nursing. Similar things have happened before and on a former occasion Mrs S.S. was asked to supply the night nurses but declined to do so unless her staff was largely increased...new proposal to classify bad cases into a single ward and appoint 1 of the staff to act at night, poss 2 wards reqd...Many cases are said to be so slight as to require no nursing comparatively, while others are so serious as to require night nursing. This proposal to give every assistance necessary in the way of orderlies & to the nurse. cd such a system be arranged.

"I found the brutes when I arrived here. They were given into my hand by the Hall keeper with a most profound bow. He evidently thought I had "influential friends in the country." Many thanks to you for the "repute" but many.. . illeg for the cause.

ff9-10 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND TO NIGHTINGALE Jany. 17 embossed WO, concurs with Ld C., not losing time, actually gaining time. present East London case is bringing many things to light which were little suspected, and it is forming public opinion in 2 or 3 very important matters, such as: The insufficiency of the Poor Law to relieve real poverty. The absurdity of the workhouse & labour tests as proof of need. The necessity of giving great work, & paying for it a fair value, as a means of meeting temporary want of work. Indeed the last point is the reform required. Next the utter anarchy & chaos produced by the joint action of Guardians and relief committees w/o number. The want of ready faculty in meeting emergencies (just like the Crimea) and sever other things.

I think a R. Commission would be the best agency to examine into the matter. But we must wait & see what government proposes to do. We must not oppose them unless under absolute necessity.

Next as to Anstie: The circular he says is provisional and.....The Bethnal Green element of equalization of rates has crept in no doubt through the clergy. But the circular will do good in our direction. It will lead to discussion and to forming opinion.

Anstie merely send it to you to inform....

ff11-14v NOTE TO SUTHERLAND RE: MISS JONES AND REGULATIONS FOR SISTERHOOD
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [middle-end Jan. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f11

She said that I could not conceive the
correspondence which has been brought upon her
by the Council's reports --

that, if they would restrict themselves to
finance, she should be spared half her
difficulties --

that they have promised over & over again
to show *her* the M.S. before it was printed

They have *never* ONCE done so --

She says there are two ways ~~of~~ for the Bishop
to give in --

Either -- he might say to the Council --
do you nominate & I will appoint --
And then he need not make conditions --
And the Council might nominate Mr.
Labart.

Or -- he might appoint one nominated
by the Sisters (and then she would look
out again for another man) without
conditions --

[Mr Labart has behaved in the most
exemplary manner. He says -- he is
quite willing to be Jonah & to be cast
out of the ship. But she says justly
that to sacrifice Mr. Labart to take
another without conditions is unfair
to him.]

f11v

They (the Council) appointed Mr. Giraud without conditions.

Miss Jones declares that there never has been any question about a vow of obedience -- nor about a vow of poverty -- that she holds the same opinions as I do about that --

thing of that kind that no vow *has ever been exacted urged or permitted/or made public* but that women between themselves & their God have made a vow to the life.

[end 3:477]

in the religious or moral hands of another
or Moral
to be led by another's religious Consciences
nothing of the kind has even
oath (of obedience to her)

f12

That's just what Miss Jones says --
If you can't trust us, we had better go --
She says -- every member of Council has his own inner life, his own shades of opinion.
You don't say to them: -- you must think this or do that.

Why do it to us? --
The Council does not know anything about women -- or they would not do this

She says -- they, the Sisters, have supported the Council, instead of the Council supporting them --

She says -- as for the Council saying, we can't go to the public for subscriptions, if you do so & so, the Council are actually supported by the labour of the Sisters' hands.

They have 34 Nurses at King's Coll:
which costs them £1700 a year --
King's Coll: gives the Council £1400 a year. The remainder is made up by the Sisters taking paying Pupil Nurses.
And so with all the rest

f13

[Middle-End Jan. 1868] [3:478]

She says

--

that nothing will induce her or any of the
Sisters to re-enter under those terms
that the Sisters state distinctly that, in
case of her death, they would not accept
any Supt nominated by the Council.
that the Sisters state distinctly that they
will not accept the rule by which
the Council prescribes the dress
that they will not continue under the rule
by which the Council can re-model
or appoint the duties of every officer
They won't get one.

She says --

she never has & never will assume any
spiritual headship.
but that the conditions laid down by
Bishop & Council lately
are as if they were to make it a
condition to her that she should not
swindle any part of the funds.
And therefore she says they must go

She says: -- why can't we take St.
John's work as we take King's Coll
work?

f14v

The rules of 1865 are as autocratic on everything except the details of nursing as can well be. Looking at them on the legal side the Mother superior has nothing to do at all except to provide for efficient exercise of nursing duties in Hospitals private families &c. There is a jealous guardianship over every thing religious. There is also control over the general efficiency of the nursing -- whether in Hospitals or in private families. All the possible work in St. Johns house is exercised exactly in the same terms. What can be done by the Sisters in Hospital is precisely what can be done by them in the other duties of the House.

The rules show entire liberty for the Superioress in all details of Nursing but the most absolute & control by the Council in everything else. The idea is that on these terms the Council will enter into arrangements with Superior & Sisters, but on no other terms than these. The rules are a very distinct *constitution* with rights on both sides strictly defined & which can only be departed from by secession on one side or the other.

f16v

You might just as well say that I
could establish a School for Hospital
Nurses to learn as Hospital Students
do --

Marylebone is TOO FAR
St. Giles --

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

About the far higher matter of Miss
Jones herself --

She positively says that she never will re-enter
St. John's as an integral part of it --

that they will work for St. John's as they
do for the Hospitals --

if not, not.

at St. John's --

to be turned out just as Hospitals would
turn them out if disapproved

only finance -- to be the Council's part --

the Nurses are the property of the Council

She says: -- when she says that the Council must
not interfere with the "inner life" of the

Sisters: -- they say, "they don't want to" --

And when she says -- then let us go on so -- then
they say: -- "then what's the good of our

being a Council at all?"

their "unreason is unbearable"

But she's no objection, to leave ALL that
to the Council.

I told her so.

[end 8:200]

f17

If either you or Mr. Bowman were half as reasonable as Miss Jones, I should be a happy woman.

Now, are you going to sit there? --
I was so ill on Thursday & Tuesday from leaning forward to shout at you.

Are you going to tell me anything about Wednesday's Committee?

I'll find it but
what you are bound to tell me is: --

Sir P. Cautley attends Sir B. Frere's Comn on Monday. You see him on Wednesday.

You make me write *reams* about
what Sir B.F. tells me

& you won't tell me a word
then what did Galton say? --

Did ~~Sir~~ you ask Sir P. Cautley nothing

If you put in the Illustrated News that what I've said on *Hospls* is in my Notes on *Nursing*, that's the result.

f18 NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND RE: NIGHTINGALE'S POOR TREATMENT PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [ca. Jan 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

I wish you joy of your pupil
And I beg another time that you will not give
my name --
I particularly dislike being quoted for conclusions
directly opposite to those I wish to advocate --
I don't like being left in a minority of 13 --
And I am quite distressed at being put as it
were in opposition to Mr. Goschen, whom people
have asked to consult me --
The man's facts, not his heart, are all wrong --

I'm afraid he's done harm
to do what?

11 870	93 000	7.8	4443	37 000	8.3
	83 090			35 7544	
	-----			-----	
	99 100			14 560	
	94 960			13 329	

	4443	
	137	

4306	37 000	8.5
	34 448	

	25 520	
	21 530	

f18v NOTE--MORTALITY STATS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

1

Deliveries King College Hospital

Total deliveries 1867 -----

Total deaths 1867 -----

Causes of Death ~~as entered~~ }

~~in to Hospital records~~ & }

no. of deaths from each }

cause as entered in the }

Hospital Books }

ff19-19v NOTE TO SUTHERLAND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Jan 1868]
(ARCHIVIST)**f19**

You want to know what our relations with
the Governors of K. C. H. were --

None --

Th St. John's made the Contracts

Dr. A. Farre most kindly instructed his
Resident Assistant Accoucheur who existed
before our ward to go round our wards
twice a day --

also to give Lectures to our Pupil Midwives.

Our Midwife called him in in
difficulty.

And he called in Dr. A. Farre at his
discretion.

No student was ever in our ward but
once at a *Delivery* -- a case of Craniotomy

Dr. Priestly, the year before our ward
closed, stated to M. Husson

that K.C.H. opened our ward "for the
instruction of the students" -- that only
"difficult cases" were delivered in our
ward & "by the students" -- that I contributed

f19v

£300 a year!!!

All this was *pure* invention.

As Dr. Priestly was then head of the
Obstetric Dept it is difficult to
conceive his ignorance --

M. Husson was clever enough to smell a
rat

& wrote to me exact questions for
exact answers.

Here they are

I paid £500 a year.

The *whole* of Dr. Priestley's
statement is *pure*.

f20v NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN CONTINUATION OF
PREVIOUS LETTER? APPEARS TO BE MISPLACED, NOT DATED

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

[3]

construction to the climate. And the
Pavilions can be connected by a Corridor
for facility of intercourse under cover.
As above=mentioned, I have myself nursed
a Hospital in the Crimea consisting
of wooden huts *without* a Corridor
(thermometer: 2° ~~above~~ *above* zero Fahrenheit).
The Death=rate in that Hospital was
under 3 per cent -- in the magnificent
Corridor Hospitals of Scutari it has
been 20 per cent on cases treated -- and
in one large Hospital during one month
more than half of all the cases died.

f21 NOTE RE: CRAWFORD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED arch: Jan-Feb 1868

I must write something to Sir B. Frere as to what
is to be done with Crawford when he comes --

He comes in a fortnight --

I shall be gone --

He wants instruction. And Sir B.F. says that
he is a man of extraordinary energy but no
judgment. Sir B.F. says he will be moulded by
the first man into whose hands he falls --

Had I not better send them to Farr.

I don't like to overload Frederick whom I can't
pay.

To reduce these ships nor to
get

1. the death rate to cases.

2. the death rate to
diseases & ages.

They are returns of patients
treated in districts under
nurses at their own home

f22v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Spring 1869 Feb.?] (ARCHIVIST)

Is Galton in better humour?

It appears to me that Sir J. Pakington has performed the rare achievement (unachievable one would have said had it not been for Sir John P.) of putting Storks into the W.O. so as to make him useless except for the use of making Galton useless -- & of keeping both in a state of violent antagonism *to do nothing*

But what is Storks about?

You had better now 12.15 lay in a large amount of nourishment & also of stimulant if you are going to see Wilbraham. For my part, honour bright, I had *just as soon* have Mrs. Stewart howling here as Wilbraham.

I'd none -- Mrs. Stewart "keeps me unstable."

f23 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND -- PEN -- 8th Feb. embossed WO, found note, doesn't see what she can do

f24-25 LETTER FROM CAUTLEY, embossed IO to JS-- PEN -- Feb. 7. 1868

f26 draft JS PENCIL Feb or March 1868 re conditions, problem, Mrs Kidd

ff27-31v NOTES TO SUTHERLAND ABOUT BOMBAY DRAINAGE PEN, black-edged paper,
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [ca. Feb.-Mar. 1868] ~~April 1868~~ (ARCHIVIST)

f27

Sir B. Frere
[see Bombay Drainage
Tulloch & Rawlinson]

says he has been occupied in doing
School master -- in teaching grammar
& the three r s.

He says -- that no one can imagine **[10:43-44]**
the quantity of matter they have
disinterred in the I.O.

He has written the Despatch to Sir
J. L. in our sense.

But -- Sir S. Northcote, it is the
etiquette, must present it to
the Council.

Sir J. N. will do so -- & will
previously send it to us --

He still says -- the thing is, to get
everything initiated in India.

He has been disappointed in not
hearing from Ld. Napier

One of the main things he came about
is: -- Chadwick has been at him
about an Aide Memoire.

f27v

Sir B.F is quite willing --
 And he came here yesterday -- to
 ask me to consult with you
 about it -- & to let him know.

Well -- Sir B.F. is not at all taken in
Quite the contrary. He came to ask me
 what he was to think of Chadwick.

And Sir B.F., I think, would rather
 have as little to do with C. as possible.

He empowers us to think & let
 him know how this Aide Memoire
 is to be proceeded with -- by
 whom -- on what subjects -- &c
 &c --

I told him so. But I don't think
 he thinks Sir P.C. will do anything.

f28 I rather think you had better --
 I choose.

I had better write to Sir. B.F. about
 the Aide M.

Sir B.F. will take my word
 against Chadwick's

f28v

Sir B.F. says
 they have had another Despatch
 from Col. Crommelin
 20 pages of close print against us
 & then one short Paragraph
 admitting the whole --

===

He says
 Rawlinson has written a very good
 paper on the Bombay Drainage --
 which he hopes will revolutionize
 the whole of India --
 that Capt Tulloch is going back
 to Madras -- And the wretched
 man has been ordered by the
 India Govt to stop at Bombay --
 to take Rawlinson's paper with
 him & try how he can reconcile
 Crawford, Hewlett & Co. to it.

f29

[2]

that Sir B.F. is furnishing him
with introductions, in the faint
hope that, as at Constantinople,
all the Bombay dogs may not
set upon the strange dog.

Sir

IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE

Sir B. Frere has been on a
Committee with Storks to
report upon Ld Strathnairn's
Report.

He says -- their Instructions were
like Rinch's Instructions to
the Baltic Fleet --

The country looks to you to
take Russia.

But you are to do it without
the loss of a man, a gun
or a vessel.

f29v

Sir B.F. after weeks of labour,
reported that there was nothing to
report -- that they must put
Storks in the Controller Office,
Balfour as his second
& Lindsay as J.G. of Reserves --

He says Pakington knows nothing
at all --

that he did this in Galton's
absence --

that Galton's friends are furious
& have all been urging him to
resign.

that he, Sir B.F. tells Galton he
will be in a much better position
than he was before --

Sir B.F. says the condition of the
W. O. is quite beyond belief -- &
that nothing but the D. of Cambridge
being a Prince of the blood keeps
things together for a day.

f30

He says -- that Galton does the Estimates capitally -- but that it is not *possible* for a man in his position to do them.

[end 10:44]

E.g. an artillery officer at Shoeburyness says they must have so many thousand rounds in the Estimates.

All those rounds are at Woolwich & need not be put into the Estimates

But a Capt R.E. (viz Galton) can't tell them that --

It requires a great big Lt. General & a Privy Councillor -- with a General of Artillery at his back -- to tell them that.

Then -- at Gibraltar there is a heap of salt meats for the Navy in one corner of the room -- And in another

f30v

corner a heap of salt meat for the Army. The Navy men eat their salt meat straight through. But the Army men eat theirs only say once a week. Theirs gets bad. But there is nobody to say -- transfer the Army heap into the Navy heap. But a Capt R. G. can't go to the Admiralty & say: Do this -- That's just what Sir B.F. has said: -- it should be done by the Controller.

And -- he says -- there *must* be a man, of Storcks' rank who can go to the D. of Cambridge & say -- I *must* see H. R. H. even if the gentle Q. M. G is with him -- or even if the redoubtable Genl Forster says: Keep me out No--

f31

Sir B.F. says he told Sir J. Pakington
the whole question rests upon
Finance.

Therefore, your Finance Secretary
ought to be asked to supply his
views.

Sir J. P. never asked Galton to
supply his views till about a
month ago -- *after* Storks was
appointed.

Nevertheless, says Sir B. Frere, it
is quite true that Galton was
Finance Secy without having the
means of being Finance Secy.

Sir B.F. says (what we have so often
said) that every thing goes in the
W.O & o:
They speak of poor Lugard with contempt.

f31v

Sir B.F. says -- Sir H Storks will
virtually be Mil Sec.
They will.

f32-33v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 16 Mar. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f32

You know I have seen those certificates given by
Wilbraham before.

The Miss Cranks (mentioned) presented them to
Mr. Rathbone -- And he sent them to me --

I was obliged to tell him that they were utterly
untrustworthy.

~~1869~~ [Miss Cranks had been suspected of stealing linen

And *Wilbraham himself* told me he knew it]

{~~1869~~ CIRCLED AND WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN MARGIN}

Mrs. Wardroper saw Miss C. & told me she was
not fit to be the commonest Nurse --

Even now I can't think how Wilbraham as a
gentleman could do such a thing.

The W.O. really must stop it

f33v

~~In conform, In conformity with the rule in other
departments of the public service~~

No certificate will be granted to any ~~nurse~~ Sister
leaving the service of the Royal Victoria Hospital
except by the Superintendent.

f34 NOTE TO E. WILHELM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 20 Mar 1868]
(ARCHIVIST) [To E. Wilhelm] or JS?

I write this merely to report progress (if there be
progress) in our endeavours to obtain a Superintendent
of nurses for the Lpool Workhouse. I have heard
of a Lady, whom I have not however seen, who
appears a very likely one indeed to answer
your purpose. Mr. Rathbone has also heard
of her & ~~kn~~ will possibly know more of her
than I yet do. As the matter is pressing
it has occurred to me to suggest that you
should communicate with Rathbone who
will tell you his own opinion. If it be
possible to get the Lady, which is still in doubt
I should of course take steps to ascertain her
qualifications more fully.

f34v WRITTEN IN CORNER -- UNSURE OF HANDWRITING

Dr Chevers

f35 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE? UNSURE OF HANDWRITING PENCIL, DATED 18TH March & 8. April BY AUTHOR, JS?

18th March from W. O.
You might now discuss this
and send a reply as the W.O.
is desirous of arranging
about the pay &c

8 . April
The only thing to do is to
read to Sir E. L. ~~that~~ what
your verbal understanding
was as you suggest & to
state that the training of
Mrs. Deeble & of these is
giving on = successfully &
that in due time names
will be sent for selection
to [3 illeg words]

f36-37 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND? -- Mar. 24/68 UNSURE OF HANDWRITING

f38 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND -- [ca. 4 June 1868] embossed WO

ff39-39V undated NOTE FROM DR SUTHERLAND, SUMMARY OF A LONG ENQUIRY

ff40-41 LETTER TO DR SUTHERLAND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 6-16
June 1868 (ARCHIVIST)

f40

Dr. Sutherland 35 South Street [printed address]
 Park Lane
 London. W.

{PENCIL}:

I am neither able, *in such a hurry*,
to speak or to write.
I will send you down papers, if
you please --
Your lunch will be ready at 1.

Do you know anything of the
Seaman's Hospital at Constantinople?

If so, would you look at
3 papers I have just sent down
to Sir Harry -- & be so kind as to
say what occurs to you? --

F.N.

JS: It is quite unnecessary for me
to see you until the trial is
closed. **FN:** I shall be glad

f40v

to look over any papers
you have till 1 --
The Constantinople hospital
is a poor place & used
to be under a Kaiserswerth
Nurse. It appears to
me that if the Deaconesses
house at Constantinople
could detach a nurse
it would be the
~~worst~~ best arrangement

f41

If not, there will be
great difficulties
But I agree about
you asking Mrs. W.
 Otherwise let them
 appoint a sailor
 orderly.

ff42-44 NOTE RE: MR. BOWMAN'S REPORT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca.
16 June 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f42

Now Bowman has sent me this Report.
 And I assure you it has given me more pain
than Miss Osburn's (printed) letter --
 It is the worst of all possible falsehoods --
Because it is a falsehood grounded on the
reluctance which he knows we shall all feel
to contradict him.
 And I think it ought to be a privilege of my state
not to have to look over these Reports.

 There are two or three things especially which
Bowman has been told are falsehoods --
 And yet he repeats them --
It gives one, you know, a kind of unbelief in *all*
Reports.
Now in my *Una* there was not one word which
 the whole world could prove not to be
 within the truth.

ff43-43v BLANK PAGES

f44

Mr. Bowman's Report contains a multitude of those statements when men do not put forward where they can be cross-examined or in the H. of C. or anywhere where they do not reckon on our reluctance to answer or expose them.

You will excuse me if I say that I much/strongly prefer now the Sisters of *St. Jones* to the Sisters of *St. John's*.

f45 NOTE BY DR. SUTHERLAND 26/6/68

ff46-47 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

Well, I'm going to-morrow.

I can't stand it.

Because I'm just as much afraid of the W.O. more than of poor Mrs. S. Stewart. I can't bear to think of the state of the Netley Nurses under Wilbraham.

I'm going to Ephesus -- But I'll write to you -- Will you come by & bye?

go out when?

10.30 to morrow morning -- please God -- Will you come?

You know I've always said that Sir John Pakington had achieved the unachievable achievement of putting Storcks into the W.O -- ~~for no other~~ to be useless except ~~use but~~ to make Galton & the other Depts useless

I could ha' telled ye that before, Jamie
I told Sir B. Frere &c....

I'm a lodger. I have the Lodger Franchise.
But blow me if I'm going to register.

[2. 7. 68]
35 South Street
Park Lane,
London. W.

{ `[2. 7. 68.]' WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN PENCIL AND
`35 South Street
Park Lane,
London. W.' [printed address]

f46v

Well -- it's very odd. But that's my experience of
 Poor Boarding=Schools conducted by the French
 Sisters of Charity.

Where can I find you? --
 Because I'm never safe from that poor woman
 then at home?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I didn't write on Saturday --
 It was no fudge --
 I was totally unable --
 I agree entirely with what you say --
 But I want you to write me a few lines --
 Because I don't know how to express no
 opinion --
 She wants me to say that I "don't believe
 what those lying men say of" her --

Watson is come -- He takes me --

I think I've enough of man's work & of
 woman's work too without being worried
 to vote

6

6560

12

557,200

f47

If Muir had been there, it never would have
 happened

Barrack

G. M. G. --

Engineers

Medical

But are both this affair & the Storks
 affair going before the *H. of C.*?

f47 -- bottom half of folio **47** LETTER FROM NIGHTINGALE PEN, July 2 1868. James B. Grant?? Asst sec.

{PRINTED LETTERHEAD}:

THE LONDON NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
AUDREY HOUSE,
NOTTING HILL, W.

{PEN}:

222 High St. Southwark
July 2nd 1868 S.E.

Madam,

We are advised that
under the new Reform Act,
women are entitled to vote for
Members of Parliament; and
we are desirous of getting as
many claims made as we can,
Will you be so good as to fill
up the enclosed form, and
return it to me?
If you can give us the names

f47v

of any ladies who hold
qualifications either as
Owners, Occupiers, or Lodgers:
we shall be much obliged.

I am, Madam,

Yours Obediently

James B. Grant

assiss. secy. per F.G.

Miss Florence Nightingale

f47v BOTTOM HALF OF **f47v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

I've just heard there's some doubt
about getting the Invalid Carriage
But I feel it's life or death for me to go
And I shall go in a Saloon Carriage
Will you come? When you please.
to Lea Hurst

f48 NOTE FROM DR. SUTHERLAND -- Bef 13 July 1868 "There is nothing new here about Netley affairs. The governor is acting entirely on his own responsibility. If there should be any "little strangers" he will have to stand god-father.

We have meetings next week and I believe a week after about India and other things. The weather is cool now but it has been awful. All the grass is gone and the poor animals are going about crying for food.

The leaves are flying about like October.

ff49-50 NOTE FROM DR. SUTHERLAND -- 13th July 1868 embossed WO: "I have been doubting with myself whether I should write you, considering your state of health and the fact that I have nothing to communicate about the nursing." re Netley

occupied this past week with committee work and we are about beginning a long enquiry into the present state of the barracks sanitary works. Will write when there is anything to tell.

We have had thunder and rain so that the country looks less like a cracked brick than it did on Saturday.

ff51-53v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND, pen

f51

Gulf 25 July [1868]

What can one say to comfort you under all this. I don't think H.B.C. took the best course. The matter stands thus. The Leeds people send a self-willed woman in training. She gets into a mess: you are doubtful whether she will answer. You let her have a holiday to quiet her ruffled spirits. She has no end of grievances against her teacher: she complains & backs herself up with letters from other self-willed women; & the Leeds man or men feel satisfied about it: & that Mrs. W. is a martinette. Well what of it all? If your nurses are all

right the main point is gained. But as your nurses have to go with their insubordinate superintendent you on your side have cause of complaint.

My own opinion is that the best way to do would be to lay the affair before YOUR Committee & to have

f51v

it enquired into. But do not attach too much importance to it.

Sir Harry or somebody should write to the Leeds people to say that the committee had been extremely grieved at the occurrence. That they consider themselves as acting for the public in this matter of training. That according to the terms of the agreement under which they understate to train all Ladies and others must submit to the required discipline. That in practice this is essentially necessary especially as both, Superintendent & nurses are trained together for the purpose of acting together afterwards

That they have had reason hitherto to be perfectly satisfied with their training matron, and that the accusations brought against her have occasioned much pain that it is their duty to discover whether these accusations go to shew that

f52 the training matron has been guilty of gratuitous unkind treatment, prejudice unfair charges, arbitrary conduct & the like, or whether they have arisen out of necessary discipline to which all must submit having been mistaken for studied unkindness.

That the Committee feels itself called on to request that the Leeds committee should enter with them as their enquiry, as its result may involve the question of how far the committee can provide Leeds infirmary with nurses to act, under a Superintendent who has brought such charges against their matron.

If you do not take this
cause then you must dismiss the
insubordinate woman from the establishment
at once.

If the Leeds people won't accede
to enquiry you must request them
to withdraw their insubordinate woman

f52v

In short you must take one of these courses.

Either dismiss the woman summarily
In notorious insubordination. Or

Enquire into the allegations against
your matron with the view of
continuing her if you find them
proved -- or

If the Leeds people will not enquire
then request them to withdraw Miss
D.

This experience is valuable. A governess
accustomed to command young ladies
won't be commanded by a hospital
matron. What so natural? She is
not the kind of woman you want.
She hasn't the "vocation". Do you know
I like that word. I think you want
somebody on your Committee who will
explain what it means to all aspirants
as Fliedner would have done.

Yours faithfully

J. Sutherland

f53 [embossed WO]

P.S. I write the enclosed before
coming to town. I have read all
the letters again.

There is another course you could
take, but your committee should
judge of this. It is as follows.

To take H.B.C.'s knowledge
of the so called confidential letters
as evidence. Then to state
their contents in writing as
far as practicable to Mrs.
Wardroper. Then to ask
her for an explanation. If
her explanation is satisfactory
which we must assume. Then
to send it to the Leeds people
with a statement that after
such a reply it is impossible
that Miss D. can be allowed
to complete her term, and

f53v

that if they should ever at any future time require the aid of the committee it must be on the distinct understanding that no interference between the probationer & the matron is to be permitted.

You should not interfere any further then in advising your committee. I would write to nobody on the subject at present, except your committee.

If you will send *here* any small matters that require advising, I shall do my very best.

ff54-55v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 27th July 1868

f56-57v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 28th July 1868 embossed WO, re India

f58-59v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 28th July 1868, embossed WO, enclosed Mrs S.S. announcement of her departure, protest

f60-60v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 29/7/68, embossed WO, re Mrs S.S., key returned, drawer locked, writes answer, last 8 pages of Appendix, please don't give any opinion that she might print

f61-62v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 29. 7. 68., embossed WO, re despatch

f63-63v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 10/8/68 embossed WO, re people here going to apply to her to train nurses & supts, applications coming in and cannot be dealt with otherwise. "If you give them the facilities of the School *your responsibility of course ends with the training.* If at any future time they want any farther aid let them ask it & state what they want." FN red underlining with No written in margin.

f64-66 NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- August 12th Gulf, re Netley

f67-68 NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 13th August/68 embossed WO, returns Lord Napier's paper, re Algerian expedition

f69-70v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- August 17th embossed WO (joke re JS Mill and latent expectation) re WO

f71-72v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 22 Augst embossed WO, has read all this, does not alter his first opinion, re Deeble "not a suitable candidate to" HBC's paper conclusive. an unsuitable person was sent to be trained. Mrs W. tries her best, the person remains unsuitable and is clever enough to see and sees if rejected will damage her, accuses Mrs W., an old dodge, paper shd be laid before N. com [lots more on]

f73-74v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 27th August embossed WO, er protest, thanks for her letter....WO will expect really efficient nurses, re pensions

f75-77 NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 28th August embossed WO

f78-78v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND

f79-80v NOTE RE: SIR B. FRERE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Bef 25 Sept 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f79

Sir B. Frere

[10:47]

1. Copies of that are going to be sent round to your Comm: with a request from Sir S. Northcote that you will criticize it & send him your remarks.
2. Genl Baker is selected by Sir B. Frere himself because he will carry more weight at the I. O. & at the H.G. than Sir B.F. himself in pushing the recommendations of your A.S.C.
3. It was Sir B.F. who sent Dr. Hewlett to you He was very much pleased at what I told him you thought of Hewlett. He says: -- why can't we train Medical officers at Netley to be like Hewlett. He wants us to teach Hewlett all we can. He had heard nothing of the paper you told Hewlett to write

I think now I must write to Hewlett -- about the Executive work -- because I snubbed him by your desire about it

4. Sir B.F. says if we two would draw him up a scheme for "training Sanitary Officers", he would urge it --

He said this à propos to Dr. Goodive having turned out to be so ignorant.

Sir B.F. said this à propos to your saying that Med. Off: were not the people & to your mooting the

question: Should not we train Sanitary Officers?

f80v

5. Now comes much the most important point
of all.

Sir B. Frere is seriously uneasy about the Sir J.
Lawrence Organization question

He says that, when all the Local Govt Reports
have come in, Sir J. Lawrence has no one to
deal with them

that Major Mallerson will deal with them
exactly as if he were drawing up a Report
of the Bouddhist religion --

that Major M. has not an idea except of
the political side of a question
that nothing has come home from him

And Sir B.F. wants me to write to Sir J.
Lawrence by next Friday recommending
him to have Ellis over to Calcutta
unofficially *to draw up with Major M --*
a scheme

I objected that Sir J. Lawrence did not
like Ellis.

He said: "then Strachey is the only other
"man to recommend --

"But Strachey is not a practical man like
"Ellis" --

[end 10:47]

f81-81v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 25th Sept

ff82-83v NOTE by JS, and FN PEN AND PENCIL [ca. Sept 1868] embossed
WO, Mrs W's levée, Herbert Hosp

f82 SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING, PEN

Wednesday.

All Netley are coming
to present themselves
at Mrs. W's levée
There are 6 women
besides Mrs. Deeble.

Herbert Hospital
has not yet spoken

It is evident that
you must keep the
places you can, open.

{FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN BY FN IN PENCIL}:

I am afraid that they are
proceeding under a complete

f82v {PENCIL -- NIGHTINGALE}

mistake -- and Harry B.C.
will scold me for it,
because he will say
I ought to have let
his letter of explanation go --
We do not take & never have
taken persons already in
an Institution to be
trained & returned to that
Institution -- except under
a special permission from
our Committee, which they
are not at all disposed
to grant -- in this case --

Between candidates who
have acquired bad habits
(or strange habits to our
own,) & candidates of our
own who have no habits

f83 {PENCIL}

at all, Mrs. Wardroper
will certainly *ceteris*
paribus, choose the
latter.

What the W. O. has now
done is not at all
what Sir Storcks, in his
letter to me, indicated
that they would do.

I am quite sure that our
Committee will not
enter upon any such
engagement --

And either we shall give
by rejecting all "6 women".
great offence. Or we
shall have to break off
the negotiation with the
W.O.

Our Committee would never

f83v

"keep vacancies open" to
 train for a particular
 Institution, but would
 after letting all candidates
 compete *alike* for
 admission, *then* recommend
 to the W.O. after a year
 those who were thought
 most suitable for the
 Mil: Hosp -- We never engaged
 to train *Netley Nurses*, or *Woolwich Nurses*
 but *candidates* among whom we were to choose --
 If, e.g. Guy's were to ask
 us to do what it appears
 the W.O. are NOW asking,
 (they did not ask it before,
 nothing would induce us
 to do it. And Harry B.C.
 would entirely decline to
 do it for the W.O. F.N.

ff84-85v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND 15 Oct. 1868, pen embossed WO

f86 LETTER FROM J.J. FREDERICK AND NIGHTINGALE PEN HANDWRITTEN BY
 J. J. FREDERICK

16 Oct/68

Dear Madam

Your letter to Sir J.
 Lawrence has been forwarded
 by today's mail via
 Marseilles.

Yours very faithfully
 J.J. *Frederick*

Miss F. Nightingale

f86 -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **86** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

You know they *could* only have let you out because you were Incurable.

The I.O. considers me by myself as 4/5 of the A.S.C. They have sent me 8 copies & you 10 of the "Memorandum"
But my dear soul the Highgate St. Pancras Infirmary has actually been contracted for & begun.

f86v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED Oct. 1868

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

Don't forget that you said ~~you~~ we should consider the question of "Sanitary Officers" for Sir B. Frere Oct. 1868?

You see what you said was that, in the Crimea, while admirable Medl officers did not know what to do those Liverpool men knew what to do at once.

About Lord Mayor's Day
shall you come?

ff87-88v NOTES BY SUTHERLAND IN PEN AND FN IN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN embossed WO, letters written yesterday to Netley and Woolwich asking commandant to send up lists of nurses who in their opinion ought to be sent on probation for training....

f87 {SUTHERLAND IN PEN}:

23d Oct 1868

It is all right. Letters were written yesterday to Netley and Woolwich *asking the Commandants* to send up lists of Nurses who in their opinion ought to be sent on probation for training.

As soon as the replies come the whole matter will be put in train.

{NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}:

What on earth did they do that for? --

We understood that they had (a few) Candidates clamouring at the W.O.

We consider it a great favour

f87v

to take their Candidates at all

We don't want their recommendation. We had much rather have our own This year we have a ruck of Candidates.

But to take Wilbraham's recommendation & to have to refuse them is dreadful --

Not now

Not one.

f88

But all Storcks
mentioned in his letter
to me was that we
should see Mrs. Deeble
& other candidates at
the W.O.

Mrs. D. had nothing to do
with Wilbraham.

If she had I really don't

====

think we wd

But Storcks never
mentioned one word
as to candidates from Netley.

f88v

Then it's a lie --
Well -- we *must* make up
our vacancies this week --
And we've more Candidates
than we want.

We never understood
that Wilbraham was to
recommend --

You knew, as a general rule
we decline taking Candidates
who have previously had
what they call "experience"

ff89-90v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [28 Oct 1868]

f89

There is a "something" which most people would think a very big "thing" indeed -- And that is -- seeing the Viceroy or Sacred Animal of India. I made him ~~to~~ go to Shoeburyness yesterday & come to me this afternoon, because I *could* NOT see him unless you give me some kind of general idea what to state. Thank the Lord -- I never consorted with them low Irish. Just say again quite shortly as you said it then what has been done (or rather not done) in India. Ld Mayo goes next week -- And till he's gone I mean to put this "limitation" on myself that I will do as little else as ps

Ld Mayo=cats.
When Ld Mayo gone, cats come.

Here's a letter about you & the new Sanitary Laws Commn.
I don't know what to do but to show it to you. **[end 10:85]**

f90v

Oh about the W.O. Nurses -- we've heard nothing
On Saturday we close our lists.

I have really such quantities of these kinds of letters to write that I get quite bamboozled --
Do you think this is the *kind* of letter?

You ~~illeg~~ must? will I hope distinctly understand that I have written this only as an acknowledgement of your letter. I am ill & have written in fragments as I could. I have not written you as an answer on the whole question. This I could only do after greater consultation with M.R. and you & I must consequently delay until the election is over.

Shall I send Miss Freeman my Workhouse Nursing/
& without serving healthiness.

ff91-96 NOTE Not by NIGHTINGALE ON LORD MAYO PENCIL DATED [29 Oct. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

[10:85-87]

f91

Ld Mayo

I think this very good. And I don't know myself what to add.

But you know with the exception of III it is exactly what I put in my lilac pamphlet which I gave him & which he actually read in my room -- & a little bit out of the scarlet book which I also gave him

I *will* tell you some of the things Ld Mayo said - not that they showed much insight --

He said: -- that ~~pow~~ formerly there were Collectors [5:524-26] or Magistrates everywhere who had almost supreme power -- that power had been almost taken out of their hands

that his idea was to have a supreme European in every district -- & that part of his business should be to look after the Sanitary things

that he looked to interesting the natives in them (then I told him about Ellis' experience at Conjeveram

That he had small faith in reporting but much in inspecting -- that Indians were much too fond of paper --

f91v

He's a curious mixture of sagacity & [6:540] superstition --

He said that Cholera & Cattle Plague could be effectually stamped out & then it appeared he meant by Quarantine.

He actually said: it was a pity we could not kill men like cows --

He told me with the most excessive self gratulation of his rushing over to England & *forcing* "Palmerston" to put on a strict cordon to prevent calves from coming into Dublin from Lpool --

And the result of my quick action, he said, was that we had only 3 cases of Cattle Plague in all Ireland --

I of course said nothing. But when I told him of Ld Granville's cattle shed -- & also of *Sanitary* precautions against Cholera & Cattle Plague, he entirely assented.

He said: they had stamped out Cholera in Dublin

f92

by buying & burning the clothes of the Patients & by whitewashing

====

He, as an illustration of what he meant to avoid in India -- said

that Trevelyan had actually wasted £6 000 000 in the Irish famine by trying to direct it from Downing St. & that very little of that found its way down the throats of the starving -- that Sir J. Burgoyne had afterwards spent £1 500 000 on it -- which had produced more relief than the £6 000 000

=== Not, he said, to direct everything from Calcutta was his conclusion

he said that Trevelyan's 6 millions had actually gone chiefly to paying Clerks & printing Forms

=====

he seemed a little puzzled by what we say about an Executive

He said do you mean a Central Executive? --

f92v

=== he talked a good deal about Jails --
but I rather tried to keep off that as not being
my specialty

~~He~~ Sir Walter Crofton is his scripture -- his authority
The only thing I said was that we deplored the
building of these enormous Pentonville gaols in
India -- And we thought a better system might
be: cheap huts.

====

Then' we got upon Barracks --
And I said we deprecated great solid
permanent expensive Barracks --
There he was quite up to us -- And he said
O I know the Curragh Huts are *much* better
than solid Barracks.

Well, you know we've put that in *all* our
books. So I did not take up his time.

I think he understands that. But still
you had better put it down.

Call them temporary Barracks.

What passed
between us was chiefly
as against the
Dalhousie
Barrack?

{`What passed...Barrack?' IS WRITTEN SIDEWAYS AT BOTTOM RIGHT
CORNER OF PAGE}

f93

He talked a good deal about the occupation of the soldier -- said the D. of Cambridge whom he had just come from was not averse to it but told him that he had a great deal of opposition to encounter -- & that the men themselves did not like it --

I said that's not true, especially if you pay the men --

He didn't seem to think that the men cd be paid --
===

He talked about the Irish Poor law & its excellencies (he seemed curiously enough to be trying to justify his administration to me) but this was à propos of the principle that sick should be separated from indigent & beggars --

===

Then we talked a little about Census & Registration.

He said he had wished Registration to be in the hands of the Police -- for that the Medical men (in Ireland) were very inexact --

He said they had entirely failed about the Civil Registration of Marriages --

f93v

I think -- those were the main points --

He is, as I told you, a curious mixture: of sagacity & superstition --

He asked most sagacious questions about the *men* -- the two Stracheys -- Temple & c & c Frere -- Lawrence -- Ellis --

And that was clever of him what I told you [end 5:526] that he wd tell Sir J. Lawrence to tell me what to write to *him* --

===

He asked a good deal about Hindoo & Parsee character.

I told him how Hindoo MD's were so clever & then fell off --

He said Dr. Chuckerbutty -- a man I know -- of Calcutta had been given a Govt appointmt & from that time had done absolutely nothing but -- draw his salary.

Not he. He's as clever as he can stick together.

However, if he told Sirs Lawrence & Frere what I said

f94

I should not mind

Two other things Ld Mayo talked to me about: --

1. freedom of the press
2. irrigation

1. He said that the native press had so much improved that he thought it desirable to publish all that cd be published --

I said that we & Sir J. Lawrence himself had been anxious that the Minutes of the Sanitary Commissions should be published -- but that the local Governments had been averse to it --

[I did not tell him what Sir B. Frere told me that, as to the Gaols, they had positively been *afraid* of publishing the facts]

Yes -- but that's the reason why Govt does not publish a great many of its Minutes

Now -- Ld Mayo says *he* shall.

2. irrigation.

He discussed the prevailing prejudice that you can't irrigate without being unhealthy -- I said --

f94v

& I gave him instances -- that you can't be healthy without irrigation -- that the thing is, -- to carry off the water -- not to let it be stagnant He said -- Cotton had told him that too --

f95

Well you see it's so difficult.

He's a good & sensible man -- But he knows -- absolutely nothing --

He told me himself that he had had to work hard at his own office (Irish) till the 6th. He goes next Thursday. He has evidently been cramming at the India office exactly as a Ho: of Commons man crams for his speech.

He repeated to me phrases which I *knew* were Sir B. Frere's. And that I was rather glad of.

What he said was not unsensible -- but essentially Irish.

He said that he should see Sir J. Lawrence for 2 days!! before he left. And he said he should ask Sir J.L. to call upon me the moment he returned -- & to ask *me* to write out to him (Ld Mayo) any thing that Sir J. L. thought "a new broom" could do.

That was clever of him --
But -- he asked me (over & over again) that we should now at once before he goes write down

f95v

for him something (he said) that would guide one upon the Sanitary administration as soon as I arrive -- and "especially" (he said) "about that Executive" -- he repeated this several times --

f96

I have written to Sir B. Frere this morning Ld Mayo told me himself that he was going to see Sir B.F. to-day --
But I could also ask Sir B.F. to come -- if you wished it.
I have asked Sir B.F. to write to me *as soon* as he has seen Ld Mayo to-day.

It occurred to me that, as I *must* thank Lord Stanley for his great kindness about that.

Trench, I might use the opportunity to ask him to say something to Lord Mayo.

[end 10:87]

f96v NOTE TO LORD STANLEY? PENCIL NOT BY NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED

[To Lord Stanley

{ `[To Lord Stanley]

I have not seen Ld Mayo who goes out to India next week. He's much more interested in the improvement of India. & it has occurred to me to ask you whether you could say a good word to him ~~about~~ for us on Indian Sanitary improvement

f97 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 30th Oct embossed will come tomorrow

ff98-98v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

f98

Yes -- I read it -- But I await Wyatt's answer. Did you read in the Times the Vestry Meeting. It was so obvious to the meanest capacity that they were angry at having been turned out from living on the Poor Rates, jobbing the rates -- & that Wyatt *had* an answer --

Do you think I *could* ask Wyatt to let me see the St. Pancras plans? --

f98v

It occurred to me à propos to Conjeveram to tear out & send him that letter of Ellis to me in the ~~Algerian~~ Malta Report.

===

I suppose I must now send this to Sir B. Frere -- Unless he returns it to me tonight *without* modification, I am afraid it can't go in on Sunday to Ld Mayo --

I *can't* copy it.

ff99-100v NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Oct. 1868]
(ARCHIVIST)

f99

Sir B. Frere has brought me the Dispatch from [10:49-50]
Sir J. Lawrence --

It is *exactly* the same as Sir J. L. sent me -- &
which Sir B. Frere, it appears, knew he had
sent me. (the one you would not look at)

I have arranged with Sir B.F. that the Document
shall be referred to you at the A.S.C.
officially with a request for your remarks --
And you will find it there to-day.

Sir B. Frere has dictated to me the way in
which you at the A.S.C. can officially hang on
the recommendation for the Sanitary Executive
-- which he will get passed at the I. O --
& which I will tell you when you have
read the papers.

Do you wish to hear what Sir B.F. told me?

He told me about that -- ~~the~~ your Calcutta Fever minute.
He said that he was afraid *his* Departmt
wd have said: "Oh we have lived among rice=
fields all our lives -- & we never had fever" --
but that, on the contrary, they will now pass
officially almost everything which we send
officially -- & that in effect they said: "This
is nothing new & it is all quite right" & it
passed at once.

f100v

Sir B. Frere says, that, after having reported your opinion on the subject of the Despatch, you should sum up something in this manner: [and that he will engage to pass it thro' the I.O.]

"The time has now come when ~~th~~ effect (or execution) should be given to the excellent Sanitary recommendations that have been made -- (or) when the Govt of India should give executive power to carry out the admirable recommendation which they have received.

In all those places xx where Reports have been made showing clearly the steps which require to be taken (or) the evils which require to be removed & what the steps are by which they can be removed an Executive power should be created (or) Executive power should be given to the Officer of Health to proceed at once to the removal of those evils

xx [This, he says, will include the great towns, the districts where there has been Cholera, the districts about Calcutta, Lower Bengal & elsewhere where there has been persistent Fever.

Say nothing about Funds at present, he says. Temple will manage that. And say nothing about a wider Executive at present.

[end 10:50]

ff101-01v NOTE RE: TRAINING SCHOOL PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
[Nov 2 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f101

[Netley]

he has been dying

[12:179]

There is the most dreadful complication about the

W.O. Nursing -- ever since Saturday -- But I
Genl have been unable to attend to it.

Genl Wilbraham (what an idiot he is) has written
to Mrs. Wardroper assuming that it is entirely
between him & her, entirely ignoring the W.O.
and our Committee -- & asking her to take in
at once 6 women including the acting Supt!! &
train them for HIM!!

Mrs. Wardr says that we have always supported

her in doing *nothing* of the kind
that Mr. Rathbone has asked her over & over
again to do it for him at his own expence.
And we have always positively refused.

We don't ask them to do so -- never have
asked them to do so -- never shall ask
them to do so --

But my principle has been always perfectly

f101v

clear & distinct.

We train new blood for you. We then
send it in to train the old blood --

We don't admit old gossip & old blood
to dilute the Training=School. When it is
just what we want to avoid to admit
the *old tradition* of the place we are
to train for into the fountain head, our
Training School.

[end 12:179]

f102 NOTE RE: SENDING ENGINEERS TO ENGLAND FOR TRAINING PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [5 Nov 1868] (ARCH)

end of III [sending Engineers to England
for Training]

[9:614-15]

He might ask each Governor, Lt Governor, Chief
Commissioner & each Chief Sanitary Officer
either by letter or orally

"what special reports have you on the
Sanitary measures required in any large
city or district under your charge.

"what are the measures recommended &
approved by you for improving its
Sanitary condition

"have these measures been carried out
and if not why not? --"

They would probably plead deficiency of
men or deficiency of money. If so,
the Government should provide properly
trained Engineering Officers, as they
have done in Capt. Tulloch's ~~loss~~, whom
they sent to England on purpose. If
they want money, it would have to be
found

[end 9:615]

ff103-04 NOTE RE: LORD NAPIER, LORD MAYO AND SANITATION PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [~~4. 11. 68~~]

f103

end of IV [Lord Napier -- Lord Mayo ~~[4. 11. 68]~~
& sanitation]

{ `[Lord Napier -- Lord Mayo
& sanitation] [~~4. 11. 68~~]' }

A number of ~~Reports on localities~~ local Reports **[10:90]**
have been already prepared, setting forth
the Sanitary defects requiring remedy.
A consideration of these reports would
at once shew what works were required

Ld N. cd probably suggest a Station under
his own eye. Where the Mily & Civil
requirements as at Poona point
to the necessity of the same works

I don't know -- of course you will do as you like
But -- I shd have thought Ld Mayo was more
important than anything else --

He sees Sir S. Northcote tomorrow -- the Queen on
Thursday & stays till Saturday on purpose to do
anything extra of this kind -- Who are "our true men"?

f103v

It's no more use your coming on Friday
(to-day's Tuesday) than your coming on
Friday week

I shall write to Ld Napier of Madras on Friday --
telling him all I can glean about Ld Mayo -- who
is going there -- And I shall be as busy every day
till Ld mayo goes as I can be for him.

[end 10:90]

f104

end of V F.N.

Besides this, there is a strong argument of public necessity. It is simply a fact that you cannot ~~have~~ ~~B~~ P keep British troops in health so long as you allow native populations in their vicinity to be decimated by epidemics. In this matter, Providence acts with stern justice. If any Government leaves its poor subjects, especially in a tropical climate, a prey to pestilence, the government will have to suffer in men (alas! how many of the noblest Governors who ever went to India have died from this cause) in revenue & in all ~~its~~ their resources. An epidemic country is always a poor country. It is little short of madness in a country like India for people to fold their hands & to comfort themselves with the idea that it is impossible to raise the mass of the people into health -- & that health is a blessing Providence intends only for rich Englishmen in England -- ~~& that barely~~ --

[9:889]**[end 9:889]**

ff105-06v NOTES ABOUT FN'S MEMORANDUM ON LORD MAYO PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [5 Nov 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f105

[About F.N.'s Memorandum
on Lord Mayo]
[5 Nov 1868]

Ask about how to put in as to
Ld Napier of Magdala

Sir B. Frere

he says that Ld Mayo goes out to Egypt -- joins **[10:91]**
Ld Napier of Magdala there -- but ~~&~~ after the
ceremony of investing the Viceroy of Egypt is over --
that is etiquette -- that then the two, Lds Mayo
& Napier of Magdala take the Feroze at Suez,
& visit together Aden, Bombay, Madras -- Ld
Mayo reaching Calcutta in January --
that it is therefore of the utmost importance
I should give him every hint about men,
men whom possibly he will never see again,
as well as measures before he leaves --
because it's no use writing to him about Bombay
& Madras after instead of before.
But Sir B. Frere does not like my adding to
the *paper* -- he says it wd be hampering it --
I don't think he even liked the additions I have
made -- but he insisted on my writing a
private letter -- which I have done. And he
also insisted on my asking to see Lady Mayo --
He said Ld Mayo was disappointed I had not

f106v

I did not.
He looked at the pencil additions -- said they were
very good --
but said, generally, don't overload the paper
but write a private letter
You'd better read it all thro' with the private
letter -- & then you will judge --
I will rewrite anything you like --
But Sir B.F. said: let it now go ~~ein~~ as
soon as possible

[end 10:91]

ff107-08v NOTES PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN dated [5 Nov. 1868?] (ARCHIVIST)

f107 {PENCIL}:

During the time that you were taken possession of by **[9:889]**
the wiles & graces of Wilbraham, Sir B. Frere came
here twice -- They have made a paper at
the I.O., chiefly embodying our paper -- & Sir B.F.
says: -- if we would add in again what they have
taken out, he feels almost sure it would be
adopted. He has now brought it.

f108v PENCIL:

JS: ~~In its present~~

This is an admirable paper, and contains
quite as much as you should put
forth at present. You have included
in it all the great principles both
Sanitary & Administrative which the
country requires, & now you must
keep at these points until they
are embodied in local works in
India. This will not be in our
time, for it takes more than a few
years to introduce Christian
Civilization into a continent. These
people are of us & we are of them
& in God's good time we shall
all of us I trust reap the common
benefit of obeying all the laws which
he has given us for our well-being.

[end 9:889]

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN IN PEN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

FN: With regard to what you were kind
enough to tell me about the 1

f109-09v NOTES PEN AND PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND AND NIGHTINGALE

{SUTHERLAND IN PEN}:

5/Nov.

Inkermann!!

The lists are being made out.
There are 6 or 7 applicants on the
books besides. These names
together with the two hospital
lists will be sent I hope today
to H.B.C.

I shall call tomorrow
morning.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN BY NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}:

Shall I send him £5 without
my name? --
amongst dead "what
Worthington --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS BY NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}:

Are the men to sleep under the grate?
What shall
I say? --

f109 -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **109**
PENCIL

Do you wish anything more to be said?
what *shall* I say to Chad?

Altho' I wish of all things to see Mr. C. in Parl't
on account of the great services he wd render on
social questions

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I see no place for Nurses.

f109v {CONTINUED NOTES WRITTEN BY FN IN PENCIL}:

JS: with short
wards & no
end windows
you might safely
arrange so as to
place the Baths &
W.C.s beyond the
end wall & behind
the fire place. All
you would want
would be a separate
ventilated & lighted
lobby between the
W.C.s & Baths &
the ward.
All the drain pipes
would have to go down
along the outer wall.
~~This~~ If your wards
were longer, your present
arrangement of W.Cs & c would be the best

FN: the consequence
of depth of projections
in comparison with
shortness of ward

{`the consequence of depth...of wars' WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}

f110 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 6 Nov. embossed WO, lists sent today,
Rawlinson

ff111-11v NOTE ABOUT VARIOUS DOCTORS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

f111

Well I've read the letters. I have them by heart.
The thing seems to be in a nutshell -- It is wholly [9:615-16]
a question of persons -- If you had more Hewletts
than one, you would say: put the Executive power
into the hands of the Medl Officer of Health
If you had more Tullochs than one, you
would say: put the Executive into the hands
of the Executive Engineer.
But as to putting such power into the hands
of a Goodeve, a Farquhar, a Murray, a Hunter,
or *any* or *all* of the now numerous Indian
Drs. who have been sent to me or have
corresponded with me, you might much
better put it into the hands of Temperance.
As to putting it into the hands of a Parkes,
a Farr, a Rumsey, a Sir J. Watson, or any or all
of the `Crimean War Drs whom I know, you
would get out of them a discussion upon
Contagion & nothing more --
Parkes is totally unfit to give even the elementary knowledge
Hewlett requires

f111v

He's unique --
He's like his uncle, Mr. Whitfield -- who can
scarcely write English but who is &
remains the only Hospital man who has
the least inkling of the real portée
of the question of health of Hospitals [end 9:616]

f112 -- NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 6th November embossed WO, encloses
Hewlett's letter with Rawlinson's reply to JS's, asks to read them
both so can discuss whole question of the appt of officers of
health for India. The estimated Liberal majority at the lowest
possible calculation is 126.

ff113v-14 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

f113v

There ought to be an Act of Parliament to prevent
people under penalty from sending me
newspapers --

But you told me not to destroy the Sydney
newspapers sent me, because you wanted to
look at them --

And since then there has come another Legion

f114 {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:

She says that is excellent --
She says she has given many
others to the Soc: Science which
we may send for if you like to see
It's there how they put 5 or 6
prisoners into cells for one at
the new (Pentonville) prison at
Potacamun or Coimbatore.

JS:

No -- the prison was for 1000
And they put in 5000 or 6000.

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}

FN: I must send that
to Harry B.C. He
has never had
the grace to tell
me whether the
question about
pay & pension is
come --

JS: Yes -- my dear -- it
has. It was
fixed at £150
rising to £200 --
Maid of all work
to be paid by W.O.
Do you know
where she is?

I have

f114 -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **114-14v** LETTER FROM NIGHTINGALE? PEN
WRITTEN IN HAND OTHER THAN FN

{LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE

WITH WHICH IS UNITED

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE AMENDMENT OF THE LAW

1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

{WRITTEN IN PEN}:

9 Nov. 1868.

Madam

By request
of Miss Carpenter
I send herewith
Dr. Wicke's Year of [?]
Inspections in India.
There are also other
reports relating
to Indians, which

f114v

were presented
by Miss Carpenter
a short time
ago, and which
Miss C. places
at your service,
if you wish to
see them

Yours --illeg

J.N. Nolinson [?]

asst secy

Miss Nightingale

ff114v -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **114v-15** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

f114v

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Yes -- but it was distinctly understood
(& Wilbraham is quite sharp enough
to know that) that there was to
be an appeal against a *Supt* to
the *Commandant*. And that
will make her office impossible
I beg your pardon. Wilbraham told
me with his own lips that as long
as there was a *Supt* & no *Supt Genl*
it did very well, *because* there
was an appeal to him. And, if the
Supt Genl is out of reach, it was
distinctly understood that such an appeal
was to be

Don't you think
it would be a
matter of courtesy
for Harry B. C.
to tell her that
we have been
applied to to
form a staff
Would you just
look through -- &
see if there be any
thing about
gratuities or
about *anything*

f115

There are 3 correspondents
who literally always give
me spasm of the heart --
& whose correspondence
you *must* open --
1 -- Mrs. S. Stewart
2.
3

I am so full of cares. But
this is an old story --
Will you read these letters?
But first -- I will show you
what's past

f115v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED Nov 24/68

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Nov 24/68

All the time feeling that God was ready to pounce upon him if he failed once; till again & again the intensity of his efforts utterly defeated their object by destroying for the time the desire to prosecute them with the power to will them.

ff116-17v NOTE PENCIL JS or FN? hand DATED [ca. 23 Nov 1868]
(ARCHIVIST)

f116 {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

1. He has succeeded in shewing what an enormous amount of confusion, complications, & means of jobbing exist in the present system & he has shewn that all is traceable upwards to the purchase system.
2. He has not proved that all this mess would disappear if purchase were abolished, but he has rendered it possible that if purchase were abolished it would disappear always provided that the army can exist without purchase.
3. He has not shewn that an army could exist without purchase, if there are to be

f116v

it aristocrats, middle class
& working classes.

4. He has not shewn how
the expences of regiments
could be diminished so as to
admit N.C.O.s or to meet
Earls at the Mess table.
5. He has not shewn that
the mess could be abolished --
& the expences reduced.
6. He has not shewn that
Earls would be willing to meet
labourers sons as fellow
officers in that brotherhood
required in all armies
7. He has not taken into acct
that these islands are ~~dev~~
peopled by distinct races
which have never amalgamated

f117

as the races in France &
Germany have done.

- 8 He has not ~~ask~~ proved
that the race which comprises
the mass of the rank &
file of the army would
like to be officered by
men taken from itself as
well as by gentlemen.
9. Would not the abolition
of purchase & throwing open
the Army to all comers
put the point of the wedge
into the abolition of aristocracy
question: which in reality
lies at the root of the purchase
question.

f117v

10. As regards the admissn of short service men into the Civil service. He has not shown ~~that~~ how the limited number of appointments in a service where the appointments are for life can be an inducement to recruiting in an Army which is to be totally changed every few years.

11 He has not shewn why all the appointments or even any considerable number should be given as ~~reg~~ rewards to men who have been paid for a few years soldiering ~~to the~~ at the cost of men better educated & more able

f118 NOTE RE: SIR C. TREVELYAN'S SCHEME PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
[5:190]

Sir C. Trevelyan

[Dated Nov 68]

"With all the cry about it, there is *no* real equality" in England -- there *is* in France.

In England, wealth covers blackguardism
 aristocracy

the only blackguard is the poor man

[This is the real obstacle to Sir C. T's scheme
 The aristocratic blackguard will be obliged & even loved by his men. The deserving N.C. Officer raised from their own ranks to command them will not]

ff119-23v NOTE RE CROWN PRINCESS AND PLANS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
2 Dec. 1868 (ARCH) **[5:542]**

f119

The Cr. Prss. was here all yesterday morning & she **[8:823 5:542]**
is coming again --

She is a great deal more intelligent than Sir James
C. I can tell you -- And she took every
thing as quick as lightning.

~~But~~ She has left the plans & our paper in case
we should wish to add anything.

But her main object is to found a Training School
for Nurses on the best Sanitary principles of
teaching -- which she said are not at all
understood in Germany -- & least of all by the
Deaconesses of Bethanien & Kaiserswerth
because these are all under the influence of
Pastors -- [Of course I did not choose to "give

up" my Deaconesses to her. But

-- I know what she says is too true]

She told me a hideous story about their having had a Typhus
Epidemic at Bethanien because
they WOULD obey Pastor Schulze, the Chaplain, &
not use the preventive measures urged. **[end 8:823] [end 15:542]**

Never mind that.

f119v

She wanted me

[8:823-25]

1. to draw up a hierarchy of Nurses as needed for that Hospital -- ages &c --
2. whether we would train for them 1
Matron 1 Head Surgical 1 Head Medical
1 Monthly Nurse --
3. *whether we would give her the conditions*
under which ~~we had in the Army nurses~~
~~had~~ Lying in women could be without Puerperal Fever
{THE ABOVE POINT #3 IS BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

She says that Germany is worse than India about nursing Lying in Women -- that their Midwives are very good -- much better than in England -- & she herself was delivered by a midwife -- but that the Nursing afterward & the deaths from it, from the highest to the lowest woman are awful -- the dirt, she says, beyond belief -- & that she herself has been obliged to tell [had?] her own Midwife to "wash her hands" before she delivered her --

Well -- she asked me whether we cd train.
She asked me whether we wd see the daughter of

f120

the Matron of Q. Charlotte's -- who, she says, is
a trained midwife & a nice woman -- & see
whether she wd do -- But

Miss Osburn was the only one we trained there
who was a woman of purpose & courage

She wants

4. me to give her an account of what we
require in the way of clothing, of *clean under*
linen changes from our Nurses -- & of change
of sheets for Patients -- & whether we use
white sheets.

also patterns of their gowns & caps --

Well, what she wants to know are *the conditions*
under which we have been *successful* --

Where was that Hospl Hut where they had
800 cases without a 1
at Colchester.

I told her so -- And if information could be written down
as to the *working* of it

She wants to imitate that - there - Could you not
get Massey to write down for me

f120v

She asked me some questions it was impossible [5:542]
 for me to know anything about --
 She means to raise subns for this Hospital --
 in order to obtain a grant from Govt
 She said very humbly that she was only a
 private individual.
 & asked me whether I thought she cd get
 subns from America.
 I cd not even think of any one to refer her
 to for Counsel.

[She said (of course in confidence) that the
 present King "& the 2 Queens" are entirely
 in the hands of the High Church Tory
 Pietistic Ecclesiastics & of the Military Counts
 She said: if they want to build a Hospl
 they ask a Pastor & a Count -- And such
 a man as Virchow is absolutely in disgrace,
 because he is neither Tory nor High Church.
 She told me some really horrible things as to
 how the Knights of St. John & other Ecclesiastics
 had interfered in the Military Hospls: & killed the Patients

f121

She instantly wrote down about the windows &
 beds.
 She says she thinks the Architect means to have
 24 beds -- raised to 32 when full.
 She MEANS to alter the construction. She only added
 that she thought the ward was to be constructed to
 admit 32 with safety -- but 24 to be the usual
 number.
 Now -- you must help me to write down the No of
 wards in brown plan
 for one to calculate with Mrs. Wardroper
 the Nursing hierarchy

===

She is very anxious to have a School for Men-Nurses --
 That is truly German -- Both Agnes Jones & I thought
 the Men Nurses at Kaiserswerth & elsewhere
 very objectionable.

If that College for Convalescents -- be for men too there
 must be a man sleeping on the men's Side --
 and there must also be W.C. & Lavatory arrangement
 complete & separate on each side.

f122

Look -- things in Germany are always
 action & re-action -- Because Kaiserswerth
 & Bethanien have been entirely in the
 hands of Pastors & women, to the exclusion
 of Doctors, therefore the Princess seems
 now inclined to put her Matron entirely
under the Doctor -- That is why I wrote
 that last page.

[end 5:542]

But she also said

ought not the Nurses to pass an
 examination like Students? --

Now my opinion is that such
 Examinations for women are almost
 useless. I did not say so however
 But ought I not to tell her what I
 think the only useful examination --
 viz. our monthly record under the
 heads there specified

Would it do to send my printed paper with
 a little written explanation?

f122v

Here's a very important letter from Sir
 B. Frere.

Let that come back to me for my *information*.

You never sent me (for my information) as
 you yourself proposed, the paper on the
 memorandum -- You said you shd send it
 on Wednesday night from the W.O.

I think it wd be desirable (in *that*) as you
 ask me, to mention the famous pp 15-17==
 those are ours

Not one word from the W.O. about
 the Princess' requirements --

f123 {DARK PENCIL}**[15:624]**

The Princess Royal told me *in confidence* that the agency provided by the Knights of S. John at Sadowa was the most dirty, the most useless, the most untrained & unsanitary possible --

She said the Prussian Army Medical Officers were Sanitary angels in comparison

She said that it was impossible to conceive the worse than uselessness, the dirty, feckless creatures, male & female, accommodation, Civil Doctors, everything, provided by the Voluntary Agency at Sadowa

And (which I have never told any one) She said the Deaconesses were just as bad.

[end]

JS: [?]

I must do something about this. You see I have had 2 sets of papers from the Prussian lot to me as President of the Foundling Hospital

[?]

I'm sorry to say I don't like poor Sir Harry's letter at all. I have not answered the two first should there not be some ending to it? I I did -- And that's the answer

f123v

Would you please look at this first
 They have suspended my wretched Commn from
 the Corps. He came crying here yesterday. I *can*
 give him a character. But they
 ought never to have sent him to me.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:

[illeg] -- wife of the Govnor Genl of one of the Hungarian
 provinces

I should like to have
 seen it
 which p.?

I read the Article
 How can he afford an Observatory?
 what is he in the W.O.?

I must answer something
 I thought reason rather absent

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO}:

Miss N. desires me in conclusion to add
 her warmest acknowledgements for the honour you
 have done in wanting her to take part in
 your work

ff124-25v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [3-4 Dec 1868]
(ARCHIVIST) **[5:532]**

f124

My dear as to being honourable or not honourable
if Dizzy had gone out 2 years ago he wd have
been honourable --

He has staid in to get the finest appointmt
in the hands of the Govt (India) to make a
great many other appointments *disastrous*
to us -- & to put [illeg] great Govt offices, W.O.
I.O. & Poor Law into a state of disorder such
as they have not been in since I have
known anything of Govt --

And then he goes out exactly in the way
to give Gladstone most trouble

And you call that honourable!

[end 5:532]

However -- this --

I shall be very glad to see Villiers at the Poor Law --
But if they expect me to coach the new S of Ss
for I.O & W.O. they may whistle for me in
vain.

[10:91]

Sir C. Wood not -- because too old

Ld Stanley not -- because he won't --

Ld de Grey -- I wish for but don't hope for.

If he has Lowe, you know Lowe is absolutely a

slave to Simon -- And what's worse, he's an *oligarchical*
Titan

f125v

I could write on another sheet if you liked
some thing quite general to Sir J. Lawrence,
order to prepare his mind to act with us
when he comes home.

[end 10:91]

Sir B. Frere wrote to Sir J. Pakington.

Well now -- I'm half dead. But I must go thro'
all these little worrying particulars.

f126 NOTE RE: STRACHEY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Bef. 4 Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

Well--you must prepare yourself that this is the [10:51]
nastiest pill we have had yet --
But we have swallowed a good many -- And we're
not poisoned yet --
Strachey's letter to Sir John is in a passionate &
unjust tone which bodes ill to us now
Strachey is on the Council --
I understand now what I have been told for the
last year that the communications of the Govt
in India to the Govt at the India office
have been in such a tone that they are
scarcely on speaking terms --

One thing you must consider -- what I am to
answer Sir J. L. since next Friday is the
last mail ~~by~~ which will find him in India

Of course I will do what you *deliberately* think best
But Sir B. Frere is so anxious -- so annoyed with
the tone of recent communications to the I.O -- &
I think so ill that

I must answer this & acknowledge his Report --
because Cunningham has taken immense pains
to let me & the I.O. have a copy each as early as possible.
[end 10:51]

ff127-29v NOTE RE: DR MACLEAN AND DIAGRAM OF BEDS PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [Early Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f127 Dr Maclean

[Early Dec 1868]

has written to Sir B. Frere to ask him to see
him at the close of this week about Sir
B.F. believes, two young Drs who were
sent to Germany to enquire about Cholera
Sir B.F. questioned me most closely as
to what Dr. Maclean was -- whether he
was obstructive -- Whether he Sir B.F.
should encourage him or not --

I promised to write to Sir B.F. whether this
is the same as the two young Drs who
are going out to India -- on what
footing they are going out -- what is this
story about Germany -- & generally what
Sir B.F. had better say to Dr. Maclean.

f128

You forget. I wrote

Dr. Maclean wrote to ask to see Sir B.F.

Sir B.F. asked me. I wrote.

You said that Dr. Maclean ought not to have
meddled -- for that the A.S.C. was to send
in a request to the I.O.

I told Sir B.F. that that wd come to him
at the I.O -- They go tomorrow

I bespoke Sir B.F.'s kind consideration --

He told Dr. Maclean who of course told

Dr. Parkes --

Well it seems to me that hitherto no one has moved
but I & the despised Dr. Maclean.

You told me you wished me to write to Sir B.F.
a "Note" on Cunningham's Report.

f128v

Look -- *can you attend?* --

The feature of that hut is this: --
that there is a Nurse's room & a Matron's in such
a position that each knows exactly what is going on
in her two wards -- otherwise, there must be
a woman sitting up night & day with each
Lying-in Patient -- Or else you must take away
all the infants.

I don't care what they do -- I tell you what
must be done --

I am telling you what must be - not in Colchester
Camp -- but in a Lying-in Hospl such
as the Princess intends
but -- when? --

But no one has gone into the further question
whether she ought or ought not to be
delivered in *that* room -- Hitherto it has

f129

been I believe the opinion of all accoucheurs that
She ought not
In all the Maisons d'Accouchements
in Paris which pay each woman.

f129v

I ask where the W.C.'s are & Sinks --
Then what does the Nurse to do with the
Mess? --

I don't like that at all.

To make that the unit
{DIAGRAM OF SET-UP OF BEDS}
or else

ff130-31 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 9 Dec 1868]
(ARCHIVIST)

f130

That wd be awfully stupid --

Ld de Grey, as having Indian & Army experiences
would have been better in the I.O --

Lowe is a much abler man than Cardwell --
but he has gone so awfully wrong under
Simon about Sanitary Reform, that I think
he wd have done us much harm at the
W.O.

I am most unhappy about the Poor Law -- There is
no question but that Villiers *ought* to be there
what? --

~~In~~ No -- because if I make a remark you will
instantly tell me that that is the very thing
in which your paper does not want a remark.

Well, I think the paper admirable -- But it strikes **[10:51]**
me that instead of being less, it is more dogmatic
than Sir B. Frere's suggestion -- & more dogmatic for
your having seen Strachey's letter.

Sir B. Frere says: there is great virtue in these
words "The time has now come" -- as if you
implied that the Govt of India has been all along
working for this.

f130v

Then c & d -- should be rather

c. That the time has now come for that important
information -- which has been obtained
by inspection to be turned to immediate
practical use for improving the health
of those places which have been thus
reported on.

[end 10:51]

d.

f131

I am not an official
 But I shd adopt some tone like this
 And in d. I shd I think avoid
 raking up the obnoxious Memd
 & (repeating the magic words "The
 time has now come" imply that the Govt

Yes -- but I ~~think it~~ will, if you like it, send
 it to Sir B. Frere -- if you will roughly
 correct those two last pages -- for
 You might do it here --

~~I shd not mind his seeing it -- On the contrary,~~
 for prudence

I think I should ~~then~~ tell him of (not
 shew him) Strachey's angry letter

I ought to see it. I can't conduct the intercourse. [10:51]
 Remember, it was you who with Sir B. Frere without being
 proposed my shewing cognizant of
 Strachey.

f132 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [11 Dec 1868] (ARCH) on
 same paper as letter Dec 9 1868

I am perfectly deaved.
 Even while you have been
 sitting here, Mr. Rathbone
 has been -- & the Crown Princess
 has been -- both asking me
 to see them --

I don't know that I can
 see you on Monday

I certainly can't keep
 Worthington's plans
 till Tuesday
 I shall tell the Crown Princess
 that the W.O. does not choose
 to take any trouble for her --

ff132-32v LETTER TO NIGHTINGALE PEN

f132

[LETTERHEAD PRINTED]

Tisdall & Son

Doers & Scourers to her Majesty

36 Duke Street,

Grosvenor Square, London. W.

{LETTER WRITTEN BY FN IN PEN}:

Dec 9th 1868.

Honored madam,

We find from
our books that we have not
received any order from you
for the last three months --
we humbly hope we have not
in any way given offence, as
we should greatly regret the
withdrawal of your favors.
We are anxious at all times
to give satisfaction to our cus-
tomers, and are ready ever to

f132v

rectify any fault through over-
sight by doing any such article
a second time. We sincerely
trust if by any act or omission
we have displeased you, you
will grant us an opportunity
for making atonement.

We are, Honored madam

Your obedient Servants

Tisdall & Son

Miss Nightingale

ff133-33v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN or JS? DATED [Bef. 12 Dec. 1868] (ARCH)

f133

In consequence of the loss of nearly a regiment of British troops in India in 1867, besides many thousands of natives, and ~~ber~~ in consequence of the complete fiasco of Medical doctrine & practice in this disease. The Army San. Comm has decided to ask the India Office to join in ~~an~~ a great scientific & practical enquiry into the whole subject. The Instructions are under consideration & will be sent officially in due time ~~to the~~ In submission to the Sec of St War & Sec of St India. [9:890]

One part of the enquiry is altogether special & has been made matter of education of two active young Surgeons who were sent to Germany on purpose. One Dr. Cunningham belongs to the Indian service, the other Dr Lewis belongs to the British service in India. Both are going out on the 12th Dec, and application will be made officially to the India Office.

f133v

that these specially trained men shall not be sent on general service but shall be kept at their special work until the scientific enquiry is completed. It is no doubt about them now that Dr. Maclean wishes to see Sir B.F. The object is one of the highest public importance & I would venture to bespeak your kind consideration for the application when it comes -- [end 9:890]

ff134-34v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 12 Dec. 1868]
(ARCH)

f134

I will gladly give up all my hopes of heaven to get those
India papers before next Dec 12

Where is your paper for Galton on Lord Herbert's work?

f134v

If everybody would set their face against
such waste of power as I do
the whole thing would be put an end to.

Must I answer this woman?

The rest of the letter is all hypocrisy

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I am not aware that
any photographs of me
are ~~publish~~ sold & I
therefore cannot reply to
your ~~requ~~ question as to
the place where to obtain them

f135-35v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 12TH Dec. embossed WO, re Colchester,
cases and deaths

ff136-42 NOTES ON STATISTICS OF MORTALITY IN LYING-IN INSTITUTIONS
PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND WITH CORRECTIONS IN PENCIL
BY NIGHTINGALE? NOTE: ALL PENCIL MARKINGS NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED,
embossed WO

f136 {PEN}:

Notes on Statistics of
Mortality in Lying-in
Institutions

=====

1. In the year 1862 the Committee
of the Nightingale fund, with the view
of extending the advantages of their
training institutions entered into an
arrangement with the ~~Governors~~ authorities of
~~Kings College Hospital~~ St. John's House under which
wards were fitted up in the new
part of ~~the building~~ King's College Hospital for the reception
of Midwifery Cases. The wards were
~~placed~~ under the charge of the ~~late~~ then
Lady Superintendent; provision was
made for ~~skilled~~ medical attendance
{PENCIL}:

a skilled Midwife was engaged
{PEN}:

and a certain number of pupil
nurses were admitted for training.

The then Lady Supt ~~St. John's House~~

~~Every one~~ did ~~their~~ her very best to ensure
success to this new branch of the Nightingale
training school, and hopes were

f136v

{PEN}:

entertained that it would confer
a great benefit on the poor
especially in country districts
where Midwifery nurses were needed.

~~Apparently every precaution~~
had been taken ~~by the Lady Supt~~ to render the
midwifery department perfectly
safe, and it was not until the
school had been nearly 6 years
in existence that the Nightingale Committee
had any reason to think that
it was otherwise.

As soon as the facts of the case
were brought to the knowledge of
the committee an enquiry was
made. ~~It is due to the authorities~~
~~& Medical officers of the Habitat~~
~~to state that every precaution was~~
~~taken which experience could dictate~~
but the inexorable "logic of facts"
due in a great measure ~~to the~~
~~faulty construction of R. C. H.~~
~~& particularly~~ as was supposed.

quite the
contrary
Miss Jones
remonstrated
persistently
about the
P. M. Theatre
They promised to
remedy it -- no one
knows how --

And *nothing* was done.

{`quite the contrary...And *nothing* was done.' WRITTEN IN PENCIL}

f137 {'to the dangerous proximity of the Post Mortem Theatre, the smell from which was quite perceptible' WRITTEN IN PENCIL}

to the dangerous proximity of the Post Mortem Theatre,
 the smell had by this time proved that precautions
 from which were unavailing for diminishing the
 was quite mortality, which had indeed gone
 perceptible, on in an increasing ratio, so that
 in 1867 the time when the wards were
 closed by consent of all parties, out
 of every 14 women delivered one had
 died! During the period of nearly seven
 years when the wards were in use, it
 was found from the records that 780
 women had been delivered, and out of
 this number 276 had died, a mortality
 of ~~29.4~~ 33.3 per 1000. An analysis of
 the causes of death showed that
 with the exception of one death from
 haemorrhage in a poor woman who
 was delivered in a cab on her
 way to hospital not a single death
 had taken place from accidents
 incident to child-bearing. There
 were three deaths due to diseases
 not necessarily concomitant of this
 condition while of the great majority

f137v {PEN}:

of deaths 23 in number no fewer than 17 were due to puerperal fever 3 to puerperal peritonitis, 2 to pyemia & 1 to metritis. Nine of these deaths took place during the last year 1867, that the wards were in use. ~~It is true that~~ The first death in this year was from

puerperal
fever in

an Erysipelas case ~~had been~~

brought in from the General wards. ~~during this time.~~

{`The first death in this year....General wards. ~~during this time~~'

WRITTEN IN PENCIL}

Under these lamentable circumstances the closing of our Midwifery school was a matter of course and since that period I have been engaged in discussing the question whether it would be possible under any cir=
=cumstances to reopen it elsewhere.

Dr. Priestley
attributes -- 3? h?
Deaths to this cause

With this view I have endeavoured to obtain all the data possible & the following facts taken from the appended tables appear to afford some insight into the whole question. It is necessary however in using the data to make the reservation that the conditions under

f138 {PEN}:

[2]

which deliveries take place in many of the various institutions included in the tables are only imperfectly known. The general sanitary condition of the wards: the management adopted; the class of patients admitted: the time they are kept before and after delivery & their general state of health before delivery are all elements very necessary to be known before the causes of those immensely various death rates about to be noticed, can be assigned. The figures must be taken as they are and their value ~~assigned~~ arrived at from our general knowledge of the establishments and of the condition of the population admitted into them.

2. The first thing to do in the enquiry to ascertain what is the normal death rate among lying in women?

In the Registrar Generals 30th annual

f138v {PEN}:

report (1867) there is an instructive series of tables from which this element can be deduced.

In the year 1867 there were in all England 768, 349 births and 3933 ~~3963~~ women died in childbed

This gives an approximate total mortality of 5.1 per 1000 from all causes.

On analysing the causes of death we find that out of 3933 deaths 137 were due to fevers & eruptive fevers. 230 were due to consumption & other chest diseases & 154 to other minor causes.

The remainder of the mortality was distributed as follows: --

Deaths from accidents of childbirth 2346

Deaths from Puerperal diseases 1066

This last number if added to the fever deaths would give 1203 as the mortality from diseases more or less connected with what is called "blood poisoning"

f139 {PEN}:

The death rate in 1867 from causes more or less incident to the puerperal state was from: --

?	Accidents of childbirth	3. + per 1 000	-----
?	Puerperal diseases	1.4 " "	----

The same report gives the following death rates for all England during 13 years 1865 to 1867.

Accidents of childbirth ...	3.22. per 1000
Puerperal diseases	1.61

Total	4.83

Another table gives the mortality in districts for 10 years 1851-60 as follows.

64 Healthy districts

Puerperal diseases & accidents} 4.3 per 1000
of childbirth }

11 large towns

Puerperal diseases and} 4.9 " "
accidents of childbirth}

? In other words out of every 5000 deliveries there are three more deaths from these causes in towns, than among the country population.

f139v {PEN}:

These figures then according to our present knowledge may be fairly taken to represent an attainable standard of mortality, with the reservation that as the public health advances towards improvement the blood diseases ought to decrease in fatality, and that with improved midwifery practice fatal accidents will become less & less frequent.

Assuming 4.8 per 1000 as an attainable standard of Mortality from Puerperal diseases & accidents, let us see how it fares with puerperal cases in public institutions at home.

The lowest aggregate mortality from both classes is that in Liverpool workhouse lying in wards.

This is 5.2 per 1000.

Next in order follows the mortality from the same causes in 27 London workhouses in which deaths took place.

This is 6.2 per 1000

f140 {PEN}: [3]

It is however instructive to remark that there are 13 London Workhouses in which in 5 years 2459 poor women were delivered without a single death. x

x In Workhouses the proportion of unmarried women varies from 1 to 1 up to 5 to 1 to married women. The number of primiperae among unmarried women is very large.

{WRITTEN IN MARGIN TO BE PLACED IN AT THIS POINT IN PENCIL}:

On the other hand in one year 1865 there is one ~~Hospis~~ Workhouse (Islington) which gives the highest rate of mortality in Child-births we have yet found in England being 55 per 1000 or 5 Deaths on 91 Deliveries & during the 5 years 11 Deaths on 375 Deliveries or 29 per 1000.

{BACK TO TEXT IN PEN}:

There are at present 7 Military lying in Hospitals attached to as many garrisons. In one of these which is a Hut at Colchester no death is returned out of 137 deliveries. {IN PENCIL}: And it is believed that ~~from~~ about 600 Deliveries took place in this Hut without a single Death. But of this there is no *official* record.

{IN PEN}:

In the other six the death rate from Puerperal diseases & accidents of childbirth has been 6.6 per 1000.

The returns for the city of London lying in Hospital {PENCIL}: for 1859 to 1868 {PEN}: and the British lying in Institution {PENCIL}: for the 11 years 1858-68 {PEN}: do not specify the causes of death but the total mortality has been 10.9 per 1000 in the former and 14.3 in the latter,

f140 cont. {THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN IN LEFT MARGIN IN PENCIL BUT DIRECTED TO BE INSERTED AT THIS POINT}:

which rate is more than
double the rate
~~mounted up from~~
(7 per 1000) for
~~in~~ the 13 years
from 1849 to 1861

{CONTINUE WITH TEXT IN PEN}:

, or, between 2 &
3 times the Mortality in all England
in 1867. The Return for the Dublin Rotunda
Hospital is for 1857 to 1861 (5 years) 26 per 1000.
-- [of the 1214 women lying-in in Marylebone} Workhouse in 5 years,
944 were single, & of these 667 primiperae

f140v [JS ink text, with pencil by FN inserted]

{PEN}:

lying in hospital from 1828 to 1868
show a very high death rate.
The average for the whole
period was no less than 25.3 per
1000 or fivefold the mortality for
all England in 1867. And for ~~the~~ 7 years from 1857 to 1863
it was actually 40 per 1000.

The death rate in this hospital
for the whole period
1828 to 1868

from accidents of childbirth
was ----- 5.3 per 1000
The death rate from puerperal
diseases was ----- 14.3 " "

Total from both causes 19.6 "
I come now to our unfortunate experience
at Kings College. In this case the
total *childbirth* deaths were 29.4 ?
per 1000, and all of them took
place from puerperal diseases
(blood poisoning)

I have given in another table the death
rates from childbirth for the year 1863 in each of the
Parisian hospitals admitting puerperal

f141 [JS ink, FN inserted]

cases. This table reveals a condition of matters urgently calling for enquiry.

We find that the minimum mortality

given in it from Puerperal causes is at Beaujon {IN PENCIL}: a

General Hospital with a Lying-in Ward, {IN PEN}: this is 19.2 per 1000 while the maximum

mortality for 1863, from puerperal causes is at

{PENCIL}: not the highest for 1861, 2.

{PEN}: the Maison d'Accouchement and is

{PENCIL}: charité the highest

{WRITTEN IN MARGIN BESIDE:

but it is not the

maximum for

1861, 1862

{BACK TO TEXT IN PEN}:

no less than 130 per 1000. {IN PENCIL}: The Maison

d'Accouchement is, as its name signifies, for Lying-in

{WRITTEN IN MARGIN IN PENCIL}:

cases alone --

& is the great

Government

school for

Midwives

In 2006 Deliveries

took place in it

in this year

1863

{BACK TO TEXT IN PEN}:

The total aggregate mortality from

all causes of Lying-in cases in the 12 Parisian hospitals

given in the table is no less than

70.3 per 1000 while the mortality from

diseases & accidents of childbirth

is 60.6 per 1000. {IN PENCIL}: Of these 12 Hospitals only

one, the Maison d'Accouchement

is a Lying-in Hospital. The rest are Hospitals with Lying-in

Wards. {IN PEN}: We have thus then obtained a series

of data which suggest some most

important questions.

What can the reason be of this

ascending series of fatality from the

same class of cases?

? Why is it that these *puerperal* death

rates beginning at 5.1 per 1000 for all

f141v

{PEN}:

England town & country including lying
 in wards should successively become
 among the same people 8.5 --
 9.8 -- 10.9 -- 14.3 -- 25.3 -- 33.3
 and if we cross the channel 70.3.
 There must surely be some reason for
 this.

Again why should fever & inflammations
 of the puerperal class which give
 a death rate for all England of
 1.61 per 1000 mount up in English
 hospitals to 3.4 -- ~~3-6~~ 3.6 - 4.1
 14.3 & 24.9 [FN:] ?29.4

These death rates represent blood
 poisoning.

Puerperal women as every one knows
 are the most susceptible of all subjects
 to blood diseases. Very trivial causes
 produce very decided & fatal results
 with them. It is by keeping this
 fact in view while examining the
 conditions to which puerperal cases
 [FN:] are subjected

f142

[4]

that we may hope to arrive at what
 those destructive causes really
 are.

ff143-45v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE ON TRAINING PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
FN DATED [Nov-Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f143

We hardly ever take any
I don't want to be severe -- But there are many
~~I'm afraid it will come to that.~~
Institutions, besides ours: who would say to a
woman: You have been a week at Netley -- then
You won't do for us --
In most Institutions, foreign & English, the rule
is invariable: -- we don't take candidates
from other Institutions
All English Institutions will not take candidates
You know: Storks asked us to look at his
Candidates. And we consented. But we
never consented that he should *enquire for*
candidates for us -- *That* makes all the
difference --
We don't want them to be dismissed
We were asked distinctly by the W.O. -- to
train a Nursing Staff -- *not* to train their
existing Nurses -- We consented. We shan't be

f143v

ready for a year. The W.O. can of course do'
what they like in the meantime --
They should have said so when they wrote to me.
I
We could train 10, 12, 16 --
We always like to train the whole Staff
at once.
Only -- there is no "suppose" at all -- We know
a good deal about all the women at Netley
& Woolwich. There is only one, Caroline
Oakes, at Woolwich who would have been
admitted among us in any capacity whatever

Then -- we give great offence -- And
that is just what we wished to avoid

f144

You know, I think that wd be so hard upon Mrs. Wardrr, so offensive to all, that that is just what we wished to avoid.

You know nothing of this kind was suggested in Storcks' letter.

No Institution in this world would take this condition' -- we take your M.

Any needy Institution: -- no good one --

I told you that *ceteris paribus* a woman who had been in a Hospital would be less fit to be trained than a woman who had not

Our experience of 8 years has proved it

You know you actually took the pains to ask me & Mrs. Wardr whether Mrs. Deeble should be put on. And now without asking us they go &

f144v

But -- if they advertise, then they'll have nothing to do ~~for~~ with us.

We have more candidates already than we want.

We acceded to their request that we would look at their candidates who, we understood, like Mrs. Deeble, had applied to the W.O.

But now they

There is personal reason, so far as we know, why every Nurse, except Caroline Oakes, in Netley & Woolwich, should not be taken

And we never dreamed of their applying to Netley & Woolwich for candidates

Harry B.C. was right -- he had better have seen Sir G. Lugard first.

f145

That's just what Harry says --
 We were told there were none --
 We were told that there was not one except
 Caroline Oakes who had been there a year --
 I ~~told~~ saw Wilbraham's letter --
 I told you that we differed in totissimo --
 Take our opinions quantum valeat --
 But don't expect us to be converted
 by a Wilbraham.
 They *all* did -- But there is not
 one, but C. Oakes, at this moment
 who has *any* vested interests.
 It had been better avoided.

f145v

Not the least --
 The rule is perfectly invariable in all Hospls --
 Miss M. Jones goes into Kings Coll Hosp with
 her own staff of Nurses -- All the old ones are
 told this: you may stay if you like it under
 the new regime as long as your conduct
 is good --
 Some choose to stay -- some to go --
 So it goes on. But in my experience it has
 invariably happened that the old ones
 do not ultimately ~~stay~~ choose to stay
 under the new discipline --
 And they go -- but in perfect good humour.

Then -- why did they ask us? --
 They never expressed this -- we ask you
 to train the existing Staffs at Netley &
 {ENDS ABRUPTLY}

f146-46v LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND Dec. 16th/68 embossed WO, sends
 info, hosp plans for Dublin off the board, re Colchester plan,
 not good enough...."but I have just learnt that the P.R.'s
 accoucheur has been here & that the draughtsman has been
 instructed to help in a lying-in hospital plan....told them not
 to go on till get Massey's answer. re present matron at
 Colchester

f147-48 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 18TH Decr. embossed WO, Here are the plans. The large hosp plan is the present Female Hosp about to be erected in Dublin, The right hand is the lying-in ward, which for certain reasons has its own small kitchen for the purpose of isolation. The plan as it stands wd do for a lying-in hosp of 24 beds and if this were done there would be no need of a separate kitchen.

The Colchester wooden hut plan speaks for itself. It is as simple as a hut can well be.

I am going over to the Army Med Dept about the paper showing mortality in the lying-in hosps and will send it if I get it.

They re preparing a sketch of a lying-in hosp with separate rooms, which Col Murray will send you in pencil for your remarks, and you will then have an opportunity of discussing all the difficulties. JS..

f148v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN--MISPLACED}
That letter is of course intended
as an answer to our suggestion
that *Strachey & Ellis* should
be employed by Sir J. Lawrence
to digest the Local Govt
answers

f149-51v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE & DIAGRAM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
DATED [2-19 Dec. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f149

This is chosen
She said -- remove Backerie as well.

but more especially upon the routine &c of successful one at
Chichester. ~~f-10~~ That is what she asked me
for. She did not ask me for a general [8:204-05]
minute -- but for the working of that successful
one (which *I* told her of.)

Well -- what passed was this: --
she praised Q. Charlotte's --

I said -- Yes but the Death - rate is very high --

she said -- that can't be helped when Lying in

women are together -- And unless they're together

You can't have a Midwives' School.

I said: it can be helped. That's what I told her. And
I gave her the Chichester instance.

f150

[2-19 Dec. 1868]

It was very kind of the D.G. to do that Lying in paper. But it is not of the least use to the Cr. Princess. She says what she wanted was not the Statistics of the Lyings in (which after all shew a Death rate among hundreds worse than that among thousands in the Workhouses), but the plan & working of the one Lying-in Hut which you told her had had 800 Lying in Cases without one casualty --

What's required to tell her what to avoid, she says --

Since the General Death rate (& among those small numbers) is the same as a

The Princess wants to make
a Training School for
Midwives -- That's her
purpose --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

4443| 14 000 (3.1

| 13 329

6710

Devonport}

Chatham}

Woolwich}

f150v FN hand

What the Princess says is this: --

what I wanted to have is the ~~ground plan,~~
groundplan & the section, & the working
of that one Lying in Hut where there were no
deaths.

It's no use sending me the Statistics of all those
Hospitals -- & putting at the bottom that
-- out of -- Deaths were not from puerperal
causes -- without specifying *in which* Hospls
this were so -- E.g. -- in Chatham, IF the Deaths
there recorded were *all* from puerperal causes,
then the Mortality there was higher than that
of the worst London Workhouse with thousands
of cases --

What I wanted was to take the Lying in Hut
with 800 cases without a Death -- & learn
all about that --

I can't construct a Lying in Hut or plan
of working from anything in that paper.

Also: it's no use telling me -- excessive
cleanliness & ventilation -- If I were to ask
a German Midwife, she would say that
excessive cleanliness is what she uses --

f153-56v NOTE JS hand, some FN, PENCIL NOT DATED faint re hospital near Spandau or Plözen See (45750 f29

f153 {THE FOLLOWING SECTION HAS BEEN stroked through
Brown Plan

1. The site is close to a ~~lake lagoon lake~~ and also to a ~~canal~~. I take for granted that care should be taken that the subsoil on which the hospital is to be built is ~~will~~ sufficiently raised above the water level to keep the foundation dry & that the banks of the canal do not generate malaria. ~~If this is the case then site would not answer.~~

{THE ABOVE SECTION HAS BEEN BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

The slaughter house should be away
from the hospital altogether.

The wall space of the wards should be better divided.
At present two beds are placed close together. These beds should each be 3 feet apart

{THE FOLLOWING SECTION IS NOT CROSSED OUT BUT BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN BY NIGHTINGALE}:

but the ~~will~~ wall space should be better divided so that which the beds are placed two & two between the windows each bed should on the nearest side be 3 feet from the adjacent bed.

All the nurses should be placed in the Nurses position at the end of the

f153v [JS pencil]

hospital and the matrons quarters
should also be there -- arrangements
should be made for separating the
night from the day nurses
sleeping rooms so as to ensure
quiet for the patient

The Nurses detached quarters K on the white
plan are too far away from the
building & would not therefore answer

of the end [illeg] for
the Brown plan arrangement or —
nurses is better.

Concur with Dr Virchow's criticism
about the position of the Lying in quarters
it would be better to turn the end
to the east ward

The arrangement of the convalescent
cottage appears to be good

The architect who put in the beds &
the architect who wrote the description
appear to have differed in them

f154 FN pencil

[Error one puts in 32 beds and
other 24

Then she began telling me about those
Altans

She said that having seen the Wounded
recover under sheds --

She thought bad Fevers or bad Surgical
cases ought to be moved out under
such Altars

I mindful of the disastrous Indian
Verandahs said I thought it wd be
better to have a separate hut or shed
for such cases

f154v JS hand

+

There are two ground plans.
one brown -- the other white
The arrangement of the wards is
good in both. ~~We send~~ each
has advantages. The single ward
pavilions on the ~~white~~ brown plan
admit of greater distances between
the pavilions. The double wards
on the white ground plan admit
of readier supervision.

The center block of the brown plan
containing the chapel, kitchen & it
is better than the corresponding block
in the white plan because in the
brown plan the centre block is
wholly isolated from the wards
The schlacerie in the brown plan
should be recovered altogether to a
distance from the hospital.

The plan shewing the pavilion
is good in its general arrangement
{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN, WITH A LINE CROSSED THROUGH IT}:
The Crown Princess of Prussia is going to build a
Hospital & has sent us the plans, begging us
to criticize them.

f155 FN pencil note

Each sick Pavilion resembles precisely
1 of the smaller Pavilions of the Herbert
Each Pavilion is on 2 floors.

& contains a ward on each floor --
Each ward contains 32 beds

There are altogether 6 sick Pavilions
connected together as in the Herbert
by a Corridor -- And each Pavilion has
its own staircase besides.

There are thus 64 beds on 2 floors to each
Pavilion.

And $64 \times 6 = 384$ beds for the main
buildings.

The Matron's & Nurses' quarters are placed on
a Pavilion at one end of the line of Corridor

The Kitchens, Chapel, Stores, Day Room &c
are placed in the centre of the Hospital
line -- exactly as in the Herbert

The part allotted to the Administration in
the Herbert & which contains there the
Nurses' quarters is in this present plan
reserved for General Administrative
accommodation.

Separate Convalescent Cottage for 12 beds
standing by itself -- with 2 Nurses' rooms
Lying-in Hut.

f156 [FN hand]

I can't talk. I'm quite exhau

I'm in the most worrying position among you
the Princess has begged that these Lying-in
plans may go down to her by Q. Messenger
who calls here on Monday --

But what's this Gream's plan [Green's?]

That's just what I want to learn --
consulting Col M on Puerperal Fever?

Well -- I rather think so --

f156v

1. That wd be a difficult administration -- impossible except for Probationers --

Every Lying=in woman wants somebody to sit up with her according to modern notions at least the first night or two --

You would require the same No of Pupils that you have confinements almost.

3 weeks in Workhouses.

4 " at K.C.H.

You see that's scarcely enough to instruct Pupil midwives in the quantity they wd be required to nurse such a difficult administration I don't think Lying in women ought to go out in less than 3 weeks -- The parts are not replaced in less time. And the woman suffers afterwards from Prolapsus Uter --

But, on the other hand, *that* is better than Puerperal Fever --

Well you know we actually only took 6 Probationers at K.C.H. for 10 & sometimes 12 beds.

f157 NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: CHARACTER OF MISS FREEMAN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 24 Dec. 1868] Liverpool (ARCHIVIST)

[13:608]

Look here -- don't laugh -- this letter places me in a most disagreeable position.

Miss Freeman has not told Miss Wilson (to whom I introduced her) one word of truth -- Am I to tell Miss Wilson the truth --

1. as to "Mrs. Kidd"
2. as to Miss Freeman's "parting with her best Nurses"
3. as to her receiving help & information from me the facts are just the reverse of those stated

Mrs. Wardroper & I have worn ourselves out with correspondence, conversation & help to Miss Freeman -- all in vain --

And (I tell you this in the strictest confidence) her sister was dismissed by Genl Lawrence for drunkenness --

And we fear that there is something radically wrong (tho' not that) about Miss Freeman from what has been forced upon our knowledge by the Nurses who have left her -- (*not* dismissed by her.)

[end]

Now you must make a commencement to Lisb. I can't.

f158 NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE ABOUT SIR B. FRERE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

Sir B. Frere
has put into a General Minute ~~that~~ what we **[9:615-16]**
said about Dr. Hewlett that Bombay
Officers of Health must have Executive powers.
If this does not succeed, he will write a
special Minute about Dr. Hewlett
And he has indoctrinated Mr. Scobell the
Legal Remembrances & Financial adviser
of the Govt of Bombay, who is just going
out, upon the position Dr. Hewlett should
have.

He wishes us to go forward with a Training
scheme for Officers of Health for India
to be submitted to him privately
& then to be sent *officially* by the A.S.C. --
to his Dept at the I.O -- while they are
in their present favourable temper

Well, he says, take care not to put too much
into the answer to *that* Despatch, for fear of
not securing the first point **[end 9:616]**

f159 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND ca. 1868 embossed WO, sends letters,
conclusive as to request re barracks and hosp plans

ff160-61 NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
[ca. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

f160

You know that they talk of sending Greenwich
to Netley -- I should be very glad.

All I care about is to keep the whole thing as
much *out of* & away from the Committee
as possible.

It was the Committee ruined St. John's House

Yes -- but you see I am pointedly asked
about Winchester -- Now I don't choose to say
that we know its Matron to be a scandalous
calumnator -- because she has got our Nurses
but still I want quite to put a stop to that

f160v

"That letter is a great relief to me

f161

[ca. 1868].

Just write that down.

Can you tell whether this is like the ~~interior?~~
building

The stores where the sick were found
was a long range of buildings on the
East ~~North~~ side of the Docks. Karabelnaia
a long low building on a raised basement
-- long single floored buildings
But that was in Sevastopol
what day was it our troops rushed in
Sept 8. -- Fall of the city
9. Evacuated

f161v WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN UNKNOWN HANDWRITING:

{illeg. ~~Belav?~~}

FN

~~1868-9~~

1067.*8

ff162-64v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE 'MY ARTICLE' PENCIL HANDWRITTEN
BY FN [ca. Early Jan. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f162

my Article

1. What a set of advisers poor wretched me
has! -- I have adopted
Here am I quite ready to adopt all your
corrections, all Parthe's, all Sir Harry's --
And you read over their draft & tell me it is
ready for print --
And you don't tell me that, in every page, there
is a sentence left quite incomplete, not
concluded at all --
I have been at it since 7.30 --
And this *kind* of work really takes a year's
strength out of me --

I'm quite ready to adopt it. But there
are sentences, whole Paragraphs, broken
off in the middle

I've dug my way down to p. 15 --
[You know nothing on earth would have
induced me to undertake this kind
of thing]
I've the trouble of filling up all
I'd much rather write on
Bosh And you [illeg] men I have --

f162v

Now you must help me --
I've done 15 pages, almost at the cost
of my brain -- And as far as I have
gone, you must look at it --
But never, never will I ~~do~~ undergo this kind of thing
again.

So far from it -- They have taken out all the
bons mots & substituted such words
as "indolent selfishness"

I'll put which you please.

f164

P. 6.

This very year 1868 a Health Report on Manchester has appeared, which is virtually to this effect: let the town breed as much infectious disease as it likes put the cases into big Hospitals/Infirmaries -- this is the way to cure Manchester: to build Hospitals to cure people after they have been killed

{THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE "It is now...just the same" IS CROSSED OUT WITH THREE VERTICAL LINES}

P. 26

It is now known that no "disinfectant" has any real power of disinfecting. the disease ~~is~~ cause ~~produced~~ remains just the same.

A woman at Hampstead well known to Mrs. Sutherland, (*Mrs. Lyons*, the mother of my cook) was apparently breaking up -- I insisted on her going to Clifton -- And I provided the means -- She says I have saved her life.

Tell Mrs Sutherland -- She is fond of her -- She is in hopes that manipulation will bring out some dinner

f164v

But don't you think it's very dangerous to humour -- or rather not to protest against the fatalist ideas of the poor & of every body --

I should top up with something more about Convalescent Cottages or Homes --

I always put S. Is it now S.E. Then why didn't you tell me? -- Are you S.E.

That's the last

p. 97

~~And~~ And that apparently hopeless cases would recover if sick poor were enabled by their richer neighbours to have change of air.

f165-65v NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE ON HER ARTICLE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Early Jan 1869]'

f165

Well -- about my Article
I have written ~~it~~ out part the first with what
you did for me on Monday
incorporated.
And as far as that portion goes,
I think it looks very well.
But I have also ~~gone farther into~~ finished going through the
Verney copy -- And ~~as~~ in the middle,
there are not only whole Paragraphs
left unfinished as at the beginning,
but whole subjects cut off in the middle
& others interpolated -- from other parts
I have waded on Yesterday I was
so ill after thus wading that I was
obliged to lie for 6 hours doing nothing.
I felt as if the top of my head was
blown off --
*Nothing would have induced me to
undertake this copying from another copy.*
But as I have begun I ~~must~~ have finished

f165v

I am sure I wrote at less cost to myself
my book on Nursing

ff166-66v NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: NURSING STAFF AND SCHOOLING
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [Aft. 8 Jan. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f166

Well, you know, Ommanney
consulted me about the
Nursing attendance to this
Hospital -- And I answered
that you *must* have as
many nurses, as many wards,
if you had but one lying-in
woman to each ward
Then, if you have 8 lying-in women,
your Female Staff must be
at least 8 --
That's not the question
He knows nothing about it

f166v

I've always said so --
that a Lying-in Hospital of
single bed wards is
impossible unless you have
a School because you *must*.
L

f167-67v NOTES by FN ON HOW TO SET UP HOSPITAL PROPERLY PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Aft. 8 Jan 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f167

You are I hear going to
put up a lying in Hospital
some where or other.
I have been going thinking
into the subject and am
going to print about it
and if you don't wish
your hospital to be used
as an illustration of what
should not be done you
must listen to me. Now
your existing hospitals have
not been successes in this
department of human knowledge
& it is *proved absolutely* by
experience time you should
not have more than one
woman in one ward.

f167v

This is what we are going
to do for in our school.
~~B~~ It would answer
for your small number
of cases but for a large
hospital it would be
too costly -- ergo large
Lying in hospitals must
cease to exist & consequently
would for several bed
Q. E. D.

f168-70 NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE RE AGNES JONES PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Bef. 16 Jan 1869]

f168

[re proposed Memoirs of Agnes Jones
by her sister Mrs Higginbottom]

I have read about half -

It is appalling to me to have to criticize it --

For

1. I should take out 9-10ths not because it is too interesting from its revelations but because to the general public it is totally without any interest whatever

2 --

But how can *I* tell them that? --

2. There is a long letter to Mrs. Pennefather by her which the public will call mere verbiage --

3. The whole is *utterly unjust to her*. The public will say: if she cd write that long journal (which is little better than Hurrell Froude's journal about the "cold goose".) how could she do her work? --

f168v

But then I can't say to her

1. take my Una as a pattern.

2. You are incapable of it.

I ought never to have been asked --

She was my friend

She never wrote verbiage to *me*.

Mr. Rathbone & the Bp of Derry ought to

have been asked -- not me --

Only that is a hopeless M.S.

There ought to be an Act of Parliamt against

Sisters writing Memoirs.

Because -- they are uncriticize=able.

f169

As for my reading thro' the proof sheets,

I can't

f169v

There is not one definite proposition in it

from the beginning to the end --

And the public wants: definite propositions
or suggestions at least

I wonder she does not rise out of her grave.

& say to her Sister Thou shalt not.

I could not undertake it.

Because -- that has only confirmed what I have
always felt.

to make use of a person's private letters & journals
is infamous.

There is not *one* word of that which ought to be
given to the public.

It will lower their opinion of her *immensely*

And the sister has shewn herself perfectly incapable
of Editor's work --

And how can I teach her? --

f170

My dear soul -- you forget -- *that* is the 2nd part
of the Liverp
I have Read it many times.
Well -- the story is so pathetic in itself that I
can't read it without tears --
But every thing they can do to spoil it they
have done --
The things alledged as her *merits* are what
every old beast of a Workhouse Matron is
now turned out for *not* doing --
And her *real* merits -- they do not seem to have
the smallest inkling of.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONGSIDE THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH}:
Is Galton going to leave?

{BACK TO TEXT}:

He is Regius Professor -- College Tutor --
College --
Preacher -- University Examiner. He works 16 hours
out of the 24 -- He takes 2 1/2 weeks holiday
in the year -- And he has expressed

{THE FOLLOWING SECTION IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT THIS POINT}:
35 South Street, [printed address]
Park Lane,
W.

Dearest S. Gonzaga, Dec 30/68 [8:1017]
I send 3 bottles of Sherry (is any Brandy wanted?)
& a Hare. And I hope you will get a good
place in heaven for not drinking all the Brandy
yourself. [end 8:1017]

{BACK TO TEXT: THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP TO COMPLETE
THE PAGE}:

an uncompromising opinion that
the whole
ought to be suppressed
Her writing is actually below par
It's maudlin

f171-72 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 19th Jan. 1869

f173 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE AGNES JONES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
FN DATED ca. 20 Jan. 1869

f173

[re Agnes Jones
memoirs by her
sister Mrs. Higginbottom

Well first about this poor Agnes.

I have had this letter from her sister this
morning -- She does not seem to entertain the
least idea of what the verdict will be.

It struck me that Jowett's criticism (lopped
as Mr. Rathbone has justly lopped it) is so very
bald that it will either strike them as unkind
or as being simply the enemy & therefore not
strike them at all --

That was why I put in the after part.

Mr. Rathbone told me the other day only that you
could say nothing too bad of him [the *last* governor of the
Infirmary] that his
paramour *in* the Workhouse is now in prison --
for theft *in* the Workhouse, I understood.

Supposing I cut off all after Mr. Jowett's bit,
write how I should end.

ff173v-74v A NOTE ON PAUPERISM BY NIGHTINGALE PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN
BY FN NOT DATED

f173v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}
[A Note on Pauperism]

Well now about my own Article
I think you mistake my sister's letter --
It is exactly, (*almost word for word*) what
I wrote myself to her --
She asks *me* the questions I asked them --
She makes the criticisms to me that I made
upon myself to them --

2. I believe I could just as soon go to India
as read over their copy of my Article --
I am half killed by reading over poor Agnes
Jones -- And I could *much more easily*
write a new Article than read their copy --
As to comparing it with my own, it is utterly
impossible.

3. You made me refer it to them -- I should
never have dreamed of letting *them* make
a copy *for me* again to revise -- I told you so --
If you do not choose to look thro' their copy &
settle the thing, I shall simply burn the
M. S. S. -- & forget all about the Article.

Yes -- but it is utterly impossible for me to look
it thro' & compare it with the other -- And I see

f174

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT TOP OF PAGE}:
by merely glancing at it that they have made
one great mistake in a whole passage from
not noticing the tr.

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP}:
I should have thought Cornhill better than Fraser --
But -- I am perfectly indifferent. Indeed,
I am almost too much worn out to print
it at all.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:
It ~~does~~ is not said they are all orphans --
but children running about the streets
destitute & without ostensible parents.

f174v

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}
It's Mr. Rathbone's fault -- & not this poor woman's. --
I knew what they were -- their total ignorance
of the world & the way in which the world's
business is done --
The aunt Miss Smythe wrote to me that *she* had
been the means of sending *me* to ye Crimea --
that Agnes had heard of me at Kaiserswerth --
had mentioned me to her --
& she had talked about me --
& that that was the reason *I was sent to the
Crimea.*

I took no notice -- It was vain to explain to
such a woman that I was Sidney Herbert
the then Minister of War's most intimate friend.

f175 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [20 Jan 19. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Would you be so good as to go & engage a place at Colney Hatch for me immediately -- since certainly Liverpool workhouse, Sydney, Miss Lees, my sister &c &c &c can have but one conspiracy -- viz. to drive me mad?

This is the least mad=giving Army?

It does n't need Stallard to tell us that I have been at it for 15 years & you too.

That Stallard (what a conceited fellow he must be) should move in this which you & I for 15 years have been slaving at in the opposite direction

Yes -- Well, you know, Mr. Rathbone offered again to pay for the Training=School provided we would incorporate it with ours -- But we saw no way to it.

f175v

This is the third Registered packet of that size I have had from Mrs. Stewart in 3 weeks.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:
O if I had asked you
to go up to the W. O.
to "relieve" it.

{ENVELOPE IN CENTER OF FOLIO};
Miss Nightingale
35 South St
Park Lane
London

f176

Miss Nightingale

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I must offer Mr. Frederick
 some kindness for his wife.
 Should I find him at
 the W.O. to-day?
 What is his address? --
 It's in Lorrimer Road --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

There's oceans more -- even of the Miscellaneous sort.

f176v

Now it's about this Liverpool Workhouse
 Certainly, Miss Freeman "savours of the
 "self-willed & impracticable" --
 You must understand (to understand
 this correspondence) that she is in the
 habit of writing to Mrs. Wardroper & me.
 "Oct." Emm (one of our best Nurses) is
 a drunkard --
 "Nov." ~~Will~~ Emm requires promotion,
 which she *well deserves*. Will you
 find her a good place? --
 "Dec." -- Emm -- will you take her back?
 is 'de trop' here

Well then I've these 2 letters 2 *consecutive*
 days -- And this is what drives me mad

f177 JOTTINGS BY SUTHERLAND 21st Jan. embossed WO

Mr Frederick's address is
 91 Lorrimore Road

Kennington Park

S.

He is not here today & I
 have no means of replying
 to your questions about Mr L.

ff178-79 NOTES BY NIGHTINGALE DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
 [~~Feb: 1869~~] (ARCHIVIST)

f178

Why don't you put Sidney *Herbert*?
 I'm afraid they had little respect enough
 for Ld Palmerston who was worth them
 all. Then say so --

To whom? --
 I don't even know whether Sir B. Frere is
 in London
 I should very much have preferred
 before writing to Gladstone
 to see whether Ld de Grey, Ld Stanley
 & Sir B. Frere would back me --
 And now you see that troublesome
 Maclean has gone to Ld de
 Grey about *his* business
 Now, Ld de Grey hates trouble --

f178v

There's not enough precision --
 Lord de Grey, Lord Stanley & Sir B. [9:651-52]
 Frere would at my request fill up
 & state the work that has been done
 under their eyes --
 But Cardwell & Gladstone are
 perfectly ignorant.
 Cardwell & Gladstone would say: --
 we are not going to destroy the Army
 Sanitary Comm: -- Then I should say: Dr. Sutherland
 And they wd say: *Is* Dr. S. the Army San: Comm: ?

f179

Well my dear soul -- you've only to say the word -- I am so weary of all the responsibility of the correspondence with Sir J. Lawrence being thrown upon me -- & the irregularity of the help given me -- that, if you do but say, the word, I believe I wd throw it all up, let this house -- & throw myself into private Hospital & Nursing business.

[end 9:652]

lunch at 1?

{JOTTINGS BY SUTHERLAND ON SAME FOLIO}: embossed WO

23 Jany 69

Omanney has been trying to embody your obstetric requirements & will send you the plan when further advanced.

I must come up on Monday so I shall call in case I can't come on Tuesday.

f179v NOTES ON THE AMS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

What am I say to Sir James Clark & Co. about the Army Medl School? You see, the fact is, I had much rather not have had the A. M. S. -- mixed up in any letter I have to write -- I don't care a button about the A. M. S. -- I think Parkes, Maclean, Aitken have done us very *poor* service -- I am sorry for Dr. Chaumont, because he is actually a better man than Parkes.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

These Prussians have written to me *again*

f180 NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Jan 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

There is but that copy & one at the I.O. in England -- And the I.O. would not let Sir B. Frere take their copy home --

It is in consequence of the immense row I made that these 2 are sent. There is another lot which you would not let me look -- here's a difficult job for us --

Lpool Workh:

I felt so sure that what Miss Freeman was really doing was this: -- viz. sending those Nurses she *wanted to get rid of* to other Workhouses -- Except Agnes Jones & Mrs. Wardroper, there is *no one* not guilty of that

Quite so -- But -- you see the original idea is quite lost sight of, quite as much by Miss Smyth as by Miss Freeman, for which Agnes laid down her life -- viz. that a Workh: Infy was to be a Hospital -- & 2. a Training School --

f181 NOTES pencil HANDWRITTEN by FN [ca. 31 Jan. 1869] (ARCH)

It was worth while for you to come out, perhaps --[9:651]

I suppose you know that everything is going *by the board* in the new Estimates -- the Army Sanitary Comm., yourself, the Army Medical School --

I do not mean to take the responsibility of doing anything, unless you share it & wish it
I cd also write to Ld de Grey, asking him to state what has been
one

It's no use talking nonsense now --
Every body knows that I have been working
with you for 12 years --

There are several things to be done: --

I could write to Sir B. Frere & ask him to speak to the Indian work

I could write to Ld Stanley & ask him to speak to the work under him --

I could write to Gladstone (whom I know a little) & who asked me (in 1861) to draw up a statement of Sidney Herbert's work --
But then I shd have liked to ask Sir H. Verney to take my letter -- [And he, most unfortunately, is ill at Embley]

I could ask Sir Harry to go to Cardwell, whom he is much attached to & take a letter from me But then Sir H. is at Embley --
I never saw Cardwell but once at S. Herbert's

[end 9:651]

f181v {TEXT IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

JS:

Now ~~these~~ ~~is~~ ~~two~~ [?] ~~agencies~~ ~~y~~ which it is now proposed [9:654] to cripple and destroy was set on foot by a Royal Commission presided over by Sidney Herbert for the express purpose of remedying defects ~~to~~ which all admitted to exist.

The necessity [illeg] was subsequently confirmed
by the recommendation of the
R.C. on
the Sany
State of
the India
army

The question
is {illeg. sure?} {illeg. -?} {illeg. —?} {illeg. —?} is
{illeg. —?} this committee {illeg. or?} answering or not
answering its

purpose. Are the purposes so completely fulfilled that ~~they~~ ~~agencies~~ their agency may cease

These are the questions suggested by a real economy. I know every thing which has been going on in ~~these~~ ~~agencies~~ these matters. I have watched step by step their progress; I have seen the benefits of the work in the reduction of army mortality to one half & in some-- cases to less than a half. I have ~~seen~~ ~~the~~ ~~effect~~ ~~in~~ been kept informed from India of every step taken in applying the principles of improvement in Stations & barracks in India from India itself involving an {illeg} {illeg} of ten million {illeg}, and I can only say that {illeg. -} to proceed to destroy all this work ruthlessly by persons who know nothing about it is closely allied to the Crassa ignoratum which the law deals with as something else than ignorance.

ff182-83v NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS DATED [1 Feb 1869] (ARCHIVIST), cleaner version is 45801 ff188-89

f182 {TEXT IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

[JS]

~~I am one~~

I have heard from two separate sources of certain [9:653] projected changes in the W. O. which will so completely reverse the ~~the~~ work initiated by Sidney Herbert & bring us back in the army to the bad old times that I cannot refrain writing you about it. It is stated that ~~in/~~ {illeg. ~~amid/~~} among the reductions about to be made in the W.O. ~~concur~~ {illeg. ~~change?~~} {illeg} {illeg. —?} ~~is the~~ {illeg. —?} ~~of the Army~~ {illeg. ~~Medical~~} ~~school at Netley which as you are aware is a school for E India as well as for other~~ {illeg. ~~parts?~~} ~~of~~ {illeg. —?} {illeg. —?}, and in the ~~distribution of the Army Sanitary Committee is deter~~ which

is a

Public Health Committee for troops in India as well as for ~~other~~ troops in other parts of H.M. dominions. Now I am the last person who would stand in the way of real economy. I would say let every thing which cannot prove its necessity as well as its usefulness cease to be a charge on the public. But let us be sure before the step is taken that the charge, to be abolished cannot justify its own continuance, & that the persons who deal with it are competent to judge.

f182v

{TEXT WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}:

And as you know perfectly well, Lowe is Simon's slave. And, tho' Lowe is fond of me, I cd not approach him.

{TEXT IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I feel myself to some extent responsible & to some extent struck at personally in these proceedings. I have been a prime mover in — advising H.M.'s Governnt to adopt the improvements which have been carried out & just at ~~at~~ the time when we are laying the ground of an entire reform in India in all its sanitary arrangements -- carrying out there Lord Herberts great principles. I now learn that some body or other is destroying them. I write simply to ask that these things be considered & that justice be done to great principles which have raised as we all know the credit of the British army ~~& on Indian which~~ out of the slough into which it had firmly fallen & into which it is evident that there are some who without knowing it will land the army then again.

[end 9:653]

f183 {WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}

[ca. Jan 1869]

over

I will send the letter to Mrs. Wardroper
I read it in this way --
that they are doing their work well
but in a spirit of opposition & acrimony
so that their hands are against every man's --
even against me --

she writes to me appealing to my "fairness" &
"candour" -- as if I had been unfair &
uncandid --

Then -- I should as soon think, for myself,
of kicking against the rule that the
Supt is not to sleep out without leave
of the Board

why Agnes Jones could not take a walk
without leave of the Governor.

{`Then I should....of the Governor' IS BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

The whole of that "this one individual" &
about "Guy's" refers to Robert

{`The whole of...refers to Robert' IS BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

I am always struck with that kind of
impracticableness in our women -- Miss Freeman
thinks it a hardship that she must not ask
a guest without leave of the Committee -- I have
never even dreamed of regretting any such Regulations

f183v

I think I can hardly send Jane to her Dr. again
without answering his letter to me -- What shall
I say?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:
over

Two things they hardly seem to understand at all
1. that it requires wisdom as well as self-denial to
establish any new work & overcome evil with
good.
2. that the way to escape from an obnoxious Regulation
is: not to resist but to obey it.

{WRITTEN IN BOTTOM LEFT CORNER}:
myself

ff184-84v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE MRS STEWART, IMMIGRATION, & DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 5 Feb. 1869] ARCHIVIST

You have no idea ~~of~~ how that poor Mrs. S. Stewart [page torn] his on my mind. Suppose she should commit suicide. I think I ought to apprise her friends. Now I know her craze, I see how every Advertisement in the Times will increase it. I think I ought to apprise her brother. Sir Michael S. S.

Will you do me the favour to read the enclosed letters which I have received from your sister & to return them to me. They are intended to be strictly confidential as you will see & ~~I~~ may I beg that you will not hint to her even that I have sent them.

Cardwell merely meant in writing *that*: --
"I admit your statement that Dr. S.'s work is essential to the very existence ~~e~~ as to efficient work of the Army Sanitary Comm: --

And this is my bald way of putting that I mean to continue the efficient work of the A.S.C.

If I were to state that ~~I mean~~ Gladstone means to continue the existence of the W. O., I should state it in this way -- that he will place the salary of the S. of S. for War on the Estimates

I think Cardwell very rude to ME -- *but* without meaning it --

But I think you much worse for writing me that, when I was in the midst of my trouble in writing to Lord de Grey & have not had an hour's sleep for a week.

f184v

All that's quite true But you have
no idea of the differences in the discipline
of a Hospl, where as in St. T.'s, there is an
old resident Mr. Whitfield, & where, as in
King's Coll:, the House Surgeons are changed every
year

You know what the enemy will say to that, is: --
that the U=nited States won't take any more
English emigrants in masses --
that Canada will take only a few --
that Australia is the only country which really
wants emigrants in masses -- & what
they want are: *Settlers*. (not workmen,
unless very good ones -- who can do well at
home.) Canada wants *settlers* -- And settlers
must have money in loans or otherwise
not that the remedy is to be sought in this way.
The Annual Rate is equivalent to an annual Capital

only with Cornhill
& *only about fictions*
And she never mentioned the Cornhill
You said that that ought to go in somewhere else
& farther expanded
Then -- you hang Mr. Reeve?

ff185-85v NOTE AND LETTER FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL AND PEN
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [9 Feb. 1869]. (ARCHIVIST) on black-edged
paper

f185

I have never answered Macleod
Will you read me his letter?

JS: *Please settle it*
 Would you be so very good as
 as ask the publisher to leave
 Una set up in a clean
 suitable type in the porto
 8vo form (not Double cots)
 & without the illustrations &
 send me a proof. The page
 should be about the size of this
 paper.

What a good thing!

{PRINTED LETTERHEAD DATE HANDWRITTEN IN PEN}:
 35 South Street
 Park Lane,
 W. Feb 8/69FN [PEN]

Sir

 Although unable to claim
the honour of your acquaintance,
I venture to send you a very
short & unpretending article
on Paup

f185v {PENCIL -- WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}: FN

Froude has lost no time --
I did not send my paper to
him till late last night. --

Does that mean it is to be in
the March Fraser --

And should I ask to revise
the Proof --

I hate other people to revises
my Proofs --

Mr. Froude

I am very glad indeed that
you think my paper will do
Some little in the way of opening
people's eyes. Will you be so
kind as send me a proof
for revise?

f186-87v NOTE DISCUSSING DISINFECTANTS PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN
DATED [ca. 16 Feb. 1869] (ARCHIVIST) FN and JS

FN: I could wish I could have shewn you my letter **[9:619]**
to Lord de Grey -- But I did not like to
delay it -- You know he is President of the
Council -- And that is why he wishes to see
all those papers about Quarantine & Cholera --
It is a most favourable opportunity of getting
hold of him -- And I tried to use it **[end 9:619]**

I must thank Angus Smith

[9:894]

JS: Manufactory to set up all is ready
made & crying out ~~to~~ to be used
Now comes the logic. If all this
be true as Dr. Angus Smith has
proved it to be, why go about making
disinfectants which are not so good
& cost money & which after all
also require engineering methods to
apply them.

This is how it strikes an
outsider equipped with nothing except
a little logical faculty

f186v

FN: I wonder whether that sort of wild
Resolution=ing does much harm -

I think it does harm

I have not answered Cuningham of India
yet.

[end 9:894]

You said a reduction had been made of
Murray's Report.

Could anything be done about this? -- **[6:541]**
The nuns at Bermondsey write me word that
25 people lie ill of Fever at one house --
some die --
the house is "disinfected" --
then it is re-occupied --
(all the windows are kept shut)
exactly the same thing happens again --
25 of the new people (or so) take ill of Fever
but you see nuns can't do that -- Is there no one
to whom they could appeal to write these letters for them?

f187

The local authority vested with power
to deal with these cases is the Vestry
of Bermondsey.

If they refuse or deal ineffectually the
Medical attendant or indeed any
householder should write to the Home
Secretary calling his attention to the facts

The "Medl attendt" if any is of course
the Poor Law Medl Offr
{`the Poor Law Medl Offr' IS CIRCLED}
Would he write to the Vestry for the nuns?

The nuns *won't* write --
Would it do for them to ask the Poor Law
M. O. to write to the Vestry for them?
or would the P. L. M. O. be afraid? --
But then it brings down a hornet's nest about
their ears -- And ever after that their
Visitations are unacceptable -- And they are
annoyed by the Parish authorities -- That is why
I ask -- whom could they get to do it?

f187v

Many thanks for your book on disinfectants
It is ~~about~~ the best ~~if not~~ I have
seen, and will do much towards
disinfecting the disinfectors.

What we want very much is a
cheap supply of logic for every
day use, and if you have not
given it to us you have at all
events made it acceptable to the
meanest capacity - thus

Air is ~~or the~~ one of the best
disinfectants
water is one of the best
disinfectants

Earth is one of the best disinfectants.

Now it strikes me that all these
are very cheap, and that the =
real question is an engineering one
namely how to ~~empty the~~ use them
most effectually for disinfection purposes

Enemies can do this & have done it. If they don't they should be
taught to
do it

There is nothing to make, no

f188 NOTE JS HANDWRITTEN pencil, scrap DATED arch: 18 Feb. 1869

JS: This would be better organized
Charlemagne ~~said~~ the civil
polity of western Europe at
a time when scarcely anybody
could either read or write

f189-89v LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 18 Feb. 1869 ink, Charlemagne,
tradition that C. signed his name by dipping hilt of his sword in
ink

Charlemagne When I see the passage to which you refer I never
doubted its correctness. It is a tradition that Charlemagne
signed his name by dipping the hilt of his sword in ink. But the
best of all authorities Anquetil, whose history I have, devotes
pages to Charlemagne's learning, to his encouragement of arts and
sciences. He makes him indeed to be the great reviver of learning
in the West. Neander states that distinctly that Alcium wrote a
copy of the bible for him and that he (Charlemagne) wrote letters
on all sorts of subjects. He printed himself the German grammar.

I should say after this that the case is not in point and that
it would be safer to leave it out.

|You might put the sense thus

"The greatest of all sovereigns, Charlemagne reorganized the
government of the west in te depth of the dark ages." This would
be safe.

Illegs. It would be sufficient to put his name and the name of
the institution in a foot note. J.S.

ff190-91 NOTE FROM JS PEN HANDWRITTEN black-edged

f190

Friday. [19 Feb. 1869 arch].

I have read it. It is very good
because not a treatise, only fragmentary
a sort of "Detached thoughts" which
in this "slim" age will tell better
than any consistent argument
would have done.

Au fait *Corrections*

p. 281. "Au fait as to charity" -- leave this
as it is.

p 287. You may change the "fruit" [?]
into "Beginning with the political
economy"

p. 281 col 2. Charlemagne -- I am
afraid he could write I have been
looking through my great "Moreri" this
morning & nothing to the contrary

is stated. The last time I saw Charlemagne
was on a french stage & then he

f190v

certainly had not learned to write
for he stamped a paper with the
hannel of his sword dipt in
ink.

p.283 col. 11 Dr Chalmers

"~~and~~ family" take out the "and"

It means that relief was given by
visitors to families on enquiry, which
is the root of the ~~the~~ system.

p. 285 Note Nurse Harry [?]

I think you have done enough.

They all want funds, but what
we want is a systematizing of
all these agencies so as to make
the present funds much more
than enough.

p. 288. col. 1 Area of ground 10 X 8

f191

meter. The real area is 78 square
miles. 8 X 10 is a round number
which people will remember.

p. 289 *no power of expansions.*

You may make it "little" if you
like, but waste lands belong to
somebody and according to our
present land-laws, you could
not compel proprietors to convert
their *great* parks into farms.

I think you may send it
safely. There will be grunTERS
& growlers, but this is the object
of it.

ff192 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [end Feb. 1869] (ARCH)

f192

I'm sure Sir B. Frere won't read any more Reports --

You said I was not to write to him till I had seen that --

I must now write to him -- **[9:619]**
 It isn't the "class of" officers he wants to know -- he suggested that himself -- it is -- their powers & duties -- what we should suggest to put into their 2nd Annual Mem: --

It is a fortnight since he was here -- And he begged me to write or see him as soon as possible

~~I told~~ I told you that I told him ~~his~~ every word of this -- And I told you that he said: we were to say what we should suggest officers of Health were to do in India **[end 9:619]**

f192v-93v NOTE RE MR RAWLINSON PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

f192v

Mr. Rawlinson {'Mr. Rawlinson' WRITTEN ON SLANT}

Many thanks for your Public [illeg] report

It is evident that in this case [illeg]

only [illeg] great National calamity been

averted but that the Money has been

spent to really permanent productive

purposes. viz. in [illeg] health

& working capacity

Sir John McNeill {'Sir John McNeill' WRITTEN ON SLANT}

f193

I like these letters. They are terse, intelligent business like. They are also using common sense, & indicate ability of a high kind.

The part ~~of~~ which ~~affl~~ afflicts me is the cost of Barrack But this you can always diminish by insisting that no plans be sent home except of the very plainest character. Fine costly architecture is no part of sanitary construction & I believe the costly nature of the elevations has been again & again commented upon by the W.O.C. You want plain walls, under type roofs & the cheapest verandahs & stair cases.

f193v

He says -- you *must* speak to the Indian in the concrete -- & give examples -- examples to avoid -- examples to imitate examples of *places* improved examples of places not improved then say so --

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:
Lord Napier

f194 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: AGNES JONES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Feb. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Liverpool Workhouse --
~~I do think~~
Agnes Jones has been
dead a year --
I do think her
successor will drive
Mrs. Wardroper & me
mad.

[13:610]

[end]

ff195-96v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
[ca. Feb. 1869]

f195

F.N. [to Sutherland]

Do you wish to hear about Galton? -- [9:619]
He has written to me in answer to mine yielding
& saying he *will* attend if summoned --
but saying that he does so only to delay the doom
of the Army San Comm which he looks on as
doomed & ~~while~~ Cardwell & Northbrook are there,
nothing can save it [end 9:619]

f196

That Staff was calculated by me & Miss Jones
for 36 beds (*32 constantly occupied*) of *single beds*
wards -- & *30 pupils* --

The Staff would require a great deal of
re-calculation for any other number or construction

We have always laid it down as a principle
that we will not receive women unless
"labour is imminent"

Lying-in Hospitals send the women back
in that case

ff197-99 Note re Sir B. Frere, pencil, dated February-March 1869

f197 FN: Then I had much better show that minute privately to Sir B.F. and ask him to say -- is that what you want? if not, say.

f197 {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

He's very much disconcerted.

You know two of the things Sir B.F. mentioned to me I knew he was correct in -- but I could have mentioned others to him and did not.

The Note on their blue Memo, and the Note, in which he had himself inserted that correction about Sanitary Officers being selected in India, both of them, he says, were, without any reason whatever, 3 months in coming -- But he mentioned others

Sir Bartle Frere

[10:94-95]

wants us (you and me) to begin helping directly about the next blue Memo.

He says -- one thing which *can* be initiated from this end is -- the duties and powers of the Sanitary Officers -- if we wd draw up something short about that --

He says -- they are quite disinclined at Bombay to give Hewlett even the powers he had before -- that they say he was very extravagant -- which Sir B.F. says he was not --

But he says, we must be very careful how we make Bombay an example in anything general we propose -- that they are quarrelling about Hewlett's salary now --

But -- still he says -- that when Hewlett goes out he means to ask me to write some kind of letter with him -- that he thinks Bombay will come round --

But -- to return to the general -- [6:542]
he says -- could we not mention some place,
either English or European (he mentioned
Worthing) as an example -- Where such and
such works had been carried out -- (he's not
upon Sewage at all) where such and such Sanitary
works had been carried out -- when such and
such powers had been given to the Health
officer -- where such and such diseases had
disappeared in consequence -- Where such and
such a lower Rate of mortality had been
secured -- He said: there must be such
towns -- he mentioned to me some -- Watering
places where no houses could be let because
of Fevers -- where Sanitary works were undertaken --
Fevers disappeared -- and every house was let.

He says -- yes, it *is* an English one -- And he

f197v

wants us to say -- such and such powers have been
given to English Health Officers -- they were not
sufficient -- they have not worked well -- therefore
we recommend that such and such should be
given to India Officers -- we *have* magistrates in
Then I had much better show that Minute privately to Sir B. Frere
& ask him to say is that what you want? if not, say.

He's very much disconcerted. You know two of the things Sir
B.F. mentioned to me I knew he was correct in, but I could have
mentioned others to him & did not.

The Note on their blue Memo, & the Note, in which he had
himself inserted that correction about Sanitary Officers being
selected in India, both of them, he says, were, without any
reason whatever, 3 months in coming. But he mentioned others,
wants us (you & me) to begin helping directly about the next blue
Memo.

He says one thing which *can* be initiated from this end is the
duties & powers of the Sanitary Officers, if we wd draw up
something short about that. He says they are quite disinclined at
Bombay to give Hewlett even the powers he had before, that they
say he was very extravagant, which Sir B.F. says he was not.

But he says, we must be very careful how we make
Bombay an example in anything general we propose
-- that they are quarrelling about Hewlett's salary
now --

But -- still he says -- that when Hewlett goes out
he means to ask me to write some kind of letter
with him -- that he thinks Bombay will come
round --

But -- to return to the General --

he says -- could we not mention some place,
either English or European (he mentioned
Worthing) ~~where~~ as an example -- where such &

f198

such works had been carried out -- (he's not upon Sewage at all) where such & such Sanitary works had been carried out -- when such & such powers had been given to the Health officer -- where such & such diseases had disappeared in consequence -- where such & such a lower Rate of mortality had been secured -- He said: there must be such towns -- he mentioned to me some -- watering places where no houses could be let because of Fevers -- where Sanitary works were undertaken -- Fevers disappeared -- & every house was let.

He says -- yes, it *is* an English one -- And he wants us to say -- such & such powers have been given to English Health Officers -- they were not sufficient -- they have not worked well -- therefore we recommend that such & such should be given to India Officers -- we *have* magistrates in

f198v

every corner of India -- say, what powers, if any, should be granted beyond bringing the thing before a magistrate to India Health Officers.

I told him so --
He said: does it work well? --

I told him all that --
He said & I said: that won't do.

He said: can you give no examples from the Continent? Say what has worked & not worked well -- And give

Well you know every word of what you have been saying has been gone thro' not once but many times between Sir B.F. & me.

Every word of what you have been saying has been said by Hewlett to Sir B.F. & written by Hewlett to me I have all his letters.

There is nothing new in it.
But what Sir B.F. wants us to do now is to write something of {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:
a scheme of powers & duties

f199 [JS hand]

Officers of Health in England have no = powers & can spend no money. They make up mortality returns & disease returns & tell how many people have died. They inspect houses where fever takes place or any other epidemics & they report to the Vestry or other local authority. But no proceedings & no spending of money follows necessarily on their reports. The Vestry is both judge & executer & the health officer does nothing but advise in cases where his opinion is asked for or when he thinks it necessary to report on specific causes of disease. Some of the officers perform analysis of various kinds.

[end 10:95]**f200v**

FN 1869

Notes on MOH's

ff201-03v NOTES BY NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED TWICE: [June: 1869] & [ca. 1 Mar 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f201 [See {illeg} & Rawlinson] [~~June ? 1869~~]

35 South Street, {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

Park Lane

W.

Sir B. Frere {TEXT WRITTEN IN PENCIL}: **[9:896]**

talked to me especially about the

Bombay drainage --

He says Aitken's pamphlet has never

been sent home to the I. O. --

that he believes Bombay will settle

the Drainage question itself -- &

settle it in the right way --

& that he doubts it's being referred

home at all (which he says is a

very good

Sir B. Frere says: if they had meant to

take Aitken's scheme, they would have

referred it home --

They have not --

He infers they don't mean

[end 9:896]

f201v

I had a long talk with Sir John McNeill

He had all the Health Acts of Scotland fused last year into one Act to be worked by the Bd of Supervision And he is going to send me a copy --

Also -- he asked me to read this

He went there himself. He says it's a total failure -- that they cost more than retrieving paupers & getting rid of them for ever -- & that *these* paupers always come back to them in a year.

He'd only just had time to glance at it -- He is going to write to me --

You said you were going to tell me what to write to poor Rawlin.

f202 NOTES FROM FN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN FN [ca. beg. Mar. 1869]
[5:473]

Do you see that Gladstone is going to give £15 000 a year for training Nurses & Midwives in Ireland

I wish he would ask the Nightingale Comm. for advice

With regard to the Midwives, I should like to get my Lying=in Hospital paper out as soon as possible.

You may depend upon it that Gladstone who is the most unsanitary brute, that ever was known will found a quantity of Lying=in Hospls &

Well, if [illeg] he d?

[end 5:473]

f202v

Well -- it's not well at all --
 The whole of London is calling here to tell me
 they have got a depauperizing experiment
 to show me -- amongst others, that
 horrid woman

Sir John McN says that, in *all* their
 great towns now, Greenoch, Paisley,
 Glasgow, Edinburgh & c & c, they have not
 one pauper child except boarded out
 at cottagers -- that you could not tell
 the difference, either physical or
 mental, between these & the cottager's
 own children -- & that they *never*
 come back on the rates --
 The child goes to the same school as the

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

If you choose to read it here, I may be
 so good as to give it you afterwards
 They & also Stallard have been
 mandating me with their papers since
 that came out.

f203

[ca. Beg. Mar. 1869].

Then let him tell me so --
 I've sent out two & twenty
 copies -- most of them asked for
 And except Sir J McNeill not
 one of these men has answered
 Let him write
 I have to conjugate the Imperative
 tense all day long.

f203v

Well but really I must have something
 to tell Sir B. Frere -- It's deceiving him
 for me to go on in this way -- It is
 not worth while for me to go on at all

I

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

Well shall we begin writing our Lying=in
 Article? --

I've done that these 2 years
 Don't you think the best plan would
 be to put it off for another 2 years?

ff204-04v LETTER FROM JS 3d March embossed WO, the great O very busy, qu re admin of single room hospitals. Portsmouth to have 1 general ward for ordinary cases and instead of a general ward for lying-in cases there will be 8 rooms, 8 fires to light instead of one. the usual staff in such a bldg with 2 wards wd be: 1 matron, 1 nurse general, 1 nurse midwifery, 1 cook, but nobody knows how to get 8 rooms cleaned and fires attended to

ff205-05v NOTE FROM ? PEN, not FN hand, NOT DATED, embossed WO

1. Are the following proportions sufficient for a single bed ward (not to be used as a delivery Ward): 15' X 13' X 11' high, giving 2145 cubic feet and 195 superficial feet?
2. Supposing a lying-in Hospital of 36 beds (or 32 patients) to be divided into separate 2 storied pavilions (with corridor communication) of 4 wards per floor, must there be a delivery ward to each floor of each pavilion? Or would it be sufficient to provide a certain number of delivery wards on each ~~ward~~ floor and to assume that a patient might, shortly after delivery, be moved some distance through the corridor to her own ward? If so, what proportion of delivery wards should be provided for 32 beds?
3. Are the following the proper proportions for

f205v

for a delivery ward: 22' X 20 X 14' high giving 6140 cubic feet and 440 superfeet; I should propose to attach one single bed ward to each delivery ward. --

What should be the proportion 4. of trained nurses to patients: 1st where there are no pupil Midwives: 2nd where there are pupil Midwives?

Instead of endeavoring to provide 5. Nurse's rooms designed to overlook

the patients, would it not be better to assume that any case which requires overlooking will be attended day and night by a nurse or by a pupil midwife?

ff206-11v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: SET UP OF LYING-IN HOSPITAL
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 4 Mar. 1869 ARCH. [8:210-13]

f206

1. The minimum of cubic space for a Lying=in woman in a single=bedded ward, even where that is not the Delivery Ward, is 2000-2500 c. ft. ~~the minimum superficial area at 200 Sq. feet.~~

To put the Lying=in woman, her infant with a woman washing, & dressing it at the fire, Midwife, Midwife's Assistant, & perhaps Doctor into a space of 120 sq. ft. is inadmissible. [Were it a Delivery Ward, they would not even have space to turn round]

2. A Lying=in Hospital of 36 beds (but I will call it 32 Patients, because there ought always to be 4 wards (or beds) in rotation entirely vacant.) would train from 12-15 Pupil Midwives The whole of these would probably be present at every Delivery -- or at least all that could be spared from attending on the other Patients.

A Delivery ward, quite separate as large as an ordinary Hut ~~(say 40 by 20 ft)~~ is absolutely essential.

f206v

3. No Day Room at all = A Dayroom in
a Lying=in Hospital is a positive
nuisance.

4. Personnel -- 1 Matron
 1 Head Midwife
 1 Assistant Midwife
 12-15 Pupil Midwives
 (female servants
 besides)

The Head Midwife will be present, of course,
at all the Deliveries -- the Assistant
making such ordinary Deliveries as may
possibly fall at the same hour as a
protracted or difficult case which the
Head Midwife cannot leave --
Deliveries as often or rather oftener take
place by night than by day --
If then the Bed-room (named "Nurse") is
for her, it is quite out of the question
that she should occupy it
But -- the row of bathing=machines (Called
Wards) is out of the question altogether --
The last is quite as much out of the way

f207

of anybody as if it were 2 miles off -- (how can an almost lifeless infant & a perhaps equally exhausted mother ring a bell or make themselves heard?) and the one next the so-called "Nurse's" room -- probably she won't be in her room at all --

5. No dispensary especially no Dispenser. A dose of Castor oil is all that is wanted in a Lying=in Hospl
6. No "Nurse's" room should ever be turned into a Scullery. This is a sine qua non. And this involves another point. The real distracting noise to a really exhausted Patient would be: -- to have every drop of water, every slop, every cup of tea &c &c &c, carried past her room to & from the Patients beyond her --

But the real "quiet" which a Lying in Patient requires is: not the quiet here proposed -- but not to hear the noise of a protracted Delivery & not to hear the to - ings & fro - ings.

f207v

7. A Surgeon's room may be necessary to keep instruments. The Surgeon himself comes only twice a day -- & is called in for any dangerous case of Delivery or After-birth -- or accident or Haemorrhage.

8. A collection of the Colchester Huts, 4 on each side an oblong, two at the end viz. one a Delivery Hut the other a spare hut -- so that one of the 9 huts shall be in rotation always empty -- kitchen hut at the other end -- would be a Lying-in Hospital. The present one is the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out -- viz. a Lying in Hospital with the Lyings-in left out -- & the infant utterly ignored

f208

Well, you know, I've considered it since last week very carefully -- And my only remarks will be administrative --

1. the 4 single wards will never be used --
It should be called a 32 bed ~~war~~ Hospl
(28 beds to be constantly occupied)

for this reason -- when one group of 4 is under whitewashing & cleansing, as one is always to be, you can't occupy that poor little 5th ward by itself --

Or if you do it must have a complete service to itself.

I have said too that that the Regular Service will be one Night Nurse to each 4 --

How can you put one Night Nurse to those 4?

I told him that you could not --

The Nurse always sleeps in the Lady's room at first -- & then (with the baby) in her dressing=room.

f208v

A ~~Th~~ It is not a Servant that is wanted -- On the contrary it must be an experienced Pupil Midwife.

the Night Watches regu

You must restrict the Night=Watchers to 4 beds -- As for the Nurse=bed=room, as I explained to him, all he has to do is to put assistance by bells within reach of that Night-Watcher.

JS: 4 beds on a floor is the best number a fifth bed is undesirable & would scarcely work.

You do not want a nurses' room or any of the floor

There is a night watcher on foot duty for every four rooms; if she needs aid she rings the bell into the pupil nurses room which may be in the centre

block. Hence the corner detached room on each pavilion may be taken

out altogether & this will leave 32 beds which is enough.

[end JS]

f209

FN 2. I think the Scullery where there may be 8 babies at a time quite large enough for one block of 4 but rather small for 2.

And I think the same of the other conveniences --

And suppose you had to draw 8 hot water baths for 8 convulsions in 8 babies at once

3. I think the relative position of door & window in some of the wards inconvenience for the bed -- In some there is scarcely a place proper for a bed

You never put a Lying=in bed in an angle

to mark off bed=space so as to shew the extent of room about it

f209v

Those wards wd practically never be used --

And a Nurse (not the watcher) would be put to sleep in them.

It is not a question of detachment --
It is that the Service will be divided into 4 S - Now you can't divide a Service of 4 s by 5 s --

I said quite distinctly that there was to be a Night Nurse for 4 at the outside -- also that it was more dangerous to have the Extra nurse sleeping on one floor only than not to have any -- Suppose her called down=stairs,
night
her up=stairs bell rings -- they don't know where she is --

I explained to him distinctly that the Nurse who sleeps there is simply to answer say the 4 bells of the Night Watcher

f210

No Institution or Charity would stand a Delivery ward to each 4 -- One Delivery Ward to each floor is all that any Charity wd put up with -- And they would say -- better have but one floor --

One wd do for one floor.

Of course when I gave that size, I meant one Delivery Ward for the whole 32 Patients, where they might have 2 or even 3 Deliveries at once & the whole of the Pupils present.

There would be no Nurses.

No Charity or Institution cd possibly bear the expence of a single=bed=ward Lying=in Hospital (without a Training School) because they would literally require 16 Nurses to 32 wards -- Even as it is, I can't see how the first year will be managed, because you can't turn in a raw girl to a new born Infant & Lying=in woman

& you can't spare the girl a whole Midwife to herself
to teach her.

f210v

You may possibly have among 32 Patients
16 of them with their infants who can't be
left for one minute night or day for (say)
3 days & nights after Delivery --

But then there is some one a neighbour or an
eldest girl always in the room --

There is a Head Midwife --

Each Patient after Delivery is carried to her own
ward -- That can only be done when there is no
other case -- And as I told that Lieutenant
of Engineers to whom I am appointed Midwifery
Teacher, there are so many cases which
can't be moved immediately after Delivery --
there must be a small ward dis

f211v JS:

1. The lying in ward will do.
2. The pavilion had better be on
one floor & so arranged &
connected under cover that
the Lying in ward will be equidistant
from each one lying in ward
will be enough
3. The proposed dimensions of the
lying in ward will answer
4. Nursing must be done by
pupil midwives to save cost
5. Nurses rooms are not required
for the pavilion. There should be
a scullery. W.C. & W.C. Sink
for each also a small linen room [end JS] **[end 8:213]**

f212 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [March 7 1869] IN ? HANDWRITING

Then I'm to understand
that you won't do anything to-day
I had poor Mrs. Wardroper here all Sunday afternoon
about that Liverpool Workhouse business --
But I will not talk about that now --

She told me however 2 things about Mrs. Deeble
whom she likes very much

which concerned me for Mrs. Deeble's sake --
Mrs. Deeble has told her

1. that she has received a positive promise
from the W.O. (she did not say from whom)
that she, Mrs. Deeble, is to have the Supcy
whether or No --
2. (Mrs. Deeble expects to have a house to herself
at Netley where she can receive her children.

You know if we have anything to do with it
we would not recommend a Supt except
to live in Quarters with the Nurses.

Do you see the Debate about Capt Vivian [?]

f212v {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS AND UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

yesterday
by mail

f213 NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 5-10 Mar. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f213

I believe it has the Tables
you asked for.

This all refers to your work.

I don't lay down a dogma on
that --

But the 8 Nurses would be
sleeping, not watching.

Now what may happen is this:
an infant is seized with
convulsions -- The sitter up,
perhaps an inexperienced pupil,
can't even lay the infant down,
& wants hot water immediately
Would it not be easier for her to
summon a woman sleeping in the
Pavilion than anything else? --

ff213v-14v NOTE FROM FN & LETTER TO SIR JAMES CLARK, PENCIL & PEN
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [~~April 1869~~] ARCH. [8:214]

f213v

General Principles for the use of Lieut. Ommanney &
Dr. Sutherland

-
1. Lying=in women usually, at least sometimes,
lie in of infants --
 2. Nurses are not like Tadpoles -- You can't
cut them in two -- & put one half on one floor
& one on another.

f214

Thanks -- I think I must write it out myself
because Lieut. Ommanney is not very intelligent
And I am afraid I must put it so that he can
understand

Was there anything in the Letter on Official Reform 2 or 3 days
ago?

Do you choose to have a brace of pheasants sent to the W.O.
for you? --

I mean to write & publish separately the Chapter you propose on Lying=in Hospitals -- & shall be very much obliged if you will help me.

f214v {PENCIL}

Lieut. Ommanney knows nothing
about it. There must be a
Nurse~~s~~ sleeping on each floor,
if that system is adopted at all

D. Farr

1 Could you give me the normal
death rate from puerperal disease
(excluding deaths in public institutions
~~for each~~ for registration districts
in towns more or less
unhealthy & for country districts
more or less healthy

2. Could you give me the fever
death rates in the same districts

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN IN ANOTHER HAND IN PENCIL}:

Taken from [illeg] packet 7th 1869. Letters
relating to Lying In Institutions

FN

35 South Street, {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:
Park Lane,
W.

{LETTER WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO IN PEN}:

My dear Sir. James Clark

Do you remember having
the kindness to say that
you would give an
introduction to Dr. Reynolds.

ff215-16v LETTER FROM J.J. FREDERICK, embossed WO, AND NIGHTINGALE AND NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PEN AND PENCIL

f215

{PEN}:

10th March/69

[10:95]

My dear Madam

At Dr Sutherlands' request I beg to enclose for your information a copy of a Memorandum by the Army Sanitary Committee, on papers relating to the Duties of Inspecting Sanitary Commissioners in India, as passed at the meeting of the Committee on Monday last -- A copy was forwarded

f215v

-warded to the India Office yesterday.

I am, dear Madam
yours very faithfully
J.J. Frederick

Miss F. Nightingale

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN DARK PENCIL IN NIGHTINGALE'S HANDWRITING}:

I told you
that, in 3 or
4 months, I
was to write
a letter by Sir
B. Frere's desire
about Dr.
Hewlett's position

f216

I wrote 4 sheets for you the other day from him.
It is you who must tell me now --
I have seen him (to my own great

exhaustion) And I told you what he
wants.

I told you all that myself from Sir
B. Frere

f216v

My dear soul -- really Sir B. Frere [9:897]
could not have known the fatal, the
exhausting labour he has put you all
to -- To produce that in 4 months
must prove fatal to all your constitutions --
I really cannot take upon myself to go
farther -- to tell you what he asks. [end 10:95]
He is an ogre. [end 9:897]
Sir B. Frere has told us what he wants

ff217-18v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f217

[ca. 12 Mar. 1869]. [See Army Estimates Debate
1869]

1. Universal Training
Military for the whole
population of the proper
age -- (not serving merely training
(P. Council might do it in this
school)).
2. a recruited Army as at
present out of the
trained population
 - a. active
 - b. reserve
- 3 to 5 years active service
unmarried
5 years reserve service
married
Ld Herbert's plan was to have
then two divisions
Active to go abroad
Reserve to stay at home.

f218v

Volunteers 160 000 have managed to train themselves.

~~Then~~ volunteer Regiments might furnish trainers for schools --

Militia would then cease --
unready

The principle is that, as in former times, the English male population should be trained to arms -- & that they should be enlisted into an Army when necessary. & when so enlisted would have little except Regimental work to learn --

f219 NOTES DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. mid-Mar. 1869] black-edged paper (ARCHIVIST) **[5:239]**

f219

You know that Sir John McNeill went to Goschen last week to try & persuade him to put children out to cottagers in England.

I said to Sir John that I felt doubtful whether in England it would work as well as in Scotland -- I said that in France, with all their sentimentality, it had not worked well.

[end 5:239]

Quotes more civilized than we
~~Turkish~~ in their encouragement
of Emigration

ff220-21v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
[ca. 20 Mar. 1869] (ARCHIVIST) and JS [split letter]

f220

How I am to get through day by day I don't know **[13:610]**
Mrs. Wardroper was here the whole afternoon
yesterday about that dreadful Miss Freeman who
is coming here to-day --
As Mrs. Wardroper says: Agnes Jones has been
dead 13 months -- And the Workh: is rather
more thrown upon our hands than ever --
Miss Freeman's statements are so contradictory,
she appears so entirely to have lost her head
that Mr. Whitfield says: To reform her
Workhouse Nursing the first thing to do is
to reform herself -- or to tell her to resign

Within the last 24 hours, she has told Mrs. Wardroper
that she wants a thoroughly trained Assistant --
And when Mrs. Wardroper sent her one, she told
the woman that she did not want any training
in her Assistant.

~~Those~~ Unless you stand over her & make her do
it, she can't -- Mrs. Wardroper had her for 6
hours.

what Regulations	"What are your difficulties & her own view
upon each point	what do you want?" of what she
would she	wants --
require? --	what do you propose to do?"

f220v

Mrs. Wardroper & I put down these points
in order to nail her to something --

because she does not know what she wants.

~~I am a~~ You will not be able to understand them
without me -- because some are her complaints
& some are our suggestions.

But if you wd look them thro', I wd explain. **[end]**

It's poor Mrs. Wardroper --

[12:180]

Mr. Solly was rude to Mrs. Deeble
who had unintentionally been incorrect.
She had told him that she had given a
Patient his medicine when it was put on
his card that his medicine was to be
discontinued -- Mr. Solly reproved her
rudely -- And Mrs. Deeble came tearing
in to Mrs. Wardroper, crying & shouting
that "if her poor husband were alive he
would see her righted" -- Mrs. W said
"let your poor husband rest" -- But, as
she stands to her pupils like a man, she
insisted on Mr. Solly making an apology

f221 {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Mrs. Wardroper says (I don't mean to say
this ought to be final) that, if we had
not given her absolute authority, merely
reporting to our Committee, over our
Nurses -- she could not only not have
managed our Nurses but she could
not have managed St. Thomas's --

Just put down that wh you said about
the process of reporting an insubordinate Nurse.

E.g. She told the Nurses when they went out to
wear their uniform dress

They went to the Vestry without telling her --
And the Vestry said: oh wear what dress you
like. She should have gone to the Comm: & told them how

unadvisable

it was that the Nurses should ~~have gone~~ out without

their uniform

Comm: should have agreed to it first.

Add Mss 45753

411

Probationers == School=boys

Sir J. McNeill = draw up a case for him

f221v

Mrs. W

Star?

the Superior?

Miss Freeman

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

JS: Rules to be framed

Nurse to sign promise of ~~obediene~~
obedienceSuperintendent responsible that the
nurse obeysSuperintendent to report charges of
disobedience to CommitteeCommittee to determine the facts &
to charge Superintendent when
necessary with the duty of enforcing
obedienceSuperintendent to report to Committee
further neglect of nurse of her activityCommittee to authorize Sup. to dismiss
or suspend nurse

=====

FN: We can't establish a School on their conditions

unless their conditions happen to be our own-- [end 12:180]

ff222-23v JS NOTE JS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN [Aft. 23 Mar. 1869 arch]**f222** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG FOLIO}:

Am I to write to Rawlinson

f222v note in JS hand

Can you send me a
statistical estimate of
the death rate in
London in old times
under - but counter &
filth as compared with
the present death rate
with a much larger
Population.

Could you send me a
similar estimate for ~~not~~
~~in~~ a few improved towns
in comparison with their

state when unimproved
also the classes of
disease which have been
reduced by Sanitary measures.

f223 {DARK PENCIL}

Sir B.F. says you must speak to India in the concrete & not in the Abstract.

He says: his answer from Sir Richd. Temple was -- why, I was my own Sanitary Officer -- I saw the people wanted wells -- And I digged them --

f223v

But

Sir B. Frere says -- to you & me --
only go forward with this Officer of
Health

Where's that conf -- d Minute you've

ff224-25v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS [I thnk]
DATED [ca. 25 Mar. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f224

Thank him for his photographs
Say that they shew great taste
& liberality on the part of
Australians & you hope who?
will be [illeg]

Tell him that we are surprised
at the high death rate in N. S. W.
and that no greater benefit
could be conferred on the
public than by an enquiry &
report officially on its
causes.

f225v

to do any good useful efficient work in this world
you must have/show that the interests of every body on/are
your side

I do not say Christian effort
but self-interested worldliness
enlightened worldliness
active

to enlist the interests of united worldliness in your view/scheme
acute
sagacious
well-intentioned

Add Mss 45753

415

well-combined

well-directed worldliness

ff226-27v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE LIGHT AND DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN
BY FN DATED [ca. 25 Mar 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f226 {LIGHT PENCIL}

The New South Wales
Statistical Register is
deficient in not
Containing the Causes
of death in the
various registration
districts arranged
according to the English
Registrar Generals
nomenclature &
Classification

f227 FN note

[ca. ~~April 3~~ 25 March/69]

{DARK PENCIL}

Sir John Lawrence said: --

[10:95-96]

You initiated the R. Commission which
initiated the public opinion which alone
forced Sir C. Wood to take up
—as a matter of policy

the Sanitary measures

which he did not believe in --

And now there is not a Station in India
where there is not something doing --

He thinks Ld Mayo a gentleman -- But he evidently [5:526]
thinks him nothing more.

He says the difficulty of being led without being
misled is almost insurmountable --

that a new G. G. coming has only 3 ways of getting one.
either to work his way into all the business himself,
which entails getting so much into arrears that like
Ld Canning, he never gets out of them -- or to
take the advice of others while getting to know for oneself
which entails unless a man has extraordinary penetration,
the being misled instead of led. [end 5:526]

He said -- of course in strict confidence --

[end 10:96]

They did not want me to stop -- I shd not
have stopped if they had. For I am ashamed to say

I was quite tired. But they did not ask me.
They wanted the appointment -- And they actually
intimated that they were surprised I did not
go before.

ff228-29v NOTE FROM JS PEN, embossed WO HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 30. 3. 69. (ARCHIVIST)

f228 [see to Farr -- 30. 3. 69.]

As organized measures for protecting the public health are intended to ensure an adequate supply of the prime requisites of life, -- pure air, pure water, & wholesome food, it is perhaps superfluous to say that where these objects have been attained, health has improved. In Her Majesty's army serving at home, the adoption of measures of this class has been followed by a reduction in the death rate from 18 to 9 per 1000. The reduction has been most remarkable in diseases of the Tubercular & Miasmatic classes -- the foul air diseases -- Consumption, fevers & the like.

Comparative statistics have not yet been deduced for the Civil population, except in one instance so remarkable in its character as to include the whole question of the effect of improvements on health. This is the Metropolis for which we have comparative statistics for groups of years, extending over upwards of two & a quarter centuries, showing a most striking advance in public health in proportion as improvements have been introduced

The earliest group includes the years
— 1629-35. During this period the

f228v

Metropolitan death rate was 5 per cent per annum, most of which arose from infantile diseases, fevers, dysenteries, consumption & the like.

During the next group of years from 1660-79 the death rate including the great plague was 8 per cent. The ~~great~~ chief causes of mortality during this period were the same foul air & foul water diseases. From 1728 to 1757 although plague had disappeared the death rate was 5.2 per cent due to the same diseases, with the exception of a great reduction of deaths from dysentery apparently coincident with the extension of a purer water supply by means of the New River.

From 1771 to 1780 the death rate was still 5 per cent due to the same diseases. During this period London was undrained the subsoil was honey combed with cesspits into which all the filth & foul water of households was passed. The dead were buried among the living & much of the water supply was derived from wells dug in the same foul subsoil. The population was also increasing, but

f229

not ~~with~~ in the same ratios as it has done since the commencement of the present century.

It is from this period that improvement may be said to have advanced, but at a date nearly 40 years later Dr. Southwood Smith could still report that whenever the Commissioners of Sewers had not been at work there fever prevailed, and that fever had diminished only as drainage had advanced.

In the years from 1801 to 1810 with a still augmenting population the death rate fell below 3 per cent (2.9) The reduction was chiefly in infantile & miasmatic diseases & in consumption.

From 1831 to 1835 including deaths from Cholera, the death rate was 3.2 per cent During the next 14 years 1850 to 1864 the death rate has been 2.2 per cent, with a great diminution of mortality from miasmatic & tubercular diseases. Sanitary improvements had made rapid advances during these latter years. Drainage works had been every where extended, cesspits abolished, intra-mural burials had ceased, old unwholesome wells were no longer used & ~~pure~~ a purer water supply extended.

~~Since 1850 there have been two epidemics of Cholera in the metropolis~~

The Sanitary administration of the Metropolis had also been entirely reorganized, & Officers

f229v

of Health as well as other Sanitary officials had been actively engaged in removing causes of ill health.

There have been two epidemics of Cholera since 1850. But instead of prevailing equally over the Metropolis they were in reality local tests of bad water, bad drainage & other local sanitary defects, not yet grappled with.

In order fully to appreciate the nature of these results we must bear in mind that they have not been effected in a country town with a limited, chiefly agricultural population, but in the largest capital city which has ever existed and among a mixed population containing a large proportion of poor town workers,

now amounting to three millions.

The present death rate, low as it is is still considered to be too high. It is much higher than the rate in model dwellings where improvements have been extended from the outside to the inside of houses. In these cases the lower death rates have been due to the almost total exemption of the inmates from miasmatic diseases, fevers, scarlet fever & the like, & the rates scarcely exceed those among small rural villages in healthy parts of England.

ff230-31v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
[ca. 31 Mar. or 1 Apr. 1869] (ARCHIVIST) **[6:316-17]**

f230

We are in the most dreadful scrape about
Lpool that I was ever in about anything
in all my life.

Mrs. Wardroper recommended that Mrs. Kidd,
you remember, the Assistant Supt to Miss
Freeman, to be Supt of the Northern Hospital
at Liverpool --

And she has turned out a drunkard &
been dismissed!!! --

Of course, (tho' they don't say so) Lpool Workhouse
won't come to us now for a Trained Assistant.
And they have taken a District Visitor
whom we fear to be quite unfit as Miss
Freeman's Assistant --

Of course all hope is now over of our being able
to serve the Lpool Workh: or of our ever
establishing a School there --

But this is not the worse: that woman
Freeman says she suspected Mrs. Kidd
of drunkenness before -- And she never
told Mrs. Wardroper -- tho' she has been
prolific of false accusations of drunkenness

f230v

against every body else --
and she says we were warned
against Mrs. Kidd -- which is perfectly
false -- false even on the last occasion
I saw Miss Freeman -- when she gossiped
for an hour about Mrs. Kidd

I think the woman who lets another
suspected of drunkenness go to a
responsible place without telling
is worse than the drunkard --

f231v

write to the N. Hospital & say that for such & such a time Mrs W. had had Mrs. Kidd under her superintendence that during that time she never showed the slightest indication of drinking; that she was recommended to the L1 Workhouse where she had been such & such a time that not a single hint had ever been given of this vice although Mrs. W. & the Nightingale Committee had been in constant communication with the Workhouse & the only explanation that can be given is that she had —} fallen into the vice secretly in the Workhouse

f232 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 3 Apr. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f232

I am rather sorry that Mrs. Wardroper sent all those letters of recommendations of Mrs. Kidd to the Liverpool Chairman -- because these are not what we go upon -- Mrs. W. & I always agree that they are not worth the paper they are written upon -- But Mrs. Kidd was one year in training under Mrs. Wardroper -- And we believe that that vice cannot exist without discovery among our Trainees.

[13:610]

You have not read Miss Smyth's letter --

Should I write & ask her whether she said what Miss Freeman says she said viz. "testimony" & "very faithfully expressed opinions" against Mrs. Kidd
I must answer her letter somehow

I must say something about Mrs. Kidd to her

[end]

ff233-34v NOTE PEN AND PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND SUTHERLAND?
[ca. 3 Apr. 1869]

{WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND? IN PEN}:

Returned

1	From Miss F.	To	F.N.
1	" E. M. Hunt	"	Miss G.
1	" Miss Gilpin	"	Miss F.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN PENCIL BY NIGHTINGALE}

It's nothing to
do with Miss
Freeman -- It's
out of Miss
Freeman's hands
& has been these
10 days -- I wrote
to the Dr. myself --
And he says he's
no records --

I did
I did
I did
the No of
deliveries
the No of
deaths
for 3, 4, 5
or 10 years
back --

f234

{PENCIL}

The Mortality of Lying=in women **[8:214]**
 in no General Hospital with which
 we are yet acquainted is the
 half or the quarter of what it
 is in the Maternité at Paris

" Vienna

in Queen Charlotte's Hospital
 & in many others the no. of cases at Aldershot
~~it~~ is not so large as in any large
 London Workhouse.

In the Lying=in Hospitals in every
 European country where the
 highest known mortality occurs
 the practitioners take no other
 cases --

The time is exactly the same at Colchester
 & at Aldershot. And the results are
 exactly opposite. Not only this but
 there is a higher mortality at Aldershot than
 in any London Workhouse --

f234v

If you don't help me to begin the Lying=
 in paper at once, I deny you, I forswear
 you, I disown you.

[end 8:214]

They will not do it. You'll see --
 they've had my letter nearly 3 weeks --

And I don't mean to wait for
 what will be It isn't true

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

Get it. I've asked you 50 times --
 And you said -- I was to do it

Certainly not

ff235-36v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 3 or 4 April 1869] (ARCHIVIST) **[5:523]**

f235

arch: [Sir John Lawrence]

FN:

In the first place, when I see him again **[9:622-23]**
I see that there is nobody like him --
He is Rameses II of Egypt --
Gladstone & all the Ministers are rats
& weasels, by his side **[end 5:523]**

He says that Lord Mayo must hear the Reports
of the new Medical Sanitary Inspectors of
Provinces -- that he must consult the Local
Governments what taxes can be laid on
the people to carry out their recommendations
& to go on gingerly

He says that much has been done for the
soldier -- but still the soldier has not
had that done for him which induces him
to spend his money otherwise than in
drunkenness -- that drunkenness has
diminished but not so much as it
ought -- that the fatal plan of paying
the 2 d a day in lumps, of paying batta in lumps,
of paying them for road-making in lumps --

f235v

tho' many soldiers do put into Savings Banks, still a great bulk of the money is spent in beastly drunkenness.

He says this money ought to be given either in pension, or leaving a certain choice to the soldier, in increased pay

He is quite against the short time system & the re-inlisting system -- He says people don't know the Indian soldier who talk in that way.

He says -- why don't you get recruits? -- Because the soldier when he comes home deters others from enlisting by his wretchedness -- he is the inducement which prevents decent young men from enlisting.

He says -- the man takes his run home -- he spends his money in drunkenness -- he re-inlists -- he spends that money in drunkenness --

How short-sighted, he says, is this Short System talk?

f236

It's a system, he says, to enlist the scum of the earth.

If a decent man does enlist, he gets on, he gets made a Clerk, he does not come home -- why, if there is a man fit to get on, he does get on -- in the Army --

But the scum come home scum & are fit for nothing -- They can't go into Civil Life -- they become paupers -- And Sir C Trevelyan talks nonsense

=====

Then, he says, about married men -- what nonsense you talk --

The men marry half-castes or quarter castes -- And these women are very good women -- much better than your Soldiers' Wives -- And they have their allowances -- And their children have allowances -- And they get on very well --

Then, you think it's a favour for them to

come home -- Why, they come home, they have
no allowances -- And the woman turns prostitute for a living --

f236v

Lord Dalhousie, he said, asked me whether the men who distinguished themselves should have their names posted up on the church doors in England --

"I think," (I said), " You had much better do something for them" --

Then they will be an Advertisement to other men to enlist, when you want recruits

[end 9:623]

Now your time-expired men are an Advertisement to other men not to enlist, when you want recruits.

{A DOODLE DRAWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE -- SPIDER WEB?}

f237 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND Friday [9 Apr. 1869]

ff238-38v rough NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

[9:897]

I beg leave to remark that I found a letter of yours this morning dated early in December (which I mean to show you) in which with the strongest objurgations of me, you told me that you could not come because you intended to get the Cholera Instructions

thro' by December 12

[end 9:897]

April 13/69

much better

f238v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

I've written about half as much again --

ff239-40v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS and FN DATED [April 1869]
(ARCHIVIST)

f239

[India] [Sir B. Frere]

FN:

I must tell him why I cannot give him any other towns than London & why Mr. Rawlinson ~~he~~ can give no information because he Sir B. Frere has written to remind me of both promises.

JS:-----

London is the city where most has been done systematically, and where the registration returns have been most carefully kept for the old dates In Country towns there are not the same means of Statistical [illeg] because the population areas of the Census, the Borough Areas & the Registration districts are not identical. The facts could only be obtained by special enquiry in each case. But London is the major of all possible cases & hence its importance

f240v

cottage owners doing what?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

FN: enjoyment the result of accumulated labour
to go out in his carriage poor man must have produced
then must have been production
" rich man a debtor
every rich man a debtor to the world
will he go out of the world & leave himself in debt.

Gladstone poetic -- world the best of worlds.

Froude a great caution

object of education not ornamentation but production
after he has learnt to produce then let him
ornament himself

Ld Stanley

Add Mss 45753

432

the man who has riches & leisure
or must be a debtor.

must produce

ff241-41v JS and FN notes RE: MRS KIDD'S CHARACTER PENCIL,
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Apr.-May 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

JS: [I think]

You will have to
enquire about Mrs.
Kidd & if she has
been guilty you must
ascertain why Mrs.
W gave a character
& if guilty you must
remove her from the
register

FN: [I think]

f241v

You see they have made this fatal mistake --
I am convinced that if they had asked Miss
Freeman for a character of Mrs. Kidd, she would
have given a good one.

But then they ought to have asked her.

She would have forgotten -- & said we had
taken Mrs. Kidd against her "testimony" --

But then we should have had her own letter
against her.

f242 NOTE ON CIVIL ORPHAN ASYLUM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS
DATED [ca. beg. May 1869]

Civil Orphan Asylum (East Indians)

Cost of dinner for 50 children	{On Sundays the
£94.7 Per annum	{children have
Per child per annum £1.17. 3	{chicken curry
	{which costs
	{a little more
	{than their mutton
	{ditto every day dinner

JS: Indian Refuge

40 childrens all East Indians dinners

£65.19. 6 per annum

£1. 13 per child per annum nearly

13 May

Add Mss 45753

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Tribune

f242v Plan of Hospital

f243 Plan of Hospital, front elevation 4/7/69 with FN letter on back

f243v LETTER FROM O'MANNEY TO DR. SUTHERLAND 5/5

FOURIER PAPERS.

{`FOURIER PAPERS' NOT SURE WHOSE HANDWRITING}

f244 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
DATED [25 May 1869]

My son, I could repeat it word for word from
beginning to end.
That's just what you want, me to tell you, in
order that you may contradict
But does it not say that the European Death Rate
is as low/good as the Native do now? --
You told me that the point was this --
that it has been falsely said that the Climate
must always affect the European, since the
European suffers now as little as the N.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

You might come tomorrow only I object to
receiving on Derby Day or any other of
the Festivals of the church.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}: FN:

very curious letter
that letter of the Irish
Agrarian
peasant

f245 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE? RE: TARIFF PENCIL UNSURE OF
HANDWRITING DATED [27-28 May 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Tarriff

the whole of her Diatribe upon
which I founded my letter to
her was written to myself.
I know nothing of the contents
of her letters to her correspondt
except what she herself
compelled us to know -- by,
after exhausting all her passion
to her correspondt winding up
with: "I have reported (sic)
all these things (About Chart

Add Mss 45753

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& Miller) to Mrs. W. & Miss N".

f246 FN NOTE PENCIL DATED [End May 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Lady Napier (of Madras) has effected the most [10:622]
wonderful reform in the Charities of Madras,
the worst managed in the world --
has paid off the debts of all but one --
all were in debt.

by getting them out of the hands of Hindoo
malversation -- & working the supplies by
Co-operative stores -- & making the
E. Indian ladies (half-caste) interest themselves
in the maintaining this system.

She is the most plucky & efficient woman.
But she too is come to England to collect
money x & work for her Penitents to do. [end 10:622]
x She says only 2 people ever gave her anything

ff247-47v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [May 1869] [5:260]

f247 Hon L. Kerr's letter
with Miscellaneous. May --
packet. 1869 --

- This is one of the Queen's Maids of honour --
She wrote me these two letters --

And I did not answer

Then I answered -- saying that I subscribed
to no Institution except on ~~have~~ condition of
having no vote -- that I could not
send her any "trash" for her Bazaar -- but
that I sent her £5.

& that ~~if~~ all the time, paper & stamps ~~were~~ might be
saved by people making the same rule
as I do --

Then the poor thing wrote me this letter

I think one ought to answer this: --
(she may have a fit of Del: Trems
pointing out that because she "always will
work", she can do much better work --
& not waste herself on canvassing & Bazaar=ing
which destroys her nerves & does no good.
{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

I keep to my rule -- I will subscribe to no
Institution except on condition of having no

vote. I will have nothing to do with any
body who wastes the time God has given them
on Bazaars.

f247v {WRITTEN IN BOTTOM RIGHT CORNER UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:
Lady Lucy Kerr

ff248-48v FN NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN [ca. 6 June 1869 arch.]

f248

It's sent to us by H.B.C. to revise

ought I to tell him that that is a Reg: which

Mrs. S. S. more frequently infringed than not --
I suppose he wishes to imply it as a reason
for giving what are otherwise high wages --
Mrs. S. S. gave £30 to a girl of 18!!

You have never so much as filled up this --
to Sir Jas Simpson --

Death 13 years
1.61 per 1000
{illeg}

Exactly --
From Jan 1
to June 5
we have got on
in the noble Art
of doing nothing
most amicably --
I having written
about 12 hours a week
by your orders.

f248v

What I hear people who wish to believe in
Claude Bernard ask is --

has he not done the same thing as Huxley & other
pretenders have who generalize from 2 or 3
facts when he CB. says that he has
discovered by all his nervous facts that
there is a distinct creative intelligence,
the Moi, which makes its casing?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

But it appears to me that nothing can be so weak
as what Mr. Bruce says -- Mr. Gladstone
& I don't think that the direction of Emigration/condition of
England question is a function
of Govt -- But the Irish church is -- Whereas that's a
proof of no Govt. We can't govern -- therefore we must abolish

They make them not think.

The disputation goes up to Mr. Bruce to say that we've too many
people

Another goes to Mr. Gladstone to say that we've too few
Bishops --

f249-49v LETTER FROM JS June 9 1869, pen embossed WO, on the
whole a good and useful digest, attention (BlF.) shd be called to
points, Leith, Goodeve

ff250-52v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS DATED 8.10.69 (ARCHIVIST)

f250 [See also Dr Sutherland 8.10.69]

P. 13.

Dr. G {illeg. Ninehead?} objects to the
Registrar Generals classification
for having introduced new
disease latrines into India --
But these new latrines
began to appear before this
change & were connected with
the assertion of Dr. Budds
doctrine of Cholera Germs by
the Cholera Commission.

Would it not be desirable
to put a paragraph into the
body of your own report to state

that for the Registrar General of
Englands nomenclature & classification
~~had been~~ of diseases in India
The nomenclature of the R. C. of Physicians
of London had recently been submitted

f250v

I thought I would keep the Messenger till you came
in case you had anything more to say.
Where is the part about quarantine?

In the Bombay Municipality you told me viva voce
there were 3 things you wished to correct.

f251

Unfortunately the discussions respecting drainage plans
for Bombay are not as yet satisfactorily concluded.

Two methods of dealing with the question have been
advocated one for providing sewers of large dimensions
for carrying off the tropical rainfall of Bombay together
with the sewage of the city the whole to be discharged
into the sea, leaving the sewers nearly empty
during the dry season. The other proposed by
~~M-R~~ M Rawlinson & ~~expal~~ adopted by Capt
Tulloch R. E. who was specially sent to England
~~to~~ by the Madras government to study the various
questions regarding: ~~ee~~ town drainage & the
utilization of sewage. This latter project provides
for draining & sewerage the city by conduits
only large ~~en~~ enough for conveying away the
sewage & for applying the sewage to agriculture
at a distance from the city. ~~In this case the
rainfall would be dispersed by improving the
surface drainage & passing it into the sea
over the surface~~ It is objected to the first
proposal that the large sewers being left
almost empty during the dry season will become
generators of foul air & tend to deteriorate
the health of the city, while it is objected to
the second plan that there must of necessity

f251v

be ~~partial flooding~~ of the surface during heavy rains when the tide is unusually high. ~~It should not however~~ It appears to be an important element in the discussion to bear in mind that the ~~sewe~~ town sewers & drains are primarily intended for removing the foul water of the population & not for removing rainfall, ~~and that~~ while any attempt in such a climate as that of India to provide for the rainfall by sewers must entail an enormous outlay for a temporary purpose. It might be well in any further discussions which take place on this question to consider the two ~~problems~~ questions as separate problems so that while only the foul water is removed in underground sewers the question of surface drainage may be settled & the proper outfalls for this water into the = sea ~~may be~~ provided for.

f252v FN:

M. R.

I have been requested to state my news on The ~~Bombay~~ drainage question & have drawn up the enclosed paper. But before sending it I should ~~feel~~ feel much obliged if you will see that it is right. I merely ~~with~~ wish to put the homily impartially so as to lead the people to give up their hot partizanship.

f253v

It ~~is~~ has been objected to the first proposal that the large sewers being left almost empty during the dry season will become generators of foul air & tend to deteriorate the health of the city while it is objected to the second plan that there must of necessity be partial flooding of the surface during heavy rains when the tide is unusually high.

It appears to be an important element in the discussion to bear in mind that town sewers & drains are primarily intended for removing the foul water of the population, & not for removing rain fall; while any attempt in such a climate as that of India to provide for rainfall (~~occasionally~~ sometimes ~~16~~ 14 inches in by sewers ---- even if practicable, ~~which it is not,~~ must entail an enormous

f254

outlay for ~~a~~ an occasional and temporary purpose.

It might be well in any further discussions which take place on this ~~question~~ subject to consider the two questions as separate problems, so that, while foul water only is removed in underground sewers, the ~~question~~ point of surface drainage may be settled, & the proper out falls for this water into the sea provided for. [end 9:900]

ff255-56v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS DATED [ca. 9 June 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f255

Page 7 -- Bombay Abstract
In dealing with the
Sewage & Mr. Rawlinson,
ought not some notice
to be taken of Capt
Tullochs report on the
drainage of Bombay?

f256

Should I send
Herbert of Mons
1. my book
2. Herbert Hospital book
3. Sany Commn (your) blue book

f256v

Where can I find a plan of that Navl
 Plymouth Hospital?
 But is n't that the Hospl that
 we were going to nurse?
 Is it a Tom?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:
 35 South Street, [printed address]
 Park Lane,
 W.

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL}:
 In my time 3 Under Nurses
 slept in that box, which
 had no light but from the
 landing

ff257-57v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 9 June 1869]
~~1869 1870~~ (ARCHIVIST)

f257

Harry B.C. asks you to look at these. **[12:181]**

I've read them till I'm saturated with them
 And I've told Harry B.C. that Mrs. Wardroper & Mr. W.
 are most unjustifiable in their use of adjectives & of the
 word "dismissed".

If I were not more cautious than they are, I might do
 serious injury --

Charlotte Duncan was "dismissed" for short sightedness
 And I have just seen a letter of Mrs. Wardroper
 recommending her in the most flaming terms

"found unsuitable"

Mrs Kidd was dismissed by Liverpool for
 drunkenness.

And S. Taylor by us for being tipsy

Yet the self-same word is used as for this
 Miss Duncan (who is a lady) whom Mrs. Wardroper
 is recommending everywhere

 Hardly any of the Paragraphs are applicable to Civil
 Hospitals. I can't think what Harry is about

Head Nurses in Civil Hospitals do far, far more

Add Mss 45753

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than in Military.

[end 12:181]

I don't think fit at all

f257v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

If you want me to do anything with Dr. C. this afternoon, you must say what.

I write reams & reams of papers for you on on any interview I have

What is your "course"?

Do you choose to come to luncheon here with Dr. C. before he goes?

Do you want those plans of his he lent me again?

ff258-58v INCOMPLETE LETTER AND NOTE PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS, on black-edged paper

f258

35 South Street, {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

Park Lane,

W.

{LETTER WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN PEN}:

Private June 8/69

{DOODLES DRAWN AROUND THE LETTERHEAD IN PEN}

My dear Sir Bartle Frere

Madame Mohl, the wife
of M. Mohl

{LETTER DOES NOT CONTINUE AND HER NOTES ARE NOW WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP IN PENCIL}:

[ca. 9 June 1869]

Shall I write that to him to-day
or wait? --

Is IT a Tom?

{`Is IT' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE-UNDERLINED}

Then you put off the Lying=in
women till 1870?

Very well. {SOMETHING SCRIBBLED OUT HERE}

Pray don't press with such
undue haste

Lat Festina Cente

put down the pages where there are printer's errors

Bombay Abstract page 2

also page 6

put about the Title

JS:

The title will do, but there would be a
great & obvious advantage if both ~~report~~
your I. O. report & the Indian experts
were for the same dates namely 1868

At present we first ~~see~~ read about 1868
& then our endemic is in 1867. Could not
this be managed by pressing for the Indian reports ~~earlier~~
earlier

f258v

scraps FN
1869

f259 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 24th June embossed WO sends "Russian"
tables

I herewith send you "Russian" the tables which are very
instructive: the original rags of the same and also an analysis
of the facts, to that you may go ahead, in the "fastest" way.

Will you be pleased to read the analysis, look at the table
sand cudgel your brains till I come for the reasons and oblige
yours ever J.S.

f260 NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

You want 39 [June 1869]

A curious fact that in the British [8:218]
Lying-in, the last 10 years
have a Mortality just twice the
first 13 --
Have you found the 3 years
of Parisian Mortality?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

The Maison
d'Acc: is the
highest Mortality
known.

It has actually been
up to 250 per 1000 --
But that is not
a compound --

The Liverpool is but little
higher than All England

[end 8:218]

ff261-62v NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [8:221]

[Aft 7 July 1869]

It is a thing which I have thought
about a great deal.

I think: that she would have to be
treated in her own room

that the other 3 rooms of the Quartet
would have to be emptied, possibly at once
& that as soon as the Puerperal fever
case had recovered or died, her room
& the other 3 should stand empty & be
lime washed &c &c &c

=====

But I have asked myself, since I
read Lefort, an ulterior question --
query -- whether you should not remove
all women recovering naturally after
(say) 5 days to another "Recovering" Ward
I don't know. It merely occurred

Add Mss 45753

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to me

We rather think that the 2 Delivery Wards should

f261v

not be in the same Pavilion, because you
 could not thoroughly Lime wash & knock
 about in the one while women were
 lying-in in the other over or below
 Certainly 3 -- if not 4 Delivery
 beds -- for 12 Lying-in women constant
 But I think I have put all
 that in my scheme --

f262v

Then it could not be a Midwifery
 School unless you had at least
 3 4 bedded = viz 12 Patients
 Delivery -- 1 ward & duplicate
 Lying in ward 3 of 4 beds = 12 occupied beds
 Convalescent 3 of 4 beds = 12 occupied beds
 Total 7 24 patients
 Duplicate ward 1 Delivery
 " " 2 4 bed 4

 170 Wards 2832 bed

I have no objection to that. All I said
 was that you could have a Midwifery
 School of 10 Pupils with 12 beds --

Certainly -- & you can only remedy that
 defect by having a duplicate or partly
 duplicate set of wards

[end 8:221]

f263-64 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND [July 1869] ink embossed WO recd. I have read through this and think it a valuable contribution to the obstetric statistics. The author has dealt powerfully with certain important questions but generally there is a controversial tone in it. He shows up the weak points of Simpson and others cleverly and in doing so he also shows the great need there is of more careful record of facts. The book takes the sanitary and unprovable side as against the contagion or fatalist side of his adversaries, will do much service.

It contains a great surprise. While we are considering his exposure of the weak points of his opponents and expecting that he will deduce from his amended facts, certain practical conclusions of his own, we find all of a sudden that he has adopted the practical conclusions of the others. So that we now know that all parties agree that maternity hospitals have a large amount of preventible mortality.

But I am sorry to say that his facts show that there is a large amount of preventible mortality in the most successful private practice.

This is a man I believe who ought to have succeeded Simpson instead of Simpson's nephew, which led a witty French writer to affirm that it was clear the Edinburgh Town Council had merely borrowed from them (the French) the method adopted in France in politics, viz, that they had not selected the best man, but a man "parcequ'il--etait le neveu de son oncle." J.S.
The enclose has just come here for you.

f265-66 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 9th August 1869 pen embossed WO, 1st International Conference on prison discipline. I wd concur in the necessity of such a congress, and tell them your state of health is such that you are afraid that any active cooperation of yours would be impossible, but that you had already published in illeg the principle which seemed to you to be at the root treatment of all crimes against property, namely to cease to board and lodge them at the cost of people they had robbed, and to teach them by experience that it is cheaper in actual money value to work than to steal.

2nd Lefort. If you could copy out in pencil any statistics or other matter which you would like to go into your long promised Contribution to the subject, I should be glad to have them.

Your affectionate message to Capt Galton and Omanney shall be duly delivered.

3rd Mrs W. The nurses quarter question must be dealt with. Mrs S.S. would have selected by preference whatever was most

uncomfortable. But other people have other views and the W.O. must try to do what is possible.

Ld de G. We can give him the account he asks for. But as you have mentioned the subject, I may tell you that last week I went to Ld de G about it. Before the late changes in the office questions came regularly before the Committee. But since then, important points bearing on health have been decided without us.

Illeg G got these questions and had them referred. Now he has no such power. After thinking this over and bearing in mind my own responsibility, I went to him to ask his opinion as to what course shd be taken. "That I had wrote up to next April, but that if other arrangements were not made before that time I shd beg to retire. But at the same time if they wished another year's similar service I would give it, but no more. I told him that we Sanitarians had "to work." that work was our mission and I could not pretend to work only. That I had no system to leave the government, with my experience in any way in which I could make it available, but that I must have the means of doing so in the W.O. or elsewhere." They took me away from plenty of work in which I used to rejoice and by the present arrs I have not enough to do, at least illeg. G asked time to give a reply. If you choose to write to G about this pray do so. Had you been here I shd have told you and had G given an opinion I shd say that Ld de G had written to you. That you had written to me and that I had replied in this sense. But I had not had your letter before I spoke to him. G said he would like to talk to Ld de G about the whole subject. I think it such a pity when they have the opportunity to let me go. Of course I shall take no step until I hear from G and if I had heard from him, I shd have written to you also before taking any step.

When did you begin the " unproductive labor test" It all comes to these women. Look at today's Times and you will find what strong minded females are up to. They can be members of a 'secular club" and members of the church at the same time, and get 40s/ out of anybody that laments over the same. Cute isn't it!

It is of more importance however to learn that in Australia they are actually providing farms and that they are crying out for everybody that can come.

The remunerative convict question will I hope get a lift by this eastern experience.

A lady told me the other day that she had asked a relative of hers a colonel just come from India whether any real sanitary improvement had he seen there. He replied that the change was

"incredible." This is very good. J.S.

f267-68 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 11 August/69 embossed WO, regrets her letterdelay, re Osborne [Osburn]

I regret that your letter shd have come last night about 2 hours beyond the possibility of replying by this morning's mail.

I have read both letters twice over. The Osborne [Osburn] letter is really gossip and not a bit of use or interest. The only thing in it is that she deposes a woman to write to you who she now says is quite unfit to write to you. This is really the practical outcome. Does she write mail after mail merely to accumulate your autographs in her album?

There is nothing to reply to and I shd not reply a word. But if you do reply a short, pacific note on the general question is all you ought to send.

You can scarcely back up Dr Deas Thomson in putting down the existing hospital unless you knew something about it. We should not pull down any building without a very searching enquiry ending in satisfactory reasons. If the question were to come to us, we should reply in this sense. The Edinburgh case is not applicable. Of the subscribers a committee think that the memorial hospital ought to be altogether a new building. It is for them to decide, not for us to say.

I am very very sorry you are so poorly. I wish with all my heart that these people would let you alone.

What can we think or what can Sidney people [Sydney] think of women who prefer devotion to suffering humanity, when their supt actually writes to you in this strain, looking forward to the termination of the engagement with joy and not with grief. Does it not rather seem that the sick are intended to suffer for their sakes?

f269-69v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 2d. Sept 1869 embossed WO. "I am very very sorry to hear so poor an account of your health & scarcely like to write even about this urgent business. I hope you have had medical advice to relieve these attacks.

I have enclosed a brief reply to your points about the Netley nurses accommodation. The sooner the report is sent in the better, as there will be money to get and contracts to make before the work is entered on.

Mrs W account of the nurses is very satisfactory and one must hope that there is a fair prospect for the future.

f270-71 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 13/9/69 embossed WO, thanks for her

note, has sent back paper with a minute, plan for quarters at Portsmouth

Many thanks for your note which I got on Saturday night. I have sent back the paper with a minute proposing a quarters salary for Mignot as a douceur.

She has certain pension rights under the regs acquired by her service and they had to be covered.

The plan for the quarters is now in the hands of the C.R.E. at Portsmouth for enquiry and report. They say here that it will cost £500 to make the alterations. This must be sanctioned by the sec of state before the works are begun.

They will take time and the present quarters will have to be vacated. Now comes the question. How long could you give us. I.e., how long could you keep the new staff in hand before sending them down. There would be no harm in placing the existing staff in any accomm they could get about the place, for a new temporary occupancy but it has occurred to me to ask whether it would be advisable to bring in the new staff before the quarters are ready. On your decision will depend the question as to whether we shd ask the existing staff to remain until the new staff arrives. It is a complication, and we must make the best of it.

To save time, could Sir Harry as chairman tell Mr Cardwell that the new staff is nearly ready but that when the quarters at Netley came to be examined, it was found that all the nurses including the supt, slept in one room. That there were in fact no quarters in the sense in which quarters exist in civil hospitals and considering the respectable character of the women it was necessary to ask for proper quarters for them and expenditures necessary for the existence of efficient nursing. This might possibly expedite a decision. J.S.

f272-72v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 8 Sept. 1869 embossed WO, re HBC, draft letter, pension of supt

Mr Carter's letter of the 6th has not yet come to me, but it contains all that is necessary. The C.R.E. will do the right thing about the quarters when he gets his orders.

Draft letter

Furniture. It is obviously necessary that furniture shd be provided. I shall urge this if it comes to me.

Is not the augmentation from £150 to £200 rather rapid? Ought it not to be in four years at the moment? I merely suggest this for your consideration.

Foreign pay for supt. There is no use in doing more than

"suggesting" that in case the supt is sent abroad, some reasonable addition to the salary shd be made. It is in the highest degree unlikely that nurses will ever be sent to an foreign station. The present policy is to withdraw white troops altogether from these stations.

Pension of supt. By existing regs she would get £100 a year (i.e. on Mr Carter's proposed salary) on retiring at 60. at the end of 12 full years.... [more on details]

£273-74 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 13/9/69 embossed WO encloses draft of sanitary work, asks to read and return with any remarks, will amend in any way you may indicate, re his position here, his complaint

I enclose you a draft of our sanitary work. Will you be so good as read it and return it to me with any remarks. I will alter or amend it in any way you may indicate.

I would like to write you about my position here in order that if you thought fit you might send my letter to you, with the memorandum to its destination.

I have told you already generally what my complaint is. In looking forward to the ensuing year (if indeed it be lawful to look so far ahead) I shd like to have the prospect of doing more work than I can see at present.

I am far from well, and this hard affection may perhaps stop my work, but still is it my duty to make use of my experience as long as I can. Besides this, I do not wish to appear to have responsibilities which I have no means of exercising. I am quite willing to work while I am able, but I must have work to do. If left to decide from the present prospect of work, I shd retire at the end of next March, but I wd stay on the exiting prospect another year if govt wished it, or as long as I had so much and that I felt I was doing good.

These are the points. Now you know all the circumstances and I shd not like to act without your concurrence as my resigning would remove me from the chance (not a great one at present) of pressing forward improvements.

Nobody knows about this except you and Galton. He is not here, but thought when I last saw him that possibly this news might afford an opportunity of raising the question.

I told G you had asked for a memo.

f275-76 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 16/9/69 embossed WO, re HBC

I have just heard from HBC on the subject of my letter to you. He says it will be very inconvenient to delay the nursing staff for more than 14 days. I have seen Col Ravenshill who informs me that the estimate has not yet returned from Netley, but that he does not think the rooms will be ready much before the end of November.

There are but two courses to be taken unless the nurses are kept back for two months. Col R suggests that as all the new work required to be done implicates only the linenry that if a temporary linenry were provided, the acc available for the nursing staff wd be a supt's day room and sleeping room, also an office. A kitchen and servants room and the nurses to sleep in the present sleeping room (which will be their future day room) until the separate rooms are ready. The only other course is to place the whole nursing staff in the best set of spare rooms or wards which can be obtained until the new quarters are finished. I have written to HBC in this sense. I dare say he will communicate with Mrs W before sending me a decision and with you also. You will all no doubt give it your best consideration and then when he writes me about it I shall possibly be able to move in the matter here. J.S.

f277-78 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 19/9/69 embossed WO

I have heard from HBC in the same sense as you last night's letter* I cannot tell you a s yet what the cost will be because the estimates have not yet come from Portsmouth, where they have to be made up after a survey at Netley.

Some additional cost (two fire places and a door cut through the main wall of the of the building) will be reqd to meet the objections you made to Mr W's plan and which we have agreed in. The division of the linenry from the new passage must also, it appears, be made higher and they wish

* all except the spice.

to avoid the use of iron. The block has a certain architectural finish inside and out and they will make the new quarters to correspond.

The present disadvantage may be a fortnight's delay but in all future time the advantages will be obvious enough in far greater comfort.

It is a pity the exam into the quarters was not done a couple of months ago. The question is what is best to be done. I have written to HBC and if you have anything to say to him and will write, he will get both letters on Monday. I have told him either

to see Mr Talbot or to write to the under sec as he thinks best stating that you will be ready to transfer the nurses on October 1st but that having understood the quarters will not be ready you will hold them over at work until illeg 1st provided the W.O. will pay wages from October 1st that to continue them at ST Thomas' Hospital after Nov 1st will be a very great inconvenience and that the committee hope the quarters will be ready by that date.

There is every disposition to hasten matters here and no time will be lost when the ests come in.

Would it not be desirable in the meantime to complete the regs for Netley. I expect illeg here on Monday and I will make him copy out a code on half margin for your correction and Mr Carter's and we shall then get it put in type. The supt and nurses as well as the commandant and M.O. ought to have it by the time the quarters are ready.

f279 NOTE PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [8:222]

{PEN}:

I earnestly beg Dr. Sutherland to edit a paper on Lying-In Hospitals, embodying the materials I have so laboriously prepared -- all which are ~~put up in a packet addressed to him.~~

{PENCIL}:

in the bottom drawer of the small Chest of 6 Drawers nearest
the window in
the Drawing-room and in the upper shelf of the 2 shelves
behind

Brown Holland curtains in my Bed-room
Also, I beg that Dr. Sutherland will do the same with the materials for a paper on Pauperism," being those which I have prepared for a second part of my "Note on Pauperism" (in Fraser's Magazine of March 1869)

{PENCIL}:

all which materials are in the small ottoman which opens in the Drawing-room -- [Printed papers in it are only those of St. Thomas]

{PEN}:

Also, the same with the materials for a paper

on selling Land with Houses in Towns --

{PENCIL}:

which are in the bottom drawer of the Chest of 4 Drawers
(without lock & key) near the fire-place in the Drawing-room.

{PEN}:

~~These three packets will be put up each
separately addressed to Dr. Sutherland~~

And I beg that Dr. Sutherland will accept
due pecuniary compensation for such
editing from my cash.

Florence Nightingale

September 19 1869

f280-80v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 30/9/69 embossed WO, re Whitfield,
Ravenhill, CRE Portsmouth

Add Mss 45754, microfilm, correspondence with Sutherland 1869-70, 264 folios, 169 pages, Adam Matthew reel 8

ff1-2 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND DATED Oct 1, embossed War Office, plans back from Portsmouth [1869]. I send you this merely to say that the plans have come back from Portsmouth. The CRE has adopted essentially the plan as amended by you and by us here. Only it happens that the tracing on which Mr Whitfield worked is not quite correct. The building has been carefully measured and the proposals adopted so as to cave [?] into the actual construction. The only point in which his proposal differs from this is that the superficial area of the rooms is a little smaller. They will be 9 feet by 8 feet 4 inches, some a little larger. The area is 75 square feet instead of 80 as in Mr W's plan, but the result is a large saving in cost and the lighting of the dark end of the passage and corridor which in Mr W's plan had to be provided for by a new large end window to be balanced by a similar window on the other side of the front. There are practical and costly difficulties in using iron and as the score of cheapness wood stained and varnished will be used and the partitions will be carried up to the roof in all cases. There is plenty of excellent storage very ingeniously planned and there is a spare room for a sick nurse which they will put up if required.... some £200 will do it all at least I hear so. Orders have already gone to proceed with the outline of the work and there is really not much to do, so that I hope you will all of you be in by the end of the month.

ff3-3v NOTE RE: MRS SHAW STEWART PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f3

[1. Oct. 1869.]

[15:211]

Mrs. Shaw Stewart

This poor woman's (Registered!) letters always seem to come when I am least able to bear the smallest addition to my cares --

However, she is perfectly right in this: --

1. I have always held that Female Nursing in Military Hospitals was impossible unless there were a "real lady" at the head and a Governor. P.M.O.s will always play this sort of trick ["The Doctors" would do it in Civil Hospitals, only that they would thereby put themselves in the wrong with the Matron, which she would certainly take advantage of.] We (the N. Committee) are now stipulating in our Agreements that the Nurses we send shall be kept to the ward=duties we send them for -- And I shall give Hy B.C. a hint to do the same for Netley --
 2. What can she mean? -- What is she intending to do?
 3. We certainly should not take those Nurses to train at St. Thomas', neither "with" nor without "her payment" --
- Shall I answer her letter? --

[end warnetn]

Please Over.

f3v

[1. Oct. 1869]

Mr. Whitfield's letter to Hy B. C.
 (sent you before)

Of course I agree that it was much too objectionable,
 both in matter & manner, to send to the W. O.

But do not, please, criticize "the plan" (when it comes)
 "according to Mr. Whitfield's requirements," without
 me.

I utterly dissent from some things in ~~the~~ his
 letter. And nothing would ever lead me
 to consent to having a Nurse's Sick-room -- or
 Bed-room beyond the Linen-room -- The
 Linen-room must be distinct from the Nurses'
 quarters -- which must all be within one door --
 not the same as the Orderlies' door.

F.N

Please return me this my letter with Mrs. S. Stewart's

Embley

Romsey

1/10/69

ff4-5v LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 2/10/69, embossed War Office re
 Herbert Hosp nursing. Nobody in the office knows about the transfer of
 the female nurses to the female wards. No authority has been given by
 the W.O. Perhaps the best way wd be for the supt to write to the W.O.
 stating that she had been directed by the PMO on their auth to do this
 but that it was her duty to state that such transfer was destructive
 of both disc and nursing. She clearly ought to have written at once to
 the W.O....

The points about the plans you have stated will all be included. I
 may state generally (besides what I told you yesterday) that the CRE
 has managed all the points we wanted ingeniously. He has cut off two
 excellent sufficiently lighted stores from the end of the nurses day
 room. He leaves the small housekeepers store which is well lighted and
 is now in use. Instead of throwing this into another store beside it,
 which wd answer to good purpose, he leaves the partition and connects
 the room, which has a good window, into a sick room, if you want it.
 But the nurses rooms now being divided up to the ceiling and each
 having a window to open, any of them would do for a sick nurse at
 least for all usual sickness and unusual cases which happen so seldom
 that they mt be provided for specially [?]. However there the room is
 if you want it. I believe Mr C will have the amended plan to look at.
 My work is now being laid out to save time.

ff6-10 NOTE RE: DERBY INFIRMARY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f6

[To Dr Sutherland]

[16:718-20]

Derby Infirmary

Nothing tries me so much as looking over plans --
And therefore for my sins I have plenty of this to
do.

Mr. Frank Wright came up to London (as usual, without
a day's warning) to show me these plans --
I should really have asked you to see him at the
W. O., but that before I could receive & answer his
(forwarded) letter, he was gone --

I have now gone over the amended plans, &
enclose a few (by no means exhaustive) Remarks,
Probably many others will occur to you --

Will you be so very good as to go over the plans
& return them me with your Remarks & my
own? --

Embley

Romsey 2/10/69

F. N

{I enclose a letter from Sir
{Harry about Derby Infirmary
{Please return it.

f7v

1869

[Archivist: Derby Infirmary, FNs comments] 1869

f8

A few not important remarks.

Derby Infirmary

Basement

1. What is the Nurse's room doing by itself by the "Reception room"? -- She can't sleep out there by herself -- If it is a "Reception room" for Patients, the Nurse must be in it, not out of it

2. Out Patients' Dept I believe it is a rule without any exception that there should be no communication between Out Patients & In Patient's Departments
Here it appears arranged on purpose for the Out & In Patients to have as much convivial intercourse in as jolly way as possible

3. Nurses Dining-room. I am sure I should very much prefer having the Nurses dining, each lot in their own Sculleries, if I were Matron.

f9

[2]

First Floor

1. Matron's Rooms I think it objectionable to have her Closet jammed in in that way between her rooms -- A Matron ought to wish her Store-closet to be as public as possible (as to its entrance) instead of as "private" as possible. And if she is ill, poor woman, in her Bed-room, then it is exactly as if the Stores were kept in the Matron's pocket.

2. House Surgeon's Rooms. I don't much care about the "cheerfulness" of this "important" gentleman.

But I think it hard upon the Matron that her only Bed-room window should be overlooked by a window of his squinting into hers -- I should block up his window in the ~~corner~~ angle.

The Surgeon's & Matron's rooms are too near as it is.

3. Convalescent Room I don't like them, but I believe it is determined to have them
(a.) The proximity of the Matron's Room is a good thing.

(b.) I think it objectionable to have two doors to the Convalescent Room -- as also to

f9v

the corresponding ward. [You don't want Patients or Convalescents to get out but to keep in.]

(c.) Also, is it desirable to have windows looking down the Area in these 2 wards? --

(d.) Is the W. C. opening out of the Passage, (Bath room) good? - 4.
Large Ward

In some respects, the Nurses' arrangements, I prefer this to any Ward I have ever seen It is such a capital arrangement to have the Under Nurses as well as the Head Nurses sleeping near their work -- And I would have them dine in their Scullery too. Then the arrangement of the shoots is good.

(a). But will the Night Nurses be able to sleep undisturbed in one of those square projections by day? --

f10

[3]

Second Floor plan

1. Large Ward

I have only to repeat the same praise

2. Wards in Centre

These seem well arranged under great difficulties.

But I have some criticisms: --

a. In front Bath-rooms the W. C.'s seem jammed up in corners

b. the Operation Wards would only do for Patients for a few hours

c. which is the North aspect? -- The operating Room should be to the North -- but then the Wards must be cold & dull

3. Maniacal Ward What an odd thing to

put the poor "Maniac" in a "central" position? Is it to amuse him or his neighbours? - And is the Nurse to be jammed in between him & the "Convalescent Women"? -- Or is the "Maniac" always to be a woman? -- [In a Provincial Hospl maniacal women are rare: men in Del: Trem:, alas!, [not rare.]

4. W.C. off passage (opposite "Maniac". Is that right, without a window? **[end 16:720]**

ff11-12 NOTE RE SIR J. SIMPSON'S LETTER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f11

[to Dr Sutherland]

Embley

[16:703]

Romsey

Oct 7/69

Sir Jas. Simpson's letter in Scotsman

I send you this paper which has been sent to me
with

"I think that the public should be
wakened up about the matter of Hospitals
Ought not the Statistics of Hospitals to form
a part of Dr. Farr's Returns -- and cannot
this be effected? -- Strong facts must
be adduced. Or nothing will be done --
There is an opposing interest to that of the
patients. Doctors & Medical Students --

"And practical remedies must be
suggested -- not interfering too much with
existing interests. It is a very
difficult thing to retract an error on a
great scale."

What shall I say?

[end 16:703]

Mr. Wyatt & St. Pancras.

[13:612-13]

My dear, what a man of business you are!

You say: -- "As regards the Nurses: -- if you have any
Nurses for them, Mr. Carter might tell them
when they are ready -- A change in the
men ought to make no change in the policy of
Nursing" --

We were asked last year (by a formal Vestry letter) to have 15

Trained

Nurses & 1 Trained Matron ready "by April 1870" (I think)

f11v

Mr Wyatt now tells me they will not be wanted --
 -- Hy B.C. has had no letter --
 You are just like all the rest.

You think we can keep 16 Trained Women on
 the shelf like Quack Medicines in a shop.
 And if they won't do for one disease they will
 for another.

How can we ~~keep~~ get ready 16 Trained Nurses & then "tell them
 when they are ready"? -- if there is probability of their
 not being wanted, which, if the new Highgate Infirmary is not
 opened, they
 certainly will not

I have not answered Mr. Wyatt yet
 What had Hy B.C. better do? --

[end 13:612]

f12

Mrs. S. Stewart

I sent you all the letters. Perhaps they explain
 themselves. And I had better not add anything.

I cannot tell you the absolute terror she
 inspires me with. I feel myself in the ~~hands~~ power
 of a mad woman -- who may make her appearance
 any day, as she did twice before -- & who will
 certainly (as you said yourself) send her
 replies as fast as I ~~can~~ they can be got to
 me -- (if I write --) & telegraph besides.

I have had as many as 3 LARGE packets
 in a day -- from her --

I may possibly be able to stop this
 "publication" -- but it will be at the cost of
 writing on my part, which will expend
 all my strength & possibly my life --
 I have none to spare --

ff13-14 NOTE ON NETLEY QUARTERS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN**[16:455]****f13**

[Oct. 10. 1869.]

Netley Quarters

Here are these dreadful plans again.

[Yet I do not like to decide upon them without you.]

~~1.~~ vide H.B.C's letter marked in red.

(1. You told me that all the Nurses' bed-rooms were to be divided up to the top. Only two are to be. I think this a very serious grievance. These Quarters are not temporary, but permanent. These Nurses are not Probationers, but Head Nurses --

I think it a very serious grievance also to move Nurses 2, 3, 4, 5 for any slight illnesses into Nurses' Rooms 1, 6 -- (There is nothing annoys a respectable woman more than not to have a single spot she can call her own) -- then to move back Nurses 1, 6 into the (late) Sick room without a possibility of any airing or temporary evacuation for thorough cleansing.

THIS makes me think that we must have the place marked "Infirmary" --

{ABOVE 2 LINES ARE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN)

I would let the "Linen Nurse" sleep in it, on condition that she evacuates for a Sick Nurse -- [Our "Linen Nurse" has been a governess -- & but for her nervous timidity, is just as fitted as Mrs. Deeble to be Supt.]

f13v

The grievance ~~to~~ in this case would not be the same as it would in the other case -- because she would go into a spare compartmt -- which she might even retain, if she wished it -- at all events till there had been a thorough cleansing (a thing necessary even in a private house -- from time to time.)

As for Typhus & Small-pox, that must always be removed out of the Hospital at once, if possible & nursed elsewhere -- **[end 16:456]**

|2. I believe I agree with Mr. Whitfield as to the Hot water Pipes.

3| What do you say to H.B.C.'s 3 & 4?

I think the Store-rooms out of Nurses' Day-room nothing but reservoirs of foul air for the whole Quarters -- which, even in a private house, would ==be objectionable

4 I presume each Nurse's Bed-room is to have a door of its own,

tho'

== not marked on plan.

I send the whole Boutique to you for reference:

viz. 2 plans
 R.E.'s letter
 Sir E. Lugard's
 Mr. Whitfield's
 H B C's to me -- F.N.

f14

Please return me this my letter with
 your Remarks

It is dreadful all this passing to & fro --
 Embley

Romsey

Oct 10/69

ff15-16 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND, embossed War Office DATED 11/10/69 to FN response to hers of 10th

ff17-18v NOTE, PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS NOT DATED

f17 {PENCIL WRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE}:

I sent the substance of this, mutatis mutandis, & mutatis the numerals,
to Hy B.C.

F.N.

{PEN WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}:

I have gone over the points in the plan with Col. Ravenhill & here is the result.

1. The Corridor in which are the letters C. A. is the corridor connecting the Central Building with the N.W. wing of the hospital thus:

{DIAGRAM OF BUILDINGS AND CORRIDOR -- SEE PHOTOCOPY}

The quarters are on the first floor & enter from the top of the grand stair case by their own private door at B in the plan. This door is never used except by the Superintendent.

2. The kitchen & servants bed room are the servants own domain. A Partition could be run up between the place for the bed & the passage into the kitchen where I have pencil-dotted it, if thought imperative.
3. As all the rooms are 15 feet high the light in the Superintendents office is enough.
4. Mr. Whitfield should explain for what purpose

f17v

it is proposed to cut off two dark stores from the nurses dormitory. (Day Room) we don't understand this. [No more do I. I objected to it as most objectionable

F.N.

{ABOVE THREE LINES ARE DOUBLE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

{`[No more do I. I objected to it as most objectionable' WRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE IN DARK PENCIL}

{PEN WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}:

5. There would be no difficulty in dividing off the separate nurses rooms, each with its window.
6. There would be no difficulty in dividing off the diminished linen store by a glazed partition so as to leave the proposed passage.
7. The room marked "linen nurses room" has no fire place although they have shown one. It has no flue & none can be carried up. This proposed appropriation cannot therefore be carried out. But instead of this, it is proposed to improve the whole accommodation as follows: --
8. To break a door through the wall between C & A where the pencil marks are. This door to be the door into the nurses & Superintendents quarter from the Hospital corridor.
9. To convert the proposed Linen Nurses room into a store opening directly out of

f18 {SUTHERLAND CONTINUED IN PEN}:

the linen store.

To continue the division separating the linen store from the "Passage" straight to the end as shown by the pencil mark. so as to cut the storeage entirely off from the nurses.

The door at C. to be retained exclusively as an issuing door & half door with counter.

In this way no orderly could ever come out of the corridor, unless for carrying in the clean linen & for heavy work -- Of course the partitions shown at the end of the linen store cutting off the lobby would not be introduced. The end of the store would come close up to the main wall: and being lengthened in this way it is proposed: --

10: to convert the "store" close to the lady superintendents bed room into a Linen nurses room and not to disturb the partition with the red marks across it

{ABOVE 2 LINES BRACKETED IN RIGHT MARGIN, THE FOLLOWING 3 LINES IN PENCIL BY FN TO BE INSERTED AT THIS POINT}:

I confess I did not
understand this -- any more
than Mr. Whitfield does. FN

{PEN WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}:

There is no fire place there at present, but there is a flue & a fire place can be easily made.

f18v {SUTHERLAND CONTINUED IN PEN}

11 The "Nurses scullery" to the far left of the plan belongs to one of the wards. But may have been used for washing up.

I think with the proposed alterations the rooms will be very comfortable. The "day room" is a beautiful room with splendid views from it

The best thing to do now, would be to make a list of the accommodation required & to send this plan with the committees report stating generally that

it is intended to show what is desired, but that any other arrangement whereby the accommodation required, can be secured, would answer.

12. As every thing is undergoing change I cannot ascertain what is being done about the mending at Netley. It has however been decided at Woolwich that in order to simplify wages-rates, & books, as well as to fix responsibility, the linen is to be returned into the superintendents linenry repaired from the laundry.

ff19-20 NOTE RE: CHARACTER OF MRS. DEEBLE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
DATED [ca. 1 Nov 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f19 [ca. 1 Nov 1869] [re Mrs. Deeble visited F.N. with little girl
Oct. 31 1869] see Diary {`[ca. 1 Nov 1869]

Well, she's not at all the person I expected --

And she brought with her the most lovely little girl.
I felt a great deal more interested in the woman than
I could have supposed possible.

And I felt a great deal more persuaded that she had
not the stuff in her of a supt Genl or even of a supt
than I could have supposed possible.

She is effusive, not to say diffusive -- she is brave, sincere
courageous -- but she has no observation -- she is quite
incapable ~~far~~ of understanding far less of making a
Regulation or an organization -- She will always
substitute words for deeds -- Any Officer may turn
her round his finger -- She will be engaged in
planning a nice tea for the Nurses, while she
lets the Nursing go to ruin -- She is shallow --
she is more clever than intelligent -- She has the
smallest & narrowest of minds & will unsay
herself 20 times a day -- She is self-reliant,
not from her courage, altho' she has courage -- but from
the incapacity of a baby not to see or reflect upon
difficulties But she has real heart & feeling.

She has her heart in it, you may depend -- She told me
that "her heart would be broken," if she were not
made Supt Genl

I don't think she has intelligence enough to know if
she does fail.

{PAPER TORN OUT} think that that lovely little girl could write a
better

{PAPER TORN OUT} she (the mama) could

{ABOVE FOUR LINES ARE SQUARE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

f19v

She is going to Netley on Wednesday to stay a night.
And she asked to see me again afterwards.

Well, now, what is to be done about these
Regulations? -- Something must be done --

And I have not approached the subject of the
Regulations yet with Mrs. Deeble --

I doubt whether she has seen them --

I doubt whether she is able to understand
them --

I doubt whether she has a glimmer of the fact
that she is to have a personal relation with &
report to the W.O.

f20

Mr. Whitfield had a call from Wilbraham, he tells
me, who says that the Quarters won't be ready
till the 15th -- if then --

Really, the W.O. ought to give us notification
of this, if true --

f20v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND}:

Draft of Regulations proposed
for the Nursing service at
the Royal Vic Hos Netley

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

{PAPER TORN OUT} course of the Nurse with the Orderlies &

Officers

cd be of a strictly official character

Officially the Supt is supposed to embody the Nurses -- &

their moral conduct

And every intercourse not ~~official~~ in the way of duty with

Orderlies & Orderlies' wives &

Officers may be stopped easily at first but not
afterwards -- & is certain to end in escapades of
Nurses marrying Orderlies & the like as has been
the case during the interregnum

ff21-23 NOTES RE FIRST MEDICAL REPORT ON NATIVE ARMY PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS DATED [13 Nov 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f21

{NIGHTINGALE}:

!! This is the FIRST Report (Medical) on the Native Army

{`FIRST' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE UNDERLINED}

And this is the only copy in England --

Dr. Farquhar has given it to me --

~~I have told you nothing yet of what he said~~

He says it is equally remarkable for what there is in it & for
== what there is not in it

~~Is it necessary to send Lord de G. the Form as well
as the Instructions for the Cholera?~~

=== He said with the deepest feeling that it was
dreadful how we had kept down
Native Officers & Native Doctors

He says this is Dr. Murray's ~~doing~~ ordering
out of the Native Reports
the first time they have
ever been noticed

But is the new Highgate Infirmary to become a Fever
District Infy?

Will they have our Nurses? Because -- we must know

f22v

What shall I say to Mrs. S.S.?
She is quite right

I've always said so of the Netley Capt
of Orderlies

Would you mark this List for me
presents for the Netley Nurses?

{SUTHERLAND}:

Call M. G. attention to the Times of
today & ask whether ~~it~~ in his
opinion it would not be all right to
write to the P. L. B. & state the facts
about the Nurses & Sup. under training

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON THE FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

This is very important
Shall I have that wire with smaller diamonds?
If so how small?

As for the cats being afraid of it, they practise
jumping on it from a distance -- from that chair

Well, is it to be upright as the man says?

===

Could I get the Regulations back & insert what
Mrs. S. S. proposes?
I don't know

f23

Dr. Farquhar is by far the best man I've seen,
tho' he knows nothing about sanitary things

He is out & out better than the Hunters, the Porteous [?]
the -- better than any one but Macpherson --

He is quite the sort of man to work a great
reform among Native Officers & Doctors by moral
influence --

He is now working at a plan (which I have
consented to look at) for the recognition of
the Native Doctors in the N. W. provinces
by examination & certificate, so that
they can sue for a fee, so that they
can be employed by the Municipalities
&c. He says the way we trample on
these men is dreadful. He says it is so
easy to laugh at the "crow-business" --
i.e. the superstitions -- But that there
these men are -- & practically they have
great merit often -- And we ought to
recognise & examine them.

He says so --
Dr. Farquhar speaks the most extraordinary language.
I believe it to be a mixture between Scotch &
Ordoo.

ff24-25v NOTE REGARDING LOST CAT PENCIL HANDWRITING APPEARS TO BE NIGHTINGALE'S HOWEVER REFERS TO NIGHTINGALE IN THIRD PERSON

f24

Nov.

[1869.]

[printed address] 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

- F. Nightingale begs to say that the **[1:758-59]** lost cat has been brought back. She takes this opportunity of begging Ld Lucan's housemaid should a cat with a furry tail ever come upon their premises either to put it out the way it came viz. the garden side -- or simply to ring at her area door & let her maids know that the cat is at No 36. She will be most happy to make remuneration for this small service.
- F. N. can hardly help expressing her surprise at a pet cat being turned out in the street, as was done on Monday

f25v

It's a great pity the Beehive is
so discredited.

It often has valuable things.

Ought I to send a gratification to the
Detective now I have got Tit back?

10/

For ~~re~~ye cook for turning hot pot into ye street 5/

For ye detective officer

who sought after tit 10/

For ye stableman who

found tit 10/

~~For ye cook who turned
tit into ye street} 5/~~

For printing Hand Bills 6/

For advertising 7/

For prison railing £3

For action brought
by Lord Lucan £50

ff26-26v NOTE TO SUTHERLAND DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 2
Dec. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f26

You know that Wyatt has
resigned the Chairmanship
of St. Pancras

says he can't stand it
any longer.

Ought I to write to him?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS INSIDE A BOX ON FOLIO IN ANOTHER HAND}:

To Dr Sutherland
on the back of a letter from
Sir H. V. Nov 30, 1869
FN

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:
Well about Ireland?

f26v

Did you ever read the
Canning's play in the
Anti=Jacobin? --
It must have been
taken from that

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:
My son, the only thing that
is clear to my mind is
that you don't mean to
do anything

Shall I send the
Report to Farr?

ff27-28 NOTE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND IN PEN AND FN IN PENCIL DATED Dec.
3d, War Office embossed sent regs with pencil amendments by DG

f28 {AT BOTTOM OF PAGE BENEATH SUTHERLAND'S LETTER, WRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}

H.B.C. & I actually
wished for the term Nurse --
It was you who proposed
& insisted upon Sister.

f28v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:
The M.O. has absolutely nothing to do with
requiring the attendance of the Supt

superintendence of attendance upon Operations
when the presence of a Nurse is required
by the &c &c

Candidate is a very respectable word --
Probationer very much the contrary.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO IN OTHER DIRECTION}:
You particularly ordered that even the name
of Probationer should not be used --
I never heard it before

ff29-29v LIST OF REGULATIONS PEN UNSURE OF HANDWRITING, COMMENT BY FN
AT END OF LIST NOT DATED, embossed War Office blue

f29

Superintendent of Nurses

Regulation

14. Is responsible for nursing
15. To allot Duties & watch over nurses.
16. To see duties properly performed
17. May suspend nurses
18. May dismiss nurses under appeal
19. Dismissal to be sanctioned by Sup. Gen
20. To pay nurses (wages, mess accts expenses
21. Responsible for Linen
22. To keep books & accts.
23. To draw rations. (Under this head is the following proviso "But in the United Kingdom, & on such foreign stations as the Sup. Gen may decide, mess money in lieu of rations will be allowed for the Superintendent & nursing establishment, on representation to that effect being made by the Sup. Gen. The mess money will in such cases be paid to the Sup of nurses of the Hospital & accounted for by her to the Sup.- Gen.
24. To make monthly abstracts of rations
25. to report on efficiency of Nursing
26. Sup's age not over 40 to retire at 60 "with a pension equal to 50 per cent of her salary at the time of her retirement" If she is obliged to retire on medical certificate "provided she has served 12 full years" she will be entitled to a pension equal to 20 per cent of her salary at the end of her 12th year -- but if after 12 years service she retires she gets an additional 2 per cent for every full year above 12 years she has served. If she has to retire before 12 years she gets a gratuity. {NIGHTINGALE'S COMMENT IN PENCIL}:
[They will claim this for Mignot]

f29v {WRITTEN IN ANOTHER HAND}:

~~W. O. I~~

Army Med. Regns

Supt of Nurses

ff30-30v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS DATED [ca. Early Dec. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

f30 {NIGHTINGALE}:

You know that's done already at the W. O.
£30 up to £50

Well you know we've always gone on this plan.
the Nurses and Supts are always engaged on
the express condition that they are to go on
war or foreign service, if sent -- And
never to engage Nurses for War or Foreign
Service, if it can be avoided

I agree with you -- I always have --
With regard to the Pension, I believe what the
Regulations intended was that War or Foreign
Service should be only reckoned in that way

With regard to the £15, you know we have always
said that the lower rates of Pension are too
low & the higher too high

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

If you are going to quote Wilbraham again to me
do go away -- All the bad women will & do
say that -- All the good women say the reverse.
Surely we know better than Wilbraham what a
good woman is. Why? Because of Wilbraham
& Mrs. S. Stewart

f30v

I cannot go on for one minute longer.
You don't know what it is to me on
Indian mail days, when I'm so ill,

If you could leave me now -- & if you
are coming up tomorrow, & would
come to me tomorrow --

Do you see about St. Pancras

f31v

And what's more we mean to turn
 away every one who's there
 We've always thought that too small
 I think it an extremely bad plan to let
 nurses pay for their own Washing
 It's a rule without ANY exception whatever
 {'ANY' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE UNDERLINED}
 never to give a Nurse board wages.
 {ABOVE TWO LINES ARE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

{SUTHERLAND}:

~~(Nurses will be allowed rations to be drawn~~
 (Nurses will be allowed rations or in lieu of
 rations 10/per head per week to be drawn
 by the Superintendent of Nurses)
 Each Nurse will be allowed one pint of
 porter

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE BY NIGHTINGALE}:

1 1/2 pts porter
 or 1 pt porter & wine glass full wine
 or 1 pt porter & 1 oz brandy --

ff32-32v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS DATED [3-4 Dec. 1869]

{NIGHTINGALE}:

Bymaster I suppose they know?

There's no security, as far as I understand,
 that the Supt won't have to advance the
 9/6 herself.

That's the reason, I suppose, why they make
 a poor woman, a common nurse, advance all
 the money at Woolwich.

But Mrs. S. Stewart has been gone
 16 months. They complain of her -- and they
 don't make it possible to do otherwise

She has done so, three times to my
 knowledge. & has got no redress.

f32v

I think it's very bad, Mr Wyatt not being on the Board

1. You know I put that in before -- And you took it out
4. & 6 Certainly

I thought so too The 9/6 was not put in by me

They have made nonsense of 9 "operations"
The Instruction is for the Supt alone -- & means
She shall bear in mind that a certain superintendence
devolves upon herself of attendance upon ~~such~~ those operations
where the Officiating Medical Officer has required a
Nurse to assist

{SUTHERLAND}:

Among the duties attendance upon
operations at which the presence of a
nurse has been requested by the M.O.

ff33-36 NOTE, HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f33 [Archivist: Strachey's letter]

Dec 4/69

Sir B. Frere was here for 3 hours.

[9:637-38]

1. they are writing & telegraphing from India every week to abolish something, for the sake of saving a few hundred thousands, on which the security or the welfare of the Empire depends --
 1. the police
 2. the Education policy of the last 15 years
 3. the Public works
 - a. the Kurrachi harbour
 - b. the Godavery river
 both of which were nearly completed -- & all that money is to be wasted
 4. the Barracks
 - & 5. the Sending out Medical Officers from Netley.

He told me a great deal on all these points. But I can only tell you the last He says that they have telegraphed home that having abolished 30 Regiments, they have

30 Medl Officers to spare. And they don't want any from Netley for at least a year. It is on this last point he wished to consult us.

f33v

He says that the expence of Medical Officers is after all very small -- that they always want M.O. s in India -- that they have always had a deficiency of applicants -- that, now that we have got them ready 25 (I understood) from/at Netley -- it appears to him destruction to stop this supply, even only for a year -- & to make an uproar for nothing

But he wants us to give him arguments to convince the Duke of Argyle

He says: if only 10 were sent out, that would be better than stopping the supply altogether.

He says: a Hindoo is a born detective -- And the rest, he says, is not known at the I.O. at all

He is quite sure it has not come from the I O -- The proposal to send no more Doctors comes from Lord Mayo.

f34

Sir B. Frere had heard all that --
And he was perfectly aghast at the D. G.'s
ignorance.

I spoke with Sir B. F. about that.
He says no papers have as yet reached the I. O.
But again, he was perfectly aghast at that
proposition.

He says (this is a cognate subject only)
"the way to make an Indian M.O. is this: --
to have him for 5 or 10 years at the
Presidency Hospital -- then to have him for
at least 10 years at a large native town,
seeing the native diseases which after all
are very different from the European,
& then & not till then he begins to make a
good Indian Medical Officer

"We have not too many, we have too few
Medical Officers -- he says --

"If you were to double the number out there,
you would have too few --

"And the D. G. knows nothing about it.

I did not mention the D. G. at all to Sir B. Frere.

But he spoke of the whole thing as of their

ignorance inspiring
terror in him.

f34v

He read over Strachey's letter most attentively
He says it is sound as far as ~~he~~ it goes.
But he says: Strachey forgets that he & his
cousin (Col: Strachey) are the two men who have
done the most in India to carry "standard
plans," hard & fast measures, measures
drawn by plummet & line, over every
population in India, however different

He says: Strachey forgets that we begged &
prayed to be allowed to put up in Poona &
the Deccan, where the winds are terrific,
where the ground is rocky, one storied Barracks
-- that we were ordered to wait, Sir Robert Napier
was ordered to wait -- till a 3rd class Engineer,
Col: Crommelin, an ordinary man such as you
can find anywhere, sent us "Standard plans",
which we were to use & no other -- & which
were extravagantly expensive

But, however, he says: -- Strachey's is a good
letter -- only somewhat tardy -- And he advises us
to answer it cordially -- & immediately -- & to say
also that as economy has come at last, it would be
better to proceed with individual enquiries into the
requirements of individual towns -- & stations -- to offer them
an Engineer
& then to draw up plans of improvements. **[end 9:638]**

f35 {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:

Immediate

J.J. Freder {REST OF WORD IS CUT OFF -- PAGE ENDS}
 Army San {REST OF WORD IS CUT OFF}
 Wa {REST OF WORD IS CUT OFF}

Dec 10/69

f36

I did not mean to have told you about Mrs. Deeble because the quieter it is kept the better. But the state in which she found Netley is amazing -- every Patient had his dressing at a different time or at no time every Patient had his stimulants at a different time or at any time Many Patients had bed-sores -- some as large as my hand. The Medical "cadets" tried all sorts of fancies ~~about~~ upon these And no one interfered Mrs. Deeble has introduced: -- dressings all at the hour fixed, as at St. Thomas' stimulants all at the hours fixed, as at St. S.'s Bed sores she reported to the Senior Medical Officers & they in every instance looked into the case themselves -- & ordered the remedies & also the preventive measures used at St. Thomas Night Orderlies She has also had to report -- But isn't it scandalous? -- However we must not triumph

But shall we be engaged for 3 months

ff37-38v Notes by FN AND JS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN [ca. 13 Dec 1869]

f37

[Netley] ~~68?~~

{`35 South Street, [printed address]
Park Lane,
W.'

{NIGHTINGALE}: This point is asked me from Netley

Hitherto the bandages have been
sent to the wash without account!
& have never been returned!!
The waste has been terrible!!!

The plan is now -- for each Sister
to make each Ward Orderly
bring his Ward bandages every
morning to her scullery,
place them in a bucket
kept expressly for that use
with a little disinfectant --
remain a few hours soaking
& then cleanse them at the sink
& put them on to boil in a boiler
for the purpose -- then rinse &
place them to dry on a small Horse --

f37v

before quite dry -- roll & clip them
then finish them off.

It is stated that, if each orderly
is taught this, he can be of
great use to his surgeon abroad
That's the reason why I ask
you

{SUTHERLAND}:

Mrs. Deeble

There may be saving in this
process, and you with your
great care might prevent
mischief -- but we must look
at what these orderlies may
do in the first Indian or

f38 {SUTHERLAND CONTINUED}:

field hospital they may be sent
to, and as we must depend
on their being more or less
careless when left to themselves
we must insist on the
rule that all dressings
shall be removed out of the
hospital altogether as soon
as they are taken off dirty
bandages included. The
most useful constant lesson
to give to these orderlies
would be to train them
~~to~~ in carrying away the
dressings from the Hospital
immediately, & in washing
drying, ironing & returning

f38v

them into the hospital wards
for use.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

Mrs. Deeble went to Netley [15:215-16]
 prejudiced in favour of small wards
 on account of the horrible double
 wards at (present) St. Thomas' -- But
 now She says the want of discipline
 occasioned by the Netley small wards
 is frightful --
 that when she herself or any Officer
 walks down the Corridor, the people
 who are gossiping in the Corridor
 have nothing to do but just to
 dip into the nearest ward
 like rabbits in a warren. [end 15:216]

ff39-42v NOTE ABOUT LORD NAPIER, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS

FN: Dec 14/69

Lord Napier of Magdala came here for the afternoon [10:100-02]
 When I look at those 3 men, (tho' strangely different,)

Ld Lawrence, Ld Napier of Magdala & Sir B. Frere --
~~their~~ for practical ability, for statesmanlike perception
 of where the truth lies, what is to be done, & who
 is to do it, for high aim, for noble disinterestedness,
 I feel that there is not a Minister we have in
 England fit to tie their shoes since Sidney Herbert

There is a simplicity & largeness of view & of
 character about those 3 men as about Sidney
 Herbert that does not exist in the present
 Ministers party men -- ~~the others~~ those 3 are statesmen
 S. Herbert made enemies by not being a party man. It gave
 him such an advantage
 over them

===

What do you think they call the D. of Argyle? --
 Caeculus Indicus
 But you must not tell this

====

Ld Napier is aghast at the retrenchments in India

 About details of Barrack building,
 Ld Napier says that there is now a reaction in India
 against what they call our sentimental extravagance
 -- & that we shall get nothing for a year --

f39v

I must put down a few details while I think of them of what he recommends --

1. he says all the Barracks are deficient & bad in water supply.

2. he says -- to make the soldier healthy & a Christian he must have a Day-room on his ground floor -- & go to sleep on the upper floor -- that is, in the 2 storied Barrack --

But even in the 2 storied Barrack, they have crowded up the ground floor with stores & not made the Bedroom fit for men to live in by day

He says, they are raising a cry against us!!! now, because they say our Barracks are "too hot" & "the men don't like them".

He says, they have made the Allahabad Barracks &c of pink brick. & if they had only painted them white they would have brought down the temp: from 5° to 10°.

He says, they must have not only Verandahs but Louvred Boardings -- or Jalousies

Also: he thinks -- ceilings --

Also: he says, you must lay water on to the upper story & everywhere -- They won't take the trouble to fetch water. And he approves of wetted tattier

f40

3. he gave me the whole account of Peshawur & Allahabad -- qua Epidemics --

-- the filthy state of the town of Peshawur no surface cleansing -- & the irrigation all about beds of streams higher than houses --

He says they are making a new cantonment which would be healthy -- But, he understands it is not to be finished

Allahabad -- the Cholera did not break out in the new Barracks -- But they are frantic with us!!! because when the Cholera men were moved into the new Barracks they did not get well directly.

He says -- the new Barracks are dreadfully hot, (for the reasons stated) And that's why the men don't like them.

4. He says -- so much has been done in Bombay Presidency by giving the soldiers remunerative work.

And now all that is put a stop to

He himself saved £90000 on one work by doing this. But a Col: at Belgaum has done even more -- he executed lines making all the tiles & squaring all the stone with his Regiment which Lord Napier says was worth 3 Regiments after that.

f40v

And what do you think Ld ~~Napier~~ Mayo has done
 He wrote Ld Napier a letter with his own hand,
 thanking him And now he has written to
 this unfortunate Officer (because the "dimensions
 of the "lines" had been "slightly exceeded") stopping
 the works, reprimanding the C. O., & stopping
 the allowances -- And the Officers of the
 Regt have subscribed the money to continue
 the works

And

5. He says the India Supreme Govt consists
 in turning 6 into half a dozen & half a dozen
 back again into 6
 {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY SUTHERLAND}: JS:
 Is there likely to be any increase in the
 number of physicians at new St
 Thomas' Hospital & if so what will
 be the proper course for any young
 man to take which desired to be
 appointed

f41 {NIGHTINGALE}:

[2] [Lord Napier of Magdala]

6. He says -- that, he laboured with all his might
 to get a Sanitarium for soldiers & one for
 children -- & a Prison at a Hill station for
 Bombay --

And he can't get it

They say -- a Hill Station ought to be on
 a Rail road.

But -- there are no Railroads in Bombay
 Therefore there shall be no Hill Station

He says -- he chose obstinately to stay at Mahableschwur
 once. And they were literally washed out -- the
 rain took off his own roof -- They were obliged to fly --
 And several natives were drowned in the flight

7 He says -- the Gaol at Bombay (for long sentences)
 is disgraceful to humanity --
 thin roof -- intense heat -- small cells
 no out of door labour possible or allowed

[He wanted to move them up to his Hill Station
& employ them out of doors]

He says -- the prisoners don't die -- but they come
out idiotic -- hepatitic -- mad -- crippled

f41v

8 He says -- that on the Bombay Presy Cholera last year he made an enquiry into water, food, clothing, drainage -- that the M.O's, many of them, resisted & said Cholera depended on Contagion & not on water.

He says -- the answers were not exhaustive but such as they are, he will send them me They have not been presented to Govt

9. He says -- that Sir Wm Mansfield is now proposing to abolish the C. in C. ship & to create a Ministry of War.

that 7 years ago, they tried to do this & offered him, Ld Napier, the office

He refused it -- & refused to have anything to do with the plan --

He says, that a Minister of War would have no chance with a S. of S. at home against him, a G.G. & majority of Council against him --

that he would get nothing -

that the only way they get anything is to have

f42

a C. in C. who complains home, & we make a "row" --

10 Ld Napier says that the improvement of the health of Bombay is mainly owing to 2 men -- Hewlett & Lumsdaine (Lumsdaine saved Zoulla under him) & to their surface cleansing.

He says that at present the drainage (& until the outlets are completed) does more harm than good & smells worse than it did before

11. He says that much has been done in Bombay Presy for the wives & children of soldiers -- that Mrs. Johnson at Belgaum the wife of that Col. who was reprimanded for saving the State by employing his men industrially, took the little brown girls sepoy's daughters) from rolling naked on the sea-shore, & taught them to work & to illuminate, which they do

beautifully. And he, Lord Napier, took their
work to shew the Queen last Saturday

Lord Napier himself gave a tea to 360 of
them -- & made them sing God save the Queen

f42v

He says the poor European orphan children do
sadly want a sanitarium -- And he had
planned one for them at Mount Aboo
as an "Asylum" -- when he was put a stop to **[end 10:102]**

ff43-44v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 21 Dec. 1869

[printed address] 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W. [21 Dec. 1869].

You don't ask me about the
Highgate Infy
If you've seen all about our new
Matron & Nurses in the papers,
it will save me the trouble of writing.
Our `Matron goes in to-day, at her
own desire, like a spirited woman
as she is'.

Our Nurses go in next week -- &
then they begin taking in Patients
We have got what we earnestly
desired, the choice of all the
assistants in our Matron's hands
But the wages are very low £13 to
£15.

But such a Committee!!!
Miss Torrance gave me such an
account of them!

f43v

Miss Torrance is by far the best
Supt we have ever trained --
always excepting dear Agnes Jones
You know Mrs. Deeble is not fit
to hold a candle to her.
Nor Miss Osburn to tie her shoes.
There is that indescribable sort
of refinement in her. that
never seeks to make much of
herself & her sarifices. She
takes any work as simply as
possible. she actually went
to nurse that poor vulgar toad's

wife (Mr. Hicks) as if she had
been a common nurse -- She is
canny, capable, a thorough Supt
& a thorough "lady", very handsome
& imposing looking -- in the Quaker way --

f44

1 Matron (Miss Torrance
9 Head nurses
5 Assistants
1 Cook
2 Assistts
1 Laundry Supt
2 Assistts

I should think her more capable
even than Agnes Jones --
She has been with us 18 months.

Dr. Edmunds told Mr. Wyatt
she was incapable

f44v

I am quite sure that the meanest
of our Nurses would not have
accepted such a charge for any
money --

We bring up our Nurses to the
art of administering ~~any~~ food
under the most hopeless
circumstances.

These people go to "detect
an imposture" -- which they
know, if they are successful,
must end in killing the Patient

It is manslaughter.

But, how could Guy's give into
such a wicked plot?

But you know the way they
hailed the poor thing out of
bed was enough to induce
Delirium --

[end 13:613]

ff45-48v NOTE re INTERVIEW WITH GOSCHEN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED
[ca. 29 Dec. 1869] **[6:438-40]**

f45

Interview with
Goschen

Interview with Goschen
Dec 28 '69

35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

He does not impress me. I don't think he will ever do much. He is a man of considerable mind, great power of getting up Statistical information & Pol: Econ. but with no practical insight or strength of character. It is an awkward mind -- like a pudding in lumps, from not having any coherency or power of assimilation. He is like a man who has been a Senior Wrangler & never any thing afterwards

But he was extremely communicative -- And I will go on to tell you what he said.

1. He says the old thing that if we make these Workhouse Infirmarys so good, people will go into them who otherwise would keep out of them.

He says all the rate payers tell him this - that mothers who would not let their sick daughters go into common Workhouse Infirmarys when they hear of "Miss Nightingale's Nurses," send them in directly

[He specified this of the Chorlton Union especially]
He says: we have all the rate-payers against us.

f45v

children

2. With regard to Boarding out: --

He says that he entirely approves of it, but in the same breath he says that he can demonstrate by figures that there is a higher proportion of pauperism in the country than in the towns -- & therefore he asks may not the children become paupers all the more?

Also: he says the sleeping accommodation is so bad & indecent that the Inspectors sometimes cry out it is intolerable -- & that affronts the foster parents -- who say: it does for our own

He asks: why do the people take these children Do they expect to make something out of it.

These are people with families & in Lancashire

He does not say: boarding out children makes pauperism He says, if you board out children from towns in places where there is a higher rate of pauperism than in towns, is that likely to make them more independent?

He says: Unions object to having children drafted into them by the boarding out system not of their own Union.

He says: the Unions say, these children will ultimately come upon our rates --

& that he hears in his mind's ear, in the Ho: of C. this year, a speech launched against him -- especially if a few cases of Oliver Twists happen to turn up.

f46

3. He says:

that the Pauper Union Schools are now so good

that ~~in the~~ it is not an uncommon thing for a man to desert his wife & go to the Colonies by previous arrangement with her -- which he would not have done if she & the children had had to go into the Workhouse --

but that he deliberately says to her -- we never could get our children so good an education as they will have in the great Union Schools --

Mr. Goschen then enumerated the Industrial Teachers & the great Industrial education they were giving farming -- tailors -- shoemakers &c

But in the very same breath he admitted that
these children all came back on the Rates --
could not earn their livelihoods --
"nothing succeeds but Music".

f46v

4. The only, actually the only proposition, he made was:

that he would separate the children really orphans, & educate them in schools called Orphan Asylums & not called Union Schools.

in order to persuade the Colonies to take them, who, he says, object to "taking emigrants who have been pauper children"

5. We talked a great deal about colonization He was really interested in what I told him of Miss Rye's experiment & of the proposal of Melbourne to form Industrial Schools of children not "confirmed paupers" --

He said the Govt could not have accepted that offer some years ago -- because of the cry of "transportation for poverty" -- but that possibly they might now --

He said: the Colonies absolutely objected to "Workhouse girls" --

And I said: No wonder.

f47

35 South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane,

W.

6. He says that he can show by Statistics that the proportion of Child pauperism is infinitely greater in London & England than anywhere in Europe ~~else~~. Because we have such large families -- One man out of work, one widow throws 5 or 6 or 7 individuals on the Rates here -- in Paris 1 or 2

7. He absolutely declares himself against allowing persons (widows) in the receipt of Parish relief to take work --

He says it is one of the main causes of low wages --

Wretched widows with children will take seamstresses' work at starvation prices -- eked out by "out door relief" -- & thus lower the wages of the whole district.

f47v

8. He says that any principle of the State finding work resolves itself sooner or later into Ateliers Nationaux

He says that if the Poor Laws gives ~~labour~~ work & underpays it, that lowers the rate of wages everywhere.

He says that in Liverpool Workhouse, they don't buy anything. Everything is made in the Workh:

f48

9. He says some London parishes e.g. Bethnal Gr. are absolutely hopeless -- that there is no "fixed labour" -- that there are numbers of seamstresses, with children, all underpaid, all receiving out door relief -- that you can't emigrate these women, they are too broken spirited nor their children, without their consents.

That Poplar e.g. has what he calls a "proper population" -- there there is "fixed labour" -- i.e. where men are in work, they earn sufficient wages -- when they are out of work, they are willing to emigrate.

f48v

10. He said (but this is a minor matter) that the Medical men who send in to him their conflicting opinions about cubic space, structural points &c &c & their contradictory theories drive him wild

He quoted Bence Jones, Markham, Brydges, &c &c as these theorists.

He says Brydges says now that St. Pancras is all right on structural points

He says Sir Jas Simpson has done them serious mischief by writing to them against "large Hospital buildings" Highgate Infy included

I said: you must educate public opinion.
He said: Yes: but you can't educate Medical opinion.

He really seemed quite crazed by it.

Markham, Brydges, Ed: Smith are their own
Officers. And he says, they are all at loggerheads
& nothing but theorists

ff49-56v NOTE RE PAUPER PROBLEM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

f49

35 South Street, [printed address]
Park Lane,
W.

Agreed -- you & I & Mr. Goschen & Mr. Lowe

Somebody proposes, in order to do away with pauperizing influences to abolish women

Mr Lowe proposes in order to abolish pauperism to abolish the Poor Law -- Certainly

There is no real difference of opinion among us

But there is a theoretical question & a practical question in the pauper problem

1. Theoretical

When we have dealt with all pauper children so as to make them realize the sin of living on other people's labour & the sin of not providing for their own, we shall then require neither Poor Law nor Charitable Societies

To give every child a fair chance of "providing" for himself or herself "in sickness or accidents" -- of "educating" his or her "children" -- of "supporting" his or her "parents or orphans" -- is, one would think a rational problem to engage the attention of a Cabinet the Government of --a country like ours

2. Practical

The practical problem is however the present one. We have -- there they are -- it is a fact -- we have the "sick" & the "accidents" un "provided for" -- the "children" un "educated" -- the "parents & orphans" un "supported" --

Why do we go on building upon facts which don't exist? -- neglecting facts which stare us in the face? --

Do we expect those pauper children now in the Workhouse

f49v

to "support their parents" either now or at any future time?
 Is the Pol: Economist seriously expecting & hoping that
 pauper parents now on the Rates are "educating their
 children" to "provide for themselves in sickness or
 accidents" -- or even to "provide for their own children"
 Do we not know that the process which is going on is
 exactly the reverse? -- that we are bringing up a
 =nother & still another generation of paupers? --

====

But we have they are there -- sick, aged, imbecile &
 children -- who, on account of our past culpable
 neglect, would die, if we did not care for them

The Law says: -- we must care for them

So do women (till they are "abolished")

So does the Church

But every working man, woman & child who can
 contribute even a farthing in the £ this year, to his or her own
 keep ought to be made to contribute to it

If we get a farthing in the £ this year, we shall get a
 halfpenny next year: & so in time we may extinguish
 the £.

But the Poor law ~~says~~ encourages the principle of not
 assisting the widow struggling to maintain her children
 or the father out of work over a time when his or her
 work can only partially support them -- & think it a
 very fine thing to drive them into the Workhouse
 whence they never will come out.

f50

Now for the Children: --
we must train them -- & we have not trained them --
as Christians (rather say, as Jews) -- in other words
we must teach them the duty of work -- which the
3 Rs do not teach them -- & the way of work
and we must then help them to help themselves
here or in the Colonies

Lord Neaves 3 Rs only -- intromitting with his
silver spoons

Dr. Guthrie -- lock up Archbp Presbyterian Independent
agree on Catechism in 5 hours together
Could we not teach these pauper children the duty of work
& the way to work? --
It requires talent, knowledge, capacity of administration
And that is just what we have not
You must deal with this -- or if you can't you must go --
a sensible country wd say --
But we look on the working class or rather on the pauper
class as a necessary evil.
We don't grapple with pauperism, because we have no
intention of grappling with it
The old Pol: Eco: bases itself on facts which don't exist
If so, it must go --
But if England can bring about the facts on which it was
based, it may stay

By the law of Eliz:, every working man was entitled to
4 acres of land to his cottage -- & to the magistrate
settling his wages for the year on the current prices
That is gone -- necessarily

f50v

And what have we given him instead?

A title to legal relief --
and, because that is manifestly insufficient, a flood of
Charities.

If we had set to work to create pauperism, could we have
devised a better scheme?

But is there really no way out of this? --

In the Brit: Empire there is room for "4 acres of land"
& a great deal more for each of our population
I am not of course proposing this

Accountant Genl	kill paupers out of the way
	save forage burnt 20 horses
Quotation	1880.

The Poor Law is a National Debt of 300 millions
on the Trade & Industry of this country?

And what do we get for our money? -- Pauperism ever
increasing.

Problem for a Minister -- for a Pol: Economist

~~to~~ finding an efficient economical substitute for the
Poor Law — to abolish the Poor Law

f51**[6:542-44]**

What we say is that a State, if it is to be a State at all, must supply for its willing workers, in the State or out of it the means to work so as to earn a livelihood -- & to its Criminals the means to work their way out of prison

[Many prisons in America are not only self-supporting but remunerative. But even these do not make it a the sentence for Theft to repay the value of the Theft -- which is the only way to teach a man that it is dearer to steal than to work. Now he gets the value of his theft twice over in what he steals & in what he is paid for stealing by being supported at the expence of the State for it.

At a Meeting of the Middlesex magistrates it was asked, whether, ~~as~~ a Female Prison specified ~~was~~ being one third fuller than it ever had been, a rate ought to be levied ~~on the Community~~ to maintain these women in idleness? ~~+~~ at the expence of the Community?]

Bentham was a great man spoiled. He ought to have laid down the principles, but never to have elaborated the details. This is the reason why that book fell so flat It was making like the Abbé Sieyès another cut & dry Constitution which will not work.

He did not see that none will work except by directing the existing means for work

f52v

For children, for Patients, even for surgical cases & operations, no invention has ever yet been made to equal the `private family' -- that, with all our best arrangements our children, our Patients, even our operations, always our mothers, will die faster in the best Institutions than they do in the worst `private families' & that we ~~must~~ are coming to this to try to imitate the `private family' where we have it not -- for our paupers, our sick, above all our children & infants.

Our `Company's infants' die faster than any infants known

f53

Relapsing (Famine) Fever taking frightful proportions
 Only 5 out of 37 London Unions free from it
 And the Poor Law & the charitable plans of relief only
 the old helpless, hopeless thing -- ~~anti-~~ Destitution of common
 sense Fever

We try to stand between the living & the dead
 And the dead increase spite of all our efforts
 And the living fall into more helpless degradation/pauperism
 And this, while Canada declares that she will take
 every unemployed man & woman in England & find
 them with profitable employment
 And all our vagrant boys & girls would be taken
 by the Colonies, if Government would but form
 instead of letting the Poor Law make hopeless
 pauper Schools at home, hopeful Emigrant
 Industrial Schools out there.

John Bright & Co say that every man ought to regulate
 himself his own relations with every other man.

But, with wonderful/startling inconsistency, they have a

hangman.

If in America I am deeply injured, I revenge myself
 with my bowie-knife or my revolver.

That is the only ~~consistent method~~ logic for our present Govt

If we had a Govt a year might see a change in
 this condition-of-England question -- & with far less
 trouble & machinery than the Poor Law & all these Societies ~~cost~~
 take to make them go.

When I see these societies "for organizing Charitable Relief
 "& Repressing Vagrancy" I feel -- and here is all this
 immense machinery for what? -- not to make any

f53v

effort to raise men & women & children out of this
 ever rising flood of degrading, demoralizing pauperism
 but -- to repress Vagrants -- not to help them to
 find work --

f54 {THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN ON **f54** BUT DIRECTED WITH AN ARROW TO BE
 INSERTED AT THIS POINT}:

not to try & convert the unproductive consumer into the
 productive worker -- but to drive the widow (& her
 children) into the Workhouse where, as she knows

full well, the children will only come out,
if they come out at all, as paupers full grown.

f53v

The idea is: if you don't give to the Vagrant, he will
find work -- Now it is a simple fact
that he won't

Of bringing together the labourer & the labour,
scarce one word.

One would think that, the Briton, having got his
"liberties" by Magna Charta, which was in the
reign of K. John, all other problems evermore were
thought to be self-solving ones by our Govt.

This Govt: an enormous party got together on the Irish **[7:716-17]**
Ch: Disestablishment cry (whether disestablishment is right or
wrong another question) who know no more of what
the people of England are, or of what they ought to be
than the Man in the Moon --
source of fruitful mischief this must be --
all the Newspaper press doing all they can to increase it
day by day

John Bright & Co say -- England is: between the 4 seas
India & the Colonies are nothing
& centre of England (between ye 4 seas) is: Manchester

f55

Govt going after Wills o the Wisp while the great
question of England remains unsolved

Land sufficient to support 5 times the population
of the whole globe -- question not to
patch up Poor Law but to bring a million
out of England into relation with unoccupied
land elsewhere.

Proposed among Trades Unions or the day the Q.
visits the City to line the way 3 deep with the
unemployed men of London quarters whence
they come to be designated by banners --
nothing like a practical method of putting the
question to the eye

[how impressive was the sight on Sunday as 30000
(including spectators) greater part nothing to do
with Fenianism marched past here
Very sordidness of their appearance made it more
impressive. & Marseillaise did not make it
less ominous [Perfectly quiet]

Upon what is done next Session with the Irish
Land Law, & the questions infallibly arising
therefrom for England will depend England's
future.

Middle Classes (Mr. Bright & Bd of Trade) as much/indifferent
opponents of/to working people really as Upper
Classes said to be. **[end 7:717]**

f56v

Should I say to Harry that it is of the
utmost consequence for me to get a copy of those
Regulations to go over with Mrs. Deeble before she
goes

That's full of my handwriting
I don't want her to know even that --
She must suppose they come from the W. O.

If Lugard does that, he's mad.
They ought only to go to the A. M. D. -- with a Circular
telling the A. M. D -- to mind & obey them

f57 ROUGH NOTE FROM JS FOLLOWED BY NOTE Pencil HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND}:

I am sorry that the request in your note to ~~illeg~~ recommend a superintendent for your Asylum is one of those things in which it is not in my power to help you. My experience is in selecting & training gentlemen & others. The nurses & the qualifications are so different that those who would best suit my purpose would in all probability be unsuitable for you.

{NIGHTINGALE}:

They should set aside a part of their money for emigration --

that's

the way of lowering the Labour Market far more efficient plan than strikes then wasting their money upon idleness --

f58 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND? (UNSURE OF HANDWRITING) PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND? NOT DATED

I have been applied to by Sergt Mjr Green Army Hospital Corps, who states that he is desirous of obtaining a place among Her Majesty's Yeoman of the Guard & asking me to aid his application. While he was with the Army in the East he shewed himself to be a good & efficient officer & from information I have since received I have every reason to believe that he has continued to be so --

f59v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

4 1/2 millions of Irish
 who have appropriated to themselves all the poverty,
 all the violence, all the want of education, all the
 priest-riddenness
 and 1,400,000
 who have all the intelligence, nearly all the property
 all the landed property & they have religious freedom

3 centres 3 peoples in Ireland
 the Papists governed by a foreign administration
 from a foreign centre. x

the Episcopolians -- English colonists
 Presbyterians = Scotch colonists
~~Ire~~ as different from one another
 the Irish from the Anglo-Irish
 as the Irish from any other country in Europe

x to 999 religions 1. political among Irish Papists
 & the political governs the religions thro' the
 Confessional --

f60 ENVELOPE JOTTINGS PENCIL AND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Dec.
 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

{PENCIL}:}

From Goschen

Then he answers that he could
 hardly farm out 15600000 in the

{PEN}:

Miss Nightingale

{PENCIL}:

country --

He answers that the Guardians
 won't hear of it

f60v BACK OF ENVELOPE -- BLANK

f61 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [1869] (ARCHIVIST)

35 South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane,

W.

I have been waiting every day to send you an invitation
from Mama --

But she would not let me --

She always says -- she is not sufficiently recovered
from the journey -- she cannot entertain you --

Now I write to say: -- when you can come, write to
HER -- don't mention me at all.

Verbum says:

She is more cheerful, more gentle than I ever remember
her -- tho', of course, I see she is much aged.

Her memory is almost gone --

But to me she is far dearer, far more respect=able
than ever she was before

But it does not do for me to suggest anything to her
And if I do, she is a little annoyed & then forgets

Mme M. asked me for herself to do so --

And I find I cannot --

f62 JOTTINGS BY NIGHTINGALE PEN AND PENCIL UNSURE OF HANDWRITING NOT DATED arch: With papers of 1869, cd be FN

The governing power is uniformly evil. The good is that which survives in the contest with the governing power, with the Evil

special cat you can't mew & have done with
it you've mewed very nicely
mew again in a different key

they don't seem to have an idea of how to set about things all their idea of governing is to leave things as they are & shoot down people who make a disturbance

54 [in pencil]
50 ==

Municipalities must always precede
Representative Govt -- St Paul governing the Ch. if you can't manage your own affairs you can't manage other peoples

		Mrs. Grundy
100	27	of last century
	39	of this
	---	a moral reason
	243	a {much worse}
	81	{Mrs. Grundy}

	10.53	

21 inches

[THE NUMBERS AND CALCULATIONS ARE WRITTEN BY FN IN PENCIL]

f62v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG FOLIO}:

I don't see a chance of my getting out of town this autumn --
I wish I'd left you in your Indian galère to go
to the devil --

ff63-63v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [1 Jan. 1870] (ARCH)

I've a most important thing to ask you about.
Miss Lees has come back to England on purpose to
consult me after 5 months in the Paris Hospitals
She is immensely improved.

At the same time, when I compare her nous with
Mrs. S. Stewart's, I see the amazing difference --

[She came here on Wednesday & comes again on
[rip] Sunday, preparatory to returning to Paris to
finish her Probation

First of all, she gave me a most interesting account
of Val de Grace --

Michel Lévy took her in there solely he said [on]
my account. And he has taught her himself
if she were going to be an Army Surgeon, which was
more than I bargained for.

He is Chef or Directeur de la Clinique there
She says he has brought the Val de Grace up to a point
of perfection not only superior to any Paris
Hospital -- but superior to any Hospital Civil or
Military, she ever saw.

She says the Hotel Dieu is detestable -- She says
the Augustinian Sisters are worse than our under
Nurses at St. Thomas' -- & the filles de Salle worse

She says "than anything I ever saw --"
& the discipline among the Students
worse

f63v

She says Michel Lévy has worked the "Orderly system up to such perfection -- that she prefers them to female Nurses -- the probation is most severe they study on a lay figure for 1 month under a Surgeon before they are allowed in the wards at all -- 3 months if they are to be Clerks -- After they come into Hospital, after the 3 or 1 month's probation, they are well paid, well disciplined And she says the Corporate know more & do {PAGE RIPPED HERE} than Head Nurses -- They are called Panseurs, Corporaux, Sergens {PAGE RIPPED OUT} says, they are so particular & severe about {PAGE RIPPED OUT} point of Nursing that she is put back to {PAGE RIPPED OUT} [illeg], if she disobeys (unwittingly) a single {PAGE RIPPED OUT} -- And she says she has never seen in any Hospital abroad, or at home, Civil or Military, anything like the beauty of the dressings, order, cleanliness, quiet

She again repeated the Hotel Dieu was a pigsty compared with it

She says M. Lévy does not allow the Soeurs to do anything but clean the windows & bed chairs, cook & give the Diets (which they do very well) & generally keep house -- They are not allowed to touch the Patients

But, she says, the Patients are better cared for than in any Hospital past, present, or, she believes, future.

f64 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 14/1/70, embossed War Office, ink, sorrowful that this letter shd be necessary, but it is, owe to your com and to yourself. I think it states the case fairly and solemnly, merely suggest some few words of winding up, affectionate expression or two and ten sign it, copy shd be kept. If not please return it and Mr Frederick will make it.

ff65-65v LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 19/1/~~69~~ 70 ink embossed War Office, enclose sketch of latest hosp kitchen, boilers same as in Chelsea Workhouse kitchen. Goschen's approval of emigration, as in his gift of £1000.

f66 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND JS rough hand PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY? DATED [ca. Jan. 1870] re drainage line at not great distance from the hosp

There is a main drainage line at no great distance from the Hospital. The sewage pond should be looked to & you had better bring the matter to the notice of Mr. Wyatt.

f67-68 PHOTOCOPY OF WATERFORD LYING-IN HOSPITAL REGULATIONS SEE
PHOTOCOPY, with FN on back **[8:224]**

f68v

[ca. Jan 1870]

Our Lying-in paper has now been lying-in for exactly 11 months 2 months longer than the providential period longest allowed --

We could finish it in a fortnight, if you liked --
Here are the new materials

Then our paper is to consist of
"There should be no Lying-in Hospitals"
Yes -- that is for our paper. I would put that

But personally you know we should never think of building -- We should take the healthiest of the Workhouses (which are there) or Ommanney's building, if it is built before 1970 -- We should spend our money in training, not in building. **[end]**

{IN CENTRE OF FOLIO IS A COPY OF TITLE PAGE TO WATERFORD REPORT}:
printed:

REPORT
of the
WATERFORD
Lying-in Hospital
FOR THE YEAR 1868-9.

ff69-70 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND RE: CONTAGIONIST THEORY DATED 2/2/70,
Tyndale lecture. Re Livingstone, embossed War Office

f71 LETTER OF THANKS TO MISS NIGHTINGALE FROM MR. JAMES LEWIS, thanks
for game Feb 3 1870, embossed General Register Office, Somerset House

ff71v-72v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

All our Supts ask me to tell
them how to invest their
Nurses' savings.

f72v

Mrs. Deeble tells me that the instruction given to the Orderlies is good (at Netley) the discipline execrable -- All the operations of the petite Chirurgie they know & do well -- but the Night Watchers she used to find regularly asleep in bed with lighted pipe

Miss Lees says the discipline at Val de Grace is: PERFECTION
 {'PERFECTION' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE-UNDERLINED}

She says the Corporals at Val de Grace are better than the Junior Medical Officers at Hotel Dieu or at St. Thomas

f73 LETTER OF THANKS TO NIGHTINGALE PEN UNKNOWN HANDWRITING

{LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

GEORGE J. COCKERELL & CO.

Central Office, 13 Cornhill, E.C.

Wharves: Purfleet Wharf, Earl Street, Blackfriars. E.C

Eaton wharf, Grovesnor Canal, Pimlico S.W.

Office, next Grovesnor Hotel, Pimlico

"Sunderland Wharf, Beckham, S.E.

Durham Wharf, 108, High St, Wandsworth

Brighton Office, Pavilion Buildings, Castle Square.

Central Office, 13, Cornhill. E.C.

15th Feby 1870

By Special Warrant

Coal Merchants to her Majesty

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales

AND

H.R H. The Duke of Edinburgh

{WRITTEN IN PEN -- HANDWRITING UNKNOWN}:

Messrs Cockerell beg to
thank Miss Florence Nightingale
for her favour of yesterday's
date, with remittance.

f73v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

They've been "got together"
for about 2 months

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

You see in 1866 the Female Mortality
of Cochin was high -- That includes
the Accouchées.

f74 {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

You see the Shorncliff Hut has only as many
Deliveries in 10 years as Liverpool Workhouse
in one

Colchester has only 40 Deliveries a year --

It only keeps its Patients 10 days --

A thing absolutely impossible in a Workhouse or even
in most Hospitals --

One can only say, that, compared with Liverpool

Workh: it is disgraceful to the Military Huts if
they have a Death.

The Liverpool Workhouse, on an average of 500 Deliveries
a year, & 3 years, has had the Death rate
of the Healthy Districts

f75 NOTE RE MISS LEES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 15 Feb 1870]
(ARCHIVIST) 45754

[ca. 15 February 1870]

Now, we come to the questions of Miss Lees --

1. M. Lévy tells her that she can learn nothing so well anywhere as at Val de Grace or what he will teach her (for my sake, he says) --

He says Vincennes is very far inferior --
She asks shall she go back to Val de Grace,
and for what time? --

[She has been there 5 weeks]

Shall she go to Vincennes -- & for what time?

2. She says: there are Naval Hospitals at Brest with Soeurs - Should she go there?

3. You know that the whole object of her life is to be allowed to nurse in the Naval, as Mrs. J. Stewart was in the Military Hospitals'.

Nothing will ever make her give this up while she lives --

She tells me she has now more hopes in the Cabinet & the Admiralty than she had --

She asks me

1. shall she go down to ~~Netley~~ Haslar merely for a visit (before going back to Paris on Monday)?

2. Shall she state her object to some persons of the Ministry now? --
or when she returns from Paris? --

3. shall she delay or hurry any application? --

4. shall she conceal her object entirely at present?

(She is constantly asked what her object is in training)

f75v

5. what steps shall she take when she returns from France? --

6. how much longer had she better stay in training at Hospitals?

7. She asks me to do that --

I say I can't go down to Haslar

But, you know, Sir John Liddell offered me Haslar -- And she has got hold of this fact

You know we offered her Liverpool Workh: --

She has great capacity.

And NOTHING will put her off this plan

My dear soul, I have lived at Haslar (for a short time) He was D.G.

When I was at Haslar, there were & there are now Female Nurses -- They were & are detestable. And Sir J. Liddell said so

Miss Lees' brother (a Naval Officer) died of wounds & neglect in the Crimean War --

They had Female Nurses out at Therapia to remedy this

She asks -- will they not make such a service permanent?

f76

[2]

The Soeurs of Val de Grace are all chosen among nobles with fortunes, in order to give them a certain status among the men.

(Soeurs de S. Vincent de Paul -- ie Soeurs de Charité

She says -- the discipline among the aides=major medical credits she never saw anything like it

they are not allowed to speak -- they are not allowed to speak to her -- she is not allowed to speak --

the wards are like a convent

She was a month in the Enfant Jésus -- She says there are some good sisters (S. Thomas de Villeneuve & some very bad ones -- indifferent, careless, neglectful, worldly -- but that as a rule they look after the filles de salle better than the Augustinians do at the Hotel Dieu, which, she repeated, was detestable & immeasurably inferior to St. Thomas', in point of morality, in point of good nursing, everything.

She says, altogether the Hotel Dieu is a
brutal, careless place.

[end]

f77 NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS rough hand AND FN NOT DATED

[JS:]

Levy

I have obtained for you a copy of Hallier instructions now in use in India for a great enquiry going on there into Cholera. The first scientific report has been sent in & is to the effect that Halliers fungus theory of cholera is untrue & that the fungi seen by Hallier ~~by cholera~~ are developed ~~after~~ in the excretion itself as well as in other media

[FN:] Does that disprove in itself the theory?

"that things which have no existence may call ~~into existence things which have~~ existence"
themselves into

I th ink they mean ~~you~~ me to send the money with the filled up paper for my spoon

But it doesn't say this is for a year.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

Were the signatures to the protest given? not all women

ff78-78v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND AND NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND AND NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND}:

I have given my name to the movement and not to any committee, or to any steps that may be taken. These must depend on circumstances & in my present state of health & occupation I could take no further part in the movement either direct or indirect. You must therefore work ~~you~~ out your own plans.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

But if Parry's letter is, as I believe, ~~25~~ 20 years old, will it be of the least use?

I don't think the Treasury will?

f78v {NIGHTINGALE}:

What shall I say to Lévy to excuse myself for not having written before?

Have you any questions for me to ask Miss Lees about Val de Grace or Hotel Dieu?

She is very intelligent

That applies to England too.

Any thing you want to send to Lévy must be sent to night.

{PAPER RIPPED HERE} "I'm not very well" --

ff79-84 NOTE RE DR CUNINGHAM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f79

Dr. CUNINGHAM

Feb 18/70

[9:902-05]

He is a man brimming with information, very candid,
without prejudice or prepossession, quite without
affectation or pretension of any bond -- & exceedingly
full of our work, & of getting all kinds of instruction
here -- But -- he is about 7 ft high -- 2 inch.

===

First of all, he says, that he has been all over the
Presidency during the last year (during which Cholera
has been more fatal than we have any idea of)
& can find no proof whatever of Cholera being communicated
by Contagion

====

He says you cannot tell except by the Monthly
Gazettes how many new Barracks are finished --
that they know nothing of Bombay & Madras
Presidencies --

that Col Crommelin is the man who gives in the
Monthly Report of how many Barracks are finished
for his Presidency --

that Jullundur

Allahabad have new Barracks but not

Agra all their new Barracks finished

===

that complaints have come in from all these 3 -- & also
from Peshawur -- principally from the Commandg Officers
Rawal Pindee

f79v

===that he, Cuningham, has gone in to all these complaints himself.

===that those from Jullunder he thinks not

substantiated

===All the complaints from all 5 places are of the same nature --

very hot -- sun beats on the walls --

no overhanging roofs -- or pent houses

that Cuningham says is quite true

& a horrible defect --

he says -- the immense block of masonry

in these new Barracks strikes one at

once as most incongruous --

& improper

because he says even huts with great

verandahs would be so much better

he says -- they really are "palatial"

He was asked, just before he

came away, whether he was prepared

to advocate double storied Barracks

for all Stations.

He reported: Certainly not --

that he held by what the Army Sanitary

Comm: here had said --

but he says, where double-storied

Barracks are necessary, it is not

necessary to make a great palace, without

f80

any kind of shelter from the sun
 He says: -- you have no idea how costly &
 absurd they are --
 very hot -- even at night

==

very cold -- in the Hills -- in winter
 He says -- he saw the men quite shivering & ill
 with cold.
 they leak -- but that is of course a building stupidity.

==

the men say -- we can't drag our cots out on hot
 nights -- it takes two men to drag them down-stairs.
 -- we used to drag them out into the Verandahs
 or even out of doors --
 the Verandahs, even where there are Verandahs, are
 so hot they are no good
 & we don't like the trouble of the stairs

The upper rooms are ceiled.

In only one instance had he complaints of radiant
 heat from the ceilings

===

The upper stories are hot thro' the day & night
 Thermometrical observations have been made at
 Allahabad}
 Lucknow } between the old & new Barracks--
 Jullindur He says, very imperfectly --
 They assert that, at Jullindur, there is 10° difference

between old &
 new

f80v [some text omitted]

He says -- the men leave their sleeping-rooms at
4 - a.m. -- but return to them at 7 a.m.
that it is impossible to lock them up --
that the men spend 18 hours in them,
as a general rule --
that nothing but a Commandg Officer
such as they have not, could prevent this
that Govt won't & can't supply a
Punkah & tattie establishment for
upper & lower floors --
therefore there is only one for the upper

====

He says -- that the recreation & work
rooms are there -- but nothing but
forms & tables in them -- not books --
that only a Commandg Officer who
would invent occupation to interest
the men & drag them off their beds
would do any good -- that the men
have no motive to leave their beds.

====

And they lie there, thinking about the
Cholera -- for 18 hours a day.

====

He says the recreation & work rooms
are only nominally used -- only a very
small number are put to any real use.

f81

[2]

He says: Rawal Pindee is a very healthy Station
So is Jullunder --
But the Cholera at Rawal Pindee has
 been frightful --
And that Typhoid Fever has nearly taken a
quarter of the Garrison at Jullundur.

The Regiment (92nd Highlanders) at
Jullundur was so frightfully mismanaged,
brought up the Indus in overcrowded bouts,
very young Irish recruits, in the hot season,
that they brought Typhoid Fever with them.
& it is not attributable to the Station --
The Commandg Officer is a grumbler.

He says: there is a great difference between the
protection from the sun to the walls
in the old & new Barracks.

That, he says, is their great mistake
You know Lord Napier of Magdala told me that
Col: Crommelin was only a third class man --
This man did not dare to say as much -- But
it was easy to see it -- And now he says Col.
Crommelin is to be head of a commission to
tell Lord Mayo what to do.

f81v

Cholera has appeared in the new Barracks
of Allahabad
Peshawur
Lucknow
Morar

But also in the old -- {Not all the new Barracks
{at these Stations are finished.

He cannot say that any troops with Cholera
have been moved into the new Barracks
He told me a hideous story where he found
that dirty Coolie families with diseases
(he himself saw a case of Small pox) had
been allowed to inhabit the new Barracks
before they were occupied.

He told me a most interesting story of Peshawur --

Cholera appeared (say) on the 11th September

They moved out one wing 104th Regt on the 13th out ~~of~~ side the
cantonment -- But two men died -- out of 3 attacks
another wing on the 17th -- They lost ~~74~~ 62 men {out

of 68 attacks

another of the 36th Rgt on the ~~24th~~ 19th. They

lost ~~130~~ 96 [171] men

out of 180 attacks [numbers hard to read]

f82

He says there has been Cholera in the vicinity of all
the Barracks at the time.

except Subathoo (which is a healthy
Hill Station!!!)

At Subathoo our troops have been
ravaged with Cholera in '67 and '69.
And a very dirty Bazaar close by
has had none.

He does not believe in Hill Stations --

Some of our most frightful Choleras
have been at Hill Stations --

And he says Beatson & Murray are
quite mad about Hill Stations --

He says, the British Army might as
well be kept at Suez --

But, he says, what does do the
troops good is to send them to
work on roads in the Hills.

He says the 55th working at Chakrata
(where our friend Dr. Walker is) is
perfectly healthy -- & all their
sick men recovered.

f82v

He says that nothing has really been done to improve any native towns -- that the govt of India says cantonments must be near native towns, because the cutcherries & Civil Boards of magistrature must be in the towns -- & cantonments must be near to protect them -- that at Allahabad the new Barracks are close to the city that Umritsir is a vast dirty native city as dirty as when it was born -- without improvements -- that just now a plan & estimate (for 20 lacs of rupees) was made for improving it -- that Mr. Strachey has taken off the octroi, upon which all municipal improvements depended for funds -- & that now they have no funds & there is a furious outcry.

f83

[3]

that the water supply at Amritser has not been improved, & is as bad as possible -- the water supply has not been improved in any of the native towns The Stations' water supply has been improved merely as far as this -- the best wells have been selected & great care has been taken by roofing in &c &c to protect them from pollution.

but there are no pumps, no means of distribution

And that is all --

He says: the Gaols are really their only success -- that not one Gaol except Corrickpore, in Upper India has had Cholera

He says -- they have actually built vast costly, Palatial buildings for the Native Regiments sick & that the sick got well in the huts & don't get well in the Palatial buildings

He says: the Commandg Officer is really the Doctor of his Regiment -- the health of the Regt depends on the C.O. -- If the C. O.s would devise something sufficiently interesting to pull the men out of bed, that is their best hope of health

f83v

Married Quarters

Not at Jullundur -- a success

But, he says, it was mainly the C. O.'s fault

He says: Durand is for going on just with the same
vast expence as before
Mansfield -- for stopping every kind of
expenditure

And -- it appears -- that Crommelin is to decide
-- except that Lord Mayo will wait for my
letter --

And Strachey told him -- he was very much
impressed by the letter he had received
from me

He says that the native town of Cawnpore has been
improved - but there is still Cholera --
that they are now borrowing 5 lacs rupees
at 5 per cent from Govt to carry out their
farther scheme.

He asked particularly what we thought of Bryden's
Report --

He says -- cholera does not follow the area of
bad drainage -- & stop where drainage has
been improved --

It follows a certain area -- outside that it
will stop even where there is bad drainage
bad water- supply -- But certainly good drainage will

prevent

f84

He says -- there will certainly be Cholera
this year in India

[end 9:905]

f85 NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS DATED [23 Feb 1870]

{NIGHTINGALE}:

I have Mrs. Deeble
coming this afternoon --

What questions do you
wish asked?

{SUTHERLAND}: [rough JS hand]

1st whether ~~her~~ she has
every facility for her work
& whether any improvements
can be suggested

2. Whether any changes
in the internal administration
of the hospital have been
introduced & if so how they
work --

f85v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Does Cuningham mention what
day he will be back? --

Sir B. Frere has appointed
to morrow "to come & consult"
with me

nobody competent to have
an enquiry

Yes with you -- But at Netley
my opinion is that
Hewlett was more fit --
to teach Parkes than
Parkes Hewlett

Cuningham has only 40 days
in England --
Cuningham is a much superior
man to Parkes

f86 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- DATED 22d Feb./70

f87 NOTE RE SIR BARTLE FRERE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Sir Bartle Frere

Feb 24/70

[10:103-05]

thinks that we should all see Dr. Cuninghame & that
for some time -- & get out of him every thing --
He says -- what I observed Dr C. is full of facts --
but he has no propositions to make
Neither he nor any of the Reports give any
connection of facts.

If the Army Sanitary Comm: would ask the Under
Secretary at the India Office in proper terms
after they have seen Dr. C. for his leave to be
prolonged, Sir Bartle says it would be done.

Lord Napier of Magdala leaves England on March 7 --

By his desire, Sir B. Frere went from here to him,
to arrange an appointment between him & me.

Sir B.F. advises that I should write to Lord Mayo,
as soon as we have agreed upon propositions with
Lord Napier, & prepare Lord Mayo for what
Ld Napier may propose -- which I am to settle with
Ld. Napier

{`Sir B.F. advises...to settle with' IS BRACKETED IN RIGHT MARGIN}
===

He says if Crawford & Hewlett were to leave Bombay
tomorrow, the Sanitary improvement would cease tomorrow

===He thinks Hewlett will be made Sanitary Commissioner

=== He told me a great deal about the Octroi & means
of levying money -- He says that you can levy almost any

f87v

money or the people, provided they see that it
 is expended locally to their advantage --
 but that the Supreme Govt have always made
 this fatal mistake, after they have declared
 local levying of taxes impossible, when they
 find it possible, they say O that's very nice --
 we will take those local taxes for the Supreme
 Govt's needs --
 And then -- the people are not willing to pay

I was to state certain views to Ld Napier --
 I was to ask him from his experience to tell me
 what he would advise me to say to Ld Mayo --
 in order that then when he goes out as C in C.
 he may aid & abet what I may have proposed
 to Lord Mayo -- because he will have great influence on the council --
 This is exactly what Sir B. F. said.

f88v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

Sir B. Frere

says that C Os have actually provided sometimes
 Gun-stocks for the men's sport, without powder

===

He says that the Clerk system has exceeded all bounds
 under Ld Mayo --

that sometimes it is neither Ld Mayo nor any
 Member of Council but it is some clerk low
 down who stops the way --

===

He says that Ld mayo writes & writes -- & they at this
 end write & write -- & their letter are masterly --
 -- but nothing ever comes of it -- The Clerks are
 the Governors General.

===

But, he says, Ld Mayo tho' so sensible & clever
 falls terribly under the influence of any one who
 chooses to exert it

===

He says, just at this minute, tho', nothing will be
 done by any one, because they're thinking of
 nothing but stinginess.

===

He says: you should recommend to Lord Mayo for

persons to make the enquiries -- as you enquired at
Malta & Gibraltar -- any like Hewlett out there &
say --from experience we judge these persons competent **[end 10:103]**

f89

[ca. 24 Feb. 1870]

I really could not help laughing to myself --
They have caught a Tartar in her --

Mrs. S. Stewart was a dove --

By her own account, she rules the Medical Officers
like a martinet

Mrs. Deeble

===She gave me such an account of the Medical
Cadets

she says the Professors & Divisional Surgeons
actually charge the "Sisters" to tell them of the
mistakes the Cadets make to tell them when
the Cadets ~~are~~ neglect their hours of visiting
&c &c

And when I exclaimed she said: Well, I assure
you the "Sisters'" manners are quite perfect,
both with Surgeons & Orderlies

Who is a Count -- ? on the Medical Staff

He is one of those whom the "Sisters" are
commissioned to superintend

then she told me of another Cadet who gave Quinine
in acute Inflammatory Chest Disease, whose
treatment the Sisters were told to superintend

They found spirits &c given into charge of Orderlies
& Patients. And this was put by the Seniors
into the charge of the Sisters -- when one night a
Cadet sent for her Mrs. Deeble -- & said -- The

f89v

Sisters are keeping back the Patients' stimulants.

I've had great experience -- I was House Surgeon
at Guy's --

So she told him that the Sisters had been ordered to
administer the stimulants

Then, she marched into the ward, & told the Patients
before the Cadet that they ought to be ashamed of
themselves for complaining -- for the first duty of the
soldier was obedience --

& told the Cadet before the Patients that this
should be a lesson to him not to take their
complaints without enquiry

===

She says, about the Training of Orderlies
what would you think if at St. Thomas' you trained
Probationers in that way --
without a standing staff --
& changing every body every 2 or 3 weeks.

===

I thought the M.O. himself was to be
changed every 3 years --

f90

She says --

[15:492]

1. that it is impossible to conceive the badness of Netley
as a Hospital till you come to work it.

those Corridors in winter are far worse than the open air
-- they are not warmed except by one close stove which
warms the air for itself --

the Indian Patients all get Pneumonia & they have had
severe cases from men merely going down to the
Dining Hall --

they wash the Corridors & the water freezes as they
wash.

=====

there is NOT one bath in the whole Hospital that
is not broken --

not one lavatory tap in the whole Hospital that acts
the men can't wash or bathe in the Lavatories --

EVERY bath they have is brought up & put by the bed side
=every drop of water in the lavatories carried in --

=there is ~~one~~ but one (Corridor) tap to each Division --
& that is all the hot water the Sisters have

without its being fetched

She says -- it's been so ever since she has been
there -- that every plug in the Lavatories won't act
-- that she has begged & prayed for repairs
& that they say they have no money

[end 15:492]

f90v

She says that Wilbraham is absolutely of no more use than an old grandmother
She says -- it would not make the slightest difference whether he were there or not.
she told me the whole story of the removal of the beds -- And it's even worse than you know
But, she says, the whole blame really devolves upon Wilbraham -- What's a Governor there for, she says, except to prevent his Hospital being stripped
He knew the Patients were arriving -- in less than a fortnight.

She saw it

===

She says the Orderly (Hospital Corps) system would do very well -- if it existed for a week together.

- But 1. the Orderlies & Wardmasters are changed every day --
2. they only profess to give 3 months' training.
3. there is no permanent Staff Corps of Orderlies & Wardmasters to train the others
4. they (the Orderlies & Wardmasters) hate Netley -- they try to be drafted away as soon as possible: & she says they have good reason

f91

She says -- men, who are worth something better
are employed all day cleaning & scouring the
Corridors --

==And they beg & beg to be drafted off elsewhere --
that a man who has just learnt to be
handy about the Patients is drafted off to be
writing Clerk in an Office --
& they never see him again.

===

that the Wardmaster of the Surgical Division
is the only man who has been there
even the 3 months --

===

that the Wardmaster of the Medical Division
& all the others are changed about twice
a week.

===

She says -- there is no discipline whatever in
any sense of the word

===

She says -- she has now obtained
1. that the Orderly Medical Officer should
go round every 2 hours during the night
2. that the special Night Orderlies shall be
told off for only 6 hours instead of 12

f91v

But now -- is what she came up for
She says -- she must have 2 Female Nurses
for the Night from us -- one for the Medical
one for the Surgical --
& that all the Medical Officers wish it
How is this to be compassed?

==

This is a comparative trifle
she says 1. we can't use for the Nurses the dress
stuffs that are there.

When are we to give the Nurses their summer
dresses?

5 The Nurses can't dress themselves out of the £3.
they must have £4

3 The Corridors wear out the Nurses' dresses at the
bottom more than my roads --

Add Mss 45754

556

2 Their dresses are already worn out

4 Mrs. S. Stewart bottomed the Nurses dresses with
leather

ff92-93 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND DATED [ca. Feb. 1870]

f94

[ca. beg. Mar. 1870]

I think this an important argument
to sue with Ld Napier as to having
special Engineers

f95v

Do you wish to see if Tyndall has magnified
his dirt?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I have thought that, if my letter to Sir H.
Verney (on Mrs. Butler's subject) were
published in the Pall Mall Gazette, tho'
I had rather not give my name, it might
do some good.

My letter asked for inquiry
inquiry into facts

f96

1 Mrs. Deeble's case 2/3/70
There are now 120 Surgical
135 Medical cases
255 (under our Nurses)
all requiring Nursing -- all "Civil
Hospital" cases, which are nursed
night & day.
No number equal to this has ever been
in Netley before --
but, ~~besides this~~, there is too now a
(more or less) even, constant number
of serious cases requiring nursing
day & night.
This too is a new state for Netley --
The average in Mrs. S. Stewart's
time was 20
40

60 {Medical & Surgical cases
[Besides this', there are a certain
number of cases in the other wards
whom Mrs. Deeble visits, & whom

f96v

our Nurses "dress -- but who are not
under our charge --
These do not require Night Nursing]

The great difference between the
former & present constant number
of heavy cases in the wards under
our charge is shewn by the fact
that (at Mrs. Deeble's request) the
Medical Staff have consented to
order an orderly Medical Officer
to go round every 2 hours during
the night.

Mrs. Deeble herself goes round at
p.m.
10 -- & at 2 a.m.

She used to go round a third time
during the night -- but finds her
strength unequal to the third time

f97

The Orderly Night Service is just
as bad as ever --

There is one "Guard Orderly " told
off every 4 hours during the night
for each Division.

for any special case one Orderly
is told off, who ~~is~~ was on duty 24 hours

At Mrs. D.'s request, one is now
told off for each 6 hours of the night.

[There have been some most
distressing cases from, night neglect. Patients left
tolerably well by the Nurse over
night & found dying in the morning
-- Pneumonia cases who were to
be kept in a warm temperature -- found
by Mrs. Deeble at 10 p.m. with an
enormous fire -- & at 2. a.m. fire
out, orderly asleep, water freezing
in ward]

f97v

But I do not recommend Mrs. D. to put it on the score of the Orderlies' derelictions.

All she & I & Mrs. Wardroper wish is to have 2 trained women of the rank of sisters as Night Nurses, one for each Division.

You recommended me to write to H. B. C. & to advise that Mrs. D. should write to him. I did so --

[This is the third time I have written out the case]

What do you advise now? --

[I did not write to Mrs. D -- yesterday].

The case is entirely different from what it was even 6 months ago.

f98

z

Mrs. Deeble

{SUTHERLAND}:

write to H.B.C. ~~such~~ a statement of the nursing service and especially as to defect of the night superintendence of orderlies as would enable the Committee which fixed the number of nurses after enquiry to ~~depart~~ be justified in departing from the terms of this former recommendation

Tell them that there are 255 severe cases while formerly there were only 60.

She must show that the night superintendent ~~nursing~~ has been in times past very defective, that there are no means at present of making it

efficient, ~~& she must get the~~ and then state that to fulfil the M.O. ~~support her & then state what she supposes~~ } in the way of efficient duties required regulating & she will require two ~~additions~~ additional nurses

f99 {SUTHERLAND}:

HBC

to UnderSec of State 3

It having come to the knowledge of the Nightingale Committee that since the recent change of the Nursing organization at Netley. There are a larger proportion of cases of a very degen. character than have previously been received into the the hospital requiring night nursing & that the present staff is worked to the extent of its capacity without the work having been overtaken, I would beg to suggest that some enquiry might be made into to the circumstances with the view of ascertaining the real state of the

f99v

case ~~not the view~~] & of providing additional aid if necessary, and I am to state that should such necessity exist the committee will be glad to assist in supplying it.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN BY NIGHTINGALE}:

I wrote ~~him~~ to H.B.C. the whole case & told him that you recommended that Mrs. D. should be asked to write to him

f100

[ca. 3 Mar. 1870]

I have not written yet to Mrs. Deeble Look, here is the ~~statement~~ case. 1

Here 2 is what you recommended me to tell her to write to H. B. C.

which leaves out the main feature of the case, viz the No of severe cases which is now as 255 to 60 formerly.

Here 3 -- what you recommended H. B. C. to write to the U. S. of S.

Now what do you really

Add Mss 45754

561

recommend?

f101v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}
~~agre with Sir H.V. as to the~~
~~5 years, reserve & Indian~~
~~Army~~

f102

[ca. 3 Mar 1870]

I wrote to Harry B.C. about the
Netley Night Nursing -- & proposing that
Mrs. Deeble should write to him

He returns me this --

Does he mean that I should now
write to Mrs. Deeble telling her to write
to him?

{ABOVE THREE LINES BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

It was you who said

You said that as we had fixed
the number of the Nursing Staff
the course
should be for Mrs. Deeble to write
to H. B. C about them.

And I wrote this to H. B. C.

f103v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I told you she was quite
incapable of writing a letter

We shall get nothing out of her
at all comparable to what she
told me viva voce

ff104-05v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND, embossed War Office DATED March 5 1870. Wd you be so good as to look at this proposed change in the hospitals. I have taken out the main points. The gen hosps are preserved intact in principle. The store keeping of a regt hosp already furnished...[lots of details] ends: I shall see you about it on Monday.

F106 FN pencil notes

f106

Dr. Cuningham

March 12/70

[10:105-08]

None --

And the Native Officers are not those whom you could trust.

The Police are the only officials by which anything could be done.

A great deal has been done by circulating Hand Bills on Sanitary matters --

And these have been well received by the Natives --

But Bengalees are distrustful -- And, politically, Sir J. Lawrence declared entirely against a Sanitary or Registration Crusade in villages --

The Punjab has more of the Village Organization remaining than Bengal or any other part. And more has been done there than in any other part

The only way would be to make this District Officer in his cold Weather journeys make a sort of Sanitary enquiry & inspection & get wells & the rest set to rights on the spot

This would entail very little cost Much of course

1. Are there any Regulations for the cleansing of Native villages?
Who carry them out?

Could such regulations be carried out under periodical inspection to see whether they are efficiently fulfilled?

How would the local costs be paid?

2. Same about surface drainage
3. Same about water sources & distribution
4. What are the obstacles to the India Govt carrying out the inspections & improvement of Stations as proposed by the R. C.?
5. Seeing that so much has been written & so little done what would be the best practical administrative steps to carry out improvements?

f106v

depends on the man. If he is a good man, he already orders his Collector (a native) to set about the thing directly

He says -- it would be extremely difficult to interfere within the natives' houses about drainage or water supply. Every native thinks it his "privilege" to have his own cess-pool & his own water well, both inside his house, & commonly close together

- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .

spent And the natives are disheartened for years to come

2. As to surface drainage He says -- very little at all has been done. Jubbulpore has just been "surface drained" But he found the whole place under water

Tovey, a capital man of the Bengal Staff Corps, went to Roorkee College to instruct himself in Engineering & Cawnpore -- & very well but has been handsomely abused. The money was found by borrowing 5 lacs of rupees from Govt. But in general there is no money. Umritsir which is the richest of all spent I forget what in drainage The Deputy Commissioner (European) did it with an Engineer. The drains were made to run up hill It is a total failure -- Immense sums have been

f107 Strachey's plan was to have District Municipalities, combining a number of villages.

But he never carried it out

The money would be furnished by Bridge & Ferry tolls which (when across the Ganges) are very large

He says the main obstacles are: 1. want of money
2. jealousies

They are sinking Artesian wells in the N. W. Provinces He says, pumps are difficult because water is so low down

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

I learnt for the first time what had become of our Questions sent to the Local governmts by Sir J. Lawrence --

All the answers had come in, except those of Bengal & Oude

And Cuningham to whom they were referred thought it better to send them home whole to the I.O. without waiting for Bengal or Oude

Madras sent home direct.

All, without exception, declared against any scheme of sending home Engineers for Sanitary instruction

f107v

He says -- the reason why
the Sanitary Commissions
failed was that the
Military & Engineering
members were men
already with too much to do

They could only attend
one or two Meetings

They could do not one
Inspection

And had time for
nothing but quarrelling.

.

He has scarcely anything
to propose.

He says he himself has
had his whole time
occupied by Lord Mayo's
Cholera enquiry.

.

that he thinks now he
might make Inspections
of Stations & take an
Engineer with him
from Calcutta -- or get
Engineering assistance
on the spot at the
Station under Inspection.

.

He says --
at Stations if the water is bad
the M.O. complains to the
CO. the C. O. to the Brigadier
Commands, he to Head
Quarters -- that is referred
to the G. M. G. that to the
Public Works -- & the
Answer comes back that
the water is very good &
nothing is wanted.

And thus he cannot say
that at Stations anything
is done as to water supply
in drainage

But, he says, he cannot
admire the young M.O.'s
doings. They make a
water analysis -- they are
incapable of saying how
the water acts upon health
or how to improve the
supply. And the water
analysis is just thrown
aside -- And no action
taken.

This does not refer to the
2 young men sent out

f108

. [2]
. He won't have his leave prolonged
He says he must go back --
. He showed me his notes for to day's meeting
===
. He talked (more than I wished)
1. about the badness of the young Doctors --
He says -- if an Epidemic comes upon them the first
. or second year they have not an idea what to do
Also that they learn nothing by being with the
. Native Corps --
He says -- they want an Indian Medical Staff
2. about the necessity of putting the 2 young Doctors
(Lewis & Cuningham) directly in communication
with himself -- & himself directly in communication
with yourselves
He says -- the delay in communicating & distributing Reports
is beyond all belief
. but that they have now a Sanitary Dept a part
of the Home Office **[end 10:107]**

f109v

Lord Napier

Regimental Schools -- Native Regiments
Bombay -- Native Army

Attached to each Regt 24 boys -- sons of Soldiers
orphans having the preference -- enlisted at a very early
age -- & receive half pay. They wear the uniform of the Regt.
paid for regimentally, attendance at School compulsory

Attendance of Soldiers & their children not in the
Recruit Boys List, voluntary.

Most intelligent Native Officers & N. C. Officers those
brought up in Regtal Schools -- open the road to promotion
& remunerative regimental employment.

(good English classes in several Regts)
Native Officers -- asking what part of India they come from --
answer -- I was born in the Regiment as was
my father before me -- I have no other home
I was educated in the Regimental School.

f110 [ca. 17 Mar 1870)

I sent Miss Torrance's letter to Sir Harry for Mr. Goschen at your desire. but with a heavy heart.

I don't think Mr. Goschen the sort of man to understand it or to deal with it.

He will say -- that's just what I told Miss N. that, if she sent Nurses, people would send their sick into Workhouses who otherwise would not -- "to be nursed by Miss N.'s nurses".

Well but you saw that Miss Torrance said that the cases were as severe as those at St. Thomas'.

I understand 3 points from her letter --
1. that people in waggonettes when sick go there
2. that all the cases are real severe Hospital cases
3. that the Steward will bring the place to ruin;
Why have they vegetables only once a fortnight?

f111v

Have you got no further than Cuningham's Questions?

I told him so

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO}:

I see that he did the only good thing he has done so ignorantly & inconsiderately that he has been obliged to withdraw it

The Control has too much power already -- I would never consent to that.

Why did you bring up the subject at all? Wilbraham's letter was "Confidential"

f112

[ca. 17 Mar. 1870]

If you wish me to see Lord Napier, **[10:108]**
whom you will not see
{`whom you will not see' WRITTEN IN DARKER PENCIL}
& to see Dr. Cuninghame ~~this week~~,
whom you will see
{`whom you will see' WRITTEN IN DARKER PENCIL}
you must write down the sort of
questions I am to ask them --

Am I unreasonable in asking this?
I exhaust myself & make myself ill for
weeks in writing sheets & sheets ~~of~~
for you of what Dr. C. & Ld Napier &
Sir B. Frere say --

And you will not take the least
trouble to guide me in return --
If You say, hear what Dr. Cuninghame has
to say -- is not that just what I have
done -- & for 3 hours? --
What is the use of saying that!

But am I to agree with him on certain
propositions for me to write to Ld Mayo?
and if so what?

[end 10:108]

f112v

If a bed is constantly occupied (Call it 2 bed steads) you may almost have a Pupil a bed --

We had at the fated R. C. H. 12 beds & 10 Pupils --

Of course if you have 32 beds (call it 36 bed-rooms) you may have 30 Pupils.

If they were not single rooms, of course you would want more for a reserve

Then you give up Ommanny's plan

Of course
empirical

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO}:

Many of those he can do as C. in C -- without Lord Mayo.

f113

Lord Napier of Magdala [10:108-12]

March 18/70

He spent the last hours in England with me

But he told me so much I don't where to begin.

And the worst of it is -- it's very different from Cuningham & from what we have ever heard before

1. He says -- a Despatch has just come to the D. of Argyll, curtailing all the Barrack accomodation -- all the R. Commission's recommendations -- that he has done his best to neutralize its effect with the D. of Argyll but that Cuningham is for it -- Mansfield is for it, (who will do more mischief at home than even out there.) both the Stracheys for it -- And he said, quite pathetically, they were like Sir I. Newton's dog & knew not the mischief they were doing.

The gist of this Despatch is two fold: -- (1.) it is to reduce the sleeping accomodation to

what it would be without sick & married

Lord Napier says: you don't see the gist of this --
when the sick man comes back to Barracks he
finds his little corner, his pictures all destroyed

f113v

-- & he is crammed in anywhere else -- or among
 the married men which is very wrong -- Then if another Regiment
 comes which is not matrimonial or which has a stronger force --
 there is
 ? too little room for the single men. And this is a
 productive of great harm

The second point of the Despatch is: --

(2). to curtail the day-room accommodation of course
 because the great principle of 2 storied Barracks is -- that they

provide you with a ground floor

Lord Napier's principle has always been -- have
 above sleeping-room for your whole number of
 men (as if you had no sick) -- keep the accommodation
 below for their Day-rooms -- &c.

But, he says, if you have one storied Barracks, make them cool
 enough for
 day and night. And in the hills have fire places.

 {ABOVE PARAGRAPH STARTING `The second point.....And in the hills
 have fire places.' IS BRACKETED IN LEFT HAND MARGIN}

2. About white-washing --

Ld Napier says -- you must plaster & whitewash.

the red raises the temperature 5°

but you must plaster first & then whitewash.

f114

3. He says -- the tall arches are right
 but they have no Venetians --
 there should be Venetians everywhere *

 4. He says -- if you were to see (in the single storied
 Barracks) the men dining in the Verandahs -- the
 flies -- the scraps of meat about all day -- you would see
 that men ought to ~~be made to dine on the~~ have a
 ground floor to dine in -- to live in ~~the ground floor~~ --
 & to sleep up-stairs.

He laughs to scorn all the ~~rest~~ arguments against Day-rooms --

He says he

never knew a Commandg Officer who would not,
 IF the C. in C. interested himself, look after the
 men's day occupations -- And he never knew
 a Regiment which would not occupy itself
 by day if they had but the opportunity. Give them
 Exhibitions too & sale of their things & praise & prizes. You
 won't find them fail.

{ABOVE 2 PARAGRAPHS BEGINNING `4. He says -- if....won't find
 them fail' ARE BRACKETED TOGETHER IN RIGHT MARGIN}

He says -- that's all nonsense about the (double)
 Punkah establishments --* have your Punkahs
 by day down-stairs -- occupy the men down stairs
 make your sleeping rooms "as cool as you can
 even by day. (which they don't do) -- & let the few men,
 the few who will choose to do so be down by day on their beds
 and then ~~Hut~~ -- you have also your tatties --

f114v

5.

=== ~~But~~ He says = ~~they~~ the authorities are very bad -- about the
gardens

The Commissariat won't let the men garden --

B They say -- the men make a mess --

Ld Napier ~~doesn't believe it~~ -- He says -- it's
mere "parochial" jobbing

6.

Sir W. Mansfield has done immense harm by selling
ground within the cantonments --

Ld Mayo has stopped the sale (at Kurrachee &c
in deference to Lord Napier --

Civilians thus get into the cantonments -- where
they like to be because it exempts them from
taxation -- But you can't bring them under
Regulations -- & all sorts of Sanitary & worse
neglects ensue.

And all for £300 000

But this £300 000 Ld Napier employed in Steam pumps
to lay water on to Barracks in Bombay Presidency.

f115

[2]

7:

~~But~~, Lord Napier says --
 after all (& this is what he particularly wishes
 represented to Ld Mayo)
 the grand mistake in the Barracks is:
 no water supply --

e.g. Allahabad *

Why can't you have Steam pumps, Forcing pumps --
 -- he put up Steam pumps at Poona, Allahabad
 &c -- they answer as well as in other latitudes --
~~But the w=~~, instead of being found enough, they are *
 --
 always found too little. And so the "extravagance" cry

disappears

even among those who have raised it.

He says: you ought to (& you can) have
 water laid on to ever Barrack in India by
 steam or forcing power -- with tower &
 pumps or something.

 8. He says --

write to Ld Mayo -- tell him to pause --
 tell him you must have sufficient accomodation,
 day & night --

& you must have water supply laid on ==

He says -- everything depends upon what is thought in England.
 We raised the cry of public opinion in England. And that alone
 is: what has saved India.

f115v

9. He says: --

You can surface drain every station in India
so as to rid it of all rain water --
that he has done this himself
that he used to reckon 4 per cent
he now reckons 10 per cent
that ye may have tanks, if no other way --

10.

He says:

Lord Mayo's convictions are violent in proportion as he
is weak

that he has quite changed in the last 6 months

that this cry about taking cost of accommodation
out of revenue instead of out of loan is quite
preposterous & can't stand

If you were a settler & saw your children dying
should not you borrow to build & call the
interest of the loan house-rent?

f116

11.

He says -- the cleansing police is efficient --
when the Commandg Offices & where the
Cantonment magistrate are efficient

that the two things which affect the
health of troops are

1. the condition of the surrounding native population
2. the water supply &c.

12.

He says -- you can sell the Sewage -- that he has
done this -- that he learnt it in China --
that the Chinese are far before us in
Sewage farms.

But he says, the authorities are dreadful
about this --

that they would bury the Latrine matters
on the slope of a hill where they were
liable to be washed down by the rains -- &
he could not get Mansfield to go to the
farther expence

f116v

13.

He says -- undoubtedly you can dry-crop dry? malaria out.

& also you can eat up malaria by fast growing tree planting.

He told me dreadful stories about his surveying parties being eaten up by Fever from malaria in vallies 3 miles from Rawal Pindee, when, if they had but gone 3 miles to Rawal Pindee, they would have been quite well.

f117

14.

[3]

Lord Napier is extremely keen about the Sanitary engineer plan --

He says -- they are trying in India to invent first principles --

that he himself when he came to England

found that he was blind as to first principles of Sanitary Engineering

he was blind -- whereas now he sees --

that he would have said send us some

Sanitary Engineers from Chatham

but he thinks now ~~that~~, as he is afraid

several Engineers will be set loose, as they are stopping ~~all~~ Public Works, that

he will himself examine these men,

select some for Sanitary specialty, & send them home to learn, like Tulloch

===

He begged me to write to him

===

About "natural head works," Lord Napier says -- of course natural head works are a good thing.

But really are Steam & Forcing pumps to be ignored for ever in India?

f118

15. [4]

Ld Napier says that everything in India depends on the tone of public opinion in England --

that the good we did was by arousing the public interest in England or Sanitary India (-- that we over-stated the Mortality a little & therefore there was a little re-action)

that the Times & Pall Mall Gazette have done immense harm by their glib gossip about "palatial buildings" --

that those articles were inspired by the Govt of India

that, after all, how many "palatial buildings" are there? -- perhaps 3 or 4 --

And the mischief at Allahabad is not because it is a "palatial building" but that there is no water supply, no drainage, no anything.

16

He says Cuninghame is gone quite mad about drainage. He says: you must bring the water in before you can take it out.

I'll drain fast enough, Ld Napier says

f118v

17 He says

Books, Sanitary books are what is wanted He says, if a good Sanitary book is sent out, it is lent half over India

He instanced your early Cholera Reports

f119

18. Ld Napier says that care must be taken not to make imperative on Commandg Officers "the evacuation of places" threatened by Cholera --

He says -- he was always informed by constant telegraphing (which he took care to enforce of the movement of Cholera --

that if you let a Commanding Officer because he hears of a case of two which may not be epidemic

move out his men in sun or rains
 he may bring about the very epidemic
 you wish to avoid either of Fever,
 Sun-stroke or Cholera.

f119v

19.

The Commander in Chief in India is
 a Member of Council -- & in some sense
 a Minister of War --

Lord Napier told me that Sir W. Mansfield
 had insisted on staying for the Budget
 this next month --

but that he, Lord Napier, thinks it as
 well to be out of the way, (tho' he had intended
 to be there) in order not to sanction by his
 presence what he cannot prevent.

f120

[5]

What I understood Lord Napier to say was this: --

1. always have separate Dining=rooms &
 either in one or two storied Barracks
2. where you have 2 storied Barracks, one &
 scarcely a secondary object is that you
 secure ground-floor accomodation co-extensive
 with the sleeping accommodation
 for Day Rooms
 Workshops
 Dining Rooms &c
3. where (in the Hills both in Bengal & Bombay
 Presidencies) it is undesirable & unnecessary
 to have two storied Barracks
 still secure Dining=rooms & make the one story
 comfortable both for day & night +
4. secure cool rooms for sleeping even in the
 2 storied Barracks
5. secure a water supply laid on for every
 Barrack (which can be done) --
 The want of this water supply is a main cause
 of unhealthiness

f120v

Yes: and Ld Napier says

don't be afraid that they won't take up
 enough & too much of your ground floor
 accomodation for stories & N. C. Officers

Ld Napier says: make them comfortable
 they're not too large, when divided into
 Stores
 Day & Reading Rooms
 dining Rooms (which should be separate
 WORKSHOPS

He says -- there are a great many more than
 "1 dozen" men on their Beds all day --
 Of course if there's nothing in the room but a
 bench, the men won't go there --
 not even "1 dozen".

Ld Napier thinks more of workshops
 than of sending the men out shooting
 which can only be occasional --
 whereas you should ~~make~~ employ the men always upon
 making things for sale

f121

I understand you to say --
 that Col. Greathed's advice is that 70 000 men
 should go out shooting every day of the 365
 days of the year
 & that Barracks should only be used
 for sleeping & eating

I understand Lord Napier to say
 that shooting can only be used for the men
 (as it is for gentlemen) as an amusement
 (he did not say a word against shooting in
 the hottest weather)
 & that profitable saleable employment must
 be provided for the men's daily work
 as for all other working men.
 He himself never failed in success in this
 The men worked at trades
 & sold their work.

& also the wives --
 £1000 worth of work used to be sold the first day
 of sale **[end 10:112]**

f122[ca. 18-19 Mar. 1870] **[10:114]**

Ld Napier has written to Lord Mayo
& shewn his letter to the D. of Argyll --
He very much regretted not having
kept a copy for me.

He spoke with great affection of
Cunningham whom he has known
since a child

But he says he is a good fellow
with "a little Sanitary knowledge &
absolutely no knowledge of the soldier
-- & that Ld Mayo uses him to back
his own ignorance.

[end 10:114]

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

That's quite another question

f123v

Ld Napier says

Baker is right &
Cunningham wrong

It may be so -- but I
don't think Cunningham
knows any thing about it
I mentioned Chadwick
to Ld Napier. He knew
Tulloch

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I dare say you will.

~~You~~

Who is to ask them? --

I've plenty to do --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG SIDE OF FOLIO}:

He says the 2 Stracheys butter (shampoo)

Lady Mayo

& the 2 female Stracheys

butter Lord Mayo --

[or butler]

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG OTHER SIDE OF FOLIO}:

Ld Napier's gone -- went from here --

f124

[9:643-46]

Lord Mayo

March 23/70

Present aspect of Public Health question in India.

Too great a tendency in India to invent first principles

Field of India enormous like working at a continent

I Barracks

1.

Too hot --

a. Plaster & whitewash outside to protect walls from seen radiation

b. Fill the tall Verandah arches with the Venetians to protect the room walls. The lofty arches are right enough, but the upper part of the arch of the Verandah should be filled up with broad wooden Jalousies admitting of adjustment to let in light & keep out sun or spaces between pillars even then filled up

These two remedies can easily be tried at any Station -- & a comparison made of the effect in temperature, ventilation & comfort with other blocks

2. New Barrack building alone will not cure the sick, lower the Death rate or guarantee from epidemics

So much enters into the improvement of a Station besides the actual putting up of a new house!

The four things essential to health on which it depends

1. a thorough drainage of ground occupied by Station
2. an abundant supply of pure water distributed over Stations
3. healthy principles of Barrack & Hospital construction,

including

means of employment, exercise & recreation

4. improved Sanitary police of Stations, Bazars & adjacent native towns

f124v

These 4 things in reality one as regards health
 To omit the 3 & build the one is to spend much money
 with little hope of money's worth
 For on 1. the condition of the surrounding native population
 2. the water supply drainage &c
 depend very much whether we shall have Epidemics or not

Whether it is necessary to construct new Barracks & what
 their construction shall be must be determined on the
 spot after competent enquiry into the general Sanitary
 condition of the Station where it is proposed to build

The construction of the new Barracks does not appear to
 have had anything to do with Cholera, Fever, or other disease
 in these buildings The construction may even have
 lessened the sick rate -- for there are plenty unfortunately
 of causes of sickness undealt with which lie outside
 the towns altogether

E.g. Allahabad --
 what is the condition of the neighbourhood of these Barracks?
 the filthy towns where Cholera flourishes almost
 perennially -- where there is neither drainage nor wholesome
 water -- and this close to the new Barracks --
 All the Barrack building in the world would make but

f125

little difference in the Epidemic susceptibility
 of troops exposed to malaria day & night -- more
 especially during sleep --

Is Allahabad a solitary example, and exception?
 Are there not instances of new Barracks suffering
 from foul ground covered with filth by work people &
 others?

Nusterabad nuisance directly produced Cholera.

In India improved construction, sufficient space &
 ventilation, upper floor sleeping rooms where necessary,
 have no other object than to remove the depressing
 constitutional influences of foul air, & to enable the men
 to resist other Disease causes -- not themselves
 connected with the Barracks

3. Such causes require to be attacked always outside
 the Barracks, sometimes outside the Cantonment
 & it may be at a considerable distance from its boundary.

Filthy towns & Bazaars, or foul native houses & inhabitants inside cantonment boundaries or too close to them are constant sources of danger

Of course the only real safeguard is to keep such population out of Cantonments & at a safe distance to leeward

This is not always possible. And for Civil purposes troops must be near Civil populations.

f125v

Then, either the Native population must be put under efficient Sanitary police

Or the troops (& natives too & Civilians too) must suffer

4. No difference of opinion as to men sleeping as far as necessary above level of ground

-- Principle applicable to all climates & countries

Only question in India -- amount of elevation

-- must be determined by local & climatic enquiry on the spot

5. Whatever the height of sleeping room is raised above ground, great principle must never be overlooked.

-- in Indian climates, men cannot be always in the same rooms, inhabiting the same rooms day & night, with safety

[If they do, floors & walls get impregnated with "men" as in European climates is the case with Hospitals constantly inhabited]

Their Day & Dining rooms must be separate from their sleeping rooms.

And there must be means of occupying the men at trades remunerative work or reading or exercises -- instead of lying on their beds, thinking of Cholera, for perhaps 18 hours out of the 24

f126

[2]

And there must be Commandg Officers who will devise support & encourage such remunerative employment, such active industry & recreation among the men as will pull them off their beds by force of interest

Such things have been done & may be done again & done more extensively altho' of course there is much talk about impossibility & difficulty

Si, c'est possible &c &c

Road making in India has cured the troops engaged in it

Elementary principle in Physiology that men eat & sleep solely to lay in a store of force to be expended under the action of the will. If the force is not expended in healthy production, it will be expended in unhealthy or diseased products.

Half the diseased predisposition in India -- among the men arises from "lolling" on their beds.

But men can't will themselves active

They must have the necessary room & appliances, the necessary means & inducements for work & recreation in order to have the requisite means of cure

If the lower floors of Barracks are furnished only with a bench or two, if they have neither fittings nor Punkahs, or course the men won't go into them if there is nothing to do in them, of course the men will do nothing in them.

f126v

If these appliances are necessary, they must be had --
 If not had, the men must suffer

Anyhow there is no saving, for men in India cost
 more than tables, tools or Punkahs.

But all the workshops & appliances in the world will
 of no use, unless the Officers see to their use --
 the men's health of more importance to the State than the
 Officers' difficulties

6. Every man should have his bed

Whether on or off duty

Whether in Barracks or in Hospital

One principle to give by Regulation every bed its quota
 of space, whether occupied or not

A soldier's bed is his home -- the only home he has
 he ornaments it, with his little pictures & things

And not good was ever done to a Briton by destroying
 his notion of 'home'.

At cool hill stations or at damp changeable, other
 Stations the Barrack room would always have its
 fire place for use or comfort.

7. Gardens --

Almost every Regiment should supply itself with
 vegetables -- a prime element of healthy diet in India

f127

8. India rather short of pumps --

I will make India a present of a pump

ex maire, il a doué sa commune d'une pompe
 provided I am not thrown into my own will by the
 Bheesties or Coolies whose trade I shall have
 damaged

Might not Steam pumps, Forcing pumps answer

as well in Indian as in European latitudes?

We do not here depend upon "natural headworks"

nor upon water carriers.

[end 9:646]

f127v

JS pencil

There is no doubt local nuisance authority

which can compel the cleaning of the nuisances
Let the parties apply to it. If it does not
do the work or refuses then let a statement
of the circumstances be sent to the Home office
& an enquiry asked for.

f128 NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 26/3/70, embossed War Office. Here is the 250th edition of your est. The architect wants it back as soon as possible as he leaves this office on the 1st April (the better day the better deed) and thinks that firstly you will have to send after him to China. He has a block plan of it in petto like their infallibility, and one must hope that the first may turn out better than the second.

f129

March 26/70

[9:646-47]

Dr Cuninghame as you said wanted to see me
But when he came he had no "administrative plan"

Nothing to propose but -- what do you think?
that young Chadwick should be adjoined to him

I said I had no idea he was experienced enough
He said -- you had recommended him

I said -- ask Dr. Sutherland again

==

He says the new Barracks at Morar
are all masonry

New Barracks at	Allahabad
	Peshawar
red brick	Rawal Pindie
He says plastering &	Jullundur
white washing will make	Umbala - married quarters
them very glaring	Subathoo
	Kussuthrie

He says the large stair cases which Lord Napier
likes are ducts for foul air to the whole
building -- as in Hospitals

==

I mentioned Major Gordon to him

f129v

He asked me to send out books
thro Smith & Elder to him --

He says it takes 6-8 months to get
books sent out official way

==

He asks --

Would it be best to begin in the Allahabad
as a station?

f130

I am very sorry to say that each time I have
seen Cuningham I have hope less from his
ability

You get all out of him at first --

f131 BLANK PAGE

f132v

Sir B. Frere March 31/70

But the main thing he came for [10:114]
was to urge, to pray
that we would draw up something like my
letter to Lord Mayo
for him to have translated & sent to India
for general, even for village use thro' the Indian office
He said: that he would have preferred a
supplement (in the same style) to my little red
book -- as he has often said before --
But he now thinks that the easiest thing for me
to do would be an adaptation of my letter
to Ld Mayo --

[JS] Write down what you propose

To go through the red-book just cutting out
such parts as not quite applicable to
the present position - also to do the same with
the remarks in the Indian report & in the letters
recently sent to Lord Mayo. To make such
marginal additions or corrections as are necessary
& then to send the whole to Ld. L. [end 10:114]

f133 JS rough note pencil

[ca. 1 Apr. 1870]

Will you allow me to suggest an alteration or two

Page 23 & "The general result of the Water supply x at is scarcely correct. If you will read the opinion of the Army San. Com in your last year report you will find that they who are ~~your fr~~ your advisors ~~of &~~ in forming sanitary estimates of forts are decidedly opposed to the view in their paragraph. It should read "the water supply in work stations cannot be said to be either good or sufficient and in many places defects in the convincing arrangement" &c.

Page 37 ○ The whole passage which I have bracketted is incorrect. † The cause of epidemics is unknown. The ‡ reasons of the immediate outbreak are very various & amongst these overcrowding is one of the most potent. But it does not follow that because overcrowding in any one year did not act -- it should not act in another year. I should feel [illeg] to stick simply to the facts.

f133v

Would it not be advisable to make the report not so much an abstract of other reports as a report on the Sanitary question & progress in India? There is a considerable amount of interesting matter in the Monthly reports from the 3 Presidencies in 1868 & it has occurred to me to suggest that you might make good use of these in raising the interest of ~~th~~ your annual report In instance (but this is in last years reports) how interesting is the experience of India's Sewage farm? A good digest of all these written in a current manner would excite great interest in the British

Add Mss 45754

594

public

The facts in your digest are of Great

f134

interest & importance to the public service &
altogether it is very well done. Your
~~fails are~~ improvements show ~~none~~
more than any thing else what can be
done in India to improve the health of
troops. But

You see that Plowden's Abstract does
embrace part of 1869
~~This ref~~ 1869 He might therefore embrace
That is ~~just~~ what I say

f135

[Just aft. 4 Apr 1870]

Re Dr Williams & Sir James Simpson's Testimonial

I am not so sanguine as you are nor so confident
in my own eloquence.

An hour's talk with any man

The thing would have been to have been able
to put a paper & plans into Dr. Williams hands --

There is no time to be lost --

And perhaps, before my paper is out now, the
Comm: will have decided upon some monstrosity

-- an investment in Carbolic Acid most likely

You can't help this. We must take
advantage of the knowledge & say something about
it. This is all ~~we~~ can do. The carbolic acid

is Listing & Sister has
sent him her paper as he
did to me.

every dog
has his day!

{`every dog has his day!' is written beneath line and directed to
be inserted after `to me'}

Have you anything more you wish said to him
on his "subjects" -- pp 425 --

No. His list is quite sufficient & you
might tell him so. Tell him also he will

Add Mss 45754

596

get the A.S.C. reports immediately after
Friday, & those on the New papers as soon
as possible

f136 JS letter to FN 5/4/70 JS letter to FN re Ommanney left sketches he now sends, and his comments on space, embossed War Office. Lt O. Has left these sketches wh I now send you. I asked him about the points raised in your note yesterday about distances. He told me that he had tried every method to shorten the distance from the delivery ward to the lying-in division and it cd be done easily enough that the arr in the plan already sent you as short a distance .cd be contrived. He says that if the lying blocks were used as delivery wards as you stated the distance to be traversed wd be practically as great.

There are many difficulties to be overcome in trying to get all the advantages of isolation in a complicated hosp such as this, w/o undue separation of the bldgs and I fear it will end in the bldgs being more crowded together than wd be safe.

F137 embossed War Office, 7 April 1870, JS letter to FN from Norwood, Mr Frederick has sent him her packet re Plowden

ff139-41 8 April 1870 JS letter to FN on embossed WO, Mr Plowden is quite right about the cholera report abstracts. But in writing to Sir W Baker after our 1st sub-com I did not I believe suggest an abstract. Our view was rather that facts which existed in all Indian reports mt poss be copied out in paragraphs. "The Madras sewage farm" is an illus.

Abstracts must I fear be left to the annual reports, and a nice mess they make of them with their doctrines. The two points you asked Mr Plowden to alter in his report are precisely two of the doctrinal absurdities not borne out by the facts.

However, the raising of the questions will do good, for Mr Plowden will in all probability adopt the suggestions as far as he can.

It is somewhat difficult to reply to his questions, because if one agrees with him, one is adopting the present method of reporting, and if one differs from him it appears like dictation.

I shd feel disposed to answer generally somewhat as follows:

f140 "The medical members of the A.S.C. appear to have arrived at somewhat the same suggestions as that made by me (F.N.) in my note as to extracting interesting facts from any Indian reports which come to hand in time, in order that such facts might receive a more permanent place in the I.O. Blue Books than they wd have in the Indian reports themselves. I had no desire personally to do more than merely state my own impression. Your work has ben so well done that I felt great diffidence in saying what I did say and I must leave the matter entirely in your own

hands, especially as I find from your note that to make the extracts wd antedate their position by a year. I wish with you that the Indian people cd make up their annual reports earlier.

I shall be glad at any time to look at any list of paragraphs you may wish to insert.

I shd scarcely think that the A.S.C. wd expect you to incur the awful labour of first translating Dr Bryden out of Hindi into English and then abstracting him.

One of the best forms of Index for such a report as yours would be like the Index prefixed to the "Suggestions for the Sanitary Improvement of Indian Stations." It gives a catalogue raisonné of the contents."

f142 blue JS pen Mrs Deeble letter. The view one wd feel disposed to take, will depend entirely on the view one may take of the resps of a supt.

If Mrs Deeble's position is that of a mil officer placed over subordinates who have well recognized duties to perform wh they neglect, then her course of procedure is clear, she must admonish and punish to the extent of dismissal. But if, as her letter shows, the points in dispute with her nurse are not those of obedience or disobedience to a few dimple rules of duty, but errors in judgment as to relative importance of duties which everyone must ack can not be made the subject of rules, then clearly the remedy lies not in dismissal unless the nurse shows unteachable stupidity. My own view is that Mrs D has not shown sufficient ground either for suspending or dismissing her nurse, but that she has shown in this specific case that it we be most admirable to ask her consid of her position in these matters with regard to her nurses. If this is not done then I fear we shall get into the former groove at wh Mrs SS had herself to be removed. The whole tone of the letter is too like that lady's productions sic volo sie jubeo will never answer with free Englishwomen any more than free Englishmen. If Nurse Emm cannot est as yet what her unseen duties are to the sick she shd be taught and led to recognize them. She is one of those people who are apt to lay down for themselves a specific daily course from wh they will not swerve. This will not answer in any hosp esp in a mil hosp, but it is still a defensible position.

You are the only person who can est these real vital points which are at issue. They appear to me to be nothing less than this, viz wh nursing is to be conducted under fear of dismissal or under love to the supt and to the work. In other words wh you are in future to look to the ability of the supt or to the

strength of the WO.

The last resort is the simplest, but it is destructive of nursing. If the first cannot be relied on it is destructive of the supt. If destroyed the former one and her work altogether and depend upon it Mrs Deeble would not escape a similar fate.

ff143-45 War Office embossed 18 April 1870 letter has bronchitis, re stat abstract. Re what to say to Plowden. Fevers. Proportion of admissions 1405 per mille is so excessive that either there is a mistake or else the strength at ...Have you seen Jephson's death in todays Times? He was one of their very best men. I fear there are none coming up to take the places of those who are going.

Ff146-47 embossed War Office 25 April 1870 JS letter to FN has seen "The Hospital Architect" today and told him a bit of my mind. He says he has been ill and looks seedy, has promised with much faithfulness to take the plans in hand, and I have lent him our copy of our big book for the style and sizes. This is all.

After this Athenian business, if I were PM I shd have been able to tell the H of C today either that by this time a fleet has left Malta with troops on board to land at Pireaus and kept hold till every man was found and shot or I shd have been able to say I was no longer PM. When 38 or 40 years ago a Manchester manufacturer and his wife were unintentionally shot and intentionally robbed at Paestun, the then govt simply sent an order to Naples, time after time that the 6 peasants supposed to have been engaged in it shd be found and hanged. Time after time the answer was that they must be found. The Neapolitan govt ordered the six most likely to be found and hanged and it was done and I knew the man who did it, and not a hair of an Englishman's head has been touched since. Will anyone do such a thing now.

F148 embossed War Office 2 May 1870 The architect has just been here and left this. Before sending it to Embley I send it up to South Street in the hope that perhaps you may have come, as I heard you were coming.

If you are not there, will you be so good as send the whole back by the messenger. The architect is going to busy himself in the meantime with the ward plan, but as he expects to be sent to the Admiralty every day, he desires me to say that the sooner he gets it back the sooner will it be finished.

f149

Private

35 South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane,

W.

May 4/70

Minute: Netley Nurses

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Would you wish to look over the enclosed papers, which have been waiting for a decision?

You will see that there are 2 points: -

1. about the 2 additional "Night" Sisters --
2. as to "Emm", x whom Mrs. Deeble wishes to part with. This is unfortunate, because the woman is neither drunken, improper, nor in any way bad.

But she is slovenly, unpunctual, idle, sulky --having been one of our Nurses at Liverpool Workhouse under very bad management for 2 years after Agnes Jones' death And I remonstrated at the time against her appointment to Netley -- but only on this score.

Also Mrs. Deeble is of all persons the one least capable to manage her.

the question is: should Mrs. Deeble write to the S. or S? And how? [For Mrs. Deeble can't write a letter]

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

x not mentioned in Minutes
but only in H. B. C's letter to me

f150 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- DATED 4/4[5]/70, blue War Office embossed. Netley night nurses. The DG says he will take .. Night orderly service is not enough and agrees about the night nurses. This is also settled. Next he says that w/o going to the treas for money the reqd amount for 2 salaries and keep can be saved this year...Quarters. Mr Talbot asks for HBC's concurrence . Emm business most unfortunate, suggests great caution. HBC mt offer to supply the night nurses and revert to his former request that any plans or proposals about their quarters shd be seen by him before being decided on.

ff151-51v NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND TITLED `Sister Emm' most
unfortunate

f152

[Bef. 6 May 1870]

Shall I write to him?

When I have them, I shall consult Miss
Jones on every administrative point
(on which I have no recent experience)

It is so very extraordinary that he should
think he knows what is the daily nightly
constant business of a Lying-in Hospl's School

I understand that ward to be the ward
where newly-delivered women are received
for the first 4 or 5 days

f153v

{written upside down on folio}

The Delivery Ward must be such as can be
partitioned off by curtains with room
for each woman to have 3 or 4 or 5 Pupil
Midwives round her besides the Head Midwives

No woman under delivery must see any other
All this I wrote down

Surely you gentleman can decide whether
4 or 8 beds must be vacant successively

I say 4 that will make 2 periods of
3 weeks annually vacant for each 4

It was you who said 2 4's not I

~~My question~~

~~has nothing~~

~~to do with~~

~~what you are saying~~

What I am saying is this:

are not 4 Reserves only wanted?

f154

[8:226-27]

[3(c)]

Lying in Hospital plans May 10/70

Dear Dr. Sutherland

1. Administrative Block 2.A

This is extremely admirable in its details
And I have but one trifle to criticize
i.e. that there must be somewhere where
the Midwife can examine a woman to
know if labour is imminent.

This may be quite sufficiently provided
for by "Surgeon's room".

2. Wards & Sculleries 2 B

admirable in all details

3. Delivery Wards 2 A

The more I look into this, the more I find
the present proposition inadmissable
If the Covered Way (from Main Corridor to
there) can be warmed on winter nights -- so

f154v

as to be nearly the same temperature
 as the wards (this is a builder's
 question) without very great expence,
 I have nothing more to say about this.
 there are other objections & very grave ones
 against the proposed Delivery Wards.

- (a) The Scullery accomodation is WHOLLY
 INSUFFICIENT.
- (b) There must be one Scullery to each
 Delivery Ward. And this should be
 on at least an equal scale to the Ward
 Sculleries. [There must be hot & cold water
 constantly laid, on, night & day.]
- (c) It is wholly impossible to cleanse &
 Lime-wash one Delivery Ward in such
 close proximity to the other in use
 All the reasons for having the ordinary
 Wards completely separate & isolated
 apply, only with ten fold force to the

f155

Delivery Wards.

- (d.) As for the Scullery, it never could be
 cleansed. It would be literally a
 sink of iniquity & always in use!!

People have little idea (who have never
 seen anything but a soldiers' Wives
 Hospitals -- where there are perhaps
 40 Deliveries a year) what the work
 is, day & night, day & night, in a
 Civil Lying in Hospital of even half
 this size -- where there may be 3
 Deliveries in a night & where all
 the Sculleries are constantly at work,
 night & day Every bed is always full.

4. I suggested occupying a Ward at each
 end as a Delivery Ward alternately --
 the nearer Wards being occupied for
 newly = delivered Women -- the farther Wards

f155v

for Convalescent Women -- merely as a
 hint to the Architect for it is an
 Architect's question
 Women in labour it is not desirable to
 convey to the Delivery Ward past
 the other Wards

I enclose the note of Miss Jones, who
 has more recent practical experience
 than I have. [in all her observations I
 entirely concur--] including those on the single bed]
 Wards & scullery

-- & also a note of my own to her --
 Please return the whole to me.

ever yours faithfully
 F. Nightingale

Dr. Sutherland

f156 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 11/5/70 sends, re her crit, embossed
 War Office

ff157-58 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 13/5/70 blue embossed War Office,
 replies to her points, re Ommanney and Torrance

ff159-59v letter FROM SUTHERLAND 16/5/70 embossed War Office, re
 regimental medical system, Dr Crawford's successor is Dr
 Rutherford, a very good man indeed. Re Reg med system is at an
 end. All med officers are now on a staff. The warrant is not yet
 out but the doctors are no longer borne on the strength of
 regiments. This will necessitate many other changes, amongst the
 rest an extended gen hosp system.

ff160-60v letter FROM JS 18TH MAY 1870 embossed War Office, sends
 copy of minute on native army reports, going to Tenby for air,
 then to examine re typhoid fever at Pembroke camp

ff161-63 letter FROM J.J FREDERICK 16TH MAY 1870 to Sir

ff164-65 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 26TH MAY/70 embossed War Office,
 re "capital letter" of hers, the opportunity, for India, will
 help with changes as she in feeble state, re delay, India, re
 getting translated to go all over India

ff166-67v letter FROM SUTHERLAND 26TH MAY 1870 embossed War Office, re how to proceed with work, 3 matters, paper you were to write for Sir MF, lying-in hosp, very desirable that your book shd be out, and have heard nothing of the plans since returned, lastly American paper about prison discipline, note a very large question

ff168-69 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 27TH MAY/70 embossed War Office
To put 2 more women (12 in all, including the child)

transcribed by G. Watkins (f170 to end)

unsigned note, f170, pencil

f170

{archivist: 6 May 1870-8 June 1870}

It was you (Ommanney) who fixed the
No. at 32

O how you forget.
You forget that

it was settled that it was impossible
to nurse a single bed ward Lying-in
Hospl without Pupil Midwives

Now I can't discuss any more

Well, as you seem to be in a state of
absolute vacuity, I suppose you had,
unless you choose to look at some
vacuous letters first.

{f171 is blank}

unsigned note, ff171v-73, pencil

f171v

No 1 would not do at all -

It is of much more importance *how*
you place the beds than how you measure
the space

No 2 would do but is extravagant

No 3 I prefer I don't object to
corners - provided the bed is not *in* a
corner

Babies are not put in "cribs" but in
baskets

It is important to have space about
the fireplace for the 4 babies to be washed
{sketch showing placement of beds}

Add Mss 45754

607

22 ft wide
would be better

f172

{sketch}

I should have thought it better
not to put ~~any~~ in the Ward door opposite
the Scullery - but opening into the passage -

J.S continues**f173 {FN}**

It is to be considered that every one of
those wards & sculleries will be empty for 40 days
in the year - and each Delivery Ward
for 182 ½ days in the year -

[8:227]

That of course makes no difference in
the external ventilation questions

But it does in the other - viz. the having
so many Patients on such an area of ground.

J.S

ff174-74v, 8 June, 1870, re the Calcutta Social Science draft JS
is sending to FN

ff175-80, the Calcutta Social Science draft

ff181-82v, 10 June, 1870, re revisions to the Calcutta Social
Science draft

f183-83v, 6 St. George's Villas, Tufnell Park, 7 June, 1870 from
J. Finch asking FN's opinion of the use of porcelain baths in
hospitals. Black-edged. Madam, May I beg the favor of your
opinion in reference to baths with a porcelain surface, and also
porcelain sinks, for the use of hospitals. I feel confident that
if in your judgment porcelain baths and sinks are the best to be
adopted for the patients in the new St Thomas' Hospital, the
directors will be so influenced by your statements that they will
not hesitate in issuing orders for baths and sinks of my
manufacture. Mr Currey, the architect, has desired me to obtain a
certificate relating to our baths at the Herbert Hospital, a copy
of which I beg to enclose. Apologising for thus troubling you,
and trusting you are in better health than your former
correspondence announced, I am Madam yours respectfully, J. Finch
(nice fair copy, J. Finch his own)

ff184-85, JS, embossed War Office 11 June, 1870, re Mr. Plowden's
report, loss of Dickens, The poor have lost their friend.

I hope to bring the proof on Monday. It will take some
hours.

Before we can affirm Mr Plowden's work we shd see it in
proof. All we have seen hitherto has been good and devoid of the
theories which disfigured the last proof.

1. Approve of his proposal for illegs

His selection of subjects appears good but we shd see the proofs. As also his selection separate papers.

2. Bengal & Punjaub reports

He might state generally the subjects of these reports. But tell him that the A.S.C. have them in hand and that their practical interest is as closely connected with Dr Townsend's report and with the replies to Sir Stafford Northcote's dispatch, that a separate minute by the commission will very likely be drawn up on the admin points contained in them.

The ...

F185 3. You and I must send them something. I have been thinking over the points and we could do it illeg in the same tone as was used to Ld Mayo, but we want a few hard hits at the theorists, which the A.S.C. col d scarcley deal.

I will either send you this proof back by late post or bring it on Monday and we can talk over other points.....

Oh poor Dickens, what a loss!! The poor have lost their friend.

ff186-87v, 11 June, 1870, re the proof of the report and alterations suggested for it

I have read the proof. It will do with a few alterations, you will find on the other side.

The impression conveyed by it is that movement is being made. But very slowly. Madras itself is in a most backward state and since this proof was in press they had had their frightful river in its worst state and an epidemic of cholera as a consequence.

We must illeg this kind of thing in your paper. J.S.

f188, JS embossed War Office 15, June, 1870, sending FN some plans and reporting his work on Indian papers

unsigned note, ff189-90v, pencil

f189 {archivist: [ca 16 June 1870]}

I would always put anything in a wood cut on the page which will go - & the separate sheets I would bind in at the page - not at the end.

f190

To-morrow is India mail-day -
I shall send my letter to the S.S.,
whether or no
I have had a copy made by Vacher, (whose
Clerk took 7 hours here to make it)
That will be for Ld Mayo, if I send it him,
Sir B. Frere means to translate it in
England

He is himself the best Maharatti
scholar we have - & has translated several
things of mine into Maharatti himself
{upside down at the bottom of page}

I think that note was made because
the expression did not tally with
the expression used afterwards to
signify the same thing

ff191-92v JS letter, embossed War Office, 17 June, 1870, re
Indian papers he is working on and suggestions for FN to use in
the case of Mrs. Coltman's small pox after delivery. You know of
course that Mrs Coltman has small pox after delivery. They say
they cannot account for it in any way. Now as we have had similar
unaccountable cases of scarlet fever it has occurred to me to
suggest (as an illus for your book) whether that of Mrs Coltman's
case cd not be hunted up. It wd be extremely important for a
certain point in your book. The med attendant mt easily do it.
The test questions are:

1. Is the doctor quite sure that he was not in attendance on
any smallpox case before or at the time of dely.
2. Same question about the nurse.
3. Servants, if any of their relatives and acqs had smallpox at
this time and whether were near such.
4. Laundress also to be asked. There shd be categorical answers.
The case is a test one and wd clear up one way or other a great
deal of stupid opinion.

Re Indian san problem gradually developing itself. The real
causes of the mischief are coming to light one by one, and also
the real things to be done and the great difficulties to be
overcome. Re her social science paper.

ff193-94, JS 18 June, 1870, re Ommanney's plan for a hospital,
embossed War Office

FN unsigned note, f195, pencil **[8:229]**

f195 {archivist:[ca 20 June 1870]}

We have not one London Workhouse with
an average of anything like 500 Deliveries
per annum

[For the 5 years it is more like 500
Deliveries -]

We have not one London Workhouse
with an average of 500 Deliveries for
5 years (instead of per annum) which
has not a Mortality several times as
great as Lpool. **[end 8:229]**

{f196 is blank}

J.S f196v, comments on Ommanney's plan

ff197-97v, 24 June, 1870, re Sir B.F.'s work in translation, embossed War Office, to put in Calcutta paper, see in Times today beautiful electric telegraph episode with Lord and Lady Mayo playing a part

printed article on the training of army midwives with FN's comments in bold, ff198-99v, pencil **[8:230]**

f198

Title: The **Non=**Training of Army Midwives

with 2 or 3 good words (at p. 3) for Non-Midwives

...no woman must be admitted ... at least 20 cases of labour **per week for**

6 months

...Outline of Instruction by Lectures **All very good, but accounts for the high Midwifery Mortality in the Army - "to "the satisfaction of" any ordinary person -**

f198v (in the left margin after the list of Lectures)
A woman might answer all these questions to perfection & kill the Lying-in Patient at the first non-natural labour she meets with - which, it appears, is actually the case in the Army.

{no comments on ff199-99v}

unsigned note, f200, pencil **[8:229]**

f200 {archivist: [ca by July 1870]}

Lying-in paper

{printed address:} 35 South Street,
 Park Lane,
 W.

Do not you forget that you said there must be a Chapter on the *management* of existing Lying-in Institutions & that you specially left a good deal I had collected on *management* which would otherwise have been inserted in the ~~present~~/already written

Add Mss 45754

613

M.S., because you reserved it, you said, for
a future Chapter by itself?

JS continues

ff201-01v, {ca 5 July 1870}, re consultation despite FN's weak condition on Indian matters, embossed War Office

f202, {ca 5 July 1870}, with information on various papers and give advice Mrs. Deeble when she needs it

unsigned notes, ff203-04, pencil

f203 {archivist: [7 July 1870]}

F.N. *Sir Wm Mansfield*

1. Sir Wm. Mansfield has appointed tomorrow to see me - (He leaves for Ireland in a week) And I shall see him if I possibly can.

What particular questions do you wish me to ask him?

JS

See him by all means
He asked to see you, and you must hear what he has to say first It is difficult to suggest questions Ask him about the new barracks especially what their faults are
Ask him why they should not proceed at once to grapple with filthy towns near Stations
Ask him his news about Hill Stations
Ask him any points in the management of regiments which might lessen cholera

F.N.

2.

Lord Mayo

I must write tomorrow's mail to thank him for his note & the shawls - ~~What else~~/What else do

f204

you wish said?

[You said you wished me to write to him] **JS** I would merely say that you hope he received your paper for the Cal. Soc. Sc. He has not answered your former letters. All he deserves is a florid acknowledgment for his shawls Tell him incidentally as it were that the I.O. people had asked for your views on the present position of the Public health question.

F.N.

3. Night Nurses' Rooms at Netley -
v. H.B.C.'s letter -

Do you ~~know~~/know anything about this?
[Mrs. Deeble comes to me on Saturday]

JS I don't know anything about these plans.
I suppose they are the best they could do.

Sir Richard Airey is coming to the
Horse Guards again

There is to be a committee on all that
hospital purveying question I talked to you
about some time ago. They want me to
be on it.

unsigned notes, ff205-12v, pencil

[10:116-19]

f205

1. *Sir Wm Mansfield* July 8/70
Whether he is different with me from what he is with men
I don't know - But he has much less of the controversial
& self-opinionated, much more of the humane fibre
than I expected. He is gentle & of a coming-on
disposition & says he may be mistaken - not at all
dictatorial
1. New Barracks - their faults
He says that instead of the old sun-burnt brick which
was cool, they had to build them of solid masonry & red
brick
in order to support the upper story & that the upper
floor ~~is~~ never cools till the cool season comes again -
that some C. O.'s have actually occupied the lower
floors as dormitories for the men & *abandoned*
the *upper* floors *altogether* - that others have moved
the men back into the old Barracks - as at Jullundur
He says that the men rising at 4 a.m. - a
Siesta is absolutely necessary - that you *cannot* prevent
them from sleeping in their Dormitories during the day
- that the men, if you do, would drag their beds down stairs
& injure the building
He says that *Dining*=halls are necessary - but
there are really not 5 per cent of the men who work
at *Trades* - & in Workshops -
- that he thinks the Trades rather "bunkum" - tho' he
encourages
them
- that the Road=making question is a far more important

f205v

one. For men never learn a trade *after* enlisting

It is only those who have been apprenticed before

they enter who work at their Trades (not 5 per c.)

In short he thinks the Day-rooms, except for

Dining, unworkable

As to road making on one occasion a Regiment

struck He would not have it optional

He would have a clause in the Mutiny Act that

if the men are offered fair wages, labour should

be compulsory.

But he is of opinion that labour can only be in the hills -

He says the *slated roofs* of the new Barracks

are intolerable -

Thatch & sun-burnt brick the only materials for

India

Better to have a few Barracks burnt (with thatch)

than to burn off the tops of all the men's heads.

f206

2. Filthy towns -

He says the towns near

Stations are not so

filthy as the other

native towns -

The day conservancy is very

good -

that, if you introduce

water, you must be

very sure of your

Engineer -

there being so seldom

a fall in the ground -

that steam-pumping

is so expensive on

account of coal -

that all these Railways

are worked with coal

from England - & *that*

makes them so expensive

that, in irrigation,

they have not succeeded

in averting malaria -

the fall of the Canals

f207

3

When he went to India
for the Mutiny in 1857,
he insisted on the
Fort of Calcutta (including
the Dalhousie Barracks)
being drained to the
utmost perfection &
furnished with the
purest water -

He says, that is the
reason why the Fort
of Calcutta is now
healthy, much
healthier than much
better Stations & much
better climates in the
N.W. of India -

that, as a climate,
& not 100 miles from
the Delta, nothing can
be worse than Calcutta,
yet the Fort is now
one of our healthiest
Stations - (tho' within a
town & not on open ground)

f207v

But, he says, if you wish to use all the modern appliances, (such as are used in London,) good drainage & sewage, good water supply, steam=pumping, gas &c you *must* reduce your Cantonments within moderate limits - Or the expence will, in spite of you, defeat & prevent all you wish to do -

If you spread the Cantonments of one Regiment (say 1000) over a space which in London would be occupied by 100,000, ~~men~~, you cannot, (do what you will,) have

f208

these modern appliances
Because no country
can bear the expence -
You must bring space
within reasonable
limits - those limits
to be determined by
the necessity for healthiness of applying modern
science without insupportable
& unreasonable expence

The *cities* in India
are, he says, not
more unhealthy - on
the contrary, they are
healthier than
the county & country
villages - just because these
modern appliances
are, in cities, possible -

And Stations in cities
are actually healthier
than Cantonments in
the country - because of the
difficulty of supplying modern appliances
over an enormous
area of ground.
Add to this, the ground
the men have to go over
in the day in those large

f208v

Cantonments (a
 Serjeant may have
 10 or 12 miles a day to
 go over) often induces
 Fever & such ~~things~~/like -
 He is of opinion that
 the *square* enclosed
 by buildings, is the best
 sort of Barracks - You
 can then have all your
 modern appliances, your
 shelter from the sun -
 &c &c - which it is
 impossible to continue
 in a Cantonment
 covering perhaps 3 or
 4 square miles -

f209

4

3. *Hill Stations*

Approves of them

Established Chukrata
 & one other - new Hill
 Stations -

Thinks however there
 are now enough -

Does not think our
 troops can work at
 road making on the
 plains -

f210

5.

4. Cholera

Regimental Management

Doctors have done little or nothing for us in discovering the best management.

Believes it very dangerous to move Regiments & camp them out at the first sporadic case of Cholera

All depends on the time of year

From July till Novber, he believes, from actual experience, that Fevers & Dysenteries are the consequence of camping out the men to escape Cholera

In 1863, Sir Hugh Rose issued a General Order (induced by the Cholera

f210v

Commission) that, on the first cases of Cholera occurring, the whole of the troops should be camped out.

Fever & Dysenteries were the consequence

In Sir W. Mansfield's Bombay Command (he has been 24 years in India) Cholera was *endemic* from January till June -

"If I had moved out the troops the moment these endemic cases occurred, I should have destroyed the men with Fevers -

== In the N. W. Provinces, the Cholera makes the most extraordinary jumps - It jumped

f211

from Amritsar over
all the intermediate
space to Peshawur

== In the valley of Peshawur
which is 7 miles wide,
it left the whole
region at once, Peshawur
itself, the camp where
the men had been
camped out, the
Cantonments, the Villages -
And it was in them
all at once

Doubts the wisdom
of moving the men - as
an invariable rule

== Doubts whether
Peshawur can be
abandoned for Attoch,
until there is a
much better communication
over the Indus -

Allahabad, on the

f211v

contrary, Sir W.
Mansfield has ordered
to be abandoned. And
there are at this moment but 2
companies in the Fort by his Order -
The new Barracks he
ordered to be abandoned
They were swept with
Cholera, as well as the
camp & city -

f212

6.

Primary Education

Mr. Grey & the Bengal party are all for paying Universities - (which now could very well support themselves - the people who go to them are rich & can quite well pay for their own education) - they oppose primary education

Ld Mayo, Sir W. Mansfield, &c &c - all for primary education - have won the victory in the last Session -

But in India where there is not the public opinion which forces even conservative government in England on - & forces them not to undo what has been done - you

f212v

in India are never safe - You find the old conservative element cropping up & up - & recovering its ground when you least expect it

The D. of Argyll now sanctions primary education - But the old Members of the Council almost beat him.

[end 10:119]

signed memorandum, ff213-28, pencil

f213

Private Netley Nurses Quarters

July 11/70

Dr. Sutherland

I cannot but feel that the proposed [15:216-17]
Quarters are quite inadmissible -

I do not know the length of the passage -
but it cannot be less than 60 ft -

There will therefore be a passage
quite without light & air ~~for~~ except for
a length of 25 feet *on one side*, where it merely
receives (over a wooden partition 7 or 8 ft
high) the light & air of the *Linenry* -

Mrs. Deeble proposes that the *new*
Nurses' rooms shall be divided only by
partitions - putting the day Sisters
into these - & the Night Sisters into
two of the old rooms - [The exchange
of course is essential any way, as I
mentioned to you] But I don't

f213v

think we could listen to this Partition
arrangement for a moment -

To put very respectable women for
permanent Quarters into two pens
to air the Linenry & to air & light
a dark passage 60 ft long or more -
is a thing in my opinion never to be
sanctioned -

The Quarters are quite close enough as it is

Mrs. Deeble has taken in her little girl
(that celestial little girl!) *and* a servant
for permanent inmates -

She has divided off the space you
have marked X & placed the *two*
servants there -

[She is clamorous for a separate kitchen
for herself.]

f214

They are now therefore 9 women
& worst of all a little girl in that
confined space -

[The little girl has not had a day's
health since she came]

To put 2 more women (12 in all, including the child) seems
to me

very like ensuring - for the winters when
they *can't* have all the windows open -
a constant course of declining health,
ending perhaps in low Fever or something
of the kind -

[How I wish that somebody of authority
could go down who really understands
the subject & come to an authoritative
decision as to what may & what may
not be tolerated -]

The "Housekeeper's Stores", Mrs. D. says,
is only 3 ft wide - has a (stone) wall on

f214v

the Linenry side, & cannot be used as
a bedroom - for one of the Nurses - nor
the wall thrown down -

This may or may not be true - But I
see she is determined not to give it up -
And, as she has occupied the space
marked X (which you marked for
the "Stores") for her servants, I do
not see how ~~you~~/she can -

N.B.

[I did not object to the curtailment
of the Linenry on the ground of too
little Linen=space but on the ground
that a long passage already too dark,
close & unairy (think what a
passage without windows of 60 feet
is!) should not be farther blocked up
& with living beings, - so as to make
the place, as I fear, almost
pestilential!]

F. Nightingale

[end 15:217]

f215

[2]

Mrs. Deeble says
that there are 3
*Engineers' rooms, "close
to their Quarters"
which might be given
up to them -*

But she admitted
that she had applied
for these to both
P.M.O. (Dr. Beatson)
& Actg Cdt. (Major Rawlins)
& had been pointedly
refused -

She admitted that
she thought they would
"much rather have no
"Night Nurses than
"give up the Engineers'
"Quarters"

She says that Dr.
Beatson once answered
her by: "Write to the Secy

f215v

"of the Nightingale Nurses"

Unfortunately, it
appears she said to
them, (as she did to me)
that she "wanted these
"Engineers' Quarters for
"a kitchen for herself
"OR for Night Nurses" -

She says that the
P.M.O., Actg Commandt,
& Capt. of Orderlies
are all disputing the
necessity of Night
Nurses (as being a
slur on the Orderlies)
-while the Professors &
all the Medical Officers
about the sick are
bent on Night Nurses
as essential -

f216

[Mrs. Deeble seems altered & was in such a singular state of excitement as to be quite incoherent -

(I do not think I have ever seen Mrs. Shaw Stewart more so)

For the first hour she was quite incapable of looking at the plan or of explaining any thing as to Quarters. After fully one hour she did manage just to give me some idea of the state of the present Quarters - But till the last she was incapable of distinguishing one end from the ~~plan~~ other of the plan -

f216v

And I do not understand now on which side, or where, these "Engineers' Quarters" are - She says: "quite close" to & "opposite" the door of the Nurses' Quarters -

I am afraid that Mrs. Deeble's excitement is *not* 'singular' to me, for she told me herself, when ~~telling~~/giving her (self= approving) ~~actions~~/accounts of what she had done that Major Rawlins had said to her he was "sorry to see her in such agitations" -]

f217*Private*

[3]

About the little girl: -

it came out quite
at last, & only in
answer to my direct
question after her child's
welfare & progress,
that Mrs. Deeble had
taken her to live in
with the Quarters -

[Mrs. D. had complained
violently & repeatedly
that she had to pay
the second servant
herself & had made
no answer to my enquiry
whether 2 servants
were necessary - nor to
whether her (proposed)
2 kitchens were necessary]

Of course I made no
observation to her having

f217v

taken the little girl
contrary to previous
arrangement - For *I* am
certainly not her mistress-
Nor are we her Masters
in any sense -

But every harm ~~talked~~/to be
anticipated seems to have
ensued. The little
girl (not 6 years old)
excessively precocious,
lives in the Wards &
tells the ~~dying~~/sick men
(who adore her - as
I am sure *I* should!!)
of their approaching
deaths - & *in the*
Linenry & never
goes out to play by
the sea -

It is so natural for
the poor mother not to
be able to bear to ~~illeg~~/place

f218

~~with~~/out that heavenly
little girl that one
could only sympathize
with her.

But Mrs. Deeble's
own account of the
child is: that she is
on the high road to
one of those premature
lovely deaths one
reads of in novels!

I am sure that Mrs.
D. understood that
the little *I* did say
- viz - about sending
out the child to play
by the sea & not
letting such a precocious
& heavenly creature as
that, excite herself
with the Patients -
was entirely prompted

f218v

as indeed it was,
by love of the child -

But I don't think
she will make any
difference -

[She appeared a little
ashamed when it
came out about Nelly the
child being there -
But, as I truly felt
that I had no
business to reproach her,
I passed it off with
enquiries about
the darling child -
for it is a darling]

She Nelly has had an inflammation
of the lungs since she has
been there

No wonder!

[At the very moment that
Mrs. D. let me urge (on the
Pension question) the *placing out*
of the little girl - with the
authorities - the little girl was at Netley - I did not
however say this

to Mrs. Deeble

f219**PRIVATE** [4]

Mrs. Deeble's account of
Netley Departments is
deplorable: -

[of course we must take
it with a grain of salt -
but much of it we *know*
is true -]

The Commandant's duties
(Genl Wilbraham's) are
devolved upon the
Assistant (now Acting)
Commandant (Major Rawlins)

{By the way, did I
tell you that the most
strenuous interest has
been made with me to
get Major (Col.) *Conolly*
the appointment of
Commandant?}

The Assistant (now
Acting) Commandant's
duties devolve upon the
Capt. of Orderlies (Capt.

f219v

Hawtray)

The Capt. of Orderlies' duties devolve upon the Serjeant Major -

All the Ward duties, strictly committed to the Capt. of Orderlies, fall upon the Serjt Major -

To all appearance, none of them are performed

Capt. Hawtray, raised

{written on a slant in the margin} There are suspicions of Capt H.'s honesty

from the ranks, like a *parvenu* appears to be quite intolerable in his new responsibilities -

The duties of Capt. of Orderlies appear not to be done at all -

The Orderlies, Ward Masters & Serjeants are constantly reported for drunkenness in

f220

the Wards - & Even
Patients, (having procured
drink) for fighting
drunk in the wards.

The complaints never
reach the (Acting)
Commandant - And
nothing is done -

I own I feel terrified
at the prospect for our
Night Nurses -

[Mrs. Deeble, in the
violence of her conduct
towards the Capt. of O.
& Commandt, appears,
by her own account,
entirely to put Mrs.
S. Stewart in the shade,
tho' like Mrs. S. Stewart,
in the right as to facts]

not concerning herself -]

== In the Hospital, the
Patients are entirely
a secondary consideration

f220v

If a Ward Master or
Orderly is found sober &
competent, he is
immediately transferred
to the Writing Depts -
Both W. Master & Orderly are constantly
changed - And none
but the drunken &
incompetent are left
about the *Patients*.

Both Patients &
Medical Officers
always come off
second best -

The Med. Officers
depend entirely on our
Nurses.

N.B.

There is not a drop of
hot water in all Netley
for the Patient, unless
he draws it himself at
the tap in the *Corridor*
& carries it himself in to the Lavatory

f221

[5]

About Emm: -
Mrs. Deeble entered
very largely into the
case, which appears
to consist in this - that
Emm is too stupid
for the place, too
stupid to have any
command over the Orderlies, she is absolutely
worse educated
than ~~they~~/many of the
orderlies under her, but might
do very well as
Nurse *under* a "Sister"
in a Civil Hospital
- tho' in the very
responsible place of
"Sister" over Orderlies
in a Military Hospital,
she is always getting
her Supt into scrapes,
many of which were
related to me -
[My own opinion has

f221v

long been that Emm
is entirely out of place
in a Military Hospital,
& will do nothing
but mischief till she
is removed.]

Mrs. Deeble admitted
of her own accord
that she "had *no case*
at all against Emm,
with/for the War Office" -

She said: could we
not find her Emm a place?-

But, she said, Mrs.
Wardroper had said
she would not take
Emm back -

I know not how this
is -

Of course I am not
the person to recommend
recommending a bad

f222

Nurse -

But the Middlesex
Hospital are
"delighted" with the
two Truemans who
in my opinion are
worse than Emm.

As the Middlesex
have asked us for
more Nurses, would
they not take Emm?

Of course we must
guard ourselves in
recommending her,
if we do -

[I think the case is
somewhat altered by this: that
we should not have
recommended Emm
to *such a place as*
Netley, directly from
ourselves, without

f222v

knowing a little more
of what she had been
recently -

We (justly) condemn
Miss L. Freeman yet
we recommend her
Nurses-]

Mrs. Deeble has
absolutely no moral
fault to find with
Emm - Yet Emm,
from her stupidity, has
got herself accused of
drunkenness, (which
accusation however
Mrs. D. entirely
disproved) & of other
things -

The 5 (other) "Sisters" are
quite as much above the
Soldiers & soldiers' wives
as ever we could possibly
desire - As I glean, quite
as much as you or I could be

[The Acting SUPT,
(who "acted" between
Mrs S. Stewart & Mrs.
Deeble,) has married a
PATIENT!!! & now writes
for a place as Matron -]

I have dwelt thus
much on all this,
because it is often asked,
- what makes the difference
between the female Nursing
of a Military & that of
a Civil Hospital? -
- & why can we not
properly recommend
Emm for a Military,
& yet might for a
Civil Hospital? -

== For the same reason,
I have dwelt on the present
state of the Orderlies
(or rather the Disorderlies)
at Netley - in order to
shew how essentially
necessary it must be for
our women to be quite &
entirely above them in rank
& feeling every thing

f223

[6]

Dr. Sutherland

1. One of Mrs. Deeble's
most important
questions is: -

Shall *she* write
direct to the War Office
about the next grant
for the "Sisters" clothing -
- also telling the W.O. -
that the £3 allowed
is not enough but
£4.4 would be
sufficient -

or shall she write
thro' the Commandant?

[She appears to have
had a violent scene
with the Acting Commt
about it - who told
her she must write
thro' him.

She is not Supt Genl
And my opinion is that
the Acting Commandt is

f223v

right - & Mrs. D. wrong -
 But I should like ~~to~~/from you to
 know more -]

2. { Mrs. Deeble's
 2nd question } 2-

The Capt. of Orderlies
 told Mrs. Deeble,
 (acting as Assistant
 Commandt,) perhaps
 in rather offensive
 terms, that she ought,
 when she gave her
 "Sisters" leave of
 absence, to notify it
 to *him* "to be inscribed
 "in her book".

She told him, with
 quite unnecessary
 violence, that she
 would do no such

f224

thing, that he was
 not her master &c -

I think Mrs. Deeble
 is right.

But the whole
 mischief comes from
 not having a proper
 Commandt -

It is indisputable
 that, till Mrs. D. is
 Supt. Genl, she ought
 to forward letters &
 accounts to the W. O.
thro' the Commandant,
 - & to report to him
 such circumstances
 as the leave of absence
 of "Sisters" &c -
if he desires it -

[The one person at
 Netley who does *not*
 understand Military

f224v

discipline which
she so often invokes,
is: Mrs. Deeble -
[In the Crimean War,
I, who was Supt. Genl,
never moved a Nurse
from Scutari to the
Crimea or vice versâ,
without reporting it
to Commandants,
P.M.O. &c &c &c]

f225

[7]

Re Emm

About Mrs. Wardroper
v. Mrs. Deeble, I had
better perhaps state the
whole circumstances, as
you have heard part -

Emm (not Mrs. Deeble)
wrote to Mrs. Wardroper
~~the~~/a letter [Mrs. W. sent it
to me] telling her of the
"poisoning" case - For
heartlessness, for brutal
selfishness, for abuse of
her Supt because her
Supt had done exactly
what she ought [Emm
maintained that Mrs.
Deeble ought not to
have been *in* the Hospl
so as to know anything
about it - & ought
not to have told the
Medical Officers of it]
I have never, in my
long Nurse's life, seen

f225v

anything like Emm's
letter -

Mrs. Wardroper wrote
back, enclosing ~~it to~~/her answer to
Mrs. Deeble herself, a
letter of APOLOGY (*of Mrs.
D. to Emm!*) which,
even had Mrs. D. seen
Emm's letter accusing
her, would I think
have been open to
objection, - but to Mrs.
D. who knew nothing
(& is to know nothing)
of Emm's letter of
accusation, must have
appeared quite a
lowering of her authority
as Supt. to her Nurse -

[Unfortunately Mrs.
Wardroper, who sent me
a copy of this letter, did
not do so till after it
~~she~~ was gone.]

f226

answer, -
 says,
 brusque, -
 it
 thought
 had
 her
 say?]

that
 What she said in her
 letter to Mrs. Wardroper she
 was that she (Mrs. Deeble
 had read her letter to
 Emm, had then closed
 it & given it to Emm
 "without reading it
 (aloud) to her" (Emm)
 And she (Mrs. Deeble)
 said to me, pointedly
 that she handed all
 intercourse *from Mrs*
Wardroper to the Nurses
 [Of these 2 things I
 am sure.]

Mrs. Deeble's
 tho' like all she
 unnecessarily
 was not unnatural-
 [Mrs. Wardroper sent
 to me.]
 She said that she
 all communications
 better be made by
 to Mrs. W. about the
 Nursing -
 [What else could she
 I do not remember

she said either that
 "had given the letter
 to Emm without
 reading it" (she did
 read it, as desired)
 or that "no communication
 had better be made to
 the Nurses by Mrs. W." -
 At all events when,
 (after this,) I saw Mrs.
 Deeble & talked to her
 about it, she spoke,,
 tho' somewhat childishly,

f226v

very nicely about it -
said that Mrs. W. ought
to have "*shaken* her" (Mrs.
D.) & "*scolded*" her, if
she were hurt, instead
of being hurt -
concurred with me
that every communication
should be promoted
between Mrs. W. & the
Nurses - & that
Mrs. W.'s influence
was the main stay
for their good conduct.

[I have always felt
that either Mrs. Deeble
should have been shown
Emm's letter against
herself - or Mrs. Wardroper
could not expect any
thing but what did
happen, from her own
letter to Emm.

It is one of the few
things in which I think
Mrs. W. unreasonable -]

f227

[8]

Re Emm (continued)

However, Mrs. Wardroper
professed herself quite
satisfied, when I told
her the result of the
conversation between
Mrs. D. & me - And
I regret that it should
have rankled in her
mind, so that she
should have given
you a version (&
such a very imperfect
one) of the story.

On Saturday, I had
another very satisfactory
(indeed it was the
only satisfactory part)
conversation with Mrs.
Deeble about Mrs. W.

== As to Lennox, she
took a through Night
Ticket (a return Ticket)

f227v

to Edinburgh & did
not stop in London at
all -

All the others are
talking of nothing but
seeing Mrs. Wardroper.

I am quite sure, as
far as you can be sure
of anything with such
a very self=contradictory
person as Mrs. Deeble,
that she entirely concurs
with me as to the
advantage of Mrs.
Wardroper's continued
influence over the
Nurses -

And I do not in
the least believe that
she "has intimated
"that she wishes her
"Nurses to have as little
"communication as
"possible with St. T.'s"

[One of them may have said so-]

f228

She asked me, very heartily, whether I "could not persuade Mrs. W. to go down to Netley" & whether I "could not persuade you" - she wanted so much to see you both there.

[But, as I say, she is self=contradictory & will sometimes contradict herself 6 times in as many minutes.]

I pressed her to go from me to Mrs. Wardroper on Saturday - And I believe she would have gone without my doing so -

ff229-30, 11 July, JS's response about the problems at Netley, embossed War Office

ff231-32v, {ca 12 July 1870} more response to the Netley problems

signed letter, ff233-34v, pencil

f233

Copy

No. 2 July 12/70

Abridged

Dear Dr. Sutherland

1. Do you not entirely forget that you wrote me a very severe letter, "cautioning" me *against* refusing Mrs. D. her child at Netley? -

In spite of your letter, I did refuse it. I stipulated that she was to give up Netley or her child -

I wrote a long letter on the subject - & said that we would not recommend her unless she placed out the child.

This year, not only without our consent but without our knowledge - *in secret* from me, who never knew it till Saturday, - Sir G. "Logan" & her "other friends" have given their consent to her having child & servant - I thought

[prompted by you]

I cannot (& I certainly *shall not*) interfere further.

f233v

2. One of the very first principles of our Nursing Reform has been: - [15:217]

all the Nurses to be under the same roof as the Supt. - *especially Night Nurses* - especially in a *Military Hospital* -

Nothing would induce us to consent to Night Nurses being sent, or to have anything more to do with Netley whatever, if the Night Nurses are to be "lodged out"

- *more especially*, in the present disorderly state of Netley -

I ask you, whether it would be *safer* to have the Night Nurses immediately opposite the Quarters - or quite outside in the Married Quarters

To keep them from having anything to do with *Soldiers' Wives*, except as Patients, is a main element of our system. And we shall maintain it -

f234

3. Sir G. "Logan" ~~illeg~~ has been, and *is* Mrs. D.'s ~~worst~~ adviser - & her worst -

For me to send her to "Logan" for advice, is to ensure the ruin of the Nursing -

Beatson himself told her to apply to us -

If she is to have Night Nurses from St. Thomas', as applied for, - nothing would induce us to let them go except under our own Regulations - *Certainly not under "Logan's"*

4. The room marked {0 with a dot inside} was proposed by Dr. Whitfield as a Nurse's quarter & objected to strenuously *by yourself* & the Netley Engineers -

5. *I shall send the Memo you have now sent me to Mr. H. Bonham Carter. I can do nothing more*

f234v

about it

Please return me *these* sheets.

N.B. I have never had any great
idea of Mrs. Deeble. She is a weaker, less able
edition of Mrs. S. Stewart

[You told me she was "far superior
to Mrs. Wardroper" - !!]

Mrs. Deeble has ~~just~~ been kept straight
by applying perpetually to us -

As for Col: Ravenhill's opinion, I know
what that is worth - We shall

not ask his advice about our Nursing

[end 15:217]

yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

I have been writing since it was light this
morning - the same yesterday -

This Memo of yours is rather hard upon me.

JS ff235-36v, more material about the situation at Netley

ff237-37v, July 15, with details of his work and his intention of
working on FN's proof at her home

ff238-38v, {[ca 15 July 1870]}, re papers he and FN are working on

unsigned notes, ff239-42v, pencil FN, JS in pen interspersed

f239 [To Dr. Sutherland]

JS You must enter into no discussion about this.
You can't stand it

FN {in bold}

1.

**Could your Mysterious Highness tell a donkey
in plain terms in what way "Dr. Balfour's
"note commits himself"?** JS 1. He has separated
between the diseases which many surgeons hold to be one
& the same 2. His method of taking the ratios is not
sufficient 3. The experiment is too short. 4 The results in
the selected states are not such as to justify the cost even if
evident

2. **What is to be said to Miss Stephen's note?**

JS What can you say to this. Louis Napoleon will
have no volunteers of any kind for nursing & he is right.
Germany might take them but it would be to make
political capital. The best preparation for war nursing
{continued on the f239v}

3. **You propose to me to "come on Saturday" -**

I should have left London "on Saturday" -

I am however too ill to move - probably

But I shall not put off my departure

day after day indefinitely - risking

my life where others will not risk a

few hours' labour. JS. It is not a few hours labour.

It is doing compulsory work. But there is no reason
for putting it off. I mean office work.

4. **Then I am to tell Mr. Plowden that**

he is to wait for your paper till

"after the beginning of August"?

5. **vide your note enclosed -**

f239v

JS continues

f240

JS continues

f241

Thanks

I am writing to Mr. Plowden to return his papers & to tell him that I will remain here till Thursday - if I can - to receive any proofs from him
Is there anything more you want me to say to him? JS. No everything is arranged.

[I should have liked much to know the purport of your Minute on the loose "Sanitary papers]

JS You can see this in proof. It is now in the printers hands.

What do you decide about the Lying-in

papers? JS What I wrote yesterday, namely that if you will allow me to pick out the papers, I will complete the M.S for you & you can either go over it before or after it is in type. As to the question about its being printed at all I am afraid you will have to decide this yourself

f241v {JS continues}

f242

You have not enabled me to answer two of Mr. Plowden's questions.

1. What should be the "Heading" if any of my Paper? JS. I have enclosed the best form in Mr. Plowden's letter in Outline
2. must they expect to "receive further papers" from you "after the beginning of August"? JS. Yes.

You understand that the statement that "all the troops were withdrawn from Allahabad except 2 companies" was received by me viva voce from Sir W. Mansfield?

Is it safe to put it in? - JS Yes - [M.S. bottom of p. 3 - last but one Parag {edge of page missing}]

He offered to come again to see me "{the?} moment I might send for him" - But that of course is out of the question - for me now - JS. I think you have got all out of him you could get. It is well to see h

f242v JS continues

ff243-43v, {[before 19 July 1870]}, re hospital const and plans

FN unsigned note, ff244-44v, pencil

f244 {archivist: [ca 20 July 1870]}

[8:229-30]

I regret exceedingly that the
Lying-in paper is not ready -

Dr. C.J.B. Williams (whom

I was obliged to call in on

my own account) has

consulted me about the

Memorial to Sir James Simpson

(on the Committee of which he

is) -

They/Some are bent on building a
Hospital

If we had been ready with

our facts & plans for them,

we should have been just

in the nick of God's Providence

[Dr. Williams himself is all

f244v

astray about Carbohic Acid

as the chief remedy in Hospitals - but

listened attentively for an

hour to all I said

(greatly to my bodily

detriment)

JS replies. I am very glad you have cautioned Williams. It is a
caution also to us, and we must make the report to fit better
into the present prejudices. I think the best thing I can do now
will be to go straight to the office and discharge any work there
& then go to Hampton and thence home. I will come in the morning.

ff245-45v, 22 July, 1870 advising the acceptance of the present
plans, news about the effectiveness of hand-washing and rumours
about the Franco-Prussian War

{f246 is blank}

unsigned note, ff246v-47, pencil

f246v {archivist: [ca 22 July 1870]}

What is to be said to Col. Loyd Lyndsay? -

I send you poor Mme Schwabe's enclosures
as a Supplementary paper

You have seen what Col: L. says in *this*
morning's "Times"?

JS replies

unsigned note, ff248-49, pencil

f248 {archivist: [25 July 1870]}

I cannot write another word to-day - **[8:230]**

If you come tomorrow, I hope I may be able
to see you

We have much to decide -

This is the *third* time I leave London
leaving the Lying-in paper *in statu quo* -

I shall leave it to you to decide
whether it shall be abandoned altogether
- or what is to be done -

only repeating ~~the~~ for myself that the
only way I can work now is by receiving
written notes from you & working them
up into my own language - then
printing & shewing you the work -

It is just 14 months since you desired me
to put those great folios in the chair (for the
Lying-in paper) There they have been ever since

f248v

Are they to stay there?

JS replies. If leave to me will pick out the papers I require. Will
do my very best for you, you may rest assured. I will come at the
same time tomorrow and shall be glad to see you if you are able.

I see that there is as much coming upon you as you will be
able to do. And perhaps we may find some way of having it done with
as little fatigue as poss.

Think of that poor old dotting Piu IX declaring himself
infallible & a God by the

f249

JS continues: light of a candle when the darkness of the thunder
storm was so intense that otherwise he wd not have been able to
read! That story in today Times will be remembered after this war

Add Mss 45754

657

is forgotten. It was Belshazzars Feast in the 19th century.

unsigned notes, f250, pencil

f250

{archivist: [ca 26 July 1870]}

Settle for yourself

As soon as the India Report is done, I go out
of town -

I have been so ill for the last 5 or 6 weeks -

And that is the only thing you will do without
being driven, which I am now totally unable for.

I refer you to my book - I say that it must be done
with the very greatest caution by the Matron
& hardly at all in the kitchen - but much
out of doors -

14	19	8
6	14	11-1/2
<hr/>		
21	14	7-1/2

JS, f251, 29/7/70, enclosing a rough draft of a minute FN wished to see

ff252-54v JS letter embossed War Office, 29 July, 1870, re JS's recent visit to Netley
{FN's pencilled note at the bottom of f242v}
The R.E.s can now move
into the (vacated) Lunatic ward, if they think fit.

signed letter, ff255-60v, pencil

f255

-1-

July 30/70

[15:217-19]

Mrs. Deeble

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You ask me an extremely difficult question.

But how can I interfere? -

She is killing her child -

She is breaking all the most
essential conditions of her service.

But, if the W.O. & the D.G. allow
all this?

[She has allowed me to stultify
myself by urging upon the W.O. the
very reasons - viz. her self-sacrifice
about her post - for restoring her
husband's pension - which she knew
she had broken & nullified]

f255v

1. About the Night Nurses' Quarters-
v. *your sketch plan* -

It is very, very objectionable for Military Nurses, especially *Night Nurses*, not to be all within the same door as their Supt.

Still If the "open passage 4 divided "from the hall" "passing on the first "floor" *would be for the Nursing Staff alone*, - if the "arch X is built up, & above all if the R.E.s will vacate, the thing might be arranged so as to secure the respectability of our Nurses.

[But, I am sorry to say, your sketch plan only increases my feeling of Mrs. D.'s untrustworthiness, since it is totally different from all I could extract from her.]
as to the position of the Quarters she desired -

f256

2. As for her "notion of Supt's duties": -
I can only repeat what I have said before - (you ask me to "judge")

When I was asked: ~~sh~~ might she have her little girl with her? -

my answer was: -
any such arrangement could only ~~lead~~ end in a Rule that future Supts should be either single or widows "without encumbrances" - (which Rule, tho' not an uncommon, is a most objectionable one - because it excludes the very class which makes the best Supts)
And I gave as my reason - 1 - that Supt & Nurses in Military Hospls *expressly take service* on the condition that they may be ordered off at an hour's notice *on War Service*

2. certain reasons about Night = superintendence
(none of which apply to "Mrs. Wardroper",

f256v

who "has a house of her own & her children in it" "at the Hospital"
~~But~~/Add that Mrs. Wardroper is a very different person from Mrs. Deeble. Her *duties* would always be first with Mrs. Wardroper - Mrs. Deeble is nothing but a Mrs. Shaw Stewart *without* her ability & without her self-devotion.]

~~The~~ D.G. certainly told Mrs Deeble that there were houses near Netley where she might live (as an Officer of the Hospital) *with* her children.

To this my answer was: - 1. that the Supt must live *with* her Nurses in Quarters - 2. that *no child* ought to live in Hospital Quarters.

f257

-2-

[I merely recapitulate this, because you say you "must leave me to judge" - as if you did not know my "judgment" -]

I consider it *quite* impossible that a Supt can do her duty, *either in peace* or in war (but much more in war when she may be ordered off at nay moment) with a dear little sick child in the Quarters & boys coming backwards & forwards for the holidays -

[But Mrs. D., while urging & accepting all *I* could do for *her*, *has carefully concealed* that she has done nothing of what she, as I understood, accepted as conditions]

f257v

But 3 -

the authorities are themselves to blame
-I presume that she did not
take the children in without
their knowledge & consent, tho' she
did without mine.

And 4

I do not see what *I* can do -
I have must fought an immense
battle for her with the W.O. &
with the Treasury on the ground
of her *merits* to get her back her
husband's pension -

Ld Northbrook told my brother-in-law,
almost brutally, that they could
get 50 such women as Mrs. Deeble
at half her price]

We won -

f258

I can hardly turn round now &
say: Oh let her go - if she won't give up
the children -

[*We* have no one to replace her]
which is another consideration.

==== You ask me to "tell you what
I think" -

I am afraid I have nothing
more to say -

We have told all Foreign Powers, as you know
that we have a nucleus of Nursing
Staff ~~that~~/which we can always transport to
the Seat of War, if necessary - !! - at a
moment's notice!!

I spared no pains to explain this
to Mrs. Deeble -

And this is how she carries it out - [end 15:219]

f258v

I am afraid I can say no more -

I think you must communicate
with H. Bonham Carter -

And I have no objection to
you shewing this to him & to Mrs.
Wardroper, if you wish it.

Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

On Tuesday August 2 Sidney Herbert
will have been dead 9 years -

And every year his loss becomes
greater & greater still.

F.N.

f259

-3-

P.S.

Since I wrote the above, I have received
the enclosed from Mrs. Deeble -
You see the discrepancies between her
account & yours of your interview -
[The only good thing in her letter is
that the children are going away for
a time to Scotland-]

You see that she is not thinking of the
awful war *or of anything but her*
own accommodation -

You see that she wants to turn out the
R.E.s to have their 3 rooms for
2 "day apartments" & a kitchen for
HERSELF - *in addition to* an Office &
Bed room in the Quarters -

In other words, she wants to have
Quarters for children, "governess", & self
besides & apart from the Nurses' Quarters.

f259v

I agree with you that "she is the only
"woman who would have asked it."

At the same time, I must remark two
things: -

1. that, if they are to have the R.E. rooms,
I suppose it is better that *she* should
have them for her "day apartments",
the Night Nurses ~~being~~/to sleep inside the
Quarters

[But it entirely negatives all our ideas
of a Supt's occupations -

And, as Supt *Genl*, so far as in
me it lies, I will never recommend
her - It is quite out of the question.]

2. that it was Sir G. Logan (the D.G.)
who put it into her head that she
was to have "a house" to live in "with
her children - [*This* is not asking as much
as he did.]

f260

I don't know that I can do
anything more but to forward
all this to you - & to ask you
to forward it to H. Bonham
Carter, *this* letter of mine
inclusive - And I will
send him your letter & sketch
plan, if you like it, to explain
the discrepancies between Mrs.
Deeble's account of your interview
& ~~her~~ your own

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

Some one ought to tell her that this
is not the way to be Supt *GENL*,
if it were only on account of War Service

f260v

re Mrs. Deeble

signed letter, ff261-64v, pencil

f261

-+- July 30/70 [15:631]

Help to "Sick & Wounded".

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I enclose

1. a letter from Sir H. Verney
[Please tell me what occurs to you upon it]
2. My expected & dreaded letter from the Crown Princess (Prussia) has come -
I send an Extract - (separate sheet).
Now I suppose I ought to make use of this (with the different Committees)
Else how can her request be fulfilled?

[Yet they must not print it -]

If I keep it to myself, of course I frustrate her intention -

What do you suggest?

What ought I to reply *generally* to the Princess? *She won't*

f261v

be satisfied to hear of Col: Lindsay's Association. Yet I ought to avoid shewing sympathy to Prussia at the expence of France

I sent to Col: Loyd Lindsay

thro' Sir H. Verney

- (1) - an Extract from the "Bulletin" which you sent me - (last Para. of p. 718)
- (2) - what Longmore says (whom however Col. Lindsay knows) about "no use sending
"supplies *except according to patterns*
"laid down in the Convention" -&c -

[If this is *strictly* so, surely Mme Schwabe & Lady Shaftesbury ought to be informed
They are collecting all sorts of things.

yours v. faithfully
F. Nightingale

[end]

{f262 is blank}

f262v

re Col. Lindsay

f263, JS's response

f263vCr. Princess
about Volunteer Nurses

ff264-64v, JS's reply. Ink. Next as to the rules. I wd help them by all means. The following points strike me:

1. The nurse must obey rigorously the orders of the med officer in regard to

a admin of diets

b admin of medicines, wine, tisanes &c

2. She must attend the med off and receive his instructions.

3. She must assist at shifting the bedding and in moving the patients.

4. She must assist at ops when reqd to do so

5. She must attend & assist at dressings and obey the directions of the med off

. She must see that all the material removed from a wound at each dressing is immediately taken out of the ambulance and plunged in water with chloride of lime in the open air.

7. She must attend to the state of all syringes and material about to be used either for ops or dressings to ascertain that they are scrupulously clean. The smallest impurity may sacrifice a life. A syringe shd be used for one dressing & then cleansed.

8 She must in like manner see that all vessels are kept scrupulously clean

9. She shd see that the floor and furnishing of the ambulance are kept clean.

10. She shd see that all excretions of patients are immediately removed & the vessels thoroughly cleansed before being replaced.

V

11. She shd ensure that the ventilation is kept sufficient by day night so that no odour is experience in the wards.

12. Similar directions may be obeyed for sick except the special directions for dressings.

13. In both classes of cases the nurse shd so arrange the pillows and under pillows or air pillows as to relieve the pressure from time to time on all parts of the body which are unduly pressed in by constrained position.

14. Much of the usefulness of the ambulance and hosp nurse will depend on her personal character. She must be gentle, firm, cheerful, obliging with her sick, and shd do any little office they may ask of he if not inconsistent with medical and surgical orders. She will always know how she has succeeded by the way in which she is received by her patients.

15. She must be respectful and obedient to all officers from whom she has been directed to receive orders or instructions.

Add Mss 45754

666

End

Add Mss 45755, microfilm, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland,
1870-71, 280 folios, Adam Matthew reel 9

signed note, FN to JS, f1-2v, pencil

f1

Lea Hurst
Mr. Rathbone Matlock
Army Tent Hospital July 31/70
Dear Dr. Sutherland
Would you enable me to
answer this?
even by Telegraph?
Or would you send direct to Mr.
Rathbone yourself at *16 PALL MALL*
to save time?

yours vly faithfully

F. Nightingale

{on the bottom of the note}
initialled note, JS to FN, pen

I have written to Mr. R. & told him that
tents are the best things, but that he
must apply to the Sec of State.

J.S. 1/8/70

f2v

re Mr. Rathbone

signed note, FN to JS, f3, pencil

[15:632]

f3

IMMEDIATE

Lea Hurst Matlock

July 31/70

Help to "Sick & Wounded"

Dear Dr. Sutherland

This is the most *immediate* thing -

Will you please answer by
return of post - what I ought
to answer to this appeal of Sir
H. Verney's - what "advice as to
"the steps to be taken." I ought to
give - what "suggestions to make"?

If you will answer here, by return of
post, there is still time for me
to write.

[Whether I shall have this many
more weeks of this is another
question]

[end]

Yours vy faithfully

F. Nightingale

initialled note, JS to FN, 4v, pen

f4v

W.O. 1 August 1870

Dear Miss Nightingale

I write on your own paper for convenience.

Enclosed is a draft of an appeal for your development. It appears to meet Sir Harry's points.

If Lady Shaftesbury and Mrs Schwabe get up a movement the result will depend on what they do about the supplies. It is open to any body to send anything to Berlin. You see the Paris Committee want money & supplies. But I apprehend both committees would have the supplies made up according to pattern. We can't

++ do this because we have not joined the red cross & have not its instructions

Any way if the prepared Committee went to Paris & Berlin they would get the advice they want..

P.R.

It is my committee time. But I will write either after if their {his spelling} is time, or tomorrow about the extract from her letter.

JS

signed letter, JS to FN, ff 5-8, pen

f5

2 August /70

Dear Miss Nightingale

There is no real discrepancy between Mrs. Deebles account and mine. On the contrary she has given you the details about her children apparently for the purpose of explaining to you what I saw of them. In doing this she indicates clearly her views viz that whether her children are at school or on visit she wishes their home to be at Netley: And she is desirous of providing for this by ousting the Engineers.

Then as to our interview I told her she would have to apply for the quarters & she said that she placed the matter on me.

Application would of course involve enquiry as to reasons &

f5

would enable the matter to be discussed officially. I am very clear however on two points.

1st That the present arrangement of quarters is the only one which has been sanctioned, and that it would be sufficient except for the two night nurses & the children & 2nd servant.

2nd That supposing the children removed & the 2d servant, it would be a doubtful expedient to place 2 night nurses in the quarter

But this is not the present question which is, whether if the two nurses are to be added there is any other way of providing for them apart from all consideration of children & servant except in C.R.Es rooms.

I tried a way which would partly answer but then it involved the removal of the Infirmary room & the house store, & left the children & servant

f6

question where it is.

In short. If two night nurses are to be added (leaving everything else aside) I candidly confess that I see no place for them except in removing the superintendent out of her bed room & diminishing the present occupants of the quarter by one & then putting the two night nurses into the superintendents bedroom thereby adding one occupant.

To enable this to be done her two servants must come out of the shut off part of the passage & the partition must be removed.

She could sleep in her present day room, but she would want the C.R.Es room for her sitting room, & then you see that if she gets this, she gets at the same time all the room she

f6v

wants for her family Q.E.D.

I don't like all this a bit.
She ought to have objected at
first & not to have acted so.

But as it is, what ~~Mrs~~
We have to do is to see how
2 night nurses can be
accommodated. I don't think
the present quarters are
sufficient, but their insufficiency
must be reported, and I
can't do it. I have no power.

I don't know how the matter
stands at present, but if I
mistake not the question of
quarters for the 2 nurses has
been referred to Mr. Carter. If this
is so the shortest way would be

f7

[for Mr. Carter to report the opinion
[of Mr. W. & Mrs. W. if they
[were sent down for the purpose.
I do not ask him to take my
opinion, for I am not official in
the matter, and when the report
is sent here the whole question
[will be raised. Mr. Carter
[might see all that has been
[written, & to enable this to be
[done. I return it all to you.

As regards the nursing they
were all of one opinion about
it that it was excellent.

When Co. Rawlins & the C.R.E.
& myself were at the door of
the nurses quarters we rang
the bell, & at the same moment
my eye fell on the inscription
"Ring & wait" placed over it.

f7v

I said I thought it scarcely necessary
to put up such an inscription
as the bell handle indicated
the ringing requirement sufficiently
and as to "waiting" there was no
other resource seeing that there
were no handles or other means
of opening the door. They both
laughed & explained it in this
way, that in "Lady James" time
ringing was of no use & that
the howling & kicking at the
door disturbed the hospital. To
avoid this result they were obliged
to put up the inscription referred
to.

What Mrs. Deeble says about
shutting the great Hall door at
4 P.M. is I daresay true. But
till that time the Hall is

f8

a thing to see. It is as fine
as the Central Hall at Stafford
house and if Mrs. Deebles
plan is carried out, it will
become the entrance & nothing
more to her own private rooms.

I regret very much all this
writing. You must not
reply. It will be enough to
forward the correspondence to
Mr. Carter so that he may know
all about it in case he has
to report to the W.O.

Of course I should not like to
be brought into the question
personally.

I am yours ever faithful
J. Sutherland.

signed note, FN to JS, f9, pencil

f9

[Not Immediate] Aug 9/70
Miss Carpenter

I have really no time for her, how
ought I give my reason to her
proposed Association.

Yours

F. Nightingale

Dr. Sutherland

initialled note, JS to FN, pen
5 8/70

I would like to know a little more about
this before advising you. You might
in the mean time tell her that you are
engaged at present in practical work
& that you will think of it when you
have more time. JS

initialled note, FN TO JS, with notes from JS in pen, ff10-11v,
pencil
{JS's notes in bold}

f10

Dr. Sutherland

Immediate

Aug 3/70

Mr. Plowden

7.30 a.m.

My Sanitary Paper

I have had this by me two days
literally not having a moment to revise
it -

I have now looked through it.
I think it reads pretty well - **It does**
Will you look it through & also look
at more particularly; **I have**
twice

I agree with your

1.) Page 2. I. 5 (end of Parag) **alteration**

It seems rather awkward to say: "The
inspectors tell us much &c &c " &
then not to say a word more of
what they "tell us" till IV. 2. P. 6

Also after " fire of London," it requires
a word to bring us back to "India"
Can you put in anything better than
"our Indian" Inspectors &c ?

f10v

(2) Do not you think that Sir B. Frere ought to be asked, as some of the additions are taken from his letters - and not specially given by him to be put into this paper - whether he approves of all the paper - as it now stands?

It is not necessary to send it to Sir B.F.

IF you do not see anything on the other hand to be amended or done farther than any little alteration you may make yourself - it would perhaps be better in order to save time for you to forward the packet to Mr. Plowden & my letter *at once to the India Off.* -

no change needed = the letter has gone to the I.O.

[Don't put in his own letter.]

or this - **Returned to you instead of being sent to the I.O.**

f11

I enclose his letter. You may perhaps wish to add or alter something in my answer in which case, I suppose the whole will have to come back to me. **Your answer is too good to spoil**

I have looked through (as well as

I could but really I have time for nothing) the Proof of your A.S.C. paper - It seems to me as if it would be a good deal the better if a little more about the Sanitary Govt of India papers

yours

Thanks - I will see to this but the fact is I abstracted all the papers in writing F.N. & the A.S.C. minute contains the entire Caput (mortuum)

?

Dr. Sutherland

f11v

**The Commission meets today at 2 P.M.
and we shall send it to Mr. Plowden
very shortly. J.S.**

unsigned note, JS to FN ff12-13, pencil

f12

4/8/70

What can you reply to this?
The poor woman works herself up
into a state of irritability and then
finds relief in launching such a
nuisance as this is. It is the
work of an ill balanced mind
without any direct object in
view. If you reply at
all I would simply say in a
few words that you have been
recently so ill as scarcely to be
able to handle a pen. That you
take a deep interest in this present
war and are willing to help in
every way. That the worst of all
help in nursing is writing. that
the only real help is personal
help which you cannot give.

that you fear that in many points
you & she could not agree
about the questions she
proposes to introduce into
her book, and that after reading
her letter your opinion is rather
strengthened than otherwise-

I scarcely know what else
you can say. Depend on me
never telling her again where to
find you.

I am going to Claydon on Saturday
afternoon & shall return here on
Monday Morning. If you write
tomorrow (Friday) please address
to Alleyn Park.

f13

How would it do to tell Mrs. S.S. that as the questions regarding nursing service in connection with the Fund are in the hands of the Committee, it might be better that she should address herself to them as all such questions.

I have reread the letter, but I scarcely see my way through it with any greater clearness.

My impression is that she would go to the War if asked, but who would ask her?

signed letter, JS to FN, ff14-15v, pen

f14 {written vertically in the top margin}

Last nights
Globe contained
a statement
that the Guards
were to go to
Antwerp at
a moments
notice.

6 August/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

I got your note
& will write more fully after
I have consulted with Sir Harry.
In the mean time I shall state
what appear to me to be the
course of proceeding.

1. You only know as yet that Prussia will accept nurses.
2. you have no reason to know whether France will or not. The Committee must learn this.
3. The Committee must advertize for volunteers of hospital experience, and I

f14v

expect they must find the means of paying expenses & Salary if wanted.

4. The committee must enquire about applicants (you might possibly help in this) and when satisfied register the nurses.

5. Volunteers must go wherever sent & must be moved by the Military authorities of the Country.

6. They must report their proceedings through the same authorities to the home Committee.

7. List must be sent to ambassadors or Consuls

f15

through the Foreign office. & the Volunteers must be specially commended to them.

8. There is I believe a red Cross uniform which it would be necessary to adopt.

These are the chief points
But if anything further transpires
I will let you know.

You will see that *the letter* has a distinct political significance if you read a letter of Max Müllers in todays Times.

Germany will accept nothing in the way of backing unless the backing be thorough: i.e. unless we go entirely with her.

France is no doubt the same.

f15v

Your letter has for the first time placed the neutrality question on a proper basis & it will tell all over the Country M.M. who is an out & out German you will see accepts it.

The great battle may even now be going on. France is lost for the present unless the battle be indecisive or unless she wins. The Prussian Generalship is by far the best up to latest accounts.

One of our Generals told me yesterday that a lady known to Louis Napoleon has heard him say that if things went wrong he would shoot himself

Yours ever J. Sutherland

signed note, ff16-17v, pencil

f16 {archivist: 8.8.70} {in JS's hand: Returned for reference}

1. *Mrs. Cox*

2. *Mrs. S. Stewart*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I enclose a second letter from Mrs.

1. Cox, with *the first*

also my answer, which, if you approve, will you post in London?

I enclose

2. my answer to Mrs. S. Stewart I ask

Will it do? - or is it too *risky*?

If you approve, will you post in London?

—
I trust that Sir Harry shewed you at Claydon a long letter of mine written expressly for you & him stating in the strongest terms my

f16v

horror of sending out women, except
under &, to be in an organized Department
under a female Head to be appointed
by the belligerent Govt.

You *can't* send out women

"neutralized" like supplies

I shall regret I ever had a hand
in it if anything like this is
done

Since my letter in the "Times", I have
been deluged with applications
from Volunteer Nurses

3 of these & my answers I have
sent to Sir Harry

Neither you nor he nor the Central
Comm tell me 1. what to do
with them 2. whether I am to take

f17

such applications for the Crown Princess
or for the Central Comm

3. who is to enquire into
qualifications before registering
yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

Aug 8/70

7 a.m.

I have just
received your
"proposals" and a
letter from Sir Harry
dated Saturday. He had
evidently not had mine
I look upon these "proposals"
with perfect horror

F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff18-21v, pen embossed WO

f18 {archivist: Max Müller at Claydon? -

8th August/70

I have just returned from Claydon, and Sir Harry is now in town to attend the sick & aid committee.

He shewed me your yesterday's letter - the long one which contains a considerable amount of stick which the said committee has earned. We discussed the whole matter over with Max Muller & his wife who is a practical German woman.

But in the mean time events as we learnt this morning here waited for no committee & have taken their own course & that course

f18v

determines in my opinion what ought to be done.

We agreed yesterday before knowing what had happened, that Nurses should be sent to the Ps R. at Berlin to be under her direction.

(This is rendered doubly necessary by what has happened)

Then we agreed that Sir H. should get the Committee to act at once on the matter of money & supplies & to appoint a small sub-committee with Longmore in it as a kind of director to sense what was wanted, where it was wanted and to use the

f19

Telegraph on purpose. I expect
Sir Harry here before 4 P.M.
to tell me what has been
decided at the committee &
to consult if any thing
further is proposed.

so far up till today
Now, what I told you some
days ago has happened. The
Crown prince has turned the
Right flank of the French
line effectually. And the
old King keeping his movement
a secret has in the mean
time arrived at Mayence
& sent a strong force across
the mountains which broke up

f19v

the French line near the
centre & the entire east
half of the french line is
bent back upon itself &
has of course necessitated
the retreat of the west end
of the line & the head quarters

So far as we are concerned
the result is that most of
the wounded French are in
the hands of the Prussians.
And the Frankfort people
have sent their volunteer
ambulance Corps along the
line of the Prince of
Prussias march, which
is to me a clear indiction

f20

that it is along that line
that the supplies
must go. It is also
clear that any general
hospitals will be near that
line & that there the Princess
will have her nurses.

In other words the Princess
must for nearly all the
nurses (if any!!) we
send be superintendent
general.

So far up till now, but
tomorrow may bring other
news France is in a death
grip. She has not since
1814 been in such a strait
& no one can foresee the result.

f20v

The conclusion is. Immediate
supplies of money &
other things to any
Berlin agency nearest the
field & to the Paris
Committee.

Immediate nurses for the
Princess Royal.

If anything happens
before this leaves I will
write further.

Yours ever

J.S.

Since I wrote the above I have
consulted a military Judge & he
agrees with what I have said.

f21

It appears to me that the best way to avoid offense would be to get the Nurses (when you catch them) to volunteer to go to Prussia and then to inform the P.R. It would be necessary at the same time to offer nurses if you have any to the French Committee.

We thought on Saturday that perhaps the best way would be to get the Nightingale Committee to examine the testimonials & qualifications. I have no doubt that Mrs. Wardropper {his spelling} would help in this & also Miss Jones.

Sir Harry has not come
so I must close this

J.S.

f21v

This minute goes to the I.O.
this afternoon.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff22-25v, pen

f22 {archivist: Nurses for the Princess Royal}

9/8/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have read the two letters and have posted them.

The "proposals" with Sir Harrys letter were sent before we saw your long letter to him which came in Sunday. The impression produced in my mind by the letter was what I stated substantially yesterday in my letter to you, namely that you can take no part in any nursing aid for the wounded beyond simply complying

f22v

with the P.R.'s request, and in order to save the neutrality, to offer to the Paris Committee to find nurses if they wanted any.

Unless you can suggest yourself any via media, I see no alternative. As regards the questions about the P.R.'s nurses in your letter received today. One of two courses must be taken. Either you must yourself make such enquiries as are required into the capabilities of nurses for Her, or you must trust to some one else, and who so likely as your own Committee

f23

to whom you refer all home applications. They might be able to find suitable women for the Princess royal.

All the applications from volunteers which come to you had better be sent to Sir Harry as you have done, with the view to enquiry & register, and whenever you have one, two or any number on whom you can rely you might inform H.R.H.

This course will prejudice nothing & prejudice nothing, But alas! alas! that there should be on the lowest estimate 15,000 wounded & dying men

f23v

lying about in villages, stables Cowhouses, anywhere while we have to confess that default d'organization we cannot let loose at least 1000 noble englishwomen to help them.

The work will assuredly pass out of our hands into the hands of German & French women. By this time Kaiserwe is in the field beyond a doubt with its *unattached* nurses, because the work at present does not admit of really organized action. After a while they will withdraw the wounded into general hospitals & then nursing staffs might

f24

come into action. But having no superintendents & no nurses this is a field in which we cannot enter.

The difficulty of your position is that if you recommend, a great deal more will be effected than could be obtained. The best thing therefore to do would be simply to let things shape themselves and explain this to Sir Harry (unless you have any better course) During both the Italian, Danish and German wars there were plenty of volunteers unattached, and except for the example of a few really good English nurses to be sent to the P.R. I don't think

f24v

that under the Red Cross there will be any lack. They will get quantity enough at any rate & if you succeed in sending a few really good nurses to Berlin the P.R. will be sure to make the best possible use of them in improving the quality.

Your remaining query (1 out of 3) as to whether you are to take applications made to you for the P.R. or the Central Committee? is answered above. YOUR object will be I suppose, now, only to act for the P.R. & to get the best nurses you can for her.

f25

leaving all others to be dealt with by the Committee without reference to you. In this case send all applications to the Committee. Sir Harry, (if you approve) could send them to H.B.C. for enquiry & nothing further need to said to you except suitable women be found, & in this case you might inform the P.R.

The language is a great difficulty, but it would be least of all with the P.R. because I apprehend that if you sent her really good Nurses she would find means of making them intelligible to

f25v

those they were to work with & assist.

I enclose these 2 letters of Miss Cox. & remain your
very truly J. Sutherland

signed letter, JS to FN, ff26-27v, pen

f26 {archivist: India & war}

10/8/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have sent on your proof & letter to Mr. Plowden. I scarcely think the person needed, but I feel that you would not have recurred to the subject unless it had impressed itself on your mind & so I have let it go.

There has been absolute silence for 24 hours. The first act of the cruel drama has ended. The second is about to open.

Austria & Italy have agreed to act together.

The Times as the Prussian organ is emitting cries. Read today's Viennese letter & the one about Bismarck.

f26v

England is flattered as the only possible Mediator. A Neutrality league is wanted of which she is to be chief, the modest result being that Bismarck is to be left to work his will in Europe.

I hope we shall have nothing to do with any such game. If we are deceived, we shall deservedly suffer.

Yours ever truly

J. Sutherland

This sick & aid society appears to be sick & confined to bed. It makes no sign of life, not even that most easy one to English

f27

societies of "asking for money".

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff28-28v, pen

f28

11/8/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

Lt. Ommanney came here last evening & left the plans & papers about the Lying in Hospital, finished, together with this letter which I forward, waiting your orders about the plans.

Mr. Carter was also here and shewed me the report of Mrs. W & Mr. W. about the Netley night nurses quarters. I suggested, with Col. Ravenhills concurrence an alteration in the doors which has been put on a fly leaf to the plan so that all parties may

f28v

be able to judge of which is the better arrangement.

The report itself is very straightforward & in my opinion ought to be acted upon, without taking any notice of the proposed seizure of the R.E. quarters. If any body wishes to enter on these quarters let them make good their own position, ~~not~~ which they certainly will fail to do after this report.

I was glad to see in the "Times" this morning that the Sick & Wounded Aid Society had begun to take practical action. They should advertize for money.

signed letter, FN to JS, ff29-30, pencil

f29

Aug 12/70

Madam Henri Mallet

Comité Evangelique

Dear Dr Sutherland

Look at this letter.

Now this is what brings the whole thing into disrepute.

How *am* I to answer it?

1. Nurses are wanted because they are good Nurses - not because they are good Protestants -
2. Why am I, because I am a Protestant to tell her how to nurse ambulances, when Ambulances are just the thing in which the *French* shine & we *don't*.

At least, we have the sense to write & ask the French what they want
But *she* wrote to ask *me* what they want.

f29v

What *shall* I answer her?

Please look positively at Questions 1 and 2.

[Fancy me in the Crimean War writing to ask the French 'mère générale' about beds!!!]

2. Her "Appel aux Protestants" (which I enclose) is to me utterly abhorrent -

No woman should go to the Hospital except as a Nurse not as a tract-giver - not as a Protestant.

[The *R. Catholics* tried to play tricks off upon me in the Crimean War -

I will tell you the story at length

f30

when I have a moment

When one sees it done by *Roman Catholics*, one knows how hateful it is]

Just as we are neutral for French & Germans, so we ought to be neutral for R.C. & Protestants. The Germans are - The Genevans are.

Please answer, if possible by return of post.

especially about beds.

" " ambulances

Yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

signed reply on back of f30 JS to FN, f30v, pen

f30v

There is nothing surprising in this. It is simply the adoption of the American Christian Commission which worked alongside the American Sanitary Commission. Dr. Evans one of the best of them resides in Paris. Besides this I have no doubt that the Protestant deaconesses are in the field.

Let them do their Christian work as opportunity offers. What they appear to want are not protestant bedsteads or protestant supplies, so much as a depôt of some kind out of which the deaconesses could take things immediately required without waiting for the action of either the *red cross* or the *intendance*.

There is no harm in this, for to all appearance every one will have full work & the need will be great. as to her questions. I would reply.

1. In most cases of wounds a rigid bedstead is the best Trestles. smooth boards. Bedtick stuffed with hay, or chaff or straw are best. The reasons are of course that stillness, absence of motion, facility for cleaning &c are indispensable in ambulances.
2. In a general hospital beds of another kind may very well be used. Iron bedsteads. Fracture beds with double bottom web bottoms instead of wood. Rheoclines are all useful. But you know perfectly well that the bed must be selected for the case as soon as such selection is possible, & that no general rule is applicable. The majority of field cases do quite well with the rigid wooden bottom. The others are exceptional.

signed letter, with notes by JS, ff31-31v, pencil {notes by JS in bold}

Aug 12/70

Lieut: Ommanney

Lying-in Hospital

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You have often told me that you could read a book without cutting the leaves -

But I can't. But you ought!

I am so stupid that I at Lea Hurst can't read Lt. Ommanney's paper or his plans at Pall Mall.

I don't believe it.

I must ask you therefore to send them to me off at once if with a criticism of your own so much the better. **Here they are. The 4th bed ward is very good. The 4 room used is up at Portsmouth & answers admirably. The general plan will cost a lot of money (Ommanney says)**

But it would be difficult to make it cheaper. (over XX

The unfortunate papers (about the Lying-in Hospital) I left packed

f31v

at 35 S. St. & separate addressed to you to be delivered to you if you asked for them

I did not send them to the W.O.

In the full confidence that if I did, they would remain in your

"drawer" till I returned (~~if I do~~

~~return~~ Oh. guided by the experience

of the last 18 months I am

to know that they would so be untouched

Oh yes! Of course they have not been untouched at

S o u t h

Street.

Yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

XX I don't like the architectural appearance of the general plan, but this is not of much moment. It would be totally unlike any other building. I think (barring the architecture) that it would do. But I would put it in simply as an illustrative arrangement.

signed letter, ff32-35, pencil

f32

Aug 18/70

[15:219]

Mrs. Shaw Stewart 7. a.m.

Dear Dr Sutherland

I send you this poor
woman's letter

I have had it by me
some days.

It is a noble mind
entirely overthrown *not* only
by pride & passion.

Much in the letter is
so far as I know pure fancy
& not settled fancy, but the
fancy of the moment, as e.g.
that she was refused our Trained
Nurses because she suspects
"Sister Accident's" intoxication
I believe that *she* refused our Nurses
2. Can you make out from
the letter? *I can't* whether she
means to publish or not?

[end 15:219]

f32v

3. But much in her letter is
soundest sense all that she
says about *N. Germany Nurses*
& *sending Nurses to the War* is
what I have *always* felt myself
but never so well expressed

[15:674-75]

I have however now written
a long letter to Sir Harry (for
the Aid Socy) which I hope
you will see

expressing

(1.) The only conditions on which
I would send Nurses to the
War

(2) the utter 'bosh' I think it
to talk of England ever
pouring "(1000 Nurses" into
a Continental War)" like
the French & Germans"

because

f33

a. a N. German is & has been familiar with war, i.e. its women & their mothers have been for centuries
 b. It has a national *civil Army* - its women go into the field to nurse, *with* their men = relations to fight- it may possibly have 100,000 women thus volunteering- till we have similar Institutions, we never can have similar volunteers.
 It has also numerous Protestant & R. Catholic Orders of Nurses.

b. b. France has, for years, had its religious Orders, its "Sisters of Charity" alone number 15,000 utilized by the Govt. (To its eternal honour be it said!) as Relieving Officers - ASSOCIATES by the Govt. in their services

f33v

with the services of
 SECULARS, *women & men*
 France has a whole
 Army of practical
 efficient women to pour
 into the field.

Nothing of the sort
 has ever been done by
 our Govt.

c. C. To this I would add
 that, while the "Times &
 all the press, i.e. the
 whole *man-opinion* of
 England, write up the
 principle that woman is
 made by God "*to suckle
 fools & chronicle small beer*
 they cannot expect that,
 all at once, they will
 find a legion at their
 command of practical

f34

-2-

capable, efficient women,
able to administer & take
the field- or even to make
an efficient business-like
Ladies' Committee like
that of Madame Canrobert
at Paris which is a splendid
administrative body
My conclusion to all this is: that
(our trained Nurses are the best
in the world but we have not
trained Nurses to spare, &
trained Nurses don't speak
French or German) -
that, unless we exercise the
most excessive care in
selection among women
volunteering, we shall not
send any *at all equal* to the
thousands of French & German
women already in the field

f34v

we *may* send women vastly
inferior
I have not one moment to
finish
Mme Canrobert says, to my intense
relief, that "*no English Nurses*
"are needed for the French
"they have already such an
"enormous number of women
"applying"
She does not doubt that our
"Nurses are infinitely better"
but "cannot employ them" Aug 15/70
yours v. faithfully
F. Nightingale

f35

You are fond of sending me
back my letters- You may
send me back this.

I hear that nearly the
whole of the French disaster
is due to the *Intendance*
the want of every kind of
supply & organization.
And this is what it would
be with *us*, were England
to go to war now (which
God forbid)-

Our 'Control' is a copy of
their 'Intendance'

I will send you particulars
of what I have heard in a
day or two.

[end 15:675]

F.N.

JS note to FN on back of f35, ff35v-39v, pen

f35v [JS]

Mrs. S.S.

She still intimates that she will publish, but
the whole letter is such a ramble of good
sense & no sense that it is difficult to
make anything of it. She lets out the
secret of her failure, however, namely
that she has been attempting
to impress her own *personality* on the
nurses. On the other points raised
in your letter about the nursing, the
chief as it strikes me are applicable
mainly to fixed service in general
hospitals - while up to the present
time we have no intimation of such
a course having been followed. My
impression is that both Prussians
& French administrations are profiting by
the latest american experience &
treating wounded in the first stages
where they lie as far as practicable.
This will sweep away a large part
of the hospital mortality, But you will
see that it necessitates nursing
arrangements of a different kind.

There are nurses at present doing

f36

good service who are dressed in
a kind of Zoave uniform
with the trousers pushed into
the boot tops. They go about
the field doing good wherever they
can and marching with the
troops. This is in the French
service, as I have been informed on
good authority.

Generally I should say that
the ideas of nursing in Mrs. S.
S. letter though excellent for a
fixed establishment are no longer
held since the battle of Solferino
as being sufficient for the needs
of modern field warfare. It was
this which made me write to you
about it. Because it appeared
to me that the main field of
usefulness at present does not

f36v

lie in Hospitals, but in country
farm buildings miles from each
other where there are one
two or three wounded. under hedges
or cartsbeds by the road side,
any where in fact until a
Central point is found for the
ambulance & the wounded can
be brought together. Far better
indeed that they never were
so brought, but without this,
it would be impossible with
any amount of nursing or
Surgical strength to cover the
ground.

What is really wanted i.e. if
nursing is to be done otherwise
than in general hospitals, is

f37

some scheme which shall ensure attendance by nurses in the field.

But as I understand your letter & Mrs. S. S.'s you neither of you thing this admirable. The more recent disasters - such as that of the earlier days of this week by which the French have been cut in two, without communication, have no doubt concentrated the nursing & surgical operations within a limited area. Metz included there are perhaps 4 Centres to which wounded can be removed without very great risk, and something like organized nursing would become possible.

But in all the previous operations of the war, the period when nursing & surgical attendance

f37v

could be of use, at least of most use in saving life was that in which the wounded were put up in small batches over a large surface of country. We do know from Wm. Russell that wounded lay about in this way for 48 hours within the prussian ground after Würth unseen by either nurse or doctor. This fact is a reply to all Mrs. S. S. has said about the German nurses, or rather it is a reply to past methods of considering war nursing.

If the War continues we shall see how the nursing develops itself. This will be the best future guide. But I should be very chary of saying a word

f38

which would interfere with it on the ground that nursing can be best done in a particular way. This war has upset everything - all previous ideas about tactics, organization, hospitals, appliances, nursing. The upshot is the assertion of individual liberty of action as against all systems or methods except those of the very simplest kind.

You are properly informed about the intendance. But the same thing has happened with the Army itself. All rigid methods have simply been shivered to fragments. I have heard it discussed this very morning with reference to the Control. Look what has happened. Half the French Army

f38v

is shut up near Metz. The other half is at Chalens. The positions are both good for defensive purposes as against the Prussians. But the Metz half has no provisions & must either fight its way to Verdun or starve, or surrender.

All this has come of want of flexibility. The Red Cross is the only organization which fulfils the conditions of true field service & it does so simply by discarding laws and doing its best. but then, look at the spring - a sense of Christian duty - & every thing becomes plain. I am afraid

f39

our lower class women would scarcely be able to adapt themselves to this, for want of flexibility of nerve: But educated women could do it.

Current events all appear to point to the fact that the wounded will be sent due west from the Army. And it is just possible that Calais may become the great depot on account of its direct Railway communication.

If so, And if they apply for aid to the Society, it will be a noble field for usefulness

They are shredding lint at our house and applying for aid right & left.

I am yours very truly

J. Sutherland

Miss Nightingale

f39v.

P.S.

I send you back your letter as you have asked for it. You understand my reason for sending the others back. It is that you may have the "whole correspondence" as it is called before you.

J.S.

Other P.S.

Would it not be desirable to get from Mr. Carter the real facts about the nurses said to have been refused? merely to be sure.

Apropos of what I have written 19/8/70 about the field. I will write again as soon as the matter is more forward about a request which has been made to me to help to organize ~~ward~~ "War Dispensaries"

Verbum sap {a word to the wise - GW} You will see the radical change in field hospitals which this will involve.

Letter Add Mss 45755e ff40-41

[8:475-76]

22 August 1870

7:00 a.m.

Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts

Dear Dr Sutherland

What do you advise me to do about "giving" my "name as Vice President." My feeling is this: my horror of this legislation is, if possible, yet stronger than ever, there being, as I believe, scarcely a tittle of evidence in favour of its doing what it promises. But it appears to me that, if anything *could* have supported the objectionable legislation, it is: the blunders of this Association--especially their public protest *against* an enquiry. They and I go on different ground.

Mr Bruce declared himself "much impressed" by my letter. He also declared himself "much impressed" by the Deputation BUT THE OTHER WAY --he said "*they were not up in their facts*"--& "inclined" him rather *in favour* of what they were *against*.

(At the same time, I believe that they are practically right in deprecating an Enquiry--For there is not a single person in the Ho. of C. now capable of conducting an enquiry as we conducted our R. Commissions--And the "enquiry" might very probably end in *confirming* legislation.)

JS reply on back of f41 f41v, pen

f41v

I agree that you must decline
the Vice Presidentship.

I would write to Mrs. Malleson to
decline, and tell her that you
do not decline from any falling
off of interest in the subject, but
that your health is feeble & what
little strength you have is at
present devoted to other objects..

Something of this kind, quite
short would do. A vice President
or any office bearer is supposed
to direct & be responsible & you
can't.

Yours faithfully
JS.

signed letter, ff42-43, pen on WO embossed

f42 {archivist: War}

23rd August

1870

Dear Miss Nightingale

Thanks for your interesting letter. It makes good every suspicion which people have had about the French Army. Just before this War began facts of a similar nature were stated by a well known German authority to one of our ministers. They in Germany knew everything & they predicted just what has happened.

Well it is natural. The further predictions then was, that France & the empire were both destined to ruin. I did not mean by want of flexibility to criticize the Intendance. But it would

f42v

be of such great moment to the country if we could get to know what were the weak points, if any, besides this dreadful dishonesty. One thing is evident namely, that the system of obtaining supplies by Content [?] ceases to operate as one would expect as soon as the enemy enters the contracting district. As regards ourselves, we have no army, and therefore the existing system will do no harm. What we really want is an Army & the things required for an army. From all I have heard & read on the subject, we shall not get an Army, and we would be wise to

f43

limit our operations to our own sea shore. If Parliament wished it we might have a superb army, but political considerations will always stand in the way, except in case of danger. The country is gradually waking up, but they have not yet in any way dreamed of the fact becoming more & more apparent as these revelations go on, namely that Europe has to fear Prussia & her designs, and that the French disaster is the first fruits of their long determined Policy.

Mrs. Cox. She confirms the other accounts. There is nothing to reply to. She will write as events go on.

Yours ever faithfully

J. Sutherland

PS. Your notice arrived before I left home.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff44-45v, pen {notes by FN in bold}
embossed WO

f44

The story about the 300,000 rifles you mentioned the other day is all true & a W.O. clerk was the authority. He failed to see or to say where the rifles were - an oversight of small importance when the small size of the globe is taken into account!!

Condy's fluid

26/8/70

War & wounded Aid Society
 Not spending enough

Dear Miss Nightingale

I reply at once to your letter.

1st. The Committee appear to have been asked for Condys fluid; which appears also to have been placed at their disposal. It does not appear that they have bought any.

2nd Condys fluid is of no use whatever in diminishing those diseases which are the result of crowding, bad air & dirt. How should it? It does not require the wisdom of Solomon to teach that the best way to prevent the effects of any given cause is to remove the cause.

I would print up on all military hospitals, the old saw, "ablata causa, tolletur effectus" Mark the word *ablata*, how applicable!

3. Condys fluid will stay putrescence & remove odour. You will easily remember the cases in which the property might be useful. e.g. Dysenteric stools immediately as being passed

f44v

accidental fouling of floors or furniture or bed linen until removal

or cleansing can be effected. In foul wounds applied on dressings & such like. For putting into buckets with water for collecting dressings.

These uses of course are only of importance in rough military hospitals, sheds & the like.

4. Carbolic acid acts in a similar way & may be used for similar purposes. It is now used for dressing bad wounds with advantage. But I should prefer in most cases the "irrigateur" with pure soft water.

5. I would preach to the Committee: that all the disinfectants in the world will not make up for the danger of having one man too many in a ward. That the real disinfectant so far as preventing disease is concerned is *room*, & *fresh air*. (tell them not to send any London air in battles, for fear they should do so)

6. Chlorine gas is sometimes useful in destroying smells. Chloride of lime you know all about. It is still the best material for such accidental occurrences as I have mentioned.

I think this replies to your questions.

f45

Thanks for your information. It is what one would expect. MacMahon is off & nobody knows where. L.N. is apparently playing Fabius. It is the best policy just now.

We are sending to the committee today our first contribution of lint, linen, socks, shirts, bandages, &c There is a whole lot of the latter made by a Clergyman's wife out of his surplice. (A very pious use to which to put it in my opinion.) Besides a little money, & we have set other districts to work.

H.B.C. was here yesterday afternoon & he feels with me that the committee is not spending money enough. They have got £30,000, and have spent about £5000. Could not you give them a hint to empty their exchequer. There are hundreds of hospital marquees wanted in order to empty the churches and public buildings which will become worse than Scutari before long.

I have no doubt there is scorbutus. We know here how the Prussians manage. They don't carry much provision. They make requisitions and the Prussian soldier lives mainly on black bread, coffee & tobacco. It is all very well

f45v

at the outset and during the heat of a fight, but after serious wounds, there is death. There are whispers also of Cholera in the Princes Army.

Dr. Massey came across France with French officers from Wurth & he says they were loud in their declarations about the complete collapse of the French army and its arrangements. He says Paris looks deserted & he was glad to get away to keep from being *suspect* which every body is.

I see it is impossible for me to make you believe in any woman unless she is a trained nurse. Well I have done my best & intend to give in.

There are many French wounded at Dunkirk where they are quartered two & two in private houses: the people being held responsible for them: and once a day two sisters of Charity come round to do what is needed & to give directions. This is not bad. It is far better at any rate than putting them in a [illeg s] of any building

That's a capital letter in todays Times of Sir Harry. It touches the sore. You will have seen that the frightful sufferings of the German wounded have led to a loud call for peace.

Yours ever faithfully

J

Sutherland

unsigned letter, ff46-47v, pen

f46

Return this sheet to me,
to save trouble.

Sept. 12/70

7 a.m.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am sorry you are ill. But I suppose, as I have not heard again, that you intend me to believe that you are either well or dead.

I am so busy that I have not time to die.

Here are three things, not immediately pressing, which I have been obliged to let stand over, but on which I should be obliged to you to give an opinion:
1. they have written to me again (as per enclosed) to ask me to be

f46v

a Vice-President of the Anti-C.D. Acts Socy.

The more I see of them, the more determined I am in future to keep clear of them.

I understand that Mr. Bruce has threatened to prosecute them for indecent pamphlets dedicated to him under Ld. Campbell's Act.

[this while he is favourable to me.]

Had I better tell them that, while more than agreeing in their object, I wholly disagree with their methods but am unable to advise or direct or take any part? {in pencil } JS: therefore decline {pen resumes} FN: [They will never let me alone -

f47

2. Please to look at my promising pupil, Miss Stephen, & her Manifesto?

[12:184-85]

What *can* I say but that if any Hospital admits any lady for "one to 3 months" as "a test of nerve &c" - [oh these tall=talk ladies!! -] it can only end in Hospitals refusing entrance to ladies for purposes of training altogether, as was the case till I began - & that, with regard to St. Thomas;, Mrs. Wardroper or any Matron would certainly declare a real Training School like ours an impossibility, if ~~with~~ "ladies" are admitted as a "test" of "seriousness" qy frivolity? -

f47v

[We are *earnestly* requested from both German & French to send no "ladies" of "3 months' training" to *them*.]

Oh how these tall=talk ladies do waste my time!

3. What *am* I to answer to the woman who asks "for my life"? I am quite sure that no person ever dreaded a highwayman asking for "their money or their life" as I do these women asking "for my life"? - As if I had time to answer such letters!!! before I am dead!

[end 12:185]

signed letter, JS to FN, ff48-49v, pen embossed pen

f48 {archivist: The organization of aid to the sick & wounded in battle}

19th Sept

1870

Dear Miss Nightingale

I write to you an account of the concluding paragraph in your note to Mrs. Sutherland conveying the opinions of Capt. Galton & H.B.C. that the sufferings after a battle are unavoidable, and having read the reports & letters in todays Times.

My object in writing is to point out that if this view be a correct one (and it is to my knowledge held by some military surgeons) the main argument in the Book about Solferino which led to the Geneva Convention falls to the ground. But the recent experience shews conclusively that these sufferings can be alleviated, because they have been alleviated on all the recent battle fields. But it also shews how much the work requires to be improved before the intentions of the Convention are fully carried out. Read for example that awful case in Dr Cormacks letter today. A soldier has had no food for two days before a great battle & receives none & no succour for five days after it. He is then discovered, brought in and

f48v

operated on & mercifully dies. Now this is only one case out of hundreds, & the very fact itself shews that what could be done after five days could have been done after five hours. The results in these cases are simply incredible from our ordinary experience. On reaching home on Saturday night I was told on the authority of a Dutch Clergyman now on a visit to a friend that a Dutch Surgeon (30 were sent by the Dutch Government) who had returned exhausted with the work, had stated that no language could express its horrors: that all their amputation cases had died & that this had arisen from long exposure on the ground after being wounded without aid & the want & destruction of constitution proceeding therefrom. This is in fact *the* question.

It is evident from Galtons letter that all-Europe ourselves included has taken *the Hospital idea* as the fundamental one for working out the Convention views. This is a grave error. Hospitals properly conducted are most necessary, but we must not forget that we could deal with nearly every kind of wound better separately

f49

in the open air than by removal to the most refined hospital.

Even cases in farm houses do better, but in every such event *supply* becomes of great importance. Today's letters shew a vast amount of good work done by the Aid Society. I have not a word to say except of unqualified admiration. But when the agent tells us that he is now about to do something for the sick & wounded round Sarrebroom (a battle fought *now* time out of mind) what can we say except that it is unfortunate we had not an organization which would have covered the ground the day after the battle. I do not speak without personal experience. I went to the battle of the Tchernaiia & was on the field when the Russian rear guard was leaving it & even then the Russian wounded were being brought in to our side. I sent my servant at night to see & he reported progress in the work, I went over the field next morning & 24 hours after the battle there was not a wounded man left. They spent their whole strength in searching & carrying the wounded & then next day buried the dead. The reason why this was not done at Solferino was the great extent of the battle field & it is just here where the Aid Societies agents come into use.

f49v

It is simply a matter of organization, and we here already had it up on our War office Committee to try what can be done to improve the service of wounded in this direction. The Americans appear to have had no great difficulty & why should other people.

The following is the problem.

1. Sick & wounded in towns
2. Sick & wounded in villages
3. Sick & wounded in scattered country houses
4. " " " in ditches, under trees, hedges, in holes where they have dragged themselves in safety.
5. " " " In ambulances

What we want in dealing with the problem are

Searchers bearers: Surgeons: nurses: supplies for such purposes brought to the ground during or immediately after

battle.

It could be done at once on any field whenever the firing has ceased.

I will tell you how we get on with our discussion, but in the mean time there will be ample room for experimental trial.

Now yours ever faithfully

J. Sutherland

Have you seen this reply of Renan to Strauss? It augurs ill for Europe unless the present efforts lead to peace. Sir Harry told me on Saturday that Thiers had done nothing here & was very low spirited. He left on Saturday night for St. Petersburg *via* Vienna.

signed letter, ff50-51v, JS to FN, pen, Sept 21/70 {treatment of sick & wounded after battles} embossed WO

signed letter, ff52-53v, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 23/70 {treatment of sick & wounded after battles} embossed WO

I have just come up here and found ou rpencil letter. Sinc eI wrote I ahve been in communication wihtthe R.E. authorities about th e proposal I mad eto you for providing (extemporizing) sick accommodation in the field. They agree entirely with me and say that eerything requisite can be done in the illeg. We have concurred in the opinion that (in legal phrase) there shd e a change in the venue as regards cre of wounded. But henceforht the hwole work shd rest in local capabiltiies including materials in the depot and that officers shd be tuaght how to do the very best with next to nothing as a basis. Everyboyd is away but me at present, but if we had a committee meeting I shd propose a minute on the whoel subject to be printed for public information. I lament

two things, my age and my presednt inaptitude to stave fatigue. Otherwise I shd have prayed to be sent at my own own cost to do the work if they wd give me authroity. All I can now do is to cry out vox clamantis, in deserto.

However, the aid society is doing noble work. Todays' Times leaves little to desre. But oh, how late it is! District inspection is now everthing. Every place where there are sick or woumnded shd be periodically visited and supplied when necessary.

It wd be good to ask the aid soc to make a list of all the places where there are numbers of cases treated. It wd be check and these questons are otherwise important in leading indireclty to local action. We but knew for instance the exact state of matters in the N.W. of France and can send efficient aid in hours notice.

F53 It strike sme that there are several onts in which the existing arrs of all the aid societies may be improved. Every officer besides having the badge or the papers of the bacnh shd have a paper signed or stamped by the belligerent illeg and countersigned by the military authroties on the illeg as ofen as a change in positon is made, and it shd be made quite clear that all persons who have sent the necessary papers as well as the badge wd become prisoners of war. This wd stop those disgraceful proceedings which have made the badged people a by-wrod to the oldiers.

Cd but the crown princess sto that cavalier [?] movemtn of bad cases of wounds which is at presetn adding so much to the mortality? The German hospital illeg all indicate the presence of wounds in these hospitals which oght never ot have moved at all The Prussian military authorities appear to exercise no discrimiantion in moving. They move everybody and dispose of te hhsp attendants as seems meet. Dispersion is a cardinal matter with wounded, only the cases shd be selected. And this can only b edone under medical advfice. The Prussian PMO's shd consult wihth he ambualnce surgeons of all nations before moving the wounded.

Sinclair's letter is all stuff. It is like much in the present periodical literature, written in defence of Bismark and everything Bismarkian where the official facts have to be worked in at any expence of logic or ill-logic. The only cure for such amateur casuals is to have trustworthy inspection onthe spot and reproting to the society.

Germans as a body are civlized and humne. Prussians of all ranks are only in the process of development into Germans and their leaving theri prisoners wihtout food is a natural step in the process. Only, we shd cry out.

What an escape they had. Mrs Smith and the boy! I saw them both at your house before they went. It is like escaping death after a flash of lightening, which in pagan times was cosidered to have consecrated whateer it sturck.

signed letter, ff54-55, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 26/70 {nurses for India}

{Army Medical Department ambulance} embossed W0

After the manner in which those Indian clerks treated your former proposals about nurses, it wd scarcely be convenient to argue the matter more at present.

You have said your say. They neglected it and now illeg to Indian official custom they have been trying it in their own hook-- it succeeded; ergo they abolished it and now Mr Cunningham proposes a plan whereby the nurses of a circle wd form one body under a supt who wd send them where they were wanted; regret this proposal; I wd say that it is not quite the manner in wh you wd have desired to introduce nursing into India, that your view had been fully explained but not adopted, but they mt try their way now and that so far as you are concerned you will render them every assistance in tr for them in England. I do not see you can say more and I'll defy you to say much less! You no doubt saw in the *Times* the other day that the Aid Soc are sending out an ambulance under Longmore; re Cardwell, HV, Balfour Lindsay; re Pont a Mousson frightful; Alas appears no end; thinks good mt be done by a public declaration of the neutrals of what terms they think France shd accept. Napoleon and the army are destroyed; hence the danger is past. France itself shd pay the damage and dismantle the fortresses. Anything more than this shd not be proposed. If Prussian on er part were to declare for this so soon as a resp govt was in existence the whole thing mt be arranged;

signed letter, ff56-57v, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 27/70 {AMD ambulance} embossed W0

signed letter, ff58-59, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 29/70 {AMD ambulance} embossed W0: I agree entirely with the points raised in your note about the ambulance and if it were fitted out on the principles you so very properly object to of course the result wd be failure; re change suggested that a sufficient no. of German and French sp army medical officers who had seen filed service shd be allowed to volunteer and the best men selected

signed letter, ff60-62, pencil

f60

Oct. 2/70

Miss Stephen

Dear Dr. Sutherland

What *am* I to answer this woman?

1. I cannot, while working for the most dreadful & urgent War history has known, waste my strength in teaching this incurable scribbler this inexpressible doctrinaire for *another* War. She *must* see that *this* war is done

2. She has not a glimmering of the very elements of her question

Even if she turns in ladies into Hospitals "for a year," none but a few geniuses who will be the first to condemn her will profit from it There must be an organization, a Training with [?] tests of learning & of progress

Of all this she has no idea
And how can I waste my time

f60v

in teaching a person who has not the smallest practical insight?

Please *return this* sheet with your remarks & her letter.

Have you had a pamphlet from *Potts* about Ventilation?

Yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

JS's answer

Dear Miss Nightingale

It is not necessary to reply to this note unless you like. After replying to your letter, she read it & found out about the years training & then writes a fortnight.

The entire subject of controversy is simply what is meant by nursing? You object to turn women

f61

into hospitals of whose training & capabilities for the manifold duties of nursing you know nothing. Now these people don't mean this at all. They mean padding about patients & doing what help lies nearest. I think it is certain that many many lives have been saved by peasant women & peasant men in France not because they knew anything of nursing, but because they brought *in time* the kind of help which would have been useless in an hour or two even if given by the best nurse extant. The battle field of Gravelotte was invaded by all the peasant girls who would reach it, bringing with them wine, water, means of binding up wounds & the like. this is the thing that Miss Stephen & others mean by nursing. All the hospitals I may say have had similar invasions & no doubt useful help has been given. Think of that case where an old decrepit woman & three German students had 40 bad wounds to deal with after Sedan. No doubt when Miss Brownlow & her sister dropt into this awful place things were vastly improved at once; but except the old woman there was no help for 14 days.

I think I would say to Miss Stephen that for really efficient nursing which is the only kind you can recognize you don't believe that less than a year training is of use. But that if ladies can

find entrance into a hospital for a few months it may be better than nothing, only that this must be their affair, not yours & that you cannot advise the introduction of any scheme founded on such an amateur principle, because for all the higher points of nursing they would be not only useless, but they might do great injury by keeping out really experienced nurses & by lowering the standard of training which experience has shown to be absolutely necessary.

One asks why did she not go out & try her hand?

Did you see Saturdays Daily News? There is a leading article about the ambulance. It says that the Prussian system has broken down. Todays news is that some 30 hospitals in the East of France are short of supplies; and that the Prince of Prussia wants £10.000 for his hospital round Paris. He won't let any help go into Paris. The Prussians have 700 wounded in Versailles, besides hosts in all the villages near Paris. They have suffered awfully in the Field & have now added to their suffering typhus & dysentery.

Yours ever faithfully J. Sutherland

{in the top margin of f60}
P.S. Please write to
my house as Mr.
F. is not here for a
month. If you ordered
3 brace of Partridges to be
sent by the S.W. Railway
they arrived quite
safe. There was
nothing on them but
an address.

J.S.

initialled postscript, f62-62v, JS to FN, pen {more details about the conditions in & near Paris} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff63-66, pen, Oct 5/70 embossed WO {note on top of letter: Aid society. Letter burnt according to your desire.

Kept strictly private.}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff67-69v, pen, embossed WO Oct 8/70 {distribution of Plowden's report re India; Hart & Hills' report; conditions in Paris} "I have never seen the document regarding which Miss Blackwell asks your opinion. I can only advise you to tell her the same and further that your time is so completely occupied with more urgent work that you could not enter on any examination of the question." 45755 f68 JS to FN 8 Oct 1870

signed letter, JS to FN, ff70-72v, pen, embossed WO Oct 10/70 {ambulances & supplies}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff73-74v, pen, embossed WO Oct 15/70 {Miss Lees' letter, the PR's good work & Prussian ambulances}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff75-80v, pen, Oct 18/70 embossed WO. Greenway. This letter wh you sent before needs no answer unless you mean to battle a man out of opinions to which he has already committed himself. I sent you a kind of hypothetical reply. Miss Lees letter, ambulances, answers to FN's questions

signed letter, JS to FN, ff81-84v, pen, Oct 29/70 embossed WO. *In regard to Miss Lees*, Col Lindsay's letter shows distinctly that under present circumstances no nursing help is wanted at Versailles. At least in the estimation of the authorities. I don't think you could under the circumstances make her employment there a matter of personal favour.

If you move about it at all, it appears to me that all you can do is to write to the P.R. that it would be desirable to employ Miss Lees on improving work elsewhere when the opportunity rises. You might suggest Versailles. But even the fall of Metz it is that the work most requiring to be done is there. 20,000 French sick and wounded will afford field enough for anyone. She wd go to Metz of course under Prussian colours. You might suggest this to her and if she consents the P.R. no doubt would get her the needful authority.

2. *Col. Lindsay's report*. The point in it, which struck me most was the decortication of the Prussian hospital system. It is a hollow sham. They are just where the French were in the early part of Louis XIVth reign. They have copied this at the time; they then beat the French under Fred the Great in illeg; but their hospitals have still a march a century and a half to keep up with the present times.

This is very much what has come to us from those quarters. Their definition of a soldier is "a man always in the ranks." Out of the ranks he is somebody else who has been unfortunate. The experience of this war will I hope correct much of this insouciance.

On other points the letter seems one of great interest also, but scarcley what we wd have written about hospitals or the fund. It reveals more than it conceals. Prussia is in trouble before Paris. In great trouble as it appears to me. I was told here a day or two ago of 2000 funerals a day in the Prussian Army and 20 percent sick.

3. *As to the Fund.* The Committee report is just what one would have expected. They appear to have kept no definite accounts. Money came in and they spent it. The need was great, the work overwhelming, but still one would think that a day book of receipts and expenditures might have been kept.

The public will accept the names, but without the names there would have been a row. They are prosecuting a man who collected money and did not account for it satisfactorily. It is a police case. We must take it as it is, and it will be very well if they begin now to keep rigid accounts.

A more important point is what ought to be done now? I fear greatly that the whole manner of working of the Geneva Conv will have to be altered. We foresaw perfectly what has happened and I wrote a long letter to the Horse Guards pointing out the dangers. This was before the modifications subsequently made wh removed the worst features of the convention but left others capable of developing themselves into great evils. I think the French will behave honourably. They are indeed on their good beh everywhere, but if they were pressed as the Prussians are there wd be no security against their so manipulating matters that the funds and supplies for wounded and sick mt be used for preserving the efficiency of the ranks. It is a very difficult subject. The only way out of this is the agreement made with the French war minister, viz that the governments are to supply for the sick everything according to their own scale and that the aid societies money is to go to improve the allowances.

We are quite safe in Paris because we have there Englishmen on the committee. But with the Prussians there is only quasi assent, to cover the sick and wounded and the expenditure of the societies funds.

F84 Had it been possible to unite Col Walker with the Prussian authorities in the expenditure, I think we shd have been safe.

Any way it appears to me that the only safe way of doing the work is for the aid society to disburse solely through its own agents, which it cd very well do in cases where there are scattered small hospitals. And when acting with armies there shd be a joint committee. I shd feel strongly disposed, in view of the small remnant of the fund to let it be disbursed solely by responsible agents and in special cases.

You will see in a few days how the public are disposed to deal with the question. If they are satisfied, subscriptions will come in, if not, not. *Wait!*

As to the incorporation, I scarcely see hat wd be got by it at present. We must hope that the war will end and speedily. There will be no balance to put over in trust. And it wd apparently be better to begin afresh with noting when the time came than to have a small vested fund as an excuse for not contributing.

I wrote to you long ago about the mis-use of the Red Cross and the only way to prevent this.

signed letter, JS to FN, embossed War Office ff85-86v, pen, Oct 31/70 nursing affairs

Letter No. 1 I cannot find anything in this letter that differs from an ordinary everyday gossip about nurses in ah hosp. I fine it most difficult to lay old on any points on which you could hang a letter to the nurses.

One would say that after having written it all, she might have ended by saying that she did not writ e alter. But then you are so much better a judge. And if you will indicate in any way the things to be written about, I shall b very glad to help. She seems to be going on fairly and with fewer hitches than one wd have expected.

Your own letter gives the only hint, namely that it mt be desirable seeing that the est is now completed to say something. But I am afraid I am even worse off then you. You say you have run dry. Now I never had it in me and I am in worse case.

You might touch on the following points.

1st. The importance of the Highgate nursing est to the future nursing in workhouse infirmaries.

2nd the paramount advantage of faithful discharge of duty and of discipline and obedience to orders.

3. That every nurse when out of sight of her superior becomes invested with greatly increased responsibilities and shd try to discharge them as in the sight of God.

4. That this work is in one word self-denial, but that it brings with it under all disappointments and trials the quiet assurance of having rendered services wh nothing in this life can be recompense.

2nd. The RC question. They are all wrong. No priest shad have been allowed within the bldg except by permission of the vestry. This rule is one of ordinary discipline. Usually the priest wd be allowed to pay visits when called for. But for any official to give a pass, is to incur the risk of his situation.

The clerk in any body shd inform the clerk to the Guardians that such a thing has taken place or else they are all liable to censure. It wd be the same with Methodists or anybody else in any properly governed union.

Maclean. We don't get any journals here, but the reply is clear. There is not a word about the cholera enquiry. The point of the passage is the theory. If it be true in cases to be theory, but it is not found. of

signed letter, JS to FN, ff87-87v, pen, {arch: ca Oct 31/70}
{Mrs. Deeble} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff88-89v, pen, Nov 3/70 {letters of Miss Rumpff re expenditure of money for hospitals?} WP embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff90-90v, pen, Nov 8/70 [Cunningham's report re Cholera] WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff91-92, pen, Nov 11/70 {about letters from Mrs Cox, conditions in French hospitals} WO embossed;

Thanks many for letters returned. They are very interesting and show clearly what an amount of good is being very quietly done. What interesting peeps they give into the hospital economy, so much so that one regrets that Mrs Cox, who fulfils Mr Wellers' idea of perfection, viz "of having a very good ration" of nursing matters, has not entered more into small detail. For instance, what an insight into non-human nature is that of obliging men dying of exhaustion to faire maigre because it was Friday! and their abhorrence of French people in the hosps; index facts that are very precious to put on record. I wish she wd give us many more.

A corresponding fact was state to us the other day by a young lady who wishes devote herself to the crèches question (But I think I have heard it from you before). This lady was in Enfants Trouvés and she says the thing which struck her most was that the nuns there appeared to consider that it was well for the poor things to die and get out of this sinful world. Her idea of the cause of the great death rate was simply that she never saw the babies half fed. Is this correct? for if so it is a great fact in child mgt.

Did you read the speeches at Guildhall? There is only one opinion about them and that is that they were an extremely eloquent defence of ministerial incapacity. And I have heard that the country is beginning to feel that they have somewhat neglected their ministers, or trusted them too far.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff93-97, pen, Nov 12/70 {about organization of the Aid Society, FN's questions}

Your letter and papers open up the whole Geneva question. It has 2 quite distinct aspects, 1 and most important, how best to do during this war, 2, deducing the experience for future use. Some time ago you asked me question, and I sent you replies to No. 1. Every one of the replies of those replied I cd if I had been at the head of the Aid Soc here worked into practical and immediate action. I still hold of more importance to work with your present opps as they are than to set about framing rules and a scheme.

The experience of French, Prussian and English has already shown that all schemes are disastrous. As regards Prussia, this was shown to be the only result of the boasted Prussian organization during the Sadowa campaign by Mr Rogge who served as chaplain. He says everything is schemed even to the length of the chaplains coat tails, and that one practical result was that in that war, there were no sanitary work (hospitals included) done and that he himself had seen 250 cholera cases under an assist surgeon and entire houses filled with dead because they cd not be buried according to rule. This same plague afflicts the Prussian army at present, and I feel very strongly f94 that what we shd do is simply to obtain a few leading general principles for present guidance and future help.

Now the only source of this is in the corr you mention and the

only way to get it fully out is to let someone (yourself) (and I will help you) see it and mark out the proper passages to abstract.

So far as questions are concerned, nearly all you have written cd be replied to generally from the published letters. The questions are so very full that I scarcley cd add to them. And besides unless one sees the facts in writing one could scarcley rely on the abstracted answers which in many, very many points, must be the abstractors opinions

What I wd like to see done therefore wd be that Miss V shd get the letters in detached and let you have them and then you mark out the points. Let her abstract them and show you the abstract. Mrs L.L. might then have any amount of credit she wants. What we want is simply a copy.

I can get that done for you. In short if you were to mark the passages. We here cd make the copy and then you send them back to St Martins Place or 32 S. St.

Cui bono.

1. We shall see exactly f95 what the experience has been.
2. We shall deduce the rules if any such appear.
3. We mt obviate at once existing difficulties, i.e. providing the committee will act on the rules.

Lastly we must bear in mind that other countries may be doing the same thing, and that any general rules for future guidance will have to be agreed to by all.

Now you will see at once that what we shd *do* is to deal with common sense and judgement with the case before us. Lately the committee has been doing much better and I think there is evidence that we have done more good than all the orders acting under regulations.

1. Money, supplies, surgical skill and illeg can cope with every existing difficulty successfully. Without these and esp the last, regs are of no use. With them neither sick nor wounded ought to lack help.

2. But then the committee or directing head must have technical knowledge and skill, and the want of this was *the* want here.

These two leading principles and necessities came out of the past experience clear as day. But a careful overhauling of the correspondence might suggest points of detail that mt be attended to in future.

Suppose you send your sheets of questions just as they are, I think the necessary result wd be that the corr wd come to you. Because many of the questions involve as much experience in their reply as if possessed by many many men of long standing. And on the other hand there mt be invaluable hints all bearing on the replies wh the abstracter mt overlook from want of technical experience.

If you see as I seem to do on the subject you mt keep the questions until you get the abstracts and then answer them. And it is poss that the abstracts mt answer questions wh we cannot put at present.

I have gone over your questions again. I wd not add to them. I wd only suggest that you mt in sending them say that you wd

gladly help the committee to an answer if you saw a precis of the letters. I am certain nobody there cd answer them from the corr.

I am sorry Galton can't go. You have no hold on Furley, else you mt get him quietly to inspect and report the state of hospitals and sick but then you could not use the info except for private guidance.

I don't know Clode's book and cd not help Galton unless I did. You know of course that there is no controller-in-chief and that *all* the bricks are fallen down again.

Pray let me hear as soon as you like on any other points about the society.

F97 JS note One word more.... no prospect of peace. It is now fast becoming (as the Times begins to seem a war between two principles, democracy and clan government.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff98-99v, pen, Nov 14/70 {about FN's letter about Pettenkoffer's theory of cholera; Army administration; ambulances under the Geneva convention} WO embossed Your letter will do with a slight alteration in the past page but one. re passage about Pettenkoffer shd read:

Another of Dr Lewis's practical results appears to be that the central points of Pettenkofer's theory of cholera and ground water are not sustained by observed facts, but the enquiry is still elementary."

Either this, or simply to take out the passage altogether will do.

I am so sorry that illeg has given you all this trouble for nothing. The only comfort is that it enables you to protect against theories once more. And to place our work in its true light.

There are one or two points in your Saturday's letter to answer.

Galton. The more I think over the army admin the more I think our original plan was the best. Viz complete each dept within itself and hold the head responsible and then have an able undersec to keep all the threads tight, but not to meddle with deptal details.

F99 The Dutch ambulance you mentioned was sent by the Dutch govt and I have no doubt that part of the sending was that the Prussian PMO shd be over the Dutch ambulances as a brench [?] of the ambulance to which he the PMO was attached.

On the general question raised on their point in your letter, we must bear in mind that the Geneva convention takes for granted that when voluntary ambulances are called into play at all, it is because the ordinary ambulance est of the army or armies is insufficient for the number of wounded. They can only therefore take the excess.

Our WO ambulances ought to be at Orleans instead of dawdling with the Prussians who have help enough of their own at Versailles.

I will return your books when I have gone over them. ... PS I have just looked at what Cuninghame says about Pettenkoffer and he leaves it undecided. Hence I have taken out the passage.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff100-01, pen, Nov 14/70 {W.O. ambulance}
WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff102-03, pen, Nov 16/70 {the Cunningham
report from the I.O.; the W.O. ambulance to Tours} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff104-07, pen, Nov 16/70 {more about the
proper use of independent ambulances} WO embossed, and re Rumpff
and Johanniter; can anything be done about Miss Henderson, who does
she belong to? hard to forage on Miss Rumpff

signed letter, JS to FN, ff108-09, pen, Nov 18/70 {Mrs. Cox & the
French} WO embossed

I took these letters from Mrs Cox home last evening and read
them quietly. They are very interesting. The result in my mind of
their perusal was that the French authorities have a very different
idea of the needs of sick and wounded than we have, and that
practically what they want are:

- more and better food
- more medical comforts
- more clothing and
- more Mrs Cox's

I think you may safely leave her to follow the bent of her own
judgment in these matters.

As to any hints. One would like to know what is exactly the
economy of these hospitals? I.e., the nature of the bedding, the
amount and kind of food, ditto of stimulants, ditto of clothing.

And what additions are made in the case of men suffering from
exhausting purulent discharges.

These are the points for future reference which appear to me
to be of most use. But she is so observant that anything she writes
will be useful.

Do you see in today's Times that the Prussian doctors don't
like the treatment adopted by the English surgeons of the
ambulance. I shall ask Logan to learn why.

Ff110-11 JS letter 21 Nov 1870. War Office embossed

I am going to the com and will endeavour to reply to your
query about Sir B.F. tomorrow. In the meantime, I am very glad your
letter has appeared. It is of great importance and will strike a
deep gash into the theory-fetish. I must say that illeg wd have
induced me to *have prefixed such a letter to yours*. You cannot make
a silk purse out of &c &c. You know the rest. Pray send it to Sir
B.F. Send a copy also to Cunningham. He is now director of the
enquiry in India.

The reports came on Saturday and will be referred to us. But
we must restore Sir B.F. his copy. This can be done if you will
help. I can send you mine which has my name on it. If you can send
him your copy which I suppose has no name, and then written
the committee name or Sir B.F.'s copy. It can remain for our work.
I can get my copy returned when the others arrive.

Col L.L. There is nothing now in what has happened about the

Prussians. If anybody ever thought that international surgeons doing ordinary duty were to be other than subordinates under Prussian officers there was a mistake. This can never be altered.

The Geneva Convention provides for all this. As I told you, the mistake here was in sending a *complete* ambulance where the existing ambulances were *complete*. I proposed that the WO ambulances shd omit at all the illeg until its services were required and then proceed.

I return you your Lancet with thanks as you may need an additional copy.

Ff12-13v signed letter, JS to FN, pen, Nov 22/70 {India, Sir Bartle Frere, ambulances} WO embossed

I have been thinking over how you can deal with Sir B.F.'s request as to "how things look to you and what we cd try to get done," and find it very difficult to give you the practical advice you want.

On our present evidence, we have drawn up the minute on Sir Stafford Northcote's dispatch which says all the evidence justifies. I believe I may say that we all think, and Mr Chadwick agrees in this, that the minute is hopeful for the future.

We have stated in the minute the things to be done, and perhaps Sir B.F. might be able to say from these in what direction he cd help the doing. The one positive thing which occurs to me is to seize on some one place or station with the grasp of a mastiff and not to leave hold until the place and its vicinity are thoroughly improved.

But then everything wd depend on what Sir B.F. would himself say. A discussion which we had in your room led to every practical step since taken. He knows so much and so well that he clears away obscurities and shows where the light is to be looked for, and what he has done he might do again.

I am reading Duncan's book which appears very able. I shall tell you about it by and bye.

After yesterday's meeting, under a new chief, Genl Haines, Dr Massy told me about the ambulance as he got it from Porter. The first day the Prussians just looked in (there were 80 fever cases). The second day they went over the ambulance. The third day they prescribed for the sick. I asked Massy if a Prussian ambulance had set itself down beside him in the Crimea, whether he would have handed over a single patient entirely to them. His reply as "not for an instant."

The dept justifies the Prussian authorities and complains of St Martin's place.

You will see that Russel says they did but introduce themselves to the crown prince, who wd have removed difficulties. But this is not the point. The real point was whether any international ambulance help was wanted at Versailles and the reply of the Prussian doctors was No!

signed letter, JS to FN, ff114-15, pen, Nov 22/70 {hospital design, Mrs. Deeble,} WO embossed

ff116-17v signed letter, JS to FN, pen, Nov 24/70 {FN'S reply to Mr. Pears about Army Medical organization; Sir B.F.} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff118-18v, pen, Nov 26/70 {improvements in India} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff119-20, pen, {archivist: Nov 26/70} {more about Sir B.F.} WO embossed

After I sent you today's letter, it occurred to me that I had perhaps not been sufficiently explicit on some points to help you. I have the points in mind every day and do not make allowance for your isolation.

Here is the difficulty.

We want Sir B.F.'s views on the present position of matters with special reference to the improvements I mentioned in my note today: with the view of asking further questions, the final objects being to be able to advise him on considerations of all the facts and views he might express as to what he had best do to forward the objects.

It is precisely the same course as that which we took about Sir S Northcote's dispatch. We first got the facts, then we discussed and formed our opinion, then we made recommendations, which have resulted in great good.

The same or a similar course is now required and Sir B.F. has given the opportunity by asking to see you.

You may hear of great disasters to French and Germans by the time this reaches you. There has been great bloodshed by tonight's news, but nothing known about results.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff121-22, pen, Nov 29/70 {Netley nurses; room arrangements} WO embossed

letter rough pencil draft in JS hand, ff123-24 very faint pencil re trained nurses, central London

f123 {archivist: ca Nov 1870}

1. Plead excuse for writing
2. Having seen his name on the list of managers of the Central London Sick Asylum district and being very desirous ~~that~~ to enlist the good will of as many good men as possible in giving a fair trial to the new system of trained nursing you write to ask his kind ~~ass-~~Countenance & assistance for the staff of nurses trained at your School for the new Infirmary at Highgate. It need scarcely be pointed out that

improved buildings are only
the basis on which
improved management and
especially improved nursing
& other attendance is to rest

f123v

and that or the ultimate
object is to get the sick cured
~~well~~ and out of house
in the shortest possible time
and on this mainly *depends*
on the management of them
while in the infirmary. You
need scarcely say another word
in proof of its importance to the
rate payers. One great cause
of the heavy & costly sick rate in all
large towns has been the long
time the sick poor have been
detained in the Workhouse
Infirmaryes & the imperfect
cures or non cures effected
but that now a fair opportunity
will be afforded of introducing
a thoroughly efficient system
which though apparently

f124

more costly in the first
instance will in the
end not only greatly
benefit the sick poor but
will save the pockets of the
rate payers. Should the
present
partial trial of the new
system succeed as I have
no doubt it will, I would
venture to ask your aid
in extending it over
the whole building. Our
committee will most readily
do all they can to help you
in so good a work & will
produce such addition to the
existing trained staff
as may be necessary.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff125-26v, Dec 1/70 on embossed WO {death of FN' s uncle; conditions in France; Miss Torrance} so many family troubles scarce like to write about business;

Any loss is better than the loss described in Mrs Cox's letter. What a picture it gives of the final result of caput mortuum of trying to do for people what they shd do for themselves. One must hope that personal govt and all its belongings have ceased for ever in France. What wd even Prussia be w/o Bismarck? The ambulance is now in its proper place. Much useful experience will be gained by it for guidance in improving the Geneva Conv arrs.

Miss Torrance: I think she wd only be obliged to train if directed to do so by the hosp board, i.e. if she remained an officer of the board. I am surprised the work has progressed so well. The best proof of this is the request to train nurses for other workhouses.

The following points occur to me: 1st who to pay the board and other expences of the probs? Suppose this to be satisfactorily arranged,

2 who is to select the material? Cd your com do it with most advantage? or wd it be better to leave the nom in the hands of the board and the selection in the hands of Miss Torrance? A tr sch esp for wkh nurses requires more experience than Miss T. has yet had. It wd be better to be more sure about her existing staff. I shd begin with a few, 5 or 6 probs to see how the matter would work. I am afraid the existing structure wd scarcely do in a tr place where truth and discipline are so desirable. If he is a Josephite there is no babe, for they belong to the Iqudentir tribe.

6. Miss T. shd state plainly her difficulties when the tr is proposed to her and offer simply to make trial of it.

7. I don't think you cd advise her to do better than to train on your own plan and with your own rules and books.

proposal, FN to JS, ff127-30, pencil & pen

f127

[FN]

Proposal

Night Nurses Quarters Netley

Please criticize-

I concur with Mrs. Deeble

in thinking the curtailment

of the Linenry "objectionable"

[The noise of the Linenry in the

dy would effectually

prevent the Night Nurses

fro sleeping. Also]

But they might exchange]

Linenry is the chief point.

Dr. Sutherland.

[HBC: ask Mrs Deeble to suggest any better arrangement]

f128v

{pen} It appears to me that the only thing which can be done is to adopt this ~~ist~~ plan with its manifest disadvantages unless the space marked X can be divided off by a glazed door & used as a house store? room & then the house store room made into a small nurses room which would enable one of the proposed new rooms to be retained in the Levering [?] & thereby add 7 feet to its length. My decided opinion is that the quarters will be too crowded, but what can be done

f129 {this f has FN's writing on the left and JS's writing on the right; I have done FN's writing in bold}

1. The Estimate is nearly £80

{there is a plan sketched here}

objection

corridor

their

{pencil} This is not in my opinion
there is

any objection - It is
better opening out of the Kitchen. HyBC

2. It is impossible for me

to determine, of course,

whether the Superintendent's

present bed-room, or one

of the two rooms proposed

(28C, 31C) is the quieter

for the Night Nurses

[The most contradictory

opinions have been

should

expressed on the spot.]

3. But there can be

absolutely no question

that the extemporized

Netley Night Nurse's Quarters

1. Mr. Carters letter was
sent down
for remarks & estimate

2. C.R.E. says that he
thinks

the proposal to divide 28c into
two rooms is open to the

that there is a stop in the

over this room, and down that
step the Candidates pass from

quarters making at times a very
great noise. *and that*

no W.C. for the nurses.

3. Dr. Beaton proposes that
the

night nurses quarters
should

be in room 31C mainly as
it

appears on account of the
W.C.

In this the C.R.E. concurs,
but

as the room will not
divide

longitudinally into two
quarters

on acct. of the W.C. door,
he

suggest that the partition

be run across the room
where

the dotted line is. **Very
objectionable,**

{ *I think. FN*

4. This room 31. C. has a
passage

as you will perceive on
tw
o
si

**Quarter for the Servants
(in the Nurses' Corridor)
should be removed.**

**4. There is also no question
that Night Nurses should
sleep in *separate*
complete rooms or
compartments.**

de
s
of it above, and along
one side
on the same floor - The
passage
length making noise on *both*
floors
will be nearly 5 to 1 in
31. C as
compared to 28. C. Dr.
Beaton
thinks the rooms can,
neither

f129v

{FN's comments now appear on the right, with JS's notes on the left.}

of them be quiet on account of the candidates. **Very likely, I think**

{ **But I cannot decide.**

F.N.

5. The C.R.E. considers that the present Superintendents Bed room (in the nurses quarters) would be the quietest night nurses room, but that if the present servants room made out of the end of the corridor is removed, the

best room for the servants so displaced will be the present superintendents bed room. All agree that it would be advisable to have a single woman servant through the night in 31. C.
6. The point to be decided is whether the room 28 C is to be divided where the line is: -

each division having part of

a window; and room 31 C to be the superintendents kitchen, The W.C. being taken as sufficient

or whether ~~28/~~ 31 C is to be divided as ~~originally~~ proposed by the C.R.E.

& 28. C. retained for Superintendents kitchen & the W.C. accommodation

taken to be sufficient -

7. The C.R.E. proposes a moveable screen as a division

Very objectionable

I think.

F.N.

5. If one of the rooms, (28 C, 31 C.) is taken for

the Night Nurses, I should adhere therefore to the proposal divide 28 C so as to have part of a window to each Quarter - the partition not to be a screen but a partition up to the ceiling each compartment to have a door - & a common lobby for for the two - so that neither Nurse should pass thro' the other's room

6. 31 C should be the Superintendent's kitchen

7. [N.B. It appears to be not a disadvantage but rather the reverse, that the W.C. should be in Kitchen, & not in Nurses' room]

8. Superintendent's present

bed- room in this case to be given for Servants

{in a third hand} X concerned, but no doubt it

would be better for the Servants to be within the old Quarters. ie

in the Supt bedroom - In

be divided

longitudinally & up to ceiling

either
case the Bursar's room shd
as it can be,

f130 {in another hand}

5. Dr. Sutherland got a plan made by War Office N.E. for a *similar division* of Supt Beds room in view of the one originally proposed by C.R.E

{at the bottom of the page}

{in pencil}

7. Certainly

Hy B.C.

{pen}

The true solution of the difficulty would be to give the two rooms 28 C & 31 C to the Night Nurses & ~~commit~~ Supts present bedroom to two servants. There is no necessity for a 2nd Kitchen. It is true the Supt. wd be in some respects worse off than she is now. If this cannot be done either 28. C or Supt. Bedroom should be given to the Night Nurses, not 31. C. It is not very material which of the two, so far as Nurses are X HY BC 2/12

signed letter, JS to FN, ff131-33v, pen, Dec 5/70 {Sir B.F and reports on sanitary conditions in India} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff134-35v, pen, Dec 6/70 {more about reports from India} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff136-37v, pen, Dec 10/70 {reply to a long letter of FN's about India} WO embossed

incomplete letter, JS to FN, ff138-41, pen, Dec 16/70 {more about India & the night nurses's quarters at Netley}; Col Gordon of Scutari is the new CRE at Jersey

signed letter, JS to FN, ff142-43v, pen, Dec 19/70 {Indian Engineering College} embossed WO

letter, FN to JS, ff144-45, pencil

f144 {archivist; ca 20 12 1870}

I do not agree with the disparaging criticism I am ordered to send on to you [15:751]

I think if the conduct of the French *for the last 3 months* had been shewn by any other nation, it would have been called, *as it is*, sublime.

The uncomplaining endurance, the "sad & severe self restraint" of Paris under a siege now of more than 3 months

f145

would have rendered immortal a city of ancient Romans -

[end]

The Army of the Loire, fighting 7 days out of 9, hungry, barefoot, cold & frozen, yet unsubdued, is worthy of Henry V & Agincourt.

And all for what? To save Alsace & Lorraine, of whom Paris scarcely knows.

Dec 20/70

F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff146-v, pen, undated {aid to wounded in Franco-Prussian war} Did not Sam Laing call the military success of Prussia a "wonderful dispensation of Providence" and is not all this bloodshed the consequence of it. We can in my opinion know only sick and wounded men apart from quarrels or nations. If Mrs Schwabe wants help for German wounded because french wounded are illeg let her get it. But an offer ought to be to from a fund under trustees for both Fr and Germans. I think I wd say to her that under the present calamity you can take no pol part. But you are ready to give your name (if you are) to any com for supplying the wounded of all the parties who may be dragged into the contest irrespective of the cause of it. Balfour note commits himself

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff147-48, pen, Dec 22/70 {complaints about behaviour of English arms & powder people; American arms} WO embossed Whatever America has done is no excuse for us. Our work

signed letter, JS to FN, ff149-50, pen, Dec 24/70 {workhouse regulations} WO. I have read this letter, nothing discouraging in it. My wonder is that so little of the old wkh element has shown itself. The only practical point wh occurs to me is that it wd be well to have a set of regs drawn up for the internal admin of the hosp. You shd see those to which Miss T. alludes before they are agreed to. This wd enable you to see what the MO thinks necessary and then by comparing them with ours and by consulting Mrs Wardroper a case mt be drawn up which the bd mt issue, at least provisionally to see how it works. The whole thing is new and at present experience is being obtained.

signed letter, JS to FN, f151, pen, Dec 28/70 {letters about conditions in France and the Red Cross Society} Many many thanks for these painfully interesting letters. The poor french are just as they have always been hitherto in lost campaigns. Very selfish some of them, very noble and heroic others. I am afraid it will all end in the Red Cross being a mark to abort at.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff152-52v, pen, Dec 30/70 {accommodations at Netley} embossed WO I don't like this. Your pr has been to go in when everything was ready. It seems to me that you must take one of 2 courses, leave the matter entirely in Mrs Deeble's hands, accept the temp arr, or state that it wd be better to incur the delay than to run any risk of not satisfying the nurses just at entering on a very arduous duty. You have the only experience to enable a decision to be come to.

unsigned note, f153, pencil

f153 {archivist: 1870}

{printed address:} 35 South Street,
Park Lane
W.

I should be very glad to be left now
for I have three people coming at 2.
But if Mr. Goschen comes tomorrow
or before I see you again, we shall
not have settled what I am to say.
practical useful industrial training
& ~~employment~~/ education as distinct from
reading & writing
the old system? What?

unsigned note, f154, pencil

f154

{archivist: [ca: 1870]}

I won't have the Coll of Physicians represented
Nor the Apothecaries
What - give the franchise ~~a vote~~ to the greatest
credibility in the world- to the blindest
adherence to prejudice & predestination
-to the most obstinate opposition to all
fact & experience-
Give the franchise to the Ragged
Brigade of Shoe-blacks- And you
give it to intelligence
But don't give it to the Physicians
Or I'll get up an Examination
And every one of them will be
plucked.
You may give it to the surgeons, if
you like--Because they are better
but only because Mr Paget has
made them so.

signed letter, ff155-56v, pen

f155

{printed address:} 35 South Street, Jan 3/71
Park Lane,

W

Netley Night Nurses' Quarters

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I cannot tell you the reluctance with which
I read & forward to you these extraordinary
letters -

You will see that the writer entirely ignores

1. that having already placed two more
persons a child and a servant, into
Sleeping Quarters which were certified as
healthy for 8 *at the very outside*,
she now proposes defying every warning,
or rather ignoring every caution she has
received, to put in 2 more - Thus she
will have 12 *people* sleeping (by night
& *by day*, which makes it worse) in
quarters not quite enough for 8 -
2. that, having herself (most properly) stated
(a.) that to place one more woman *opposite*
the present 6 Sleeping cells was to block
up the little air they quarters might have, she
now actually proposes to place 4 - viz. two Night Nurses

f154v

& two servants

(b.) that having stated *that* was a Quarter too noisy for Night Nurses to sleep in by day, she now rebukes others, in ~~most~~ inconsiderate & unjustifiable language, for *not* placing them there, apparently solely because she wants to have *the whole of the Quarters on the other side the Museum, for her own day= use, with the W.C..* & because she wants the Nurses (whose superintendence she has undertaken) *not* "to pass in front " *of my Apartments!!!*

I could point out other things (in these unfortunate letters -) ~~but~~ which are contrary to every principle of Sanitary & administrative superintendence - & to every profession with which she began
But they will not escape your notice

f156

And I have no time or strength

[Part of these letters is indeed unintelligible to me - & part is contrary to fact.]

Will you kindly tell me what part you think *I* should take, & also what comment you think I should make in forwarding the enclosed to Mr. H. Bonham Carter, to whom I have not yet sent it?

Perhaps you had better return me this (my letter) as part of the corresponde.

Might I suggest that, IN HER OWN INTEREST the W.O., (in answer to her letter which she has addressed to them, *without taking counsel of any one*) should write her a *dignified & gentle rebuke*, shewing her (indirectly) that a person entertaining such views, if they can be *called views, can never be fit to be* Supt. Genl, as she desires? {Without this,

f156v

I really question whether she can go on another year without some great mischief.]

The least mischief of the matter is that I am so totally unable to read or answer these unreasonable perpetually self-contradictory, letters that I am afraid I shall be obliged to decline such a waste of my small strength - overladen as it is already, beyond measure.

Pray believe me

yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

N.B. You will doubtless remember that the main reason for granting her the "*Engineers Quarters*" on the other side the Museum was: because we could not possibly consent to giving 2 *Night Nurses* to sleep in *already overcrowded Quarters* - & that the "*Engineers*" *Qurs.*" were therefore to accommodate 2 *at least of the party to sleep.*

This from some unaccountable oblivion, the writer chooses to ignore - notwithstanding your visit to her at the end of July - last. F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff157-58v, Jan.3/71 {Mrs. Deeble} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, f159, Jan.4/71 {archivist: re Agnes Jones} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff160-61, Jan.9/71 {about the Franco Prussian war, field food} WO embossed thanks for the perusal of this most sorrowful letter, what has become of the £20,000 given to the Prussians at Versailles

signed letter, JS to FN, ff162-63v, Jan. 20/71 {an epitaph, reference to Mr Rathbone} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff164-65v, Feb. 4/71 {archivist: Franco-Prussian war & "Barrack construction question has come to us from India".} embossed WO many thanks for letters, re Embley, first impulse, a blessing if cd send another Mrs Cox to help

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff166-, Feb.10/71 {water supply in Sierra Leone} embossed WO

Extract from a letter, ff167-68v, Jan 4, 1871 {E.H.V.'s letter on Sierra Leone} 30 Montagu Square, London W. Please make known to Papa and to Miss Nightingale this fact about Sierra Leone, which is often said to be so unhealthy. There's absolutely no drainage whatever in the town. The town site measures 65 acres. In this are upwards of 500 cess pools. Not one of these cess pools is covered in and trapped. Not even the one in the governor's house. With every convenient means of bringing to the town, the finest water supply of any town in the world, there are no water works. There's not such a thing as a water closet or a drain in the colony. The very water use in this house (govt house) is carried up daily by hand, by the convicts. There's no sort of attempt to have the cess pools regularly emptied, and many have not been emptied within the memory of man; in fact I think it wd be difficult to find trustworthy evidence of 12 having been emptied within the last year.

These cess pools are merely holes in the ground, not bricked round or cemented; their contents percolate thro' the soil and porous rock. Lately it was found that they were contaminating a spring, and actually affecting the colour of the water of the spring from which many people were drinking. No town in the world could be more easily and cheaply drained and supplied with magnificent cold water from the mountains close by. Please make known to the British public why Sierra Leone is unhealthy, but do not use my name as long as I am out here. Just fancy having 9 or 10 cess pools on every acre of a crowded in a tropical climate. There's no such thing as a public fountain, so people must drink what they get in the grog shops, and frightful stuff most of it is.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff169-70v, Feb. 22/71 {response to water problems in Sierra Leone} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff171-72, Feb. 23/71 embossed WO Miss T. Wyatt

signed letter, ff173-80v, pen black-edged paper [8:233-37]

f173

March 6/71

Lying-in Hospitals

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I was much obliged to you for sending me this MS paper. I have gone through it all, tho' with no little difficulty, for it is my case, as I believe it is that of all much-worn Invalids, that examining & revising a M.S. is far more laborious to them than writing one from notes which notes, existing in several hands, you have not sent me. To proceed -

1. It reads like an introductory Chapter - and, when I wrote the M.S. which is its basis, you said that *that was to be the introduction.*

I think ~~it~~ /the title should be "Introductory Notes" rather than the proposed Title.

f174

2. There are besides more than two or three allusions in it, (one or two in the ~~matter~~/part in your own hand,) to matter which never comes.

E.g. One in your hand alludes to "proposals" supplied by "Miss Jones" which never come. And there is not a word from "Miss Jones" there.

[red pencil] (This was a guess that something might come because it was in the original preface in your own hand I merely copied it.)

3. I feel nevertheless so entirely unable to go over & over again the matter of the present M.S. which has already been gone over & over again for 2 ¼ years that I propose as follows:

to publish this M.S. (with some additions & corrections which are indispensable & which I will presently detail) as I published the first & second 5/ Editions of my "Notes on Hospitals", leaving it to my chance of life & work to publish a future enlarged Edition like Longman's of my "Notes on Hospitals".

There should therefore be a very small number of copies of *this* Edition, if published.

I would almost prefix a very few words saying that *this* is merely thrown out as a nucleus or hook to obtain accretions or to catch other fish - altho' the facts themselves, the nucleus have been made as correct as it was possible & as would have been done for a finished work.

f174v

4. The corrections & additions which are indispensable - tho' there are more which would be desirable - are -

{written in the side margin above address}

JS: Mr. Rigden does not give the cause the death took place the day after delivery (*no* doubt it was an accident)

I have corrected the statement.

{printed address: vertical} 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

(a.) there is some confusion about Dr.

Dr. Rigdon's "9 deaths", (put in in your hand-writing.) It is put in as "8 deaths" & as "9 deaths" - & the percentage appears to be calculated on the "8", in the place where it is put in as the "9" - or rather the Puerperal=*Disease*=Death=rate appears to be calculated on the "8" - And the 9th Death is then added, without giving its *cause*.(?)

(b.) *Aldershot* - I obtained last year with much labour an account from the Chaplain of the working of the "Sisters" of last years in the Lying- in Hospital from whom it appeared that the Matron's & Midwife's

f175

[2]

duties are not as you have stated them {pencil} in the M.S. {pen} His letters (Rev'd J.E. Sabin) are among the papers. - But you do not appear to have consulted them - And you have not sent them to me - JS: You have done this.

[We never could get any account from the A.M.D. of this matter.] JS: Done

(c.) Should there not be an second allusion to the *Waterford* Hospital ? at p. 46a. We obtained their papers - you said their Statistics should go in - And there is a second place where it would seem as if ~~they~~/ an allusion to it had dropped out by mistake - in the Recapitulation

This is not however of any consequence -

p. 46 2nd
side

f176

(d) *Description of Lieut. Ommanney's plans*

This is defective & ~~full of~~/sometimes in error - [Indeed I was obliged to go over & over it again before I could recognize my old friend.]

The most important omissions are: -

(1) no notice taken of the plan of using the wards *in rotation* which was the most elementary feature of our reform.

incidental allusion is indeed made to frequent "aeration" - (what word is that?- I don't know it) which might mean, opening the windows.

(2). no notice taken of our plan of moving all ~~Patients~~/Lying in women 3 times - from Delivery Ward to (8 hours

to Lying-in Ward (5 or 6 days
to Recovery or convalescent
Ward - till discharge

I thought this was an elementary feature in our plan too - tho' not so much so as the other.

Done [in pencil in another hand]

(3). This reminds me that the element of "average number of days" in Lying-in Institutions, [which is of great importance 2 ways], appears not consistently treated in this paper - It is emphatically stated in the *Military Lying-in* part, & altogether overlooked in all other parts.

Now it is not at all certain that the persistent refusal of the Soldier's wife to stay more than 10-12 days in these Lying- in huts is not a great element of their healthiness -

f176v

King's Coll. Hosp. boasted itself that it kept our poor women a full month. And they were too glad to stay. It is certain that this increases the elements of danger - It had speedily to be reduced to 16 days.

Marylebone & other Workhouses keeps ~~its~~/ their Lying-in {printed address: vertical} 35 South Street, cases an average number of 18-21 days

Park Lane, Liverpool Workhouse, I think, states

W. Its average number of days - as

14

But the only number, stated in the M.S., besides the Soldiers' Wives, is Dr. Rigdon's - [Of course the other way this is of importance is that the captious will say: Yes, but you do not know the Deaths which happen *after* discharge.]

f177

Description of Ommanney's plan. [3]

(4) The part however which puzzles me most is the alteration of the *numbers* of beds which we strictly limited to 40 - because we strictly limited the *middle* Pavilion on each side to *one* floor - One Pavilion always to stand empty in rotation for cleansing & lime washing - so that only 32- 36 beds are ever occupied.

The numbers have been altered in your Description & in your hand even on Lt. Ommanney's Plan - & raised to 48 - a second floor being apparently added to the two *one* floor Pavilions *inside* the Court.

[This runs throughout the "Description" in your hand] - tho' not in Ommanney's.] I have erased the 48 in your hand & restored the 40 on Lt. Ommanney's Design.

f178

Those are the main indispensable ~~alterations~~/additions & corrections on the existing M.S. which as it appears require making -

I could do the ~~latter~~/ additions, for it is really less painful to me ~~from~~ writing from notes, than examining & revising a M.S. (which is in effect what I have been doing) *if I had but the notes* -

But these *are not* - at least, here -

They consist of my letters to Lt. Ommanney, a letter to me from Miss Jones, & *his* paper on his own plan - part of which at least should go in as a quotation from him -

Also: E.g. there is not one word in the Description (in the M.S. before me) about the system of Reliefs for Pupil Midwives, which is so important that it modified the whole idea of the Administration block -

Lastly: - there must (this is *must* not may) be some slight sketch of the management of Lying- in women & of a Midwifery Training School, *in so far* as this determines some constructive arrangements as imperative & others as to be avoided

~~As mis~~ And in nearly every page of the M.S. this is alluded to as coming - & never comes -

f178v

Enough exists to form this indispensable Chapter in my letters to Ommanney & in that one of Miss Jones' to me - I should not propose to put *more* (at least not in this Edition, which I look upon merely as a feeler.)

But this again I could write with my Notes & cannot without -

N.B. The parts (a.) and (c.) about *Dr. Rigdon* & *Waterford* I should not choose to put in *without you*, even if I could - these being as it were professional. The addition about Waterford not essential -

f179

[4]

5. I have indicated the additions & corrections manifestly indispensable -

There are besides (in the sheets of the M.S. in my handwriting which are not come) pencil indications of things which had been omitted & which I thought should come in later - that M.S. being, as I was told, merely an Introduction -

But it is, I believe, simply impossible for me to go over that M.S. again.

And therefore I propose, as above said, to publish this fragment, when corrected & when it has received the indispensable additions - perhaps only calling it **Introductory Notes** -

f180

I know not whether to send you back the M.S. ~~as~~ with this letter (which it has taken me 2 days to write.)

But on the whole I think I had better keep it till I have your answer to this

I had better see *this* again, as I have no other note of what the M.S. appears to require - altho' I have freely corrected it as I went on, as far as my memory served me - without the papers referred to - & have indicated (in red) some lacunes which must be filled up -

I wait your answer.

Thank you for this trouble you have taken about this M.S.

PS and N.B. I will only just ~~add~~/say that, in the very title written in your hand mention is made of a "proposal", "for organizing &c" - which never comes -

Even if I add the small Chapter I propose this must, I think, go out of the Title.

[The last sheet of the M.S. in my hand which is not come left off with the beginning words of this "proposal" which was at last about to be "proposed"]

f180v

yours v. faithfully
F. Nightingale

It is perhaps worth while just to say that the expression: - at Lying- in Institutions should be "instantly closed" - comes 3, if not 4 times over - It is somewhat of an irritating expression, even if used only once -

But this is a matter of taste -
F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff181-82, March 20/71, pen {return from Dublin, improvements there} embossed WO

initialled letter, ff183-84v, pencil & pen [6:305-06]

f183

Agnes Jones March 24/71

Dr. Sutherland

Would you kindly look at an Advertisement p. 12, of to-day's "Times" under Strachan & Co. *New List* of Memorial of Agnes Jones "by her Sister" - *with my name*

No leave has been asked of me
- no notice given me -

I see this Advertisement
accidentally

The "Memorial" by her Sister fails so entirely to picture Agnes Jones as *she was*. I will say more, they are so disgusting to me that I entirely decline to be concerned with them in my love of Agnes Jones.

I suppose this "Introduction" is taken from my "Una" in "Good Words - But, if even I cannot

f183v

help this, they must not
put me in the Title in
this way.

Indeed they *must not*

WHAT SHALL I do?

It is so hard to make me
write another letter
And I have no one to act
for me

F.N.

f184v

{JS reply to FN}

I saw this advertisement, & could arrive at no other
conclusion than that you had authorized the use
of your name. It is abominable to have used you
in such a way. There is a course commonly
taken in such cases, viz to write to the ~~ed~~ publisher
and complain that your name has been used
without your knowledge or sanction & to ask him
to send a note to this effect to the newspaper. It
is not unfrequently done. I should not threaten to
write yourself until you see what he does.

But he may have reprinted Una entire. In which
case the falsehood would be in the wording "with an
introduction & "by F.N." We ought to correct this, (if it
be so) by stating that the "introduction" is simply a reprint
of the paper in good words. I fear you will.

f184

have to write. It would be no use complaining to
Dr. Macleod because he is my Editor of good words, although
I have little doubt he would tell Strachan a bit of
his mind.

initialled letter, f185, pencil blue paper

f185

24/3/71

Dr. Sutherland

I enclose 2 letters from
Dr. Alex Smith -
the "amended copy of his
Sanitary Report
& the Memorial & Correspondence
Could you be so good as to tell
me what I ought to say about
his "Sanitary Report" which
I have not yet even
acknowledged -
Also whether anything could be
done about his "Memorial"?

F.N.

x If you don't, I shall tell him that the
"War Office" never forwarded his letters
& parcels to me.

initialled letter, JS to FN, f186v, 24/3/71 {JS's reply to FN, f184}

signed letter, ff187-96, pen & pencil black-edged paper [8:237-40]

f187

Lying=in papers

35 South Street, March 28/71
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W. 7 a.m.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You are kind enough to invite me to send you back these papers in order to "finish my book" - with my observations "additional points", & "an additional chapter" or "sketch of proposed Administration".

I have written the additional Chapter & now enclose it with the whole -

I tried to enlarge, add to & modify the three {inserted in pencil} or 5 {pen resumes} last pages of your M.S. (pp 49-50) - But after several attempts, I failed - or rather found it impossible - & so wrote ~~the whole of~~ what I had to say on management as bearing on construction in the 41 new additional pages now sent.

f187v

I have erased two or three passages in your last page, (p.50) which come word for word, or are treated differently, in mine. But there must be more {inserted in pencil} such passages - {pen resumes} And this work of renewal comparison & weeding is quite beyond my powers - I do not think that I can do more to it. After it has received your proposed "finishing" I think it must be published, if at all - & merely as an Introductory Note or feeler (I have put a few words on the reverse of the Title=page) - for this reason: -
I believe it to be impossible for *any* one to produce *any*

f188v

work of exactness in the way this {inserted in pencil} M.S.{pen resumes] has been done - viz. spreading it over 2¼ years, *not* as during that period acquiring fresh information & so working it in - but as has really been done, which I will not farther characterize [I never ~~open~~/go through the papers without finding fresh information in them which has *not* been worked in - & corrections of former information, where the old has been taken & the new left.]
But for me, an Invalid and a busy Invalid, I am *sure* that it is simply impossible to do a work of exactness in this way -

f188v

And therefore I propose what I have said; to publish this, after it has been made as correct as possible as a *mere* Introduction - And possibly some day, if life & strength are renewed - from the printed work may be written a larger & more complete work like my Longman's "Notes on Hospitals".

There are no degrees in the *impossible* - And I am sure it is simply impossible for me to work much more on *this* M.S. I proceed to a few observations -

f189

[2]

1. Would it not be well to insert the sheet of Kings Coll. Mortality (marked by me a "insert + p 3") {blue foolscap)

omitting the *names* of the unfortunate sufferers - (tho' perhaps it would be better to put it in at the end of the Appendix if at all)

Upon it would hang a most curious, tho' painful enquiry - [Which I thought we were to have made but of which I find *no* trace in the M.S.]

The Deaths in that melancholy foolscap- sheet are often 3 or 4 weeks later than the date of Delivery The date of *attack* (of Puerperal Fever) is not given - perhaps it

f189v

cannot be found to be a fact that a woman, after going on well for 5 or 6 days is *then* attacked by Puerperal ~~or other~~ Fever - It would throw important light upon the question both upon the *necessity* of removing women going on well after the 5th or 6th day to a Convalescent Ward - And upon the danger of associating women in different stages of recovery in the same ward - i.e. women in the first day or two after delivery & ~~in~~ /after the first week or so -

I have studied that sheet with painful interest - tho' not

f190

much can be made out of it - owing to the want of the date of attack of Puerperal Fever. [In the last year the Erysipelas case which by Dr. Priestley's own showing did the mischief appears to have *died before the Admission* of the 2 cases whose Deaths from Puerperal Fever he attributes *directly* to it.]

{in pencil} In all Statistics, it would be most important to have

Date of <i>Delivery</i>	Date of <i>Attack</i>	Date of <i>Death</i>
----------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------

--	--	--	--	--	--

2. Without going into this larger point, I have, under "Sites", p. 25 of my new M.S. - {in pencil} (white thread) {pen} merely stated the average of days of Patients' stay in certain Institutions, not giving any conclusions from it - tho' it is one of the most

f190v

important elements & ought to be known at *least*, for Q. Charlotte's & the Paris Maternité in addition to these ~~and~~ The place where I have inserted it is not a good place

But in the body of the (green string) M.S., I can only find it even noted for 2 Institutions -

And no attempt at any general summary or conclusion on this point is ever made

I have done what I could - & do not feel I could enter upon this discussion now, not for *this* publication at least.

f191

{pencil} [2a]

At the Paris Maternité, pregnant women are admitted weeks & even months beforehand - wait upon the Accouchées - are mixed up with them - a proportion of pregnant women & a proportion of accouchées are placed under the care of one & the same Elève Sage femme in each case at one & the same time

All this is a most important element in the case of the Paris Maternité Mortality It would not be tolerated even in a Workhouse in England where pregnant women are admitted Yet I find no mention made of it in the M.S.

f192

[3]

{printed address;} 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

3. Would it not be well to insert
Mr. Barnes' "Summary" of Lying-in
cases in Lpool Workhouse
for 1868-9

(marked by me X x 34 a)

{pen} perhaps in the Appendix?

I say this because it gives
some valuable information -
especially about proportion of
unmarried mothers in Workhouses
- because one or two of its
points ~~appear~~/are treated in your account
of Dr. Rigdon & *nowhere else*.

On the other hand there are
some points in this "Summary" of
which we have not treated
in regard to other Institutions -
And therefore it might be as
well to ~~admit~~ omit them.

f192v

4. I send Dr. Rigdon's letters,
that you may correct, if you
please, what appears
ambiguous at p. 8 of the
(green string) M.S.

5. I return my own old letter
of March 6, because you have
twice written to me: "let me
"have it again without fail, as
"I could almost from it
complete the M.S." -
and
"I think we might make the M.S.
"better before sending it to Longman"
(in which *indeed* I agree)
and "Your letter contains many points
" I could make use of".

f193

6. I have inserted corrections
from Mr. Sabin's letters
as to Aldershot - & from
Dr. Balfour's letters -

I have *not* verified a
single figure - [(I could
not go into all that again now.)]

I have corrected some
inaccuracies - but cannot in
the least vouch that there
are not many more -

Let me here just caution
against hastily erasing or
correcting without
reference to the original documents -
of which I see some traces in
the M.S. - or without ascertaining

f195v

that it does or does not come
in somewhere else - of which I
also see some traces -
[One point I saw stated one way in
one page & the reverse in another -
This I corrected.]

7. I have not even *looked*
at the "unused pages" of
my ~~own~~/original old M.S. - in my
own hand - {pencil} which you returned to me.

This is quite *impossible* to me.

Nor have I consulted by any
means all the original papers
& information collected, tho'
enough to see that we have
dropt many stitches -

But it would be impossible
for me, in the way this M.S.
has lingered, been patched, lingered
again, re-patched again,
to make this general overhauling now -

f194

[4]

8. some *minimum* of cubic
& superficial space necessary
for each Lying-in woman
must be given *somewhere* -
I can find it nowhere.
[I have put it in for Delivery
Wards]

Please put it in for
Lying-in Wards - at p.p.
5,6, of my new M.S.

Also - it does not even
appear in Lt. Ommanney's
description of his own Designs
Perhaps we told him to
omit "Dimensions"

But a *minimum must*
go in to my Additional
Chapter (the new M.S.)
if nowhere else.

f194v

9 I send Lt. Ommanney's own
Memo., of which in justice
to him some part must
go in - & I believe we now
think, *all*.

I have made a few annotations
on the Memo. {pencil} sheets
{pen} 10. There must be many
repetitions between your
own last 4 or 5 pages,
(green string M.S.) -
& Lt. Ommanney's Memo., -
& my own *new* M.S. or
Additional Chapter
which is in fact the original
of them all the whole of
it dating from notes of mine
of January 1869.

f195

But I can give no more
head to considering
these repetitions -
inevitable in the way this
work has been done, i.e.
without consulting what
had gone before
And I would again caution
against hasty corrections
or erasures, without
having the whole in one's
head -

I do not know that I can
say more because I don't
know that I can *do* more -

I enclose the whole M.S.S.,

f195v

put up in a sort of
consecutiveness tho'
painfully aware how
bad this is. {pencil} It *must* be amended
{pen} And I enclose no other
papers but Dr. Rigdon's
letters (& my own of March 6),
{pencil} for your reference.
{pen} I am much obliged to
you for the trouble you have
taken & are willing to take
& am yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

I have made an insertion at
p. 41 a of your (green string)
M.S.

f196 [in very faint pencil]

Dr. Sutherland

Please insert on p. 1 of my own M.S.
 the proportion of *Births to 100 women*
 from Farr {in large writing JS} Done}
 & also if possible the proportion of Births
 to Surgical Operations if rough data
 28/3/71 {large writing, JS} Could not be done
 with any degree of
 accuracy [end 8:240]

initialled letter, ff197-97v, pen blue paper [8:240-41]

f197

Lying-in papers

35 South Street, March 29/71
 Park Lane, {printed address:}
 W.

No sooner was my packet to you
 gone than there arrives
 the enclosed *for 1870*
 from good Mr. Barnes
 of Liverpool -
 I think IT OUGHT TO GO IN -
 It is ~~very~~ remarkable the
 freedom from Puerperal Fever
 that ~~For~~ I really do not see how
~~that~~ the badness of the *locale*
 differs from that of King's Coll:
 with the sole exceptions
 of 1. Absence of Post Mortem Theatre
 2. " " Students
 3. { Removal of women after
 { 5 or 6 days to Convalescent
 { Wards

All these things are important

I think there is some mistake

census form, ff199-200v, printed; draft answers in pencil except 2 names out of order

am I head?

Temperance Hatcher Hampshire Sherfield

Florence Nightingale Hospital Matron retired from illness. Director of Nightingale Nurses. Former Superintendent General of Nurses in the Crimean War. Italy. British subject. Imbecile and blind.

Sarah Henderson Yorkshire Beverly

Harriet Hoare servant housemaid upper housemaid Hampshire Lipp

Jane Dowding housemaid Hampshire E Wellow

signed letter, JS to FN, ff201-02, March 31/71 {re the book published with FN's name without her authorization, and the census form} WO embossed; no family no head, but put in "head" Col. 6 simple word "None." the object is to classify the industrial occs for the Census report. "The best filling up wd be "Gentlewoman. None." Re her reply to Smith, he was obliged to open it to reply to you. It is very good and will answer every purpose

list: draft answers

Temperance Hatcher, age 27, Hampshire, Sherfield

Florence Nightingale: Hospital matron retired from illness; Director of Nightingale nurses, formerly superintendent Genl of Nurses in the Crimean War; Italy; Imbecile & Blind

Sarah Herdsman age 38, Yorkshire, Beverley

Harriet Hoare age 38 upper housemaid, Hampshire Liss

Jane Dowding age 22, " Hampshire, E. Wellow

signed letter, JS to FN, ff203-04, April 4/71 {re a report of the Nightingale fund} embossed WO

initialled note, ff205-06v, pen blue paper

f205

{Dr. S. reply in bold}

Dr. Sutherland

Transmitted for your reading

if you like!! **Of course I always like and feel greatly obliged both to you & the noble women who write. J.S.**

4 3 letters from Mrs. Cox

1 " " Mrs. Inglefield

{printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street
Park Lane

W

I will send Messenger for them at 3 -

If you read them, please say what would

be the *principle* as to that "distributing of

"Testaments" or not.

13/4/71

I like you, have long looked F.N.

below the surface in this awful war.

f206-06v {JS reply to FN continues}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff207-08, 14/4/71 {re the Herbert Hospital, articles in Nature, attacks on Darwin} embossed WO. Re article masterly squelching of Darwinianism last Fri and Sat. Don't know who wrote it, one of the very best sc articles of our time, either Owen or Wallace. However one must hope that after this thunder has been heard over the world men will do 2 things, 1st be more sure of their ground, 2 give a little attention to mental phil. We can live neither by Imagination or by Caution. We must learn to mind the depths of our own mental const to know better what we need in the way of truth. ...I am sorry for Darwin. A greater naturalist has not lived in any time. but what can one say. If a man will go on asserting in the same breath that exceptions are and are not, proofs of the rule he must be respectfully asked to study a little logic and to put a decent curb on his imagination. Great good will come out of the whole fight. We all want sharpening.

signed letter, ff209-09v, pen

[8:241-42]

f209

LYING- IN PAPERS

April 15/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I send you the Liverpool Workhouse
Statistics for 1870 & Mr. Barnes' note -

You see that they have had but 2 Deaths {printed address: vertical}
32 South Street,
in 500 Deliveries - ~~both~~ from Diseased Heart Park Lane,
& Dropsy & no Deaths from Puerperal W.
Disease or Accident -

[I call it 500 because they had 55000
Deliveries in 11 years - But it *is* only 442/1.]

It continues to me the most extraordinary
phenomenon - because their numbers are 3 or 4
times as great as those of the largest London Workhouses
I think (you have all my papers so that I cannot refer.)

f209v

& certainly 3 or 4 times as great as we had at King's Coll. Their *locale* is in my opinion worse than at King's Coll: -

And the only favourable conditions are - as to *locale*

1. no Post Mortem Theatre -
2. no Students
3. removing the women 3 or even 4 times

viz. Delivery Ward

to Lying In "

" Recovery "

" Body of House

4. And (I suppose) no one having the wickedness to send in an Erysipelas case in Labour from the general Wards to the Lying - in Dept. as Dr. Priestly did in our case - (for which he ought to have been dismissed, instead of his dismissing us - in his Lecture.)

II . In the present confusion of Women's minds about Medicine, one current wishing for "men's education", another believing that they can "pick up" Medicine in a Nurses' or Midwifery Nurses' School to "practise" in India or the Colonies [you would hardly believe how many applications

I have had of this sort -],

I think I could not conscientiously close my paper without stating in an Appendix Note what are the rights of this question

But I wish particularly not by raising "a storm in a tea-cup" on a contested point, to injure the effect of this *incontestable* points as to Lying-in Mortality

{top of f209, end of letter}

I would therefore put in only a meek little Note - of which I have written two rough Drafts (which I enclose) - not as wishing at all to put in either of these - but simply as specimens of what I think it right to say -

As I am treating the question of a Midwifery School for women, I do not see how I can well avoid the point of what a complete Midwifery education *is*, whether for women or for men -

But again I say I do not wish to arouse opposition to *Sanitary* truths, which we wish to press - & which we wish to invite others to *add to* -

Also: I do feel it so impossible to write a paper as we have done this - in patch work - you *can't* patch paper - it *tears*.

Perhaps you had better return me *this* note, when you return the papers.

yours v. faithfully F. Nightingale

signed note, f210, pen black-edged paper

f210

Bill for the Better Protection of Infant Life

April 15/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Would you at your leisure kindly tell me what you think of the enclosed "Memorial" to Mr. Bruce? -

It was not sent me by the Ladies.

yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

You never told me what you thought of the Nurse's "dressing-case" - from Dr. Kendrick of Warrington which I sent you by Mrs. Sutherland - I only accepted them at your desire - F.N. {archivist: see Dr. K's letter}

initialled note, JS to FN, ff210v-11v JS's response to f210 on back 17/4/71

signed letter, ff212-17, pen blue paper

[8:242-44]

f212

April 18/71

Lying- in Hospital Plans

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I think you forget (which cannot fail to be the case

where a paper like this has been hanging fire for

nearly 2 ½ years) how every question you {printed address, vertical:}

35 South Street,

Park Lane,

have now started has been discussed ~~or~~

& re-discussed & settled & Lt Ommaney's

W

plans sent back to him again & again

(his patience has been beyond praise)

for the very reason that they did not

sufficiently embody the essential principles

which you are now again calling in question

1. One of these & the most absolutely essential

was: that every floor should have two Delivery

f213

Wards, entirely pavilionized with all ~~its~~ Ward Offices, Scullery &c) under separate roofs so that each should stand entirely empty with all its offices alternately, to be turned inside out by cleansing -

A plan of Mr. Ommanney's where the two Delivery Wards were in a sort of double Pavilion with Scullery between was entirely rejected merely on this account that the one could not be cleansed properly while the other was in use -

And nothing would induce me to admit any block plan into my paper which did not provide for *two* Delivery Wards entirely pavilionized for each floor

But indeed it is impossible for me to *re-open* these questions - so entirely settled -

2. There is an objection to having "Delivery Wards" *in the same line* with the others

And the *Corner* is far the best place for them as was settled after much discussion

3. There is an objection to having more *than 3 Pavilions* to a side owing to the constant necessity of being able to summon instant help by Night bells (even with the most perfect management of Matrons & Midwives) to the farthest Pavilion

Were the service of Lying-in Wards regular like General Hospitals, there would be a very obvious

f213v

advantage in having the Sleeping block of each set of attendants attached to its own side
 But I believe that such a division of attendants would be practically impossible in a Lying-in School

This again, was entirely discussed & settled

4. *About one floor Pavilions*

for 2 months in 1869, for 3 months in 1870, this was discussed & re-discussed

I really have nothing more to say

The conclusion was this -

for a Lying-in Institution of 8 or 10 beds, I have not a doubt that 3 (4 = bed) huts would be the best - one always to stand empty in rotation -
 - the Delivery bed to be in one compartment of each hut

f214

[2]

If you have the Delivery Ward in a hut to itself you *must* have warmed Corridors
 And that increases expense amazingly

But, when you come to a Lying-in Hospital of any size, & when you dismiss the idea {printed address, vertical:}35 South Street,
 of rough Army huts, it would be
 on account of cost, very difficult to
 propose *one storied* regular Pavilions
 connected with warmed Corridors

Park Lane,
 W.

And we dismissed the idea -
 [No doubt the common hut is preferable -]
 but scarcely applicable for a Midwifery School

f2155. *Number of Pupils*

All this was discussed *usque ad nauseam* {even to the point of (inducing) nausea - GW}

In a large Lying-in Institution say 30 - 40 beds -

you may have almost *a pupil per bed*

Because it is not desirable to take up the pupils' time with the mere mechanical

processes of after=Delivery - mother & infant -

They must have time *for theoretical instruction*

And this cannot be given unless there is an

ample number of pupils, *more than is enough*

for mere drudging about the Patients -

But it is obvious that *one Pupil per bed* would not

do in small Lying-in Ins. because there would

not be Deliveries enough to practise them -

[We reckoned at King's C.H. - 6 pupils to 10 beds -

which gave us only about 130 Deliveries a year,

I *think* - But you have all my papers.]

But I have given all these reasons at such length

heretofore that I really cannot be called

upon to give them again

Also: the difficulty is enormous of answering

your questions when you have all my

papers & plans at the W.O.

It is mere waste of my strength -

f216

[3]

I must repeat

1. that you forget that every one of these questions has been discussed, not for days but for months, & settled

2. that it is quite impossible for me to {printed address, vertical:}

35 South Street,

re-open them any more -

Park Lane,

[I have certainly written what I

W.

have said now & at much greater length

nearer 30 times than 20]

3. *that I repeat my proposition of yesterday*

that Mr. Thomas should be so good as to make

a Block plan sketch for a Wood cut

(in a page between the printing) as an alternative

f217

[I return your letter for reference -

But I should like to have it back again]

For the latter part of it: I must refer you to my two long letters
of March 5 (or 6) & of about 3 or 4 weeks ago -

- because I am quite unable to write the
same thing over & over again -

In answer to those, you (then) stated that
there was a great deal more to do than
mere "stringing together" - that you were
struck with the badness of ~~your~~/the "Conclusions" -
& wished to "re-write" them "before going to
Longman's" which you have repeated since
& in which I concurred.

Also: that you recognised the necessity of
putting in something about "Average Days in
Hospital" & *its effect on Patients* -

& of working the "Summary of Deaths at K.C.H."
which I sent you (in the papers) about 3 or 4 weeks
ago - Also: &c &c -

But I cannot rewrite those 2 long letters

[You state *in this letter* "the last Chapter will have
to be written" in which I concurred.]

I am really unable to do these re-discussions
of a 100 times told tale -

[end 8:244]

Yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff218-21, pen blue paper

[8:244-45]

f218

Childbed Statistics—Form Record Book 19/4/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am unable to look thro' Duncan -

therefore return him to you for the object in view -
 (with the "heads", in Mr. Frederick's writing) {printed address,
 vertical:} 35 South Street,
 (enclosed in this. Park Lane,
 I think that, after "8. Date of Labour"

W

should come 9. *Duration of Labour in hours*

An important element

and after or before "21. Date of Discharge"

should come ~~Not~~ *Period of stay in the Institution*

{ *Lying -in Department in days*

This is useful as checking accuracy of "Dates of
 "Admission" & "Discharge"

f219

I do not think it would be possible to Dr. Farr
 to give time to this now -

He told me some weeks ago that he regretted
 he could not help me more - but that he should
 be so taken up with the Census for months to come
 that this year he could not

that next year he hoped to give his
 serious attentions to organizing Statistics
 for me -

[I sent you this letter -]

I believe that if I wrote to him, now as you propose,
 he would not answer for a month & then
 would say he could not answer

I propose therefore that we should do the best
 we can for this Edition, hoping, please God,
 to insure a much more complete one next year.

2. *Lpool Workhouse Statistics*

I send you all I have, as I believe -

[But again I say it is almost impossible for me
here, to answer you *there* with papers & plans
there -]

Blue strip "1868" I believe is only an imperfect
 one of what you have perfect under "1868-1869"
 (together)

In the three letters of Mr. Barnes I send you,

I believe there are all the Data, altho' confused
 that we have

f219v3. *Your third question "Note in Appendix*

If you will please consult my previous letter (last Saturday's I *think*) you will see that I stated expressly that my M.S. (about the she=Doctors) should go as a *Note in Appendix*, & nowhere else, if it went in at all.

[And there is even written at the top of the M.S. "Note - Appendix"]

It would be wholly out of place in the "Preface", as it has nothing to do with *sanitary* matters or with *Construction* - the two matters treated of. It is simply an explanatory *Appendix*, because I cannot let people think that a Midwifery Nurse

f220

[2]

is a Midwife - still less a Physician=Accoucheuse - & because this distinction has been long recognised in France & Germany where there are *real* Physicians=Accoucheuses -

But as it will excite opposition - and I do not wish to prejudice my paper - I could not consent to its going anywhere except in the *Appendix*

[And I stated this, tho' not so plainly, in my letter to you]

The note about Midwifery Nurses & Midwives should stay where it is -

[I have known Q. Charlotte's & others give a Midwife's

f221

certificate at the end of *1 month!* while we at K.C.H., at the end of *6 months*, would only give a Midwifery Nurse's certificate.]

[end 8:245]

yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

initialled letter, with JS's reply, ff222-23, pen [6:452]

f222

*Training School proposed by me at
Highgate for Workhouse Nurses*

35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane, 19/4/71

{archivist: To Dr. Sutherland} W.

Could you kindly give any
hints, such as the
conditions we should impose
about this? - before we give our
money

There is not Medical Officer
who would be of the slightest
use, there - like Mr. Whitfield
in helping us to train

F.N.

{JS's reply}

This is evidently entirely tentative -
You have Mr. Wyatt with you and you
have a matron, but you have no Agnes
Jones to die if necessary for the work, and
you have no Mr. Rathbone nor Mr. Cropper.

It is true that you have no cantankerous
vestry, but you don't yet know what
the hospital Board is made of.

There are so many elements wanting -

f222v

that your arrangements should be of the simplest kind.

1. The Board to supply lodging
Food, fire &c
2. In return for this the Board will save something in nursing & they will have future Nurses trained for them.
3. You to supply as Mr. Carter says
 - Salaries
 - Costs of training
 - Uniforms (if need be, but the Board should do this.)
 - Gratuities
 - Certification by your Committee
4. In return for this ask them to permit visitation from time to time & also that the Matron should report to you in order that you may know whether the money is bearing fruit & whether you can certificate

f223

This is all you can do at present as it appears to me. JS
19/4/71

initialled letter, with JS's reply, ff224-27v, pen

f224

Registry of Midwifery Cases 20/4/71

I scarcely know what to say about this

I could have judged better, if the first strip had been returned to me

It seems to me *very good* - {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,

But I should have thought it better Park Lane,
to put together all the columns which W.
regard the woman & then all the
columns which regard the child

Especially, ought not the column "Dead born"
(9 from end) to come next "the column - In infant dead -
cause of death"

(1 from end.)

[You have not put in: "*days of stay in Lying-in Depts*"-] I do not

f225

know that it is necessary

Also there may some misunderstanding arise from

"Date of *Discharge* from Lying-in *Ward*-" (column
4 from end)

If, as at Lpool Workhouse they have,

(& everywhere ought to have -)

Convalescent Wards - in

the Lying- in Dept,

apart from 1. Delivery 2. Lying-in Wards -

- do you mean to ask the "date of" *removal* from

"Lying-in *Ward*" - or the "date of" *discharge*

"from Lying-in" *Department*?

I think you must alter either the word' "*Ward*" for

Department or the word "*Discharge*" for

Change or *Removal*

f226

What shall our "National (Red +) Socy" do with its Surplus?

Have you any observation to make

in answer to the enclosed Questions?

F.N. {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,

20/4/71

Park Lane,

W.

{JS's reply}

The chief reply comes from the question itself.

The money was subscribed solely and only for relieving

sick & wounded in the late Franco-German war

and not for either widows or orphans. That is the status in
quo, and there is no way out of it for the Committee.

That the Society will exist whether there is an English

Branch or not there is no doubt whatever {pencil again}

f227

It is by no means certain that we are at the end of the war. No man can say what this Red Commune may do. Look at what took place the other day. The Versailles army or part of it attacked a *single house* at Courberoi and there fell or killed & wounded 500 men half on each side before the house was taken. With this infernal spirit abroad it is not certain that something may not be done to bring back the Prussians.

I should say let the Society exist as a standing protest against war, let it organize its agents so that if called into the field they may be more ready for work - Let it correspond & meet with other national societies discuss, amend, arrange, collect experience, decide on some common object and retain its friends until they are wanted. I would even go for an act of incorporation or a charter. I should have aided the Versailles committee beyond a doubt. This is war in its worst form & the sufferings of the wounded now transcend those of the previous battles. The Commune has abolished the Society in Paris, but that is no reason why it should not exist at Versailles. I am certain that every subscriber would have gone for aid being given to Versailles. The committee has declined, but depend upon it, other committees won't decline -

f227v

I got your note with the Table & will go over it carefully. I am busy with the M.S. & will I hope make it better. JS
24/4/71

[end 8:245]

signed letter, ff229-30, pen

[8:245-46]

f228

{JS's comments in bold}

Lying-in papers April 24/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken.

I have gone over it, with all the attention of which

I am capable, again but, have merely {printed address, vertical:}

35 South Street,

corrected some literal & verbal errors, Park Lane,

(of which. pardon me, there are many) W.

and a few graver ones, where the premiss does not bear

or contradicts the conclusion as e.g. in the text; "a Lying-in woman

should never enter a *General Hospl*" - interpolated "because of the Mortality in *Lying-in Hospitals*"

I feel quite incapable of doing anything more on this M.S.

No one in perfect health could or ought to do a Statistical & practical paper in the way this has

f228v

been done - And for me - it is impossible.
The paper now is *all patching* - And patching,
observe, is not adding to or working out. No
artist ever patches, tho' he works out & adds to
his sketches.

The original colour is now quite lost -
And patches, losing all proportion to each other,
now cover & tear it out of all shape -
I will only mention one or two instances - and this
for improvement in the Proof -

1. The Liverpool Workhouse part has now lost
all point - & is given in a manner contrary to
everything *you have ever taught* - (**CERTAINLY NOT.**) i.e. the
whole 13 years are lumped together **quite right** losing sight
entirely of the extraordinary fact that the
Mortality has *progressively diminished*, /**NOT SO** instead
of increasing **it has increased & diminished in 13 years** till for the
last 4 or 5 years,
it has been as low ~~healthy~~ as that of women
delivered at home in the country. And this
last year there has been none - no Puerperal
Mortality - **{It would be unsafe to use Liverpool evidence in any other
{way. Next year there may be 10 deaths from Puerperal fever.
{The real explanation is that for several years past there has
been**

{no epidemic

I shall, when the Proof comes back, while
retaining your Table of the 13 years, print a
Table from Barnes' data of Nos. of Deaths, Causes of
Death, year by year - **{You may do this, but the practical conclusion
{will clearly be that there has been no epidemic.**

I would insert it *now* - but that I am utterly
unable -

It brings me almost to the verge of Brain Fever,
as it has often done before, to go thro' this patching again.

20 April 1871

**JS: I got your note with the table & will go over it carefully. I am
busy with the MS & will I hope make it better. J.S.**

f228 top

this undoing - this re-doing now **{There is no necessity for
{re-doing in this matter.**

Penelope's web was nothing to it. {During Ulysses' 20-year absence at the Trojan War, his wife, Penelope wove by day and unpicked by night in order to avoid having to choose a successor to her absent husband; she had been compelled to promise she would do so when her "web" was completed. -GW}

2. I have looked over the original Q. Charlotte's papers. with a view to obtaining the "average No. of days" - which however is not given -

But their case makes the Liverpool case the more

extraordinary - E.g. (1) the Q. Charlotte's construction

(which we have condemned) is better than **No!** {there is an arrow from this point down to the margin of the beginning of the letter} theirs

Liverpool is to

Queen Charlottes as far as regards fresh air

as-~~Q~~ if Queen Charlotte were moved

from its present location to Highgate

***Everything depends on the meaning of the word**

"fever"

If there has been puerperal fever a month's

vacancy

would be of little value

by itself. In any given

space where one/a case has arisen another may

if the cause is left.

(2)Q. Ch's annual Numbers average less than half of

theirs **certainly not** (3) Q. Ch. says that after every 3 Deliveries

the Ward is left standing vacant "for a week or

10 days" "if there has been Fever", "for a month "{But there

is no

cleansing

& lime washing

This is a precaution even above what we have *

recommended -

There must be something radically wrong in Q. Ch.'s management.

f229

[2]

which we have not got to the bottom of -

The absurd writer attributes it to the "unmarried women", as Brodie did!

**{I agree with you that in no single instance
{has the bottom of the question been obtained - All
{we can do is deal deal with it on general
{principles.**

3. The want of proportion in the paper lies in the "Management" (my part) being much too heavy, detailed & long for the bulk of the paper {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street, the Sanitary & Statistical part - in which so much

P
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carelessness is obtrusively visible & in which **{I deny this) You OUGHT TO SHEW IT W.**

there are important omissions besides -

And the Appendix Note (mine) which is nothing but a Note assumes a disproportionate importance, as it has nothing to do with the bulk of the paper - & as the offensive part, beginning "My dear Sisters" (which I had meant merely as an alternative) is put first - tho' I have cancelled the objectionable paragraph

f230

However, such as it is, it must go to the Press, if at all.

I can do nothing more to it as it is
You say " the first thing is to give a Proof"

But I, upon whom all the Preliminaries are thrown, must ask you to say something more than this -

- Am I to write to *Longman's*, enclose the M.S., & ask him to publish it?

If so, *in what form? type? &c wood-cuts? Plates?*

[Am I to ask him on what terms? If so, he will, I suppose, take time to read it.]

The "N. Fund" have constantly asked me to write such a paper - & wished to print & circulate it at their own expence - Am I to write to *them*?

The "Statistical Socy" have asked the same. Whatever you decide upon, you must, please, remembering how ill I am, save me as much trouble as possible (I shall have trouble enough in correcting the Proof -) & adopt the speediest method possible, as if not speedy, I shall be very likely not able to do it at all.

If you decide *upon Longman's*, please write *Draft*

- saying exactly what I am to propose to him -

yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

f230v {JS's reply}

Note referring to Matters in this sheet

I beg of you to let me help you
in getting the paper through the press as much as you can. I know you are very ill. I will help you either here or at your house as you may decide.

The best type would be the same type as in your notes on Hospitals. You need not have so large a paper, 8vo size would do. But ask Mr. Carter what they would like. The sketches should be sent at the same time as the M.S. They will take some time to do & will require correction -

f231

-3-

P.S. I add one or two other little things -
merely as reminders for the Revise -

1. some of the most important minutiae out of the

Mortality List in K.C.H. were dropt out of the
copy. I have replaced same **(I left them out purposely for they have
nothing to do with the question)**

The point I proposed, viz. that the Erysipelas {printed address,
vertical:} 35 South Street,
case, to which Dr. Priestley himself

Park
Lane

ascribed the last year's Mortality
was entirely isolated in a ward to herself **(I am sorry to say there**

W.
P
a
r
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L
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,

**was no isolation possible
in the case**

& that the two cases (who died {pencil} both on the same day {pencil} a
month after)

{pen} were not *admitted* till a week after the death
of the Erysipelas case. **This does not alter the relation between the
cases.** & not into the same

Ward

n o r

this

- you have not touched upon - perhaps wisely
But the impression on my mind was confirmed that

f232

isolations of Patients & even thorough cleansing of Wards
 are useless almost, *if under the same roof*
 or rather are impossible **all they did was to move the case into**
 { **another ward within the same floor**
 { **The fatal mistake was in bringing in the**
 { **case at all.**

I cannot find the original plan of our Wards at
 K.C.H. with explanation in Miss Jones' hand.
 In the plan for Wood-cut, the figures are all
 changed to letters, so as to make the account of
 the isolation of this poor case unintelligible.

**It is quite sufficient to know that
 the case was in the Lying in wing.**

{pencil} You have also not touched on the point of the long period
 which generally elapsed between Delivery & Death
 in the K.C.H. fatal cases. - **This is a Midwifery point better omitted
 because you have no means of valuing the fact by comparison with the
 mass of statistics within the paper itself.**

{pen} Now I must leave off, tho' I have much more
 to say.

Please return *all* this letter to me, as I
 shall want it for correcting the Proof.

{pencil} F.N.

2. I think part at least of Lt. Ommanney's specifications
 should go in the Appendix **not necessary**
 [You have docketed it yourself in this sense]

**Y e s !
 B u t
 y o u r
 o w n
 c h a p t e r
 t h e n
 n o t**

As it is it is scarcely fair to him

Also - his Estimate/**I would say nothing about this** which you make me
written. It is quite
 allude to & which never comes. F.N. **suffici
 ent**

signed letter, JS to FN, ff233-34, 27/4/71 a good draft, but PMO acting gov has advised the supt to list procedure she has no resource left but not do it; re "Lady Jane" quite right about official chopping and changing. Re a report on the work of the Aid society during the Franco-Prussian War embossed WO

initialled note, f235, pen blue paper

f235

{JS's reply in bold}

Dr. Sutherland {archivist: [see to Elizabeth Blackwell 3.5.71]}

Please, what am I to say to the enclosed?

3/5/71

F.N.

Response

all this is well intentioned, but the {printed address, vertical;} 35 South Street,

only practical matter in it (which I hope

P
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W
.

she will adhere to) is the cruelty of forced

**examinations. Be a woman ever so vicious
she has inalienable personal rights, which none
but such idiots as our social legislators would have
to interfere with.**

As to suggestions, I think as follows: -

ff236-36v continue with his reply}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff237-39v, May 5, 1871 {having to do with a report & the Geneva Convention; Mr. Talbot leaving the office due to a "Scandal"

Gounod's cantata, more about the Proof}

signed letter, ff240-41, pen blue paper [13:616-17]

f240 {JS's comments in faint pencil in bold}

Highgate Infirmary Rules {archivist: [see Miss Torrance May 8 & 16]}
May 9/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

These have come for our revision, as you proposed.
And the writer, as 4 other people have done this week,
gives me "Tuesday and Wednesday" - to do the work of 5 people.
in {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,
[Poor thing! how very sorry I am to read her Park Lane,
letter - a "pearl of great price" she is W.
She is out of health & out of spirits]

I send you our St. Thomas; rules - merely for suggestion

1. *Highgate Rules for Night Nurses*

We think the hours for sleep better taken in the afternoon -

Also I think 8 full hours necessary - for undressing, sleep,
dressing, 'doing' rooms **certainly**

f241

~~2. Ward Assistants~~

~~Add to~~

4 hours' leave every afternoon I think too much to be
desirable **It would appear so I should call attention
to this**

2. *Ward Assistants*

Add to rule against noise - no noise after retiring to rest
[This rule was found essential at Liverpool] **Certainly**

I should be inclined to put

the Hours for Meals on each set of Rules - **Yes**

But I feel that it is more in the way of *Additions*
than of *Criticism* which may not meet her possibilities
that she wants our help -

What ~~criticisms~~ *Additions* should you propose?

Could you return me the whole *with this sheet* this afternoon?

[I agree with you so little - that "we have not a
Matron at Highgate who would die for the work,
if necessary, like Agnes Jones" - that I began
my private Report to the Comm. about the
Training School proposed as we have a Matron who
would die for the work, if necessary - it is the
more necessary that we should not let her die,
(or something to that effect) yours v. faithfully

[end 13:617]

F. Nightingale

signed letter, JS to FN, ff242-43v, May 9/71 {JS's reply to the previous
letter; more about the report of the Aid society} embossed WO

signed note, JS to FN, f244, May 23/71 embossed WO FN has unearthed the fox, re works com not the san com, many thanks all the same

initialled note, f245, pencil blue paper

f245 {JS's reply in bold}

MR. RATHBONE'S NOTE (enclosed) May 24/71

Please give any considerations to me.

which may occur to you on this, Mr. Rathbone's
note, to me. {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street
Park Lane,
F.N. W.

**I think if Mr. Stanfield [Stansfeld] will take the matter up
the London board will very likely listen and thus Mr.
Rathbone's proposal may receive a hearing. He proposes
I enclose also a note to train at the General cost
from Mr. Wyatt (for reference) not at the cost of a particular
to H.B.C. Board. The points to**

{f246 continues with JS's suggestions}

initialled note, f247, pen

f247

Mr. Rathbone: Workhouse Nurses May 27/71

{archivist: to Dr. Sutherland see reply on back}

I enclose some new notes

Mr. Rathbone to FN

Mr. Cropper " Mr. R.

Mr. Hagger " "

F.N. " H.B.C.

H.B.C " FN

& your own previous note

Have you any considerations to urge?

If so, please let me have them to day -
as tomorrow I shall write a Preliminary Note
to Mr. Rathbone -

F.N.

{f248 JS's reply}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff249-50v, May 29/71 {re the Cawnpore papers; reaction to events in Paris (the Commune?) embossed WO; re note got on return from inspection; re IO Cawnpore, wrote to Chadwick that we know too little as yet of relation of rainfall and drainage to say whether this pr wd answer in all cases; wd not throw cold water on the paper; wd like to see M Mohl's diary. What an awful end. The Daily News has official info that there were 50,000 unburied dead in Paris at the end of last week. How little do we know of the secret spring s of events. It now, after the catastrophe, appears that the atheism and retrogressive destruction barbarism of all Europe have been concentrating themselves in Paris for a general ruin of enlightenment, that L.N. knew it and did his best to prevent it, that by seducing the army they calculate don the fall of the empire in the war wh they were the means of declaring, that after that they counted o keeping paris and organizing France for a raid on Europe and now the end is come. There will I fear be a reaction on the side of despotism everywhere.

initialled note, JS to FN, f251, undated {archivist: before 31 May 1871}
{a sheet sent to FN}

initialled note, JS to FN, f252, May 31/71 {Working on the Aid Society report, not yet the India proof} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff253-54, June 1/71 {archivist: Indian Papers. Parisian workmen & rebuilding on embossed WO I have gone thro the abstract and I may safely say that they are very good and very well done. curious misplaced decimal point p 5 of abstract of Bombay....

initialled note, JS to FN, ff255-56v, June 2/71 {Hospital Ambulances} embossed WO re delay her reply until sees his digest, hopes to send soon

signed letter, Dr. Fitzgerald to JS, ff257-58v, no date {archivist: 2 June, 1871 {re a report on nurses at Hambourg}}

unsigned draft, ff259-60, pencil

f259 pencil, faint, corrected at the BL

First Draft Private

35 South Street June 5/71

Park Lane {printed address:}

W.

Dear Dr Sutherland

I send my remarks believing that you
are in haste

I gave up nearly all yesterday & all this
morning to the consideration-

[I know you will not read my remarks-
Or read them only to contradict them-
Still as you have asked me, I send them.]

Sir Harry V. has asked me to let him see
~~him~~ me (on the part of the Committee) as soon as I
have seen your "First Draft."

I could only tell him something of what
I have written to you
But I will tell him also anything you
wish whether that the letters sent to you are
so deficient that it is impossible to make any
Digest from them with which *you* or *they*
cd be satisfied- whether that they *must*
~~procure~~ wait till the information asked for
& promised you is arrived
or &c &c

f259v

With regard to suggestions as to 'subjects' which you ask for:

I send you a very few of my own letters (which you have seen before) merely to make *suggestions* as to subjects to be 'treated of', as you say

And you shd ask Capt. Galton for my "Questions" (which you approved)

Please return me all these my own papers enclosed ~~{I know you will~~

You need not read them

I know you will not]

I take for granted that the evidence to be taken & the thing to be ~~done~~/précised

is rather the *result* or practise of Regulations than the Regulations themselves. [It is said that Mr. F. has given too much of Regulations- too little of *Practice*]

f260

I will try to send you this afternoon a note on Mr. F.'s note to you on Nurses

The only question present to his mind appears to be:

Are women to nurse in Field & Stationary Hospitals?

Whereas there is a much prior question: what woman *is* a "Nurse"?

Are *all* women to nurse in all Hospitals?

Please answer my question as to what

I am to say to Sir Harry

- & return me my two sheets of Notes on the "first Draft" -

both at your convenience

Yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

f261v

said they would) contribute their opinions on paper
if they have not done so already and if not
viva voce [Among these are 8, if not 10 "Medical Officers"]
As it is, this "Abstract" reads as if in our two
R. Commissions, we had examined Sir John Hall
& not Andrew Smith, nor Alexander, & nor a host of others
Or as if we had examined Col. Greathed & not Lord
Lawrence, nor Durand, Muir, & all the Stations in India.

4. Again,

e.g. the "Giant" Ambulance (Dr. Guy's) the largest
International Ambulance ever set on foot, not
only by England but by any nation is not
so much as referred to - its existence is ignored
No conclusion can be come to as to Ambulances
without calling for its experience which
represents as to cost & size of undertaking
quite one half of the whole

Again

e.g. the question as to efficiency of Johanniter
is represented as lying between Dr. P & Mr. F.
(in which Mr. F. is certainly the heavier witness)

Now there is more evidence about those than
on almost any other subject

22 names of witnesses, agents of the Socy, could
here be mentioned, besides those of English ladies,
besides those of German Medical Officers *not* agents of
the Socy.

f262

It is very certain that the Committee will not & ought not to accept the evidence of one witness, alone, however competent & valuable, (not its own Agent,) - when it has or might have all the evidence indicated above, to add to it.

[I give these two e.g.'s only. But I have carefully read the "First Draft" & cd mention 20 more.]

5. Again,

very many essential subjects are not treated of at all

Capt. Galton has in his possession a copy of "Questions" by F.N., approved by Dr. S.

If asked for these, he would o doubt furnish them to Dr. S., which wd suggest to & ~~remind~~/recall to Dr. S. subjects then seemed essential & now omitted - F.N. has no time or strength to write these Questions anew.]

But e.g. (a small example)

Dr. S has himself asked Sir H.V., thro' F,N,, "to delay" his "proposal" about "Hospital Ambulances", "till he "sees my (Dr. S.'s) "Digest" Now there is not a word in this Digest which could help on that subject.

f262v

6. this "First Draft" is, no doubt, a very good paper indeed -
(i.e. it is the valuable ~~sketch of~~ evidence of Dr. S.
examining himself & examining Mr. Fitzgerald
with a few references to Society's agents)

But it is very good - more as indicating to the Society
what it wants & what it ought to have in its
Reports & papers - what are its deficiencies of evidence
how to come to any conclusions - than as giving it
a Précis of experience already obtained.

7. Some subjects e.g. stores are of such immense
importance even "Medically", principally Medically,
& found so enormous an item in the Society's
operations (when one considers that, before the
second week of November 1870 the Socy had
sen tout nearly £165,000 worth of Stores
contributed, Stores bought by request, & money
to buy Stores to Germany & France
that, if the subject be treated of at all, it
cannot be dismissed without the fullest enquiry
& examination -

[Indicated on the next sheet are a very few
of the complaints constantly referred to in letters]
{printed address, upside down:} 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

8. *Female Nursing*. This is essentially "medical" -
but no evidence worth the name is given on this -

f263

z

Stores

Some of ~~The~~ great draw-backs from efficient action by the Socy, most complained of by Recipients of Stores were: -

1. Many of the packages contained Miscellaneous articles & no plan had been adopted for sorting or repacking them
2. The Committee at home had no regular information as to the amount of Stores from time to time in hand at their Depots
3. in forwarding stores to the Hospitals printed invoices or Lists of Articles had not been given
4. nor was any table or Estimate of the quantities of various articles required for a given number of men per day ever either given or received.

N.B. It can scarcely be repeated too often that whole field Stations, often the most necessitous, as e.g. round Metz, never received *from first to last* anything from the English Socy - so little was there of ~~organization~~/organized distribution - Miss L., who was with her station ~~at~~/ near Metz till it was broken up, never *heard*, while there, of the existence of the English Socy - [German Surgeons in charge of enormous Stations in the Field, tho' temporary

have stated the same of the *Johanniter*]

signed note, JS to FN, f265, pen, June 6/71 {thanking for a pamphlet}

initialled note, f266, pen

[6:306]

f266

Angel of Resurrection

This is already put up at Lpool
Workhouse Church "in memory of
Agnes Jones" -

arch & pedestal to be the same
as original as in sketch
except "halo" (supposed not to be
in original)

Any remarks, please -
I will send Messenger for it in
afternoon -

F.N.

7/6/71

JS note to FN, f267 nd pen on Tenerani. Ecco! halo, farce

f268, pen re Tenerani {Lunatic asylum} [6-8 June 1871]

unsigned note, Dr. Lockhart Robertson to FN, embossed Athenaeum ff270-
71v, pen, June 5/71

{about his Paper} replies to her letter

unsigned note, JS to FN, f272, undated, [archivist: ca. Mid-June, 1871]
{about a noble letter "Sidney blood will out"}

unsigned note, ff273-74v, pencil

[8:702]

f273 {archivist: Extract from letter from Ld. Pembroke}

Dec 4/70

I feel as if the news of Reggie's death had quite
stunned & broken me. I cannot write
about it. It is beyond all words.

All thro' the Leeward Society islands our course was a
perfect triumph almost worshipped by the
people & loaded with valuable presents. It
all seems now like some beautiful dream
that I can hardly realize with this sorrow
freezing my heart

Levuka capital of Fiji group 150 islands
wrecked on the 21st October on

one of the group S. of the Namako passage
everything pathetic or tragical has something
comical about it

nine days Robinson Crusoe life on this
island 21st to 30th Nukuni Varanga
near Ringgold Islands

We must have looked like a gang of firemen from the lower world

f274v

as for Mitchell you wd think he had
been brought up to the ship wrecking
business all his life

Nothing but sorrow every where
yr loving son
Pembroke

The behaviour of the men to us was so nice
that I feel a lump in my throat
whenever I think of it

I cd give 100 little instances if I had room

f275 Galton note to JS re lunatic asylum 17 June 1870

unsigned note, f276, pencil

f276 {archivist:[Bef: 22 June 1871]}

{very faint pencil; JS's comments also in faint pencil in bold}.

I wonder that you like Parkes or Sir J.C.
The main merit of Sir J.C.'s life, the Sanitary
is scarcely treated And I shall tell
John Clark so. **You are right. I mentioned the**

Sanitary work specially

I am very sorry not to be able to see you
to day - But I am too ill.

Am I to keep my Proof till you come
again? and how long? **(I will write on Monday**
The reason is that I am bound to attend a W.O.
whenever summoned & I shall not know till

Monday x.

I may be compelled to go out of London
any day now by illness. And I ask
like Mr. Plowden - how long you expect
me to wait?

1. **I could finish your Proof on Tuesday -**
2. **I should want all the Lying-in papers & plans to
complete the book & I could forward it to Longmans**
3. **I can soon write you notes for the [Geneva?] paper**
4. **You may safely fix your own time.**

**x If I am not summoned for Tuesday I could see
you on Tuesday.**

initialled note, f277-278v, pencil blue

f277 {JS's comments in bold}

Plan for Lying in paper June 22/71

Longmans asked to have these back as soon as possible for correction

[They came by a different channel from the proofs -]letter press}

I have cursorily looked them over & made some trifling correction in these Plans I have not *second* Proofs of the {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,

Plans These are Park Lane,

1. Ought Lt. Ommanney's 3 plans to go to *him* for W. revision? **not necessary. will be done here**

2. Ought not his signature to appear on his 3 plans?

Yes! He has put his name. But it can be left out in the plans & placed in the text.

If you cannot correct them without the letter proofs, I suppose they must wait as you desired me not to send you the letter press till it was complete

I have all the letter press *except* the *last* Tables & the Preface without Table. F.N.

f278v {JS's reply}

f279, James L. Thomas to JS, pencil {a criticism of the Proofs}. I have ..proofs, there are very few corrections beyond those already noticed. See pencil remark on original of Plan IV respecting the doors which you can rub out....JS This criticism had better not be noticed. The door opens on scullery 9 feet away, better than into the passage. J.S.

ff280-89v, signed letter, JS to FN, June 27/71 {accepting an invitation to go to the Exhibition with her father} embossed WO. Won't take lunch because I never do, but if you offer me a cup of tea...I shall also do my best to aid in executing your commission. I have not seen the French annexe just opened but there is plenty to see, & very much that is very good.

I am your ever faithful
J Sutherland

end

Add Mss 45756, microfilm, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland 1871-72, 282 folios, 101 pages, Adam Matthew reel 9

signed letter, ff1-1v, JS to FN, pen 3/7/71 embossed War Office, has read this, interesting, contains some useful info about German hospital service if such illeg shd ever be requd. I think she shd have an opp of adding to this and correcting it if it is printed
see fl67 in London, FN very faint
{German Hospital conditions}

unsigned letter, ff2-5v, pencil, pale blue paper

f2

"Notes on Lying-in Inst." July 8/10/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Just as I was sending off my own working Proof (*for Revise*) came in these Wood-cut Proofs

And I send them to you with *your* Proof, ~~in~~ as you said you could not put in some corrections till {pr. addr. 35 South Street

you had seen the Wood-cuts.

Park Lane

Please return me the whole *by to-night-*
And also ~~return~~-correct the Wood-cuts - *for Revise*

W.}

1. pp. 25-6 *Clinique (Wood-cut)*

The same fault remains *in the letter = press*

I do not *myself* understand whether the letter *-press* description (which appears to describe "*what is*") is the

f3

description of the Wood-cut - which "shews' what
"until recently was"

[It makes no difference altering "what used to be"
~~for~~/into "what until recently was"]

I am sure you will see this at once!

Is the letter =press p. 25 the description of
the Wood-cut p.26?

If so, the *tense* must be altered.

2 - p. 28 *K.C.H. Wood-cut*

Miss Jones has seen this & judges it correct

- (1)At my request she has put in "No. 4 Ward" (b) - which I wish inserted
- (2)And she herself has put in another (a) - being another door "cutting off communication"
- (3)She also wishes to note: that the "roof" at end of Court "does not rise above Basement"

f4

-3-

4. { P. 95 Table H
 P. 38. P.9 No. of Deliveries in LPOOL WORKHS

It is quite impossible for me to re-open all, or any of the questions in my Years of letters

The Revise must now do as it can -

But there is one point of accuracy in numbers -

- the No. 6353 of Deliveries in the "13 years" *Lpool Workhouse*
 - to which I must again call your attention *once more*

[I spent a good afternoon - or rather a bad one - the worst - on Friday afternoon - endeavouring to find out how you came at that, number, "6353," from Mr. Barnes' papers

which I return to you for this purpose]

By manipulating Mr. Barnes' figures in various ways,

f5

I come to 6491?
 or 6434? or 6396
 or 5877? or 6471
 or 6401?
 or 6416?

but never to ~~illeg~~ "6353"
 which can only be attained by imagining a year {in pen} the year 1868
 {pencil resumes} of

434 Deliveries. {pen} Now 1868 had 515 {pencil} or 511 according
 as you
 suppose
 "Premature Births"
 included in 1st line
 is not Labours

[I do not know where you found these]

All that can really be entered from Mr. Barnes' figures
 is: -

Deliveries supposed to be 500 a year average up to 1868

511 or 515	1868
443 or 444	1869
442 or 457	1870

which would be (for 13 years) 5000 10 years

511	515	1868
443	444	1869
442	457	1870

6396	6416	?
------	------	---

Or: Please turn over {NEXT PAGE}

I must devoutly hope I am wrong, - since, if I am
 right, it will involve a recalculation of
 percentage & an alteration in much
 more than P.p. 9, 38 95 -

[But, if I am not wrong, the discrepancy will appear
 to any reader who really sets to work with the
 figures when the Table you sent is added -]

Please answer *by to-night* F.N. July 10/71

f5v

Do Or:

Deliveries supposed to be 500 a year average
 up to 1865
 1866 450
 printed address: vertical} 1867 625
 35 South Street 1868 515 or 511
 Park Lane 1869 444 or 443
 W. 1870 457 or 442
 which would be for 13 years
 4000 8 years
 450 1866 [Mr. Barnes himself (in
 But there is such a 625 1867 2 letters) puts 515
 Deliveries
 confusion between 511 or 515 1868 for 1868 511
 Deliveries
 Deliveries & Births 443 or 444 1869 4
 Premature
 Births
 prior to 1868 442 or 457 1870 515
 & even afterwards 6471 6491 This wd make a discrepancy
 of 20 (but only 20) for
 the 3 years 1868 9 70

signed note, f6, JS to FN, pen, 25/7/71 embossed WO paper
 {C's letter & report}

signed letter, ff7-8, JS to FN, pen, August 1/71 embossed WO paper
 {archivist: National Health Society Prospectus, sent to FN by Dr Eliz.
 Blackwell} {JS's recommended response to them}

signed letter, ff9-10, JS to FN, pen, 16 August embossed WO paper
 {affairs at Netley, Cawnpore drainage}

signed letter, ff11-12v, JS to FN, pen, 22d August 1871 embossed WO
 paper
 {advice on cleanliness for some woman}

signed letter, ff13-15v, JS to FN, pen, 1/9/71 embossed WO paper
 {a new board for Sanitary administration, Chadwick, Miss Lees}

signed letter, ff16-17, JS to FN, pen, embossed WO paper {Mr. C.'s
 paper}

signed letter, ff18-19v JS to FN, pen, 21st Sept embossed WO paper, Miss
 Lees's paper, she returned it w/o change and he sent it off to the aid
 soc and told them it cd be printed; I don't admire the Deal lady because
 she gets some hints for Deal and doesn't use them but wishes to use them
 for London or Mrs Raynard [yes]; had to write a critique on a book about
 cholera, but cleanliness and good water the answer; causes of cholera}

letter fragment, f20, pen, black-edged paper

f20

The mistakes pointed out by v. Blumenthal, & others, as e.g. the placing men in positions where every man of them would in real War fall under fire are natural & will be remedied by practice & when Umpires become more practised & severe.

The mistakes & inefficiency of the Control, incredible even by me who have seen the Commissariat work both of war & of peace seem hopeless because they are unnatural against the business habits of Englishmen which penetrate every thing. Commerce, Trade, Demand & Supply, foreign occupation, India - every thing *but* the War Office - & because they are the mistakes not of war ~~but of~~ (from the conditions of which the Control have been

f22 an unsigned note, in pen, on letter from a relative, with FN's note to JS on the bottom

Dearest Flo -

The mother of one of the pupil teachers has a slight attack of scarlet fever. the boy has not been near his mother & is himself quite well. The master wishes to have him into the school house & to keep him living there, doing his usual work in the school -
I am going to say, if you do not think it wrong, that he may do so, taking all precautions about clothes -

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I have given my consent to this. Please make any remarks on precautions to be observed either by those out of or in the sick house -

FN

Lea Hurst 25/9/71

signed letter, ff23-24 JS to FN, pen, 25/9/71 {JS's reply about precautions; Miss Lees' proof}

signed letter, ff25-25v, JS to FN, pen, 30th Sept. 1871
{rules for Probationers}

initialled letter, ff26-27v, JS to FN, pen, 3 Oct 1871 embossed WO paper; epidemic small pox is at Oxford notwithstanding vaccination. They have done all they can at present. You may hence approve if you think fit and tell them to take good care that all the college rooms are thoroughly aired by open windows as much as the weather will permit. Say also that this epidemic is a new warning to them to press forwards their sanitary works. There is no reason for discontinuing the schools....

f27 JS: These 8 hints about Cholera will do for Greenwich. But then, both at Greenwich & Woolwich they have very active Boards. If you have no objection you may allow her to send these hints in your name or with your... to the Local Board; they must be enlisted in the work. And if they choose to print them good and well.

My point is, that you should not be personally responsible for the issue of an incomplete document which might enable the fellows to turn round & say you were blame & completeness can only be secured by careful local enquiry which is impracticable. Voila tout.

initialled letter, ff28-29, JS to FN, pen, 14/10/71 embossed WO paper {a paper about Muskoka & emigration; photographs of the first hospital for soldiers' wives} Free Grants pamphlet; This *free grants* pamphlet is an omnium Gatherum [] from McMurray's newspaper. The subject of it is a healthy rattling discussion about Muskoka s against other townships which has excited the wrath of these. It is just the sort of book that pleases emigrants and he knows it.

The most important point for us in it is the point that the passage we made in traces [?] that area of land shd be prepared and huts put up for intending emigrants has not only been successfully adopted in the United States but is a local law in Canada since last year. Who will say now that we did not propose anything practical?

There will be such an impulse given to emigration by this, that other colonies will be obliged to adopt the same law in self defence.

These photographs are really beautiful, especially the interiors. This is the first hospital for soldiers wives that was built. And you may remember that the plan was settled by you and Galton and I at Hampstead in cold winter weather "long, long, ago."

signed letter, ff30-33v JS to FN, pen 14/10/71 embossed WO paper {emigration & the land question} I shall look into this pamphlet, which with its irregularities is still apparently of good authority on emigration.

I may say that I have frequently reverted to our former work in this matter to see if we cd advance it, and I have several times and different dates reread the Fraser article, besides watching closely the course of public opinion helping it gently when I saw a way.

The present position is this. In the article there were certain

proposals as to pauperism, work, emigration, criminal discipline, &c. The question are all *one*. They must be treated together.

F31. Everyone of the principles in our article is part of the public creed. And more that the ministers have promised as soon as possible a revisal of the home land laws and an inq into pauperism is also hinted at. You would see at the Social Science meeting that the doctrine of making thieves pay for their crimes was boldly enunciated and sustained. My own view has been for some time back that the subject of the first article requires to be brought up at the proper time because we cd not deal with the home land question after the rebuff you got from Mr Gladstone when you directly proposed to spread working class proprietorship in towns. He sees clearly enough now what he did not see then, viz that unless all land monopoly is done away with by law, it will be done away with without law and that the best way to increase the numbers of loyal subjects is to increase independently the number of landed proprietors. This of course has altered th aspect of the question on the emigration side and has made emigration less desirable for the present until the new land question is settled. What we are doing is this. Emigration is drafting away our best population; these pay for their own passages and have money. These are the people that shd be left at home on the land. The weaker go into towns and form a new puny fading race out of whom come paupers and aided emigrants. ABLE men are wanted everywhere and cannot be got. They are going or gone. The puny class remain and largely from our present army. The real cause of all is the accumulation of land in large amounts and reducing the man who if he cd get land would form a noble independent pillar of the state into a mere day labourer, reviving in illeg the old "villenage" under another name and without coercion. This being the present aspect of the question the only thing we cd do at present wd be to strike at that form of snobbery which thinks that numerous acres from a title to respect and worship.

We cd no longer continue our former argument altho that argument has helped us into the present position. We are in the midst of a fie and everything personal and inconsistent with th general good is being slowly and surely burnt. The present ministry has the grandest task ever put into the hands of a govt it is to direct the flame and to reconstruct after it as it burns. With this view I cd scarcely say what had best be one. My own feeling ha been to wait for next ...If appears we are to have as little of politics as possible and that the govt will be mainly occupied with social subjects. We mt aid them when we see their hand.

notes, ff34-35, JS to FN, pen embossed WO paper {notes on letters}

initialled letter, ff36-37, pen, pale blue paper, JS's notes in bold

F.N.'s book

India

45756

f36

Derby Infirmary

35 South Street, Oct 23/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Have you any remarks to make?

(paper & letter enclosed)

This account shews the need of studying economy in work. It appears that £300 per bed have been spent in mere building & fitting. This is more than the 2. Herbert Hospital cost, they build new lock hospitals at 4d a cubic foot.

Do you wish to see the Bombay

(Municipal Emeute) papers

again?

No! I understand quite what it is all about & the cause.

FN

3.

I had a copy sent, as you desired, to Editor of "Nature" of "Notes on Lying in Inst."

It will likely come to me - but I have not see it yet.

FN

Dr. Sutherland

over

f36v

I have not yet seen any notice
of the book, But one
man who reviews such books
told me that it was most
excellent. Col Murray
himself gave me the same
opinion - on the evidence as I
have often given you. Namely
that here must be no cure
lying in institutions.

We are going down when
Dr. Massey returns to see the
Portsmouth Hospital built on
the separate room plan (4 rooms
per block) They speak of it in
the very highest terms. But
time will show. By the
way if you are writing to
Lord Napier or Ellis between
this & March you might
with advantage to India say
"that you have heard Dr. Massey

f37

is coming out to Bangalore. that
 he has been head of the Sanitary
 Branch of the A. M. D. & a
 Member of the Army San. Com
 & that he is a capital sanitarian
 qu and quite fit to be an Indian
 San. Commissioner if there be
 a vacancy"

You will see in todays Times the
 fact about the *Social Revolution*.

It is all true but premature.
 The error was in publishing the
 fact before Scott Russel (the
 great engineer & Builder of the
 Great Eastern) who knows all about
 the want of the Working Classes
 had organized the movement.

It is one of great importance
 & may stop the republicans
 altogether

Your ever faithful

JS

unsigned letter, ff38-39v, JS to FN, pen, 24/10/71 embossed WO paper
 {women as naval nurses}

initialled letter, ff40-41, JS to FN, pen, 28/10/71 embossed WO paper
 Wirtemberg Ambulance; a decoration for FN from Serrurier, I wd reply
 thanking him for the medal and stating your regret that the state of
 your health had rendered it impossible for you to do anything to merit
 such a distinction. I think this wd cover the case w/o offence. But all
 this decorating the Belligerents for doing a simply human duty is
 unhealthy. Germany is just as bad as France & they are all as bad as
 Palikao who kept to himself a valuable Chinese necklace tooled at Pekin
 and took a necklace of common stuff from a mandarin which he got blessed
 by a popish bishop and presented to the Emperor Eugenie as a most
 acceptable "aid to devotion" (is it not written in todays Times"?)

signed letter, ff42-43v, JS to FN, pen, 31;/10/71 {Cholera commission;
 Sidney plans; regimental hospitals; Bangalore report}

initialled letter, ff44-47v, JS to FN, pen, 31/10/71 embossed WO paper
 {N.C.O. clerks; Mrs. Cox & the situation in France; Col Crommelin &
 India}

signed letter, ff48-49, George Allsop to FN, pen, Oct 11/71 {Memorial of
 the N.C.O clerks} embossed London Romsey

initialled letter, ff50-53v, pencil, faint

f50

Miss Osburn P. RETURN to FN
Sydney

{printed address:} 35 South Street, [12:42]
Park Lane, 1/11/71
W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

As you saw in 1868 -9 a great many of
this lady's letters & transactions
have you anything to suggest on the difficult
point of what *H.B.C. should answer to
this?*

Upon the showing of this letter (which
however is almost in direct contrast to
every other - as every one has been to each other
she is getting on very well with her
Australian trainees & Probationers
having got rid of all the "Sisters" but one
she took out with her

The best thing to *save the work* is
(& always has been in my opinion) that
she should therefore *go on* with the
Australian Nursing Staff & School

That is my earnest desire

[No word that I know of has ever been said

f50v

to her of "responsibility" for her having
 "sent away" our Sisters

tho' her letters to me ~~about them~~ were
 intolerable, unwomanly to the last degree
 about these women of whom she had taken such
solemn charge.

For the first 3 years of her being at Sydney, her
 letters to me were a constant threat to resign
 Mine to her (for I answered her punctually)
 a constant attempt to put some sense into her
 & to keep her in her place by such help as I could give
 Then came a sudden change.

For the last year I have had constant letters
 urging me to write her such a letter as
 she could share saying that she remains in
 her post *for my sake* at my desire *in spite*
of persecution - then asking my advice whether she should
 stay &c

[I have no kind of information as to her doings
 except from herself, Mr. Dees Thomson & all my Sydney

f51

correspondents - *lately* positively avoid mentioning her -

I should be insane if, under these circumstances
 I were to undertake any such responsibility
 as that of her staying "for my sake" "by my desire"

Nevertheless I diligently answered her letters
 to the last 2 or 3 - when, by the advice of
 Hy.B.C., he wrote to her in my name saying
 that I did not feel myself competent to offer
 advice *as to her decision* under the circumstances

Mrs. Wardroper also was of this opinion
 [I thought ~~her~~ Miss O's letter disingenuous as ~~the~~ self centredness
 It appears to me that she wished to keep a place
 lucrative & very conspicuous - feared to lose it
 & wished (*then*) to bolster herself up as staying there "by
 "Miss N.'s command]

But the question is now?

What is H.B.C. to write?

[This letter is in flagrant contradiction to all her others]

I wish I could read them to you -

But H.B.C. has that fault of a man of business
 (like some of my other friends) that he *keeps* or mislays
 my correspondence - then expects *me* to remember
 what he does not remember himself -

f51v

to the best of my recollection *his* last letter to *her*
(which I saw) was only to say that neither he nor
I cd give advice under the circumstances

I am most extremely sorry for this poor woman -
And while declining all further responsibility
most earnestly wish not to seem indifferent to her -
[I think I have shewn this by giving her for 4 years
the time & strength I could so little spare & which
was so useless bestowed upon her.

How then can H.B.C. express these three things [und red pencil]
desire that the Australian work should continue
- a kind interest

- decline responsibility of advice

[I shall not write to her I cannot
But I *shall* send her my Notes on Lying-in Insts
by this mail as a favourable sign]

Please remember that she has told us over & over
again she will "pack up" to leave - that she was
starting for Canada that &c &c

Please *return* this with your suggestions.

F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff52-54, pen 1/11/71 embossed WO paper
{JS's reply to the foregoing}

initialled letter, with JS's reply, ff55-58v, pencil

f55**[8:334-35]**

"Notes on Lying-in Inst"

35 South Street, 16/11/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I have received a great many letters

about this book of which I mean
to send you a selection - none of
them however is much to the purpose
- I mean that I had hoped for
a good many suggestions, criticisms
& informations - & have not
found them

The enclosed, from a Birmingham {in another hand [J.D. good man see his
letters]}

man whom I do *not* know & to
whom I had *not* sent a copy,
gives some information of the kind
of which I had hoped for much
more -

You see he offers more and in

{JS's reply in bold}

1

f55v

This is very curious. The reform appears to date from the discussion about the King's College Ward.

The chief thing to get now from Birmingham, is a carefully kept record. I would suggest that your table be modified to meet their case. It would require only to take out the lines about lying in Wards & substitute a column

State of health I would suggest 30 days after that they draw up delivery

a form if requested & ask him to send the form (alluding to the required changes indicated above) & you will look over it for them

f56

answering I will say anything you may suggest -
I will not write to Dr. Farr (or send him the "B.M. Journal") in the sense you propose till you see his letters & others which I hope to be able to send you when sorted - in a day or two

Mr. Chadwick appears to me to make the most valuable suggestion. which is get out the rate of Mortality among *rich* Lying in women
" " *poor* "

[N.B. It is well known that the Death rate is higher among the rich - As it is *only* the poor who go to Lying in Institutions, this makes *their high Death rate the more*

f56v

2

This Birmingham case if well
worked will do much good.

You might ask for a return

shewing 1 The total deliveries
up to present date
since the home practise
was instituted.

2. The deaths & causes
of death with dates

3. The number of Midwives
employed

This would give you a grasp
over the immediate facts. Besides
in future statistics we have
yet to decide what deaths
are to stand on the puerperal
register.

f57

35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
W.

atrocious]

[N.B. again

A rough calculation of Wrong
Presentations Forceps cases
Craniotomy & Instrumental cases
shews that these vary from 2
in 100 to 3 in 100 in most
Lying in Institutions which
keep any Statistics at all

How wicked then it is to
assign "25 Deliveries" as the
education of a Midwife
for, from 97 to 98 Deliveries out
of 100 are natural & give her no
real practice.]

F.N.

Please return me this note with the Papers

f58

The book will cause great wrath & will do an immense deal of good. It will seal the fate of lying in hospitals & will prepare for the funerailles of some other benevolent idiots.

The Birmingham report leads to the following results.

1st that you can work such a charity with ordinary Midwives & skilled surgical aid when required. But this is really the method in use among the paying working people over a large part of Europe. It is of course specially applicable to towns, But I know it

f57v

is also in use in English country districts -and I have also heard of frightful consequences before the surgeon was called in.

The whole argument is in favour of fully training the women to fit them for emergencies.

f58v

Mr. Chadwick - Yes! But how can you distinguish *rich* from comfortable, from upper class workmen - from lower class ones?

The only way you could do would be for Dr. Farr to take London & run through the Births & deaths, taking out empirically the streets of good name in the west end. But what can be done when ladies with London homes are confined in the country? If a few of the west end accoucheurs would send a list of deliveries among the class & the deaths, this might do. But we must consult Farr.

The thing now to get is the

real normal death rate, & the
class " " if
possible

initialled letter, f59, pen pale blue paper

f59

Mrs. Finnerty

35 South Street, 16/11/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

What am I to say to this poor woman?

I recommended him Capt. Finnerty before, because I had known him at Scutari. Now it is 15 years since I have known anything of him - The proper person to recommend him is the man who is doing it.

F.N.

{JS's reply in bold} **Yes! The Governor is the man to recommend. I would tell her so & say that any interference of yours would be useless. There are many interests to be considered in such cases. JS 16/11/71**

f60 signed letter, Mrs. Finnerty, 23 Lawford Road, Rugby, wife of Capt Finnerty of Staff officer of Pensioners West Australia, to FN, ff60-61, pen, 2 Nov 1871 {Asks for FN's recommendation for her husband}

initialled letter, ff62-63v, pen

f62 {JS's reply in bold}

Notes on Lying in &c

35 South Street, 18/11/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you "Medical Times" -
on it -

Read also on Dr. Le Fort's _____

Ambulances, French Medical

Service -&c -

I have ~~the~~ /his Article (Revue
des 2 Mondes) a very
remarkable one - on this.

& will send it you

if you like -

F.N.

**Many thanks for this Gazette -
The notice is droll & good &
will help efficiently (better than
the Lancet to direct attention**

f62v

to the book & help to sell it.

I don't agree that you should

have sided with Evory

Kennedy or taken him up.

He committed a capital

mistake about the Rotunda

& gave the enemy cause of

great rejoicing. The fact is

none of them had any knowledge

of the real sanitary principles

involved in the question &

they went floundering about

amidst misunderstood

facts. Now it is evident

the question is settled.

They may flounder away

if the{y} like but I don't think

f63

they will make any more
philanthropic hospital builders.

I should like very much
to read Leforts article.

He has the truth, but scarcely
the whole truth. To do
exactly what Lefort wants
would be to undo the French
army system. The real
question is whether a better
system could not be devised
& to include in it the liberation
of the Medical Dept from the
Intendance. I think it
could be done. But then
Thiers & Co must increase
the estimates.

f63v

If you want to see exactly
& truly & temperately where our
army has been landed by
the abolition of purchase &
other reforms!! Read William
Russells speech at the
Westminster meeting in
todays Times. We have
yet to learn a lesson from
French experience: _ that change
does not always = improvement

unsigned note, ff64-66, pencil

[12:192]**f64***Admission of Probationers* Nov 20/71*Obligations as to Service &c* {archivist: [to Dr Sutherland]}*- new St. Thomas's*

Could you kindly look at the enclosed Memo of
H.B.C.'s?

& say if you have any suggestions to make

It is a very difficult question to settle -
much more difficult than appears at first sight

It is *not* the best who wish to be free from
the "Obligation"

And they are generally *extremely* difficult to
manage & troublesome to Mrs. Wardroper
& upset the others

[Miss (Canon) Gregory is one of these

& very untidy & unbusiness-like.]

On the other hand it is rather hard upon the
good ones whom we have refused to take;
unless they would sign the "Obligation"

& *who have done so* how excellent it is *Over*
vide this Miss Barclay who wrote the enclosed Extract.

{f65 is blank}

f65v

{written horizontally in the middle of the page}

Please return

the whole

of this

f66

Please

return to F.N.

{in another hand or FN?} I had intended to ask what advantages I should especially lose on being merely taken on sufferance for a year, & not being thoroughly associated with your Nurses.

but I seem to see for myself that the loss would be absolute and also that the sort of work cannot be shilly=shallied with. It is a simple question -

'All in all or not at all'

and if ever I may be of any use wide world of sorrow & suffering I must be ready to cut my cables & devote myself altogether to the work & not try to compromise matters.

Miss Barclay

[end 12:193]

July 9/71

When I look dispassionately at my own position in life, I see that there is nothing which I can ask for any exception being made in my favour

unsigned response, JS to FN, ff67-68v, pen, admission of probationers

f68 FN pencil note on JS letter

"Lying-in Notes" 20/11/71

Would you say whether you think what Hy B.C. proposes is desirable? -

If so how the "List" should be selected:

[I have given away about 50 copies.]

& shall have ~~done~~ given about 70.

F.N.

JS response: agrees with Carter that committee and the 3 men shd have copies....

initialled note, H.B.C. to FN, f69, pen

unsigned letter, ff70-72v, pencil

f70

Miss Florence Lees' papers

PRIVATE [underlined 3 times]

Capt Burgess

F.P. Verney 24/11/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I *can* only turn this over to you.

[It must be remembered that Miss Lees wrote these *at the request of the Committee* with great reluctance - & with great trouble to me who had to draw every word out of her by written hints -

For me to enter *besides* into a controversy with "Lady Verney" & Capt Burgess upon them is absolutely impossible.

I would not have done this for *any* papers I ever have written nor admitted their competency for criticism.

And I certainly cannot do it ~~for Miss Lees~~,/now

f70v

[I do not say this out of any ill nature

But probably the two persons above named are as incompetent to estimate evidence from character, from inclination, from previous habits of life, - as any that could be named.]

I do not gather from *Capt. Burgess'* letter that "Miss Florence Lees papers are to be published *separately*"

That I should think very objectionable - And I am sure *she* would.

Capt. B is himself a member of the Malteser - Johanniter & "as proud as a peacock of it" (as I have been told by his best friends)

"Hinc illac lachrymae" {Hence there (are) tears - GW} Still he admits the paper is ~~very~~/ a most valuable"

which indeed it is -

f71

It is the *only* paper we have which gives (from an eye witness) the least idea of the real state of the Prussian War Hospital-- in the field (under every advantage)

The criticisms in the other letter, F.P.V.'s are scarcely worth reading -

being made without any insight, - almost it would appear without taking pains to compare any two passages criticized

Besides, she is as it were, "sold to support the Prussians" as good in every thing -

What she can find that I should "like" in the Article of yesterday's (Thursday's) "Times", on the Doctors' Report, is hard to say.

I scarcely ever read anything in my life which gave me SO MUCH PAIN

f71v

I must now turn over the matter to you only remarking further that most people might think that Capt. Burgess's note on (p. 3) about the necessity of "four grand parents" to make a good Hospitaller!!! considerably strengthens Miss Lees' case instead of invalidating it.

& that she must be very much obliged to him - & the Knights - very much the contrary of 'obliged'

O ye Gods what fools there are!

With regard to his "by whom?" p. 4 - of course it was out of consideration for the man that she would not say, in order that we might not trace who he was -

She would not tell (very properly) even *me* [But I know very well.]

With regard to the Hospitals managed by the Knights, they are worse than any in *Germany*

SO THE CROWN PRINCESS TOLD ME -

f72

-2-

[Emily Verney told me that Capt. B. was quite a "psychological curiosity"]
You had better either BURN or return me this my letter

A Silesian lady has been with me ~~to-day~~ here, who did the whole of the work of the French prisoners in Silesia - Her account of the execrable Silesian Hospitals for the prisoners & of the Breslau Station (150,000 French prisoners passed through her hands there) would be almost incredible did she not support it by documents.

I took Notes of her conversation & sent them to Capt. Galton-

When they come back, I will send them to you, if you like it -

N.B. Of her own personal

f72v

knowledge, warm clothing sent for the prisoners, was given to *Prussian employés*.

From her, from Flo Lees, from Mrs. Inglefield, from all women who really observed I gain but one idea of the Prussian Hospital organization *or rather administration*

And that is, that, even at its best, it was *infamous* - worse than anything within our cognizance.

{JS's reply, ff73-73 24/11/71

v, continues written the other way on this sheet and the following}

initialled note, ff74-75v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

f74

Birmingham Lying in Charity

27/11/71

I send "answers" to our Questions
we shall get some good facts in this way
also newspaper

(which latter I have not had time yet
carefully to look at)

**I have no doubt we shall get many
good facts of the same class. J.S.**

F.N.

Would it be any use to tell Mr. Goodman -
of the Guy's Hospital practice under

Mr Hicks - where Medical Students
quite safely practise at the Lying in
bed=sides at the woman's own home
*being entirely excluded from all attendance
at the Hospital or at the Dissecting Room
for the time & if a woman has Puerperal Fever
from ANY attendance anywhere for a time
(over)*

{f75 is blank}

f75v

**There is a Mr. L. [?] Tait who has
abused you in the paper for "a
few indiscretions" save the mark & for [?]
"enthusiasm" & he says that students
must be taught "which nobody can
deny". Write to Mr. Goodman & tell
him that it was scarcely fair in
one of their speakers to charge you
in this way especially as you
had never said an a word against
training students. And then tell
him Mr Hicks plan.**

initialled note, ff76-76v, pencil {JS's reply in bold} [8:481-82]

f76

Female Suffrage 27/11/71

What am I to say to these women?

F.N.

This is very much a matter of personal feeling. I am sure you ought to have a vote. And Mrs. Butler ought to be in office

The only point is whether you should have a political iron in the fire seeing that iron of this kind is very hot just now, & you require all your strength for other matters.

C.D. Acts

As you have read the Contagious Diseases Acts evidence, could you tell me whether you think "we" (the Anti-Acts people) have established our point viz - that the Acts do *not* diminish the disease.

Response There is so much assertion on both sides & so little fact on any side that the question you put admits in my opinion of but one answer, viz, that the advocates of the act have failed to prove that these acts have done any good, or at least that the changes

f76v

which have taken place under them are due to them. Mrs. Butler, has clearly proved that other far more important agencies have been stirred up & have done admirable work. The only statistical facts are Dr. Balfours, but he misses the point in my opinion by giving the statistics of "protected stations" in contrast with those of "unprotected stations", both in a lump, whereas the law of syphilis requires for its investigation that each station should be given separately

It would then be seen whether the average is made up of periodical local excesses & local deficiencies, which is really the law of syphilis where no acts are in operation, as for example in India.

The Contagious diseases results for which the Acts were past are "not proved" & this is quite sufficient

27/11/71

initialled note, ff77-785v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

f77

Knights of St. John

35 South Street, 1/12/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Capt. Burgess has sent the enclosed to Sir Harry to prove to him his case. I suppose *against* Miss Lees & me.

Unfortunately it is the one which

I saw (& irreverently made game of) when, 3 years ago, Capt.

Galton, solicited by Sir . G. Lechmere, asked me whether he should "become a Knight"

[The Knights Hospitals are notoriously the very worst Hospitals in all Germany; of which the very best are

f77v [pencil]

worse than the very worst
in France, Belgium or
England.

And an Imperial personage told me
they *must* be stopped]
Please return me the book
for Capt. B

F.N.

[JS] I have seen this rascal before too!
I believe at the time you did
& I too, profanely laughed.
Just look what it is!
Away in the middle ages this
Knighthood of St. John was constituted

f78

to fight & take charge of sick &
pilgrims whose only defense they
were. All this is in the
past eternity now, and in
this age of unoriginality these
people revive the order from
various motives. Prussia
for influence (You will always
find thrift of every sort & of all
opportunities a feature of the
Brandenburg house). The nobles
for position & a cross, others
from sheer snobbery, & the
practical result is that while
all Christians as such are
equal, & while the Eastern &
especially the Western church
have managed to plant over
Christian equality an unchristian
clerical nobility, so the practical

f78v

result of this order is to place
an aristocracy over the humble
& useful workers in the cause
of Christian charity & humanity

You will see from the memoir
who it is that does the work
& who have the honour. This
knowledge will enable you to
judge of how far such an
organization is likely to be effectual
in dealing with human necessity.

The grandest part is the
Title page. It has few
equals in the annals of
Laqueydom & ought to be
framed, glazed & thrown into
Military fools paradise.

J.S. 1/12/71

unsigned note, ff79-80v, pencil pale blue paper {JS's reply in bold}
[8:337-38]

Notes on Lying in

35 South Street, Dec 1/71
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

I am now going to collect accounts
of the *course of training* at
Paris, Vienna & elsewhere
chiefly from ladies who have
been 'extra=pupils', at those places.
Will you propose a set of
Questions?

I send you a sketch of the sort
of Questions I wish to ask
(not that these will do, for
some are leading Questions.)
I do not wish to put *Sanitary*
questions, of which they
know nothing nor

f79v

Statistical questions of which we know more than they
Nor of course *technical* questions as to the *Surgery* of the Midwifery - but simply to get a plain simple account of the training & officers.

I have been told that the Midwives' training at Paris Vienna & Berlin is far better than anything Students can get in England in Midwifery.

f80

Le Fort's account of the Midwives' training at Paris is defective.

== At one time all the Professors but one were ladies - & the "2nd year's Pupil Midwives" became first rate Accoucheuses at Paris.

== The Crown Princess while detesting the unsanitary practices, of which some were on her own person - she has been attended by a Midwife - of German midwives, says that our "Wissenschaft" is their 'Unwissenschaft' - their *Midwifery* is so good.

f80v

I return your own note with
a brief draft of points such
as your note appears to indicate

They scarcely differ from
your own except in the manner
of putting them. Mine contain
what I think could afford
sufficient ground on which
to form an opinion as to the
training & its results.

After you have re-
considered the subject & drawn
up a form would it not
be advisable to submit it to
the most intelligent lady midwife
you know for suggestions before
it is finally adopted?

J.S. 2/12/71

I daresay you could get the rules of Paris
Vienna & other schools.

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff81-82v, pen, 5/12/71 {comments on FN's book
& midwifery} on embossed WO

initialled note, ff83-84v, pen, black-edged paper, JS's reply in bold on back

f83

Notes on Lying in Inst:

35 South Street, Dec 6/71

[8:338]

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you 3 critiques: -

how one does wish for real criticism,
-for either blame or praise, from
some one who knows anything at all
about the subject. or who at least
has read the book, so very defective
in so many places as it is -

I do not understand whether
you intend the Draft or hints
for answer to Dr. Hicks for
the "Medical Times" or not.
It appears that my own answer
was better. Does not yours seem to say
"I don't wish for a specialty,
because I wish for a specialty?" F.N.

f84v

Critiques Two are mere notes. the third is in my view written by some pupil of Mathews Duncan and is a paying off for your notice of him. the man who wrote it does not understand either the book or the points at issue or the method. I would keep it with the others because there are some ignorances which may be dealt with in a second edition. But how absurd to recommend a book as he does after shewing it to be so full of error.

As regards the draft letter -
- I feel with you about it. And after reconsidering the subject, it has occurred to me to suggest whether it would not be better to say nothing. If you answer one you might answer all.

The thing is to collect as many facts & opinions as possible with the view of improving the next edition. You see what we want are more facts regarding home practice. If you agree

f84

- Nothing more may be said -
The book is defective just at the point where the criticisms tell namely in the scheme of Midwifery teaching - and if you can get together good information as you propose, this point will be met.

In short I would reply to all in the 2d edition.

Dr. Hicks reports are very good & very interesting & the points you have marked may be safely used afterwards - They are herewith returned.

I am busy with Cunninghams [Cunningham]
report but cannot yet give you the heads of a letter. The scientific part by the other C, is what I am busy upon & it is hard reading. I have just had a note from Cunningham who has left Simla on a 5 months tour.

f83v

The Edinburgh critique will no doubt excite much just anger in certain quarters. In order to take the edge off your proposal for training midwives the author attacks the morals of men who are above suspicion It is abominable, and will I hope lead to replies. In my time unsuccessful men have generally attributed success in high quarters to untruthfulness, but my experience has been that the highest success is well merited. Of course cultivation and good manner has its effect, but this is perfectly legitimate. A thorough gentleman will make his way & he will certainly not be untruthful.

unsigned note, ff85-86v, pen & pencil pale blue paper

f85

Dr. Williams' papers {archivist: No 1}
 {pencil} *Sent for reference*
 35 South Street, Dec 8/71
 Park Lane, {printed address:}
 W.

Please advise as to what
 should be said

I need not tell you that
 I dislike the whole way
 the thing is done -

Still it is doubtless a thing
 that ought to be done -
 Sidney Herbert's work
 ought to be remembered.

There are a hundred
 criticisms to a page -
 as e.g. 1. the "*Director Genl*"

did not {pencil} "warn" or {pen} remonstrate - {pencil} p. 10 2nd side
 2. the "*Times*" Commissioner

f85v

{pencil} p. 11(2nd side
 {pen} distributed but a small
 part of the funds subscribed
 3. among the *Commissions*
 you ought to be mentioned
 by name. {pencil p.11 (2nd side)
 {pen} 4. "*military despotism*" was
 certainly not the prime
 cause of the evils {pencil} (p. 13)
 [And at *this* time the C. in
 C. is a good deal more
 enlightened than the S. of S.
 or Under S. of S. or Premier.]
 But I think we should limit

f86

ourselves to improving his
facts.

He is a good man with
much power in the
Medical world -
& his curious confusion
between the Sanitary &
the Medical may do good

unsigned note, ff87-88v, pen

f86v {JS' reply in bold}

Dr. W.

I think the best way is to simply write to
him about this and offer to look over
it again if he thinks good. I send you a
few notes as follows: -

Before the Crimean war Sanitary knowledge
existed in the army & navy among a few
very few men: But the army Med dept
as such did little or nothing in it. I was
the first person who proposed that Med officers
should be Sanitary officers & I had to fight
every step as you will see in my evidence.
The prevailing idea was to have special
Sanitary officers. Then, the immediate
reduction of deaths from Chest & zymotic
diseases was due to the improvements in
Barracks & hospitals made by the Bk &
Hospital improvement Commission. The A.M.D.
had nothing to do with it. There was
when Dr. Williams wrote, no improved
administration. It was being organized &
is now efficient. Then we all learned
what Sanitary work they *did not do* in
the Crimea & at Scutari. Sir j. Macneils
commission improved the supplies, my
commission did the Sanitary work, and
when the work of both kinds was begun
the different departments took their share.

There was your own special work which
had a very important bearing in need on
the results of cases.

f86

{at the bottom of the page, after FN's letter}

You might tell him this: because in reality obstructiveness had not so much to do with the question as want of practical skill & knowledge. The men of that time are not the men of today. Can you send him a copy of Chadwick's printed letters. I will replace them. They show the extension of the work to India which is of greater importance.

A general statement will enable him to recast his paper so as to be correct, but you should see it again. J.S. 8/12/71

unsigned letter, ff87-88v, pen {JS's reply in bold}

f87*Miss Lees' papers***(The Prince of****Wales is****much worse****& in danger** 35 South Street, Dec 8/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Private

What a worry this Capt. Burgess is! with his knighthood!!!

This is the fifth time the papers have come back to me -

I can only refer it back to you

What do you advise?

That precious absurd book? Could you imagine a man such a fool? - And they

f87v

want me to organize a
War-Nurses under him!!!
The first thing I should do
wd be to put him to death!
NB I wrote to Sir Harry
exactly what we agreed
viz. that Capt. B. should
refer the matter to Miss L.
Then Sir H/ came again
to me, re-opening the question.
But I answered again
the same thing -

f88

*Please advise me as to what
Miss Lees should do.*
If one had but time & strength
to laugh!

**I have gone over this
and you will find I
have drawn my pencil
through some lines: - the
result being to leave the
cat o nine tails just as**

f88v

it was, except that the little bits of lead are taken out of the points.

Miss Lees might add to her letter "that nevertheless she had modified the expressions to meet Capt. Burgess views & hoped he would now be satisfied"

The passage about the English surgeons is not of consequence & might be left out

JS. 8/12/71

Thanks many for the extinct bird which I found on my desk.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff89-90, pen, 8/12/71 {drainage & health of houses' powers of local boards} embossed WO

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff91-94, pen, 9/12/71 {drainage & health of houses' powers of local boards} embossed WO

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff95-96, pen, 11/12/71 embossed WO paper {Mr. Hicks' report}

unsigned note, ff97-98, pencil {JS's reply in bold} [8:340-41]

f97

Notes on Lying-in Institutions

Dr. Farr Dec 12/71

You will probably like to see these extremely interesting papers of Dr. Farr's, just as they are

You will see *he asks for remarks -*

These papers are very interesting, But I would say to Farr that they appear not altogether to reach the points at issue.

These are

1. The number of deliveries within a given time. (say 6 weeks, DF's time)
2. The number and causes of deaths not only within the 6 weeks, but the number & causes of deaths due to delivery within a month after delivery.

You will see that in any given 6 weeks there may be deaths due to delivery in a preceding

f97v

6 weeks; and there may be also deaths due to deliveries in Dr. Farr's 6 weeks which come into the subsequent 6 weeks.

This is the way I would do it.

1. I would obtain the total deliveries as nearly as possible for a given 6 weeks.
2. I would obtain all the death and causes of death due to the puerperal state registered as occurring within the same 6 weeks, together with the dates of deliveries.
3. I would eliminate from the return all deaths due to the puerperal state in which deliveries had taken place at dates anterior to the typical six weeks.
4. I would then obtain a list of all deaths & causes of deaths of the puerperal series taking place within a month after the termination of the typical six weeks.
5. From these deaths I would abstract all puerperal deaths taking place among women who had been delivered in the typical six weeks.
6. The first and last death number would

f98

give the total deaths with their causes among women for a month after delivery in the typical six weeks, & I would on this number calculate the mortality.

I would suggest this, because his present figures are still open to comment. As for the Manchester paper, What can be said. There is no law to prevent a man discussing statistics whether he understands them or not. The one point of importance has been known ever since vital statistics had an existence. i.e. that averages over large areas do not meet the necessity of sanitary work. But the Manchester proposal is just as defective as the Registrar Generals method.

Dr. Duncan of Liverpool & myself shewed the true but laborious method of getting the absolute mortality about 30 years ago.

J.S. 12/12/71

initialled note, JS to FN, ff99-99v, pen, 15/12/71 {an "honour" for FN; papers mislaid} on embossed WO

incomplete note, f100v, pencil

f100v

How I thank God every day
of my life that we are not
at this moment in all the
agonies of war, as we were
at this time last year.
when the words while wishing
the Govt New Years blessing
as I now wish you with all
my heart died upon our lips
What a mockery!

Again I pray you my
apology - the old one & only one -
- that of overwork & increasing
illness for my long delay in writing

initialled letter, ff101-02, pen {JS's reply in bold}

f101

Miss Lees' papers

& Capt. Burgess

35 South Street, Dec.15/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Can you *conceive* of such an *inconceivable* idiot as this?

And this is our "Society's valued Secretary."

At the same time, I think Miss Lees takes much too much to heart these things - [I laugh at her -

She talks of "storms upon her devoted head"--

If she did but know what *real* "storms" are!

what a *life* of storms is!

However the thing is now to help her - not to moralize upon her.

I send you her last 2 packets.

[You must not believe what she says (in her long {archivist; No F2} letter) about her short-comings - We have never

trained a Supt. of *anything like her skill*

And I know from excellent judges, e.g. M. Lévy of Val de Grace, & the Cr. Princess, *what her work is*.

But she is subject to fluctuations of spirits - &

she fancies them to be fluctuations of energy.]

The second letter, just received, is the one upon which

f101v

she wants our advice.

She adopted all your pencil corrections [I told her I had referred the paper to you]

But you made no answer to what she should do as to 22 opposite to which the "Knight " of the Geese had written - "by whom?" - i.e. by whom sent the Dr. "who could speak neither German nor French."?

And it is over this, I imagine, that Capt. B. is still worriting -

It would not have occurred to me that Capt. B. meant to "print" his "Memo" (enclosed) - But I dare say Miss Lees is right

At all events, WHAT ARE WE TO ADVISE HER TO DO?

F.N.

f102

Depend on it, Capt. B intends to put this as a foot note, & if I were Miss Lees I should write at once somewhat as follows.

~~"excuse surprize that~~

ask if he intends to print. And if so express surprise that after her trying to meet his objection he should introduce such a passage That she is ready to make any further concession not inconsistent with truth.

& that if he prints his remarks as a memo that she too will print a statement which will not tend to the & attaining of the object she is quite sure he has in view as well as she.

____ Let her keep a copy of her letter
As to her other letter, I read it as you do.

There is now a prospect of recovery for the Prince. The lesson taught is the supreme utility of intelligent nursing care. But when we think what has happened already in the case one is disposed to say that the Almighty had permitted the best, in order to shew that under any strait he can redeem life.

JS.

15/12/71

initialled letter, ff103-04v, pencil pale blue paper {JS's reply in bold}

f103

Dr. Snow Beck

35 South Street, 17/12/71

[8:340-41]

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you his curious letter - & 2 papers

What shall I answer?

[I don't know him]

Is it not curious that a man, who has evidently got hold of some good points of observation - should have come to this conclusion from them all: - that a dose of Ergot of Rye (which Midwives are justly blamed for giving - & which I believe it is an invariable rule in all Lying - in Charities that neither Midwife nor Student

f103v

shall ever give without the Physician's order)

that a dose of Ergot of Rye should be the real preservative from all puerperal diseases, all Hospital influences even King's College's?

f104v

Dr. Beck has his heart in his work which is a great thing.

His paper is carefully written and his pamphlets are interesting to me mostly because of the authorities he cites & the points raised by them. The impression produced in my mind of them all is "how much requires to be learnt."

I would thank Dr. Beck for his papers. You see how much you have stirred up the great question. You may say to him that questions of medical management papers so called are beyond your sphere, but that his views about the Ergot of Rye differ

f104

{on the bottom of the page, after FN's letter}
from those of other people, and that you could only deal with his proposal practically if the profession as a body went with it.

J.S. 18/12/71

initialled letter, ff105-16, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

f105

Madame Werckner of Breslau

35 South Street, Dec 17/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you the Notes I made
from this excellent woman's
conversation. They have
been in such request (tho' not
half she told me) that I have
only just got them back.

[Our Committee will publish no
information of this kind" And
the Loyd Lindsays have even
declined - *not to me* - seeing her]

Please return them to *me* - unless
Mrs Sutherland would like to
see them - as I have other
requests for them.

f106 JS comment 8/12/71

f107 FN pencil

Madame Werckner
Breslau Nov 5/71

PRISONER-TRAINS

150,000 French prisoners
passed thro' her hands
at the *Breslau Station* -
These trains always arrived in
the night & appeared to be
kept as secret as possible
Mme W. could find no other
means of doing her good work
but to go herself to the Station
every night at 10 & remain
at the Station the whole night
This she did for months
together, taking with her every
thing that was necessary for
the prisoners passing through
She obtained entrance to
the Station by private means
- & was more than once
insulted by Prussian Generals
who found her stooping over
dying Cholera-cases, getting
them to drink & told she
had no business there
A German lady, a member
of the *Hülfe-Verein*, attended
at the Station pretty regularly
to administer to the wants
of the German escorts to the
Prisoner-trains. But she
never gave anything to the
Prisoners - not even to the

f107v

sick & Dying ones -

She said: 'she dared not -
she should be mobbed -
such was the feeling against
the French -

Once when a sick French
officer was fainting & wine
was called for - she told
Mme. W. she dared not give
it & they would not let
the fainting man out of
the train Mme W. came
up & gave it.

These Prisoner- trains
scarcely ever arrived
without some being found
dead. And others were so
far gone that they
actually refused what
Mme. W. offered - 'for fear
it should prolong their
lives'. 'Let me die," Merci
Madame' 'but let us die',
they said, & actually
turned away their heads
from the tempting hot
coffee & wine which
she tried to pour into their
mouths. Others

Their uniforms were so torn
& worn (& *they had* no clothing
underneath) that those who
were dead - or could not
speak & give their names
could not be identified

Many were old men
Many Turcos

f108

would take it - just swallowed
it & died

[She burst into tears
when she came to this part
of her story & could not
speak for some minutes.]

The French prisoners in
the trains were as a rule
without clothes except the
ragged coat & trousers
They had parted with every
thing, shoes, shirts, &c, for
a cup of warm milk or beer.

The trains (especially with
the prisoners from Orleans)
had been 8 or 9 days & nights
on their way sometimes
more - Bread & water
once a day was all they
had had sometimes
not that When the trains
were late at Breslau
they had often been 30
hours without anything at
all -never allowed to leave
the trains which were open -
- in rain, the prisoners literally
streaming with wet but
more often *frozen* (in their
own dirt) to the floors of the
carriages & the straw -

They have literally had to

f107v

be cut out with hatchets.

Numbers of these unhappy men were frost bitten - on both feet - above the ankle - toes dropped off & sometimes the entire foot, in fragments quite black.

[She described to me what I have seen in the Crimea]

Dead & dying & sick of Cholera, Spotted Fever Typhus Fever, Dysentery, Frost bite, were dragged out sometimes - sometimes not - sometimes they were left to go on in the trains, some with wounds undressed.

She tore up her pocket handkerchiefs - every bit of linen she had to send on with these poor creatures

Of the 150,000 prisoners who passed thro' Breslau, about 57000 remained in Silesia - Most of the worst sick remained in Breslau.

f109

† So much for *Breslau Station*
Breslau We now come into *Breslau town*
Prisoner=Hospitals The worst sick cases were
 brought from the Station here
 [They had besides 1000
 Officer- prisoners & men in
 proportion -
 57000 in all Silesia]
 No *German* lady but one -
 (C^{ss} Stalberg - & she begged
 that it might not be known
 as she should be mobbed)
 - no *German* Hülfe Verein
 in all Silesia did any
 thing for the French prisoners
 Mme Werckner used to
 receive threatening letters
 & be insulted by Prussians
 for 'doing anything for the
 enemies of her country"
Coblentz Erfurt It was very different at
no criteria for Silesia places like *Coblentz Erfurt* &c in the
 eye of the world - or
 places near *Berlin* where
 a certain coquetterie was
 put, to do good to the Prisoners
 But *in Silesia* where
 nobody comes, where there
 was nobody to look after

f109v

what was being done,
economy & economy only
ruled the provision
made for the Prisoners -

In all Silesia, there was
not a Hospital with
common care or even with
common necessaries for
the sick Prisoners.

The Doctors made the
most cursory visits

It is true they ordered
things "on the Cards" But
these things were never
supplied for the Diets.

E.g. roast meat was never
supplied, tho' "on the Cards"

The German Sisters of
Charity (who never spoke
French) were all that
was given to the largest
Hospitals - & not always
that.

These Sisters never
entered the Small pox
wards, which were locked
- a jug of cold water being
placed on the Table for
the sick to get up & drink
if they could!

f110

Mme Werckner remonstrated
but to no avail.

[The Sisters told her they were
afraid of infection]

Of the Spotted Fever cases,
whom Mme W. nursed herself,
all died.

Typhus & Cholera were very
fatal

On reckoning up (but no
accounts of Death could be-
had - the Burials from
a French 'maréchal-des-logis'
were all that could be
obtained - it appeared that
1 out of 5, or in some places
1 out of 6, of the whole
57000 in Silesia died.

Very many died of "Heinweh"
- got up to the last - just
drooped their heads - refused
food & died in their chairs -

The Metz cases were very
fatal So many came with
ulcerated stomach -

"They *could* not eat the
bread" Mme W. said,
"if they eat it, they died of
stomach complaint - if they

f110v

did not eat it, they starved" -

Mme W. used to carry them
large provisions of bread
under her petticoat.

She was always rudely
stopped - made to swear
that she was not carrying
in 'books' or 'papers'
but generally continued to
smuggle in her bread.

"If, she says, a different
bread was baked for the
prisoners, she never saw it
in Silesia"

She is sure the 'black bread'
was fatal for their exhausted
frames - reduced to skeletons
- frost bitten - with no
digestion left.

At first she was entirely
alone without funds but
her own. [She said she took
all her husband's clothes]
Then our *Aid Society* gave
her - in all I think £400 -
Then after the surrender
of *Schlestadt*, (most

Aid from England

f111

3 fortunately) its Commander
Aid from the *Baron de Reinach*
Baron de Reinach (of the "Garde Mobilé)
a rich man & an Alsatian,
was brought prisoner to
Breslau.

From that day he seems
almost to have supported
half the prisoners in
Silesia with the help
of other French Officers

Mme W. does not at all
~~share~~/set the blame on French
Officers for neglect of
their countrymen. On the
contrary, she says those
in Silesia did *all they*
could.

The Baron de Reinach
established a French
Committee with a Vice President
in every town in Silesia -
where there were Prisoners,
Glogau, Neisse, Cosel
Glatz Schweidnitz, Oppeln
[No French Officers were
allowed to go to the men
to speak to or to see them

f111v

Mme Werckner took M. de Reinach
in with her to Breslau
Station without a permit
He was roughly spoken to
but by this time Mme W.,
partly from her character
of 'English' woman
did pretty much as she liked

The Prussian said: it
was no use trying to hinder
that woman]

Over & over again she
would have written to the
"Times" or to me to put
her accounts before the
Aid Society of the
cruelties committed
but that she was 'afraid
to injure her husband
who is a Prussian.

[No Times was allowed
to reach Silesia - They
were all stopped in the
German post - and at
last she desired her friends
not to send her any
as they were only
confiscated]

f112

I had forgot to say that
some Polish ladies had by this
time joined Mme. Werckner -
But these were not of much
use in the way of funds -

*Aid from
Vienna*

However, the Hülfe Verein at
Vienna for the French was
now in full activity. and
most liberal, most kind,
most active, sending such
very good things, were these
Austrians

*Did the stores
sent reach the
Prisoners?* Now, as to whether the
warm clothing &c sent
by the English & Austrian
"Aid Societies" reached
the Prisoners - on this point
Mme. W. spoke with great
caution.

*She knows of her own
personal knowledge
instances where these
were entrusted to the German
R.C. aumônier in charge of
the Prisoners - & where
the things were given to the
Prussian employés -!! Not one*

f112v

or perhaps 12 suits out of
200 reached the Prisoners.
Mr. Treffey asked her to find
out whether what he *Mr. Treffey*

brought from our Aid Socy
to Breslau & Silesia (*he* was
ordered away for speaking
to a French soldier) reached
the Prisoners.

She could not say that
they *did* -but also she will
not say that they *did not*.

At Magdeburg she knows
that the things brought by
Mr. Swain (from the English
Aid Socy) did reach the
Prisoners. But this is the
only place of which she is
sure.

[*She* did not say - but *I*
could not help feeling: oh if
our "Aid Socy" as the Austrian
did had made this woman,
& persons like her, their
Agents in the matter of the
Prisoners whom no man
was allowed to see, how

The first box which
reached her from the
Austrian Verein (~~of~~ 200 shirts)
[she had 600

prisoners *without*
a shirt} she gave

to the *German R.C.* Chaplain
in charge of them: to distribute
- saying it would only be
1 in 3 -

When she went to his room,
she found half the shirts gone
A friend a *maréchal des logis*
told her they had been

given to the *Prussian employés*
The Chaplain grew very red
& admitted it

She then said to which Prisoners the
remaining 100 shirts were to go.

Only 12 reached them!!

After this, she said

she distributed everything
with her own hands - aided by
a *maréchal des logis* -

f113

4 Much good they might have done - how much waste or misappropriation saved!]

Departure of the Prisoners

The last French prisoners did not leave Breslau till Sept. 27 last - barely 6 weeks ago.

[They were most if not all sick]

And they would not have been gone now but for Mme Werckner

When after the conclusion of peace the French Officers (prisoners) began to return home, the Silesian French Committees - with their President Baron de Reinach - turned over the care of all the French prisoners remaining in the Hospitals of Silesia - very numerous & the remaining funds to Mme Werckner

From that time she had a Prussian permit to visit Glogau, Neisse & the rest

f113v

The disappointment
of the French sick prisoners
when, time after time,
they were told they were
going home - & time after
time fresh delays arose
was such that some of them
actually lay down & died
- some tried to escape
& were shot or condemned
to punishment - & a
few committed suicide-

Mme Werckner, seeing
this would not do, went
to M. de Banneville
the Ambassador at Vienna
And through his means
she has at last procured
the release of all, (who
were not undergoing
punishment)

1600 left in September
by the French "Sanitary trains"
(of which the last, carrying
800, did not leave, as
above mentioned, till Sept 27)
fitted with bed &
accompanied by Doctors

f114

& Soeurs -

These trains, she said,
were capital -

She herself supplied the
wine, beef tea &c for them.

They went to Vesoul.

I had forgotten to state
the great distress of a
large portion of the French
Officer prisoners

They were allowed 18-20
dollars a month (8 drs
being paid by the English
Ambassador on account
of the French Government
Out of this they had to find
their quarters. The poorest
rooms could not be had
for less than 10-12 dollars
a month in Silesia -

The Germans "did" them
in every way she said

And these Officers were
often without food towards
the end of the month.

Many went to live in
the prison camp with the
men from sheer necessity.

f114v

Mme Werckner began by lending these Officers money from her own funds (many were Turcos) - & she never knew one attempt on their part to escape their debt either to her or to the Traiteurs at the beginning of their next month's pay.

When Baron de Reinach came he & his Committee helped the poorest Officers extensively.

Another Frenchman (whose letters to her I have seen) M. Boutons the Director of the "Southern Railway" at Vienna & President of the Verein for the French, whom she saw when she went to Vienna next took up not only the lending money to the Officers but after peace was signed the getting the poorer Officers home, who might otherwise be there still

Mme Werckner sent them to Vienna; he to Turin by his railway - to Chambéry from Turin & so home.

f115

5. [This good M. Boutons wrote to Mme. Werckner letters (which I have seen) telling her never to worry herself about getting back the advances made to the Officers - & only to tell them, - if they could not pay back before all the Committees & Aid Societies were broken ~~back~~ up to give the money, *when they could* to some "victime de cette malheureuse guerre"]

Without going into too much detail ~~this~~ I could not add much more -

*Alsace
another Poland*

Upon another subject, Mme Werckner expressed her conviction that Alsace & Lorraine will always be "a Poland" to Prussia -

She bases her conviction upon her intercourse with these French

Baron de Reinach of Alsace, a man of large fortune, the possessor of the Château de

f115v

Niedernai in Alsace,
is going to sell all his
estates & go in order to
remain a Frenchman -

{She showed me his letters]

So, with all she knows -

She went to Paris and
Châteaudun (the destruction
of which she describes as
frightful) to see old
Prisoner friends of Breslau
after their return

She says there is no talk
but of another War -

She cannot see the least approach
to reconciliation with Prussia.

Lastly, she said the *Prisoners' Camps*
Prisoners' Camps in Silesia
were very bad indeed.

Even when they had
constructed huts, these
were 2 feet deep in the
ground - cold & damp - in
winter - very hot in summer.
But no one, least of all
their own officers, was
allowed to go into these
camps - From first to

f116

last the want of clothing
among these Prisoners was
frightful. And NO one
ever had more than ONE shirt
which was given him

She says: the remittances
from home both of money
& clothing to the prisoners
were frequent

But she knows of one Camp
at least of her own knowledge
where the remittances
were kept back (by the
German R.C. Chaplain) &
never given

R.C. Chaplains
French
German

The German R.C. Chaplains
who came under her notice,
were all indifferent & cool
They *never* went at night
when sent for to administer
the last Sacraments, to
dying men often *not at
all*. They would speak
roughly to the sick, even
when they did go to them.

Some of the French R.C.
Chaplains who had
constituted themselves
prisoners to be with their
men were very good -
especially one from the
Madeleine at Paris.

unsigned letter, ff117-18v, pen & pencil

f117

Dr. Williams
& his papers

PRIVATE

35 South Street, 17/12/71
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Tho' perfectly aware that he was quite incapable of making use of any "general statement" & that it would only put him into a more complete ~~hopeless~~ state of confusion, yet I did as you suggested - & see the result.

What am I to say?

You see the poor man is in a perfectly hopeless condition of confusion, bewilderment & darkness [I really cannot profess to disentangle him]

You see that 1. he has no idea that the R. Commission of 1857 is *not* the "B & H Improt." Comm 2. that the present "Army San Comm" *is* a development of the "B. & H.I." Comm (altho' these two things were *especially* explained to him) - 3. he has made an inconceivable blunder in his "Note" about a passage on "Hill Stations" which, by the way, we ought never to have left in at p.65 of the I.O. Annual (Mr. Plowden's) Blue Book - (which I sent to Dr. Williams -) of last year - leaving out all the really important Sanitary improvements - in it - as unworthy of mention -

[But he is quite right in saying that he cannot "re-cast" a *delivered* Lecture.]

f117v

What I wrote to him was mainly what you suggested (I enclose yours for reference)

- *plus* what you suggested in a subsequent note

(enclosing Mr. Chadwick's paper) - which note of yours I cannot send you, because, after your usual fashion, it was written, without even the separation of a page, (in *continuation* of ~~your~~ /some remarks on DR. HICKS!!)

- *plus* a reference by me to Alexander whom I could not bear to leave out but who died, I *think*, some 18 months before S. Herbert (v. Dr. Williams' blunder in his "Note")

- plus an explanation of what *you* did both in the Crimea & on the standing Commissions - [You will see how he has blundered it all (tho' he was actually too in daily attendance on me at the time & also partly on S. Herbert.)]

- plus a short explanation about the distributors of the public subscriptions -

{He chooses to assume - in opposition to every published accounts that Sir J. McNeill's ! & your!! Commissions distributed these funds!!! - (There was the

f118

"Times" Fund - Egerton & Tower's "Fund" - the Subscriptions entrusted to me personally - were there any others?

I mean for Camp & Hospitals] The "reformed Staff" had nothing in the world to do with the "funds subscribed" - XX [I cannot tell you the waste of time & power this is to me from more effective employment - Indeed you may say *this* is wholly *ineffective* employment That is why I always avoid discussion now - which only exhausts me.]

Lastly: what shall I say to him about "the Queen & Pr Albert having granted me my request as to ~~the~~ /appointing R. Comm" at Balmoral in 1856.

As a rule, what passes between oneself & one's Sovereign should never be re-told, especially not for publication.

Still it is a "fact" what he states - & a "fact" well-known by S. Herbert & others at the time -

You must, please say *exactly* what is to be said in answer to this most worriting epistle - And please return me *this* -

("marking anything erroneous in fact")
for him "to correct"

XX Is this the way that history will be written?

f118v

[faint pencil] I would I were more punctual in corresponde but, in the press of business & illness, I find less & less room alas!

(I will not say for friendship or relaxation those I have long since had to give up) but for any but the most necessary claims

Forgive me.

did you but know how I have been interrupted for days & days before even these few simple answers cd be written down

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff119-21v, pen, 16/12/71 {his reply to ff117-18} on embossed War Office paper

f121 Suggestions JS ink

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff122-23v, pen, 23/12/71 [Mr. Chadwick's proof]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff124-25v, pen, 23/12/71 on embossed War Office paper, Le Fort's article is very interesting, but in many particulars not complete, e.g. he adopts the American estimate of their own doings while their statistics show that their best military imputed mortality was 10 percent. Then he ignores altogether the British medical regulations. Like other Frenchmen he likes drill sergeants & he finds the Prussian method the most to his taste because they

initialled letter, with JS's reply & Dr Beigel's letter, ff126-28,
pencil [8:341]

f126

Dr. Beigel of Vienna 23/12/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I have not answered this letter
- For your advice did not help me much
And it is rather hard to make me
ask for it a 2nd time.
I am asked to write in a newspaper Article
the essence of several Volumes
If I were able to write a series of
Articles, of course it would be good -
But I think I should be using power
& time which would be taken away
from more effective employment -
And I cannot do more than I am
doing -
If you chose to put down a series of
little Axioms for me to enlarge upon

f127

& write in my own style; (as I did
the India letters) that would
be a different thing - And I
would undertake that.
Otherwise I should reply that it would
be impossible to write to any useful
purpose in the way proposed -
& that my health & regular work
does not permit me to undertake
the additional labour which a
really useful communication would
involve - I should refer him to
my published works all of which
are known in Germany - & send him
by way of compliment the "Notes on
Lying in Institutions"
Please answer.

F.N.

[T.O.]

f128 H Beigel letter to FN from Vienna 9 Dec 1871 asks FN for a paper on
her hospital work, which they will translate, in English

{JS's response follows, then Dr Beigel's original request}

unsigned note, ff129-30v, pencil [corrections added Oct 2006] JS hand

f129

{archivist: [ca.1869-1871]} [8:218]

Q. Charlotte has no Delivery Ward

We should think it impossible to manage cleanliness in such a case Endell St. does not have more than 10

Deliveries a month

We think that enough to account for a low Death rate. And more shame for her that it is so high

Liverpool is not after all not the tremendous difference we at first thought

f129v

11 years ending in 68

Deliveries	Deaths
341	3
320	26
256 Liverpool	18
369	20
351	14
386 Queen	6
384 Charlottes	13
225	9
408	7
412	8
464	5

3916

129

death rate 33 per 1000

Puerperal

55

15

1

6

3

1 per 1000

81 000

20/7 per

832

868

f130 [see my note]

General	Puerperal
6	1
1	4
3	6
2	5
1	6
2	-
3 Liverpool	2
-	3
-	4
3	-
1	1
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>

11 22 = 2 a year 11 / 32 2.9
 11 22
 | 12 years | 11 54 4.9
 44

average deliveries	<u>501</u>	Death rate per 1000
Death { General	2	4.
per { Puerperal	2.9	5.8
annum { Total	<u>4.9</u>	9.8

City of London Endell 10.9 per 1000
 British 14.4
 Healthy districts 4.3 Childbirth illeg
 10 Large towns 4.9 per 1000
 Childbirth & illeg {8.3 per 1000 all causes
 Military {7.2 Puerperal

f130v

10 Large towns
 1851-60

140 2 30 4 / 6862 000 4.9 per 1000
 / 5609 216

 /1252 784

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff131-31v, pen, LeFort

I return the Revue with best thanks. I have looked again at Lefort, but still if his adoption of the Prussian proposal were as fully carried out as it was in Germany during the late war. It would not under similar condition, meet all the suffering. There is nothing in it which alters the conclusions of my report in the Aid Society's book.

Tell me, have you seen the official confidential reports of Fitzgerald, & Gordon & Wyatt?

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff132-33, pen, 6/1/72 embossed WO paper
{Miss Blackwell's paper; midwifery & male doctors} [8:342-43]

6 January 1872

What a very interesting paper this of Miss Blackwell's is! It was worth all the trouble to bring out the information. I must say that I agree with her. After reading this the idea of a specialte must be given up unless it is connected by law with the aid of male practice as in France.

They simply propose to train women to do with comparative safety what they would otherwise do most dangerously and their education has for one of its objects to let women know when there is danger, and then the law holds them responsible if they do not call in male aid. Practically, the bearing of the information on your school is very important.

The law will not compel any women you may train to call in male aid, and hence you must either confine your work solely to nursing at the bedside where the patient is delivered by a man, or else you must make [illeg] for training in midwifery on a basis of previous medical education laid either by your institution or in a medical school. If you adopt this latter course you will have to require certificates of medical competency before you admit women to your midwifery training.

The additional question Miss B. proposes are [illeg] but I believe the reply will be that half a century ago or more there was less difference in knowledge between female and male accoucheurs than now, and this simply because medical training has been making great strides among men, and women here been kept simply to midwifery work.

J.S.

unsigned note, ff134-35v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

f134

PRIVATE 8/1/72 {archivist: [see Sir W. Codrington 26.12.71 & 3. 1.72 &

Sir H. Verney 29.12.71]}

Sir W. Codrington sent me his Report on
the Aldershot Manoeuvres last year
(of course in confidence)

Do you like to read it?

Of course this is *in strict confidence*.

The best criticism in it seems to be
that in consequence of the undisciplined
un="control"=led Transport Service
"strategy" must be subservient to a

previously arranged delivery of food & fuel

"Control" à non 'control' lends.

Please return (& this too)

f135v

This appears to be a good critique. I can form no opinion on the purely military part. but as regards the commissariat, it must be borne in mind that neither the Prussian nor any other army ever did or ever can keep up a sufficient commissariat force in peace to take the field in war.

One of the criticisms made by the Prussian officers at Aldershot was "of course in time of war you would requisition all the carts drivers & men you wanted." This is what both German & French did in last war.

The writer is however quite right about the subordinating military manoeuvre to commissariat. During the Aldershot war last autumn the Control carried supplies through the enemy lines & the enemy did not seize them!!

However this will be amended next time.

J.S. 8/1/72

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff136-38v, pen, 15/1/72 {Mr. Chadwick's paper; city sanitation in England & India}

initialled note, written on an envelope, f139, pen

f139 {in another hand} Portsmouth, note in FN hand, ink, on dark blue envelope

Can you tell me anything about the wants at
Portsmouth set forth within? - or of Miss Robinson & the
"Aldershot Hall"

X Miss Torrance (who is more like Agnes Jones than any one)
gives a very high account of *Miss Robinson's* powers
~~th~~ as a worker.

How should I help this undertaking? -
[I know nothing of this Miss Hopkins
nor does Miss Torrance]

29/12/71 F.N.

{archivist: [see Dr. Sutherland
16.1.72]}

[on the envelope flap] FN note:
Re-sent for reference

F.N.

15/1/72

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff140-41, pen, 16/1/72 embossed WO paper
{JS's reply to f139}

unsigned note, ff142-42v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

f142

Dornbusch

35 South Street, 17/1/72

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

What am I to say?

Patroness indeed!!!

& in such company!

**I should simply say that without
expressing any opinion on
one side or the other that as
you have to do practical work
with persons holding opposite
views in such subjects you have
always made it a rule**

f142v

**to withhold your name from
any organization such as this
is.**

**Write quite short &
decisive, but of course as you
will do, civilly, or else they
will print you.**

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff143-43v, pen, 23/1/72 embossed WO paper
{an unidentified man's letter about disease}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff144-47, pen, 24/1/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr. Clark's paper- drainage in Calcutta; asphalt roads}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff148-48v, pen, 6/2/72 embossed WO paper
{Malta fever. Miss Verney}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff149-49v, pen, 10/2/72 embossed WO paper
{Dr Barnes' paper}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff150-51v, pen, Mr. Crawford & the Bombay
enquiry}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff151-52v, pen, 12/2/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr. Campbell- Sir Bartle Frere's opinion sought}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff153-54v, pen, 22/2/72 embossed WO paper
{land reform & the Lord Mayor's assassination}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff155-58v, pen, 26/2/72 embossed WO paper
{Dr Acland & examinations};

signed letter, JS to FN, ff159-60, pen, 7 March/72 Alleyn Park, {advice
concerning a letter wanting FN to join something, got her letter last
night

initialled letter, JS to FN, f161, pen, 8/3/72 Alleyn Park

uninitialled letter, f162v, pencil [6:551-52]

f162v

Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League

March 6/72

Are not these the two points

1. Vaccination is only ~~healthy~~/safe from *healthy* Vaccines
2. While Small pox with other zymotic diseases
is known to disappear before Sanitary
measures, it is not known, without
Sanitary measures, Vaccination does more
than transfer to other Zymotic diseases the
numbers it may preserve from Small pox
- while it *is* known that Vaccination from
unhealthy Vaccines is a source of disease.

Hence the argument is for Sanitary measures

- not for Vaccination

Are not these the points - & should I not, as
they have sent me their most ill-judged Manifesto
make some effort to shew them this?

I will not write to them till I have heard from
you in reply to this. Please return me *this*.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff163-63v, pen, 8/3/72 embossed WO paper
{Brochard's pamphlet & inspection of nurses}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff164-65, pen, 8/3/72 embossed WO paper
{Sir W. Gull's view; Darwinianism, JS thinks Darwinianism simply a
misunderstanding of facts. re admitting foreign bodies that can't get
out

initialled letter, JS to FN, with notes by FN, ff166-67, pen {JS letter in bold}

f166

**Alleyn Park
18/3/72**

Dear Miss Nightingale

I return you your sheet with the reply. I would lay down the following propositions.

1. that Cottage hospital like all other hospitals ought to be quite unnecessary ~~in a Christian country.~~ The same rule holds good in regard to all such establishments that nothing can compensate for home care & nursing in sickness (aided by a well trained Village Nurse & good food) either in its advantages or in its moral lessons.
2. That while holding that home care of home sick & the possibility of this are objects to be aimed at ~~in all Christian countries,~~ & which are to be arrived at not by charity, but by justice first & charity afterwards; - and admitting that in the present state of our labouring classes these things cannot be obtained;- hospitals of all classes ought to be considered quite subordinate & in no sense as substitutes for improved dwellings home education & the like which are the real antidotes for ill health. Looking however at the case as it stands Cottage hospitals

f166v

may be beneficially introduced in places out of reach of ordinary hospitals. But as multiplication of charities is an evil care should be taken that no existing hospital is interfered with.

3. That inasmuch as a Cottage hospital is intended to receive several cases at the same time the accommodation, cubic space &c must be of a better character & much larger than would be necessary in a Cottage home & consequently more costly.

4. From 800 to 1000 cubic feet per bed is the smallest space which could be given in a hospital for 5 or 6 beds. There should be a Matron nurse & servant for this number (Query you to decide this). A kitchen small surgery & star [?] W.C.

Half the beds for men, half for women. & this necessity is a great evil. It would be better to have two cottage hospitals, quite separate with two establishments & hence great cost would be needed to do the thing properly.

5 Mr. Birmingham's proposal is avowedly a substitute for deplorable sanitary defects & it might be better to spend the

f167

money in removing these or in legal proceedings for removing them than to sanction the continuance of such a state of things by providing a remedy for their consequences.

6. It would be better under the proposed new sanitary legislation to have local societys for putting the law in force than to gather subscriptions for enabling the law to be dispensed with.

J.S.

[16:769]

Cottage Hospitals are good where they are good.

i.e. at a distance from any good County Hospital

- where there are many accidents, especially machinery operations as in Mining districts

- where they are by the sea for Consumption or for Scrofula &c

- especially of course for Convalescents -Here they are essential

Cottage Hospitals are bad where they are bad

i.e. when they interfere with a good County Hospl

within easy distance with its efficient Medical, Surgical & Nursing Staff

- where they are expressly urged on the ground of defective

labourers' dwellings making the fevers &c which the Cottage

Hospl is to cure & thus interfering with our first paramount

duty of reforming the bad drainage, bad ventilation, bad water,

bad crowding, bad everything that can be bad of (many)

parishes & country villages

To make/have the people's dwellings fit for sick or rather such

as will not make sickness - & not to have a Cottage

Hospl to cure such sickness when it is made is of

course our first duty.

[end 16:769]

f167v unsigned letter, f167v, pen, FN upside down on JS letter

Cottage Hospitals Embley

March 15/72

[16:769]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

H.B.C sends me the enclosed but does *not send* me his own letter which gave rise to this.

The conclusion to which he comes is the conclusion of universal mankind viz: that I must write another letter

saying (in this case) "what are the objections to Cottage hospitals?" & how to be obviated?

But Cottage Hospitals are good where they are good -

And in this case ~~they~~ one may be good.

It would very much oblige me if you would give me any general suggestions as to in what cases they are good & what are the conditions for being

so

[end, see above]

signed letter, JS to FN, ff168-68v, pen, 18/3/72 advice to FN, on back of her letter to him, the course she took in the matter the best: If you are asked to write the best way to put it would be on the ground that you are naturally most anxious for the success of the hospital and of the nursing arrangements & that knowing the kind of men usually elected y Ratepayers for such purposes it has occurred to you to suggest whether the selected members should not be men not only of knowledge but of large minds. It is risky, but I don't see what else you could do. What a good man Mr Wyatt is.

initialled letter, f169, pen

f169

Mr. Wyatt

March 15/72

I send you this letter of the excellent Mr. Wyatt, partly because I think you would like to see it

[I have written to a M.P. friend of mine asking him to set forth verbally to Mr. Stansfeld the desirableness of "judiciously filling up the vacancies" (marked in red)]

But I think Mr Stansfeld will probably ask to be written to by me - And in that case I should be glad to have your suggestions as to how I should write to him] And this is partly why I send you the letter.

F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff170-71, pen, 18/3/72 {Dr Acland & registering training nurses} Dr Acland has got his committee appointed, on back of FN letter

signed letter, f171v, pen

f171v

Dr. Acland. March 15/72

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I never received any answer from Dr. Acland, not even an acknowledgement, to the long letter which in all respects tallied with your suggestions & my conviction.

But I now receive this from H.B.C. (who apparently does not know that Dr Acland wrote to me) with a request for advice -

What do you think of it?

yours

F. Nightingale

letter & paper enclosed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff172-73v, pen, on embossed WO 22nd March/72, has looked through Mr Hawkins' papers with great pleasure, the right man. re poor lunatics. I have had something to do with lunatic patients and I can state that there is nothing more sorrowful than the lot of a humble hard working family on whose hands a partially restored lunatic comes home. In the very poor the workhouse is the only resource. I entirely agree with Mr Hawkins that the care of poor lunatics requires more attention than has been bestowed on it....re nurses, agrees with her on the address. It contains very briefly all that need be said on such subjects; glad the Xtn knowledge

signed letter, JS to FN, ff174-75v, pen, 25/3/72 embossed WO paper {powers of local boards for sanitation} replies to her and HV's note as follows: re objects of clauses sd give power to local boards not only to examine and sanction plans as at present but to include in their sanction the internal sanitary arrs of the house: drainage, WCs, water supply etc. re existing houses, local bds have the officials

initialled letter, f176, pen {JS's reply in bold} [March 30/72]

f176

Green Serjt major

Netley A.H. Corps

wants to be a Clerk

in W.O.

Would you kindly enquire
how this can be done?

The man, I believe, is just the
right man for it

F.N.

[He married one of
our Crimean War

Nurses - a respectable

Dr. Sutherland woman]

**Mr. F. says that Green
should apply through
his commanding officer.**

**The A.M.D. would
probably be asked its March 30/72
opinion & a note
from you to Sir G. Logan
would secure that
every attention &
consideration was
given to the application. J.S.**

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff177-77v, pen, 8/5/72 {Mrs. Cox & soldiers' wives} embossed WO

initialled letter, JS to FN, with FN's comments, ff178-79, pen & pencil,
{JS's letter in bold} embossed WO paper 9/5/72

I have just had time to look through these papers, and as we shall have a meeting tomorrow I return them in order that you may have them at hand. I can have them again afterwards for other purposes.

This is what I think of both.

1. The methods at Vienna & Berlin are practically the same.
2. The Vienna Oath is a kind of university Oath & for what purpose or good it is administered one fails to see.
3. One misses the element of conscience both in the training & management. Or it may be ignorance or uncivilization,

f178v

anyway the manufacture is just what it is made.

4. I don't think it likely that the present systems can be improved much.

What they want is pulling down & rebuilding on another foundation.

5. Every one knows that a college of young men would go to wreck if conducted in this way, and (saving your presence) I fear a college of young women would fare rather worse than better.

6. Is it possible to build up a real training school in which you might have religion & conscience as a

f179

**basis on which to build sincerity,
seriousness of purpose &, of
life, education & skill?**

This is the question?

**If it cannot be answered
in the affirmative then either
of these Vienna, Berlin or
Paris systems is just as
good or as bad as any other.**

**This appears to be the
moral of the whole matter.**

J.S.

At least it is *less* easy to educate [8:57]
a woman out of a man than
a woman out of a woman
I therefore think women Physicians will
not come out of men Physicians
so likely as out of Accoucheuses
or Midwives.

initialled letter, ff180-81, pen [archivist: [Ld Lansdowne became
Under-Secretary for War] pale blue paper

f180

Most Private {archivist: [see Dr S. 10/6/72]}
& Confidential

35 South Street, May 9/72

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I have been asked to tell
Ld. Lansdowne (indirectly)
any thing I "should
"deem it desirable for
"him to know" about
the W.O. - (not 'Sanitary'
particularly.)

I was about to decline this,
as without seeing him &
seeing him frequently I
am quite sure I can
do no good. And I am
not at all prepared to

f180v

undertake this (Govt) coaching
again under any
circumstances - certainly
not under these.
Still it occurred to me
(particularly on seeing
Dr. Muir's arrival)
that I might be
reproach-able afterwards,
did I not use this
opportunity, with Ld
Lansdowne now -

f181

And if you had anything
(short) that you
wished me to write
(indirectly) to him,
I would do so--
F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff182-83v, pen, 11/5/72 {Change in plan of
work of the ASC} embossed WO

signed letter, ff184-87, pen & pencil pale blue paper [8:352]

f184

Berlin & Vienna Midwives' Cliniques
35 South Street, May 13/72
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I was at a loss to
understand your Critique
on these papers, till I
perceived 1. that you
had not read them
2. that you had forgotten
the purpose for which
they had been procured
& the previous corresponde
You say: "is it possible to
"build up a real training=
"school" with "religion &
"conscience as a basis" &c
&c "This is the question?"
This is *not* the "question" *at all*

f184v

You do not think that *I*
 should go to Austria &
 Prussia for "questions"
 of "religion & conscience"
 We had "religion & conscience"
 at K.C.H. under Miss Jones.
 And if I form a new
 Midwives' Training School,
 I shall be thankful if I
 obtain as much "religion &
 conscience" as she did.
 You do not think that *I*
 am trying to reform the
Vienna & Berlin Training

f185

Schools for Midwives on
 a "basis of religion & conscience"
 or on any "basis" -
 I should be only fit for a
 Lunatic Asylum if I did.
 And they never asked me
 They asked me to give
 them an organization for
 a Nurses' Training School
 And I did so.
 - & have been thanked.
 (& as Ida (née Mohl) is to take
 it in hand, I have some
 faint hopes -)
 {pencil} As to *Midwives' Training*: -
 {pen} *I asked, in accordance with*
what you & I settled
together, for information,
 merely for information, as to

f185v

the Berlin & Vienna *Midwives'*
training, in the form
of answers to *Questions*
prepared by you & me
together, to be
published in the 2nd Edit:
of my book - for us
or any to gain practical
knowledge from as to
the training necessary, if
we (or any) formed a School.
{pencil} These I sent you
{pen}2. The method at Berlin
appears to me slightly
better than that at Vienna.
But in this point I should
not venture to give an
opinion.

f186

-2-

But I cannot conceive
what you mean by
classing *Paris* with
Vienna & Berlin as to
training, since I have
your own letter on Miss
Blackwell's last January
3. I have not the least idea
of "improving the present
"systems" at Vienna & Berlin
- still less at Paris.

Is it likely?

N.B. I cannot conceive the
extent of deterioration
which, as Miss Blackwell

f186v

hinted, must have
taken place. Since
none, not even the
Paris School, *as they are*
could possibly produce
Midwives, such as we
know have existed at
Berlin & Vienna as
well as at Paris, quite
rivalling men, both
in skill, in theory & in {pencil} extent
of {pen} their ~~exter~~ practice.

This continues a mystery.

And it is rather awkward
for me after I have
said - no more than the truth
{pencil} as to German & French Accoucheuses

f187

- in my book - *then* to put
forward these miserable
abortions of Schools
at Vienna & Berlin
yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

{pencil} Please return this note to me
with your Answer.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff188-89v, pen, 13/5/72 embossed WO paper JS's answer to the above} on midwifery, re next edition. The answer is very simple. When a very large question like this has to be discussed in a brief note there will of course be difference of views as in this case....I was perfectly aware that the information was in reply to questions. And after reading it I arrived at the concl that for any purpose of a midwifery training school which you had in view, it had just as much value & no more than the value of similar information from the Hottentots or Caffres. The replies merely shew the amount of incivilisation ignorance, carelessness & worse that exists in the two German capitals. Of course I read the replies in the light of the information provided by the letters. And the greatest result is just what I stated or left to be inferred. I would not publish them without a very severe critique: on the absence of all moral purpose in the training (I think you might in your next edition make quite the use of the facts just as you would of similar facts at home, as illustrative of defects to be remedied. I do not think it would be so awkward for this. If you publish them s/o there are plenty of insts who will ...on them because they are German).

In you, they are useless. They do not even shew all that shd be avoided and still less do they shew what is necessary.

My point is this. You wish to establish if you can a good tr sch for midwives. An my part I have a very decided opinion as to what is wanted for this. What is wanted as a whole is neither in the Paris, Vienna nor Berlin method. Out of any of them you can draft women who wd be able to get drunk, play procuress & deliver most cases. But I apprehend that what is needed is not this. Of all professions moral rectitude is most wanted in this, & must be provided, for which it is not in either or all your correspondents show. This is what I mean. Paris is better because more civilized. As to the falling off of higher class midwives. This part is not the consequence but the key. In any of their systems a lady in the highest sense of the term wd come out a faithful midwife & to be trusted. The lady in this case make the midwife not the system. And what is wanted at least as it appears to me is that by the course I propose din my last, means shd be taken to convert ordinary material into good honest product. This is all. Of course I never dreamt of your waging war with all Germany for such a purpose. Only to learn of the enemy. May indignation has been very hot indeed ever since I read the papers, to think that human life shd be at the mercy of such people. J.S.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff190-90v, pen, 13/5/72 embossed WO paper {conditions at St. Thomas'} re Dr Stallard just here, has examined St T, pyemia so common occurs after minor operations, he says he thinks due to the difficulty or impossibility of managing & keeping clean so vast a place. and he does not conceal his view that it is ... w/o referring to this you might ask if they have had pyemia

initialled letter, JS to FN, f191, pen, 14/5/72 embossed WO paper {ventilation in hospitals} Stallard examined the ventilation and proposed that they shd appoint a committee to enquire into the whole subject. not seen the bldg

signed letter, JS to FN, ff192-93v, pen, 16/5/72 embossed WO paper {Dr Cornish's India report} I have just completed going over these abstract, and having read the reports I think them quite sufficient. Taking for granted that the figures are correct, I have nothing to suggest except one rather important addition. Re Cornish, ASC Angus Smith

initialled letter, JS reply to FN on her letter, ff194-95v, pen, see below JS in bold [FN only in lying-in] pale blue paper. JS: I quite understand your point. My reply was this. The only evidence we have as to midwifery instruction in Paris, Vienna, Berlin is in your possession. But it is certain that the kind of training given would not make out of any material an "empress" midwife nor a laChapelle. Whence came they? My reply is, not from the school, but from natural qualification & character. The school merely gives the elements to all alike: the future user depends on the character of the recipient. Of course the practical concl is that with moderate technical tr you may have a succession of first class lady midwives if you can get the highest material to train. The falling off I attribute solely to the falling off not of the inst but of the best material. I see nothing further you can get unless you could obtain from the "empress."

This is upside down on above

f195

Midwives' Cliniques

Please send the papers I have not seen. J.S. 35 South Street, May 16/72
Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I understood your 2nd note as little as I did the first. but I suppose that you wish to have the papers again (as you said you would) - now increased by the *Berlin* *Midwives' Manual* - which is come - also: by a *Vienna* lady's letter which I did not send you (Frau v. Littrow) in which she mentions the "Empress' Midwife",

f195

who sends a message
to me - & does not
approve of the Vienna
Midwives' Clinique -
Now what I want to know
is, where did *that*
"Empress Midwife" get
her education?

For she & a number
of high class Midwives,
like her whom we
know to exist on the
Continent, are just
the sort of women I mean,

f194v

whom I wish to exist here - (with improvements)
not these wretched Späth Midwives
Do you wish to see the
papers? {JS's reply begins f194 & continues below}

**conclusion is that with moderate
technical training you may have
a succession of first class lady
Midwives.**

**if you can get the higher
material to train. The falling
off abroad I attribute solely to the
falling off not of the instruction but
of the best material. I see nothing
further you can get unless you
could obtain from the "Empress"**

Please return me *this* note
**some account of how she was
trained. It may be some physician
accoucheur F.N. did it. France
has only produced 2. Lachapelle
& Boivin. England none.**

**Your proposed school intends to
improve existing average material & train it. Yours ever J.S.**

f194

16/5/72

Dear Miss Nightingale

I quite understand your point. My reply was this. The only evidence we have as to Midwifery instruction in Paris, Vienna, Berlin is in your possession. Now it is certain that the kind of training given would not make out of any material an "Empress" Midwife nor a la Chapelle. Whence came they? My reply is, not from the school, but from natural qualification & character. The School merely gives the elements to all alike:- the future user depends on the character of the recipient. Of course the practical [letter continues not transcribed]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff196-96v, pen, 18/5/72 {re Petition to abolish the use of the cat}

signed letter, Josephine Butler to FN, ff197-98v, pen, asking for her signature on a petition to abolish flogging in prisons, black-edged paper

copy of the petition, f199, printed

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff200-00v, pen, 18/5/72 embossed WO paper {the Bombay memorandum re drainage}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff201-01v, pen, 20/5/72 embossed WO paper {Calcutta works}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff202-03v, pen, 24/5/72 embossed WO paper {water supply at Bangalore}

note cross wise at top [FN poss?]

There is a fine statue of Sir B.F. in the exhibition & a half silly portrait of Sir J. MacNeil with a muff fox in its hand. Well painted however

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff204-05v, pen, 27/5/72 embossed WO paper
{hospital floors}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff206-07v, pen, 10/6/72 {Dr Farr's
amendment re death certificates; Hospital induced illness}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff208-09, pen, 12/6/72; embossed WO paper
{Indian water supply}

uninitialled letter, JS to FN, ff210-11, pen, 17/6/72 embossed WO paper
{school prizes; hospital space for patients}

uninitialled letter, JS to FN, ff212-13v, pen, 22/6/72 embossed WO paper
{land reform- freeholding in England}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff214-15v, pen, 24/6/72 embossed WO paper
{Angus' book on Sanitary measures}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff216-16v, pen, 25/6/72 {problems with a
cesspit near FN's house} Alleyn Park

signed letter, JS to FN, f217, pen, 26/6/72 embossed WO paper
{midwifery papers}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff218-19, pen, 26/6/72 embossed WO paper
{midwifery... will keep Frau v. Littrow's letter and the Lehrbuch with
the others in order to answer any points you may raise....returns
Shrimpton's letter with remark, he has judged rightly about the effect
of the book, and also as to the probably course which the question will
take. must work its way into public opinion before action is poss.

The Lehrbuch is so far as I can see good & simple, and poss out of it
the Berlin Hebammen book a brief manual mt come. In Austria a
subdivision in the medical profession. Acland some years ago wanted one
similar in England, so that a humble and less costly attendance mt be
available in country and other poor insts. but in England profession in
favour of 1 grade only.

These facts give the key to the Vienna practice, about helpers male
& female. Natural distinction in this country wd be midwives, general
practitioners, physician accoucheurs...empress's midwives. good textbook
needed.

embossed WO paper initialled letter, JS to FN, ff220-20v, pen, July 1/72
{causes of cholera} Secunderabad, a good letter, we have taken the same
view as he has. Cornish

signed letter, JS to FN, ff221-22, pen, 4/7/72 embossed WO paper
{various papers} Varrentrap here yesterday

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff223-23v, pen, 6/7/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr. Clark's arches; Highgate plans} Varrentrap

initialled letter, ff224-25v, pen & pencil
[12:211]

f224

PRIVATE

Pyæmia

St. Thomas' July 8/72

Mrs Wardroper & I have as I believe discovered the cause.

All the refuse of the Hospital, of all the Officers' houses, had been ever since the occupation conveyed to a dust-hole between *No. 7 Block* & the *Steward's* house & only emptied twice a week.

The 8(*first*) fatal cases of *Pyæmia* occurred in *No 7 Block* - & in no other.

A few weeks ago the *Steward* (not liking the smell) transferred the dust-hole to the *basement* under *No. 3 Block* & close under the windows of our Probationers' Home

f224v

& of Mrs. Wardroper

A fatal case of Pyaemia appeared immediately in No. 3 Block - & several cases of illness among the Probrs & next Mrs. Wardroper had an attack of illness exactly as if she had been poisoned - but on going out of town for 2 days entirely recovered.

No case of Pyaemia has appeared in No. 7 block since the dust hole was removed from there -

All this time no one, neither Doctor nor Officer, made the least enquiry or remonstrance - tho' the smells have been appalling

f225

And it has remained for 2 women (one a sick woman in her bed $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour's distance off) to make the enquiry to ascertain the nuisance to investigate the dates to make the remonstrance

The dust hole is now to be removed to the ground beyond the Medical School

It seems that neither Architect, Builder nor Treasurer ever thought of where the refuse (including poultices!) of between 500 & 600 sick & surgical & ~~between~~/about 200 ~~& 300~~ well people was to be put - & that it was left to an ignorant old Steward to appropriate any *Basement* he liked to the purpose!

In the whole course of my experience I never heard of such a case - beastly, barbarous wretches!

f225v*Floors*

There is still a great difficulty -
No one to look [pencil begins] after it but Mrs. Wardrr & me

The bees-waxing ought to be removed (this can
only be done by men) every 3 weeks, Mrs. W. thinks,

It is often done not once in 3 months
In the Infectious block - it came off
quite *black* upon the women's clothes -
not having been renewed for 3 months
The wet & dry rubbing is now done (this is
done by the women) according to my
instructions -

But - it takes off the polish - what polish
there is - at once - ~~men~~

[N.B. The floors ought to be varnished -]

Please return me *this*

with any comments

[end 12:211]

F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff226-27v, pen, 8/7/72 embossed WO paper
{JS's response to the preceding}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff228-29v, pen, 15/7/72 embossed WO paper
{Dr Haller's pamphlet: ventilation in hospitals; midwifery papers}

initialled note, JS to FN, f230, pen, 18/7/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr Plowden's abstracts}

uninitialled note, JS to FN, f231, pen, 19/7/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr. Bracebridge's death, seems but yesterday he and I rode together to visit
the spot of Polycarp's martyrdom}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff232-33v, pen, 19/7/72 embossed WO paper
{discussion with Mr Clark about India, came here from you}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff234-35, pen, 24/7/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr. Oldham's letter re fevers}

uninitialled letter, JS to FN, ff236-37v, pen, 27/7/72 embossed WO paper
{books for a school; Stanley finding Livingstone; admiration for Lee, an
American, the first to enter Paris after the Franco-Prussian War}
note added cross-wise at top [poss FN]

If they consult
either Miss
Blackwell or
Mrs. Anderson
they might
ask them about
Books. Miss B.
has written one
herself.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff238-39v, pen, 2/8/72 embossed WO paper
{anniversary of Sidney Herbert's death; Arthur Arnold & fallen women; JS
remembers the day, FN at Miss Mayo's house. epoch. If Sidney Herbert had
lived, there is every possibility that the political face of Europe would not
have been what it is.

"The word of power" went with him. Our quiet work however has gone on. Who
would then have thought that the army mortality if India wd have been so low?
We must, however....

Arthur Arnold's [?] letter correct. Many women are fallen when they marry
and they continue so after. Many also fall after marriage and continue so
because they are so very poor....ex of gent being stopped at Chatham...she
was married w/o leave, her husband ordered to another station and she cd not
follow until had means. He paid her railway fare.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff240-41v, pen, 5/8/72 embossed WO paper
{Hewlett & health work in India}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff242-43v, pen, 16/8/72 embossed WO paper
{carbonic acid test for air purity}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff244-44v, pen & pencil embossed WO paper
{JS's letter in bold}

f244 {archivist: See Memorandum of Army S.C. 10.8.72 on Dr Macnamara's
/analysis of potable waters!} on embossed WO

22/8/72

Dear Miss Nightingale

Perhaps you may
like to see this. I did not
intend to print it, but at
the meeting of the Com=
mission they considered
that it ought to be printed.

However it is of more
importance that Sir. W.
Baker & Sir R. Montgomery
the ex-governors of the Punjaub
have promised to press
the question both here &
in India. It is an
abominable exposure, but

f244v

**from the few facts out of many
which I have introduced**

**I hope you will not think
the case too hardly pressed
ten years after your own
attack on the Indian water**

pipes. [FN: The truth of it so fully acknowledged then

[JS pen] *And nothing done*

Your ever most faithfully

J.S.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff245-49v, pen, 31/8/72
{St. Thomas hospital} embossed WO paper

signed letter, JS to FN, ff250-52v, pen, 4/9/72 embossed WO paper
{death of Miss Verney; drainage & ventilation problems}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff253-54v, pen, 5/9/72 {Institutes for soldiers}
embossed WO paper

signed letter, JS to FN, ff255-56v, pen, 7 Sept/72 embossed WO paper
{Balfour & recruiting}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff257-58v, pen, 9/9/72 embossed WO paper
{Mr. Plowden, Mr. Wylie, Sir J. McNeill, Berlin trilogy, peace when
no...sketches out, hierarchy [same as FN's] for answer to Wylie. re MacNeil,
what a nice fatherly letter from. By all means get his remarks on the book
(lying-in) he is always sagacious

initialled letter, JS to FN, f259, pen, 12/9/72 embossed WO paper
{advice not to have anything to do with a society}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff260-61v, pen, 24/9/72 embossed WO paper
{letters from Cunningham & Hewlett} [Cunningham?]

signed letter, JS to FN, ff262-65v, pen, 25/9/72 embossed WO paper
{financial problems in India}

initialled letter, f266, pencil

f266

Proposed Russia Accoucheuses' School Sept 25/72

Dear Dr. Sutherland

This is the *very first* proposal

I have seen which aimed at *anything*

but (on the one side)

- training an ignorant Midwife to know

nothing

or (on the other)

grabbing at purely *Male* Medical

knowledge for *women* - making

women into Medical *Men*

I shall write at once to claim the

promised information -

Tell me if you wish for any particular
questions asked.

Yrs m. affectly

Please return *this* -

F.N.

signed letter in German from St Petersburg, ff267-74, pen, stylized 10 July 1872 Befehl an das Kriegsministerium, Befehl of Kaiser, re medical St Petersburg 10 Juli 1872

signed letter, JS to FN, ff275-76v, pen, 26/9/72 embossed WO paper {invitation to Embley, response to Russian letter}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff277-78v, pen, 27/9/72 {married quarters plans} embossed WO paper

signed letter, JS to FN, ff279-80v, pen, 30/9/72 embossed WO paper {Mr Clarke; Mr. Chadwick's letter; the Herbert Hospital; Galton grates for school room}

unsigned letter, ff281-82v, pencil, poss not FN hand,

f281

On dit after govt have
bought the telegraph for
so many millions it was
discovered that in many
cases the Companies to
whom they paid the money
had only leases from the
Railway who had put
up the apparatus, & hence
4 ½ Millions more must
be paid. This is so much
more than is the "Alabama"
that somebody should be made
a duke instead of a Marquis
On dit that Scudamore
is to be made good for the whole
& to be dismissed !!!!! & a

f281v

Shall I answer them -
& what?

JS: *No hurry*

F.N.

incomplete note, f282, blue pencil

f282 {archivist: [ca Sept 1872]} blue pencil

to whom so remarkable a portion of this little book
is due

with the earnest request & hope that he will

begin with the first word he reads - to note
on the margins - the omissions to be supplied -

the additions to be added

& that, having contributed so much valuable information

he will afford you more - for a future (& it is
is to be hoped) better Edition

{archivist: Dedication to Dr Sutherland of
Notes on Lying in Institutions
answer from Dr S. 11/10/71}

Add Mss 45757, microfilm, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland, 1872-74, 297 folios, 102 pages, Adam Matthew reel 9

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff1-2v, pen {arch: [See Mr. Clark 1.10.72]} embossed. Letter requires a reply. JS told W Clark that an engineer shd deal with every separate town just as a doctor deals with every separate patient. He must apply the prs of his art to his case. . W Clark shd have told FN facts about these sewers he saw, now has. He holds by a pr not by an applic. Like Metro san com of Chadwick, arrived at their views about sewers. London was sewerred by great sewers; they had these sewers gauged after heavy rains and then they calculated what size of drain pipe wd carry away the sewage and they found that quite small tubes wd do, and then they laid down the same pr as of universal appl. Clark's case quite different from London

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff3-4, pen {report on Public Health issues in India, arch: [About 3.10.72 See Mr. Plowden's letter 2.10.72]} embossed, has JS corrections for FN

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff5-5v, pen {arch: [W. Clark, Calcutta drainage]} 4/10/72 embossed

signed letter, JS to Lord N, ff6-7, pen {W. Clark, Calcutta drainage} 4/10/72, FN and Clark and drainage work

note, f9v-8, pencil

f9v

I send you this letter from Sir
Bartle Frere *in the strictest
confidence* -

As I am to see him &/and see
him early this week
please to make no use whatever
of the enclosed till you
hear from me again -
Return me the letter with your
comments. I will send
for it at 3 o'clock.

{JS's postscript in bold}

**P.S. I should say about Hewlett
that the duties of officer of Health as
we understand them cannot be
fully laid down not their cost**

Oct 7/72 **estimated until Bombay is
drained & that at present
any arrangement must be temporary**

{written the other way round at the top of the page}

X

E.g. I have heard one of the present Cabinet
say repeatedly that an Army wanted nothing
but 'drill' to make it a perfect instrument of

War. This of course is as if you were to call

f8 {this is written in pencil in the top margin of JS's letter, f8} 4/10/72

A man perfectly educated who cd say his
letters but not read words or sentences
Is not the present Civil Examn & other such
theories of Govt much the same

initialled letter, ff10-10v, JS to FN, pen Oct 8/72 {hospitals & drainage}
8/10/72. I know about this hosp qu. The medical opinion is I believe against
it as being a bad hosp. If you write I shd simply say that the character of
a hosp has greatly to do with the result of cases apart from drainage, that
if this hosp is considered not to be of good plan and constr by the
profession, it wd be better to let them take their own way with it, but that
whether th present hosp be used or a new one, in either case the site shd be
effectually drained. You see he is going to work out the subsoil problems
which will be of great use. There is nothing more to say to him. We must wait
for his further reports.

initialled note, f11-11v, FN to JS, pencil

f11 {JS's response in bold}

Mr. Plowden's Report

[See Indian Sanitary Blue Book / 72 Oct 9/72
page 48 & 49]

I enclose the Draft &

Mr. Plowden's letter

You see what he asks us to do -

Sir B.F has also asked it
more than once -

Tho' I have really not one moment
of strength to spare, I should like,
(as they are in trouble,-)

to do as they ask

if you think proper & will
write something for me to recast

If not, not.

**Put in the words "for distribution"
in your pencil foot note p. 45.**

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

**When you told me this before it was in
a somewhat different form. I understood that
you were expected to write some such paper
as you wrote two years ago. There was
room for it then - there is none now, simply
because it has been said once for all on the**

f11v

status in quo, which has in no sense altered. I said I believe that the subject was in transition. i.e. as a whole in India. Details have now to be dealt with and these details are just beginning to develop themselves. . .

signed letter, JS to FN, ff12-13, pen Oct 10/72 embossed
{Lourdes pilgrimage, improvement in public health in India}. Don't you know how many parishes and others in India there are, even popish sanitarians. What will they say to this onslaught on the beautiful Lourdes pilgrimage wh even I have made. I declined carrying a candle and when I was reproached thereat I rubbed the end of my nose, what was blotch in order to satisfy the lady who offered me the candle, and I am sorry to say it has been worse ever since. I won't go to Lourdes again, but please don't be personal to me. Besides, it is good for the health of these poor people to go into so beautiful a country and to drink pure water. I hope besides that I am an "educated public man." I wd leave out this passage. If you wish a contrast it wd be better simply to say that "the old helpless days of the old Indians" had nearly gone, great discovery had been made in India that the diseases of which so many of these "old Indians" had unfortunately died were to a large extent mitigable or preventible. Dr Frazer had also

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff14-15, pen Oct 12/72 embossed
{arch: Farr's report, "Statistical pic-nics Col Tullock's report on the Water supply of Bombay}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff16-17, pen Oct 14/72 {arch: Tullock & Bombay Water supply} embossed

initialled note, f18, JS to FN, pen Oct 16/72 embossed

signed note, W. Muir to JS, ff19-19v, pen {arch: See Dr. Sutherland's letter of 16/10/72}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff20-21, pen Oct 29/72 embossed
{arch: Letter from Dr. Cunningham Cholera Commission Sir B. Frere sent to Zanzibar to negociate suppression of slave trade}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff22-23, pen 2 Nov/72 {arch: Mr Chadwick's paper & the Princess Royal, Fozzo & his paper} embossed. This is a very good paper of C's. It states the case very well and requires no improvement. If you do what he asks about the P.R. (Who has written a capital letter, just the thing) you might say that he had showed you the paper which contained a very interesting disc on the general principles of city and house drainage and appl of town sewerage to aquaculture and that to all appearance they wd be as applicable at Berlin as at Hamburg unless the climate be much more severe at the former.

I would say however that, as she will see, drainage and water supply are only means to an end, and that end is to enable healthy dwellings to be provided, that they will not reverse the disease causes incident to overcrowding, want of fresh air, dirty houses and dirty habits, but that when works of drainage and water supply are carried out the way is at once prepared for improving the people and their dwellings, while at the same time typhoid and other fevers are directly diminished by drainage works.

Thank Fozzo for his paper by all means. He is a man of common sense. As far as I know he is the only one at least on this subject except myself and you who are not a man, and perhaps Chadwick and Rawlinson.

However we had a fling at these cattle plagues as you will see in the India O. Blue book when it is out.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff24-24v, pen {arch: [re Herbert Hospital Woolwich] [2/11/72]} I send the whole back. This as you will see has all come of not having a complete staff. One for linen and one for sick won't do to have all these fine quarters which were built for a complete staff for 650 sick.

It seems to me that unless you are prepared to back up the two women as representing a staff you must either let them go or you must provide a staff complete. This appears to me to be your position. How then to do this. Cd you write out a statement of what was the original intention and what you wd proposed (250 sick incl venereal) address it to Sir Harry in reply to his letter and let him forward it to Mr Cardwell. As the matter of nurses rests with the DG

signed letter, JS to FN, f25, pen {arch: The India office book - acknowledgment for game} embossed

initialled letter, ff26-27v, pencil

f26

Prince Alfred's Hospital Nov 7/72

[16:744]

Sydney

I return the whole packet

in case you wish to make
some further addition -

You will see, if you look at
"Details of Ward Pavilions" -
that there is some misunderstanding
in your (5) and (6)

Only g - is meant for a "small Ward"
[d e f are quite necessary for

their respective purposes -]
But Mr. Roberts has a mania
for small wards for all that -
He wishes "*the broad part A*"
to contain *on the first floor*
an *operating Theatre & 4*
small (single bedded) wards
for minor operations

f26v

please say what you think of
this -

His *cottage block H.I.* with
2 (single bad) wards &
Sister's Room

for capital operations
no power on earth will
turn him from -

(and as the difficulty of
administration is altered by
the fact of their having so few
capital operation,

I have not tried -)

Say what is necessary & healthy
as to sink, scullery, W.C. for
this cottage block -

[He wished to consult Capt.

Galton as to *cottage temporary*
Sections in general - he
thinks *THIS cottage might be TEMPORARY*]

f27

I propose
 if they at the Surveyor's Dept
 will have the goodness to
 make a *copy*
 of the RED plan
 (only the red plan - I will
 not re-open the question of the
 others)
 & of the 2 *foolscap sheets*
 to send back
 by next Australian post
 all his plans & papers
 to Mr. Roberts of Sydney
 with your remarks
 retaining the copies to
 obtain the farther information
 he desires -

f27v

This will enable him to
 send us back (in 4 months)
 more detailed plans which
 as you justly say, are necessary
 for us to give him the
 real advice he wants

Also, please say whether
 you approve of the *bow-window*
 he has drawn *at the end*
of Ward a a (red plan)

F.N.

I will gladly pay for the copies, I need
 not say **[end]**
 Dr. Sutherland

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff28-29v, pen Nov 6/8 1872 {arch: Indian Sanitary Blue Book} embossed. As you have asked me to state my opinion about the passage in your addition to the IO report, I must say that the part of it which I have marked with + + in pencil does not represent the feelings of any one of our investigators of cholera or epidemics. They wd all on sc grounds declare against it. In sc we only know what we know. What we are totally ignorant of is the final cause of pestilence: what we are seeking and just getting a spark of light here and there about are secondary causes. It is odd but true, that we know more about these because we know less. I shd certainly say "leave us to ourselves and to the silences just at present." The remark about the pilgrimages becomes also out of place. If you will first read the whole over with the obnoxious passage and then wo it, you will see how strong a case it injures. *I wd advise its being left out.* Perhaps next year we may know more about secondary causes. (By the by the tribunals did not condemn the "virgin fetish" they declared *the witness* to be an impostor.)

I have strengthened the reference to Dr Frazer. By a word of p 49 I have brought your remarks into closer corr with Acland's but he only looks at the sc points in the report wh bear out what he says. His testimony to the efficiency of our work in India (incl your corr from the very beginning) must be illeg humiliating to the Privy Council people, but true. India will eventually supply England with trained officers.

I have read over our reports at the end. I have not had time to correct everything but they are shockingly incorrectly put up. You might say to Plowdon that if he will look a these papers he will see the need of correcting them, you will find a footnote ...

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff30-31, pen Nov 12/72 {quarters for nurses at Netley?} embossed. They say the quarters are too good for the wee staff but good enough for the cadets. Suggests small com to deal with question. Nurses and linenry

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff32-32v, pen Nov 18/72 {various projects in hand}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, f33, pen Nov 19/72 {more about nurses' quarters at Netley} nurses and cadets

initialled letter, ff34-35, pencil

f34

Mr. Roberts Embley
P. Alfred's Hospl Romsey [16:745]
Dr. Sutherland 19/11/72
Would you kindly look at the
enclosed, & return it to me
with your *remarks* -
I will then forward it to Capt.
Galton - who now has the plans.
Even if I fully admitted ~~his~~/ Mr. Robert's
principle, I do not like
this adaptation -
It is surely monstrous, when
or though the hypothesis is that
neither patient is able
to leave his or her bed - that the

f34v

only ingress to the Scullery
for emptying slops
- warming food & drink
- & for all appliances
is *through* the Patient's ward -
As ~~he~~/ Mr. Roberts expressly told me
that the 2 wards
would generally be for
different sexes - it is
still more monstrous -
so that there is actually a
Common W.C. or sink & common
Scullery by entrances
uncommanded by the Sister's
room to the two sexes -

f35

[I have never seen this in any. the worst Hospital I have ever known -]

so that an ill-conditioned Australian bush-ranger might actually *if he chose* to risk himself reach the woman's ward or meet her in the Scullery -

Such things ought to be ~~of~~ impossible in construction -
2. Also - the Sister's room ought to *look into* both wards -
Please return *these* remarks
F.N.

[end]

initialled note, f36, pencil red

f36

Could you get this properly settled if not already done?
This is the *fourth* letter I have sent you since I left London -
2 through Mr. H. Bonham Carter
2 direct to you -
F.N.
20/11/72
Dr. Sutherland

signed letter to FN with underlinings by FN, ff37-37v, pen [faint]

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff38-38v, pen Nov 21/72 embossed. Re quarters

signed letter, JS to FN, ff39-40, pen Nov 22/72 embossed. I have read your letter and burnt it as you desired. I of course knew something about the lady's characteristics, but after what you have told me (inviolable) you have exercised a most wise discretion in keeping her out of it. I have also read your letter to the D.G. and agree in it. There are several reasons which induced me to ask you to write, which I cannot state in writing. If he agrees he will put the matter in train....Lady V invited us to spend a day or two at Claydon, going this aft

note written at the end of a letter, f41, pencil

letter to FN from Margaret Pennington, 17 Hyde Park Terrace Nov 22 p 1872] re Mrs Butler recently wrote to the secy of Committee for the Repeal of the CDA that she had recd from her a letter with passage: "That the law should put the power of compulsory examination even in prison in the hands of any is monstrous" As your influence is so great we are very anxious to make use of this extract in The Shield as showing that you are still as heavily opposed to the acts as ever. Will you allow us to make use of it. Still a hard battle before us. FN note on:

f42

Dr. Sutherland 24/11/72

Please say -

It was you who approved
this sentiment

But "lately" is not the word

signed letter, JS to FN, ff43-44, pen {arch: Mrs. Pennington's letter of 22.11.72 re C.D. Acts, Mrs. S. Stewart & Herbert Hospital cadets} I would not advise you to comply with Mrs Pennington's note. All this is past. You cd safely say that your opinion remains unchanged, but that from your peculiar position you find that you must keep clear of controversies. Say also that at the proper time you mt be more useful by taking other steps than by complying with her desire.

Mrs S.S.'s letter is more hopeful. You see she thinks the cadets are temporary tenants. Sir Harry has the same impression from what he heard at the W.O.

advises not to comply with Pennington note, All this is past, she cd safely say that her opinion remains unchanged, but from peculiar position must keep clear of controversy. Say also that at the proper time you might be more useful by taking other steps than by complying with her desire.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff45-46, pen Nov 28/72 {arch: Crawford Municipal Commission Hewlett's paper} embossed.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff47-48, pen {arch: Hewlett, Sir John McNeill's letter, Indian Sanitary work. "I.C s"?} embossed

initialled note, JS to FN, f49, pen Dec 20/72, blue paper, embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, f50, pen 23 (?) {arch: See D. Cunningham 28.11.72} blue, embossed.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff51-52v, pen Dec 27/72 {Indian Sanitary reports} blue, embossed. Thanks for offer of Cornish. Madras jails. Lessons learned in. That you are not quite satisfied with the cholera part of the report That the existence of "contagion" a London invention, is taken for granted as a product of India and that there is laid on the supposed transport of this "germ"?? As a cause of cholera while the notorious local causes which of themselves would but for the mercy of providence cut them all

off in India are very little dwelt on. The evidence in these reports is when properly looked at gradually undermining the importation doctrine. That you have just seen a letter from an officer (Cunningham) engaged in a cholera enquiry regarding the last epidemic in wh he says that the facts are quite irreconcilable with any contagion hypothesis. Then you may conclude, it will be enough and it hits all the. C's letter to you is helpful.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff53-53v, pen Dec 28/72 {arch: re Aden Water Supply Mrs. Mr? Cox's letter}. Chadwick?

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff54-54v, pen {midwifery} black-edged. I return Mrs S. Stewart. What she says amounts to this. 1. Women make as good midwifery attendants as men except in special cases in wh superior strength may be required (this we knew). 2 If you admit ladies to be accoucheuses, you will under our existing civilization have a race so weak that male accoucheurs would still be reqd for special cases (we mt accept this). 3 You will never get lady doctors to become lady midwives to do the work of ordinary midwives. They wd pass over the "menial" parts of duty to midwifery nurses so that instead of 2 orders in the hierarchy you wd have three, viz. Midwifery nurse as basis, lady midwife a column, doctor as capital, to deliver in cases req strength. Hence her argument is against your proposal that lady doctors shd become accoucheuses.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff55-56v, pen Dec 31/72 {St. Petersburg School for Midwives arch: [Referred to by FN in her letter to Dr. S. June 9 1873]} The stats are very interesting and so far as I can see they provide better than any other method I have heard of for training women. The proposal is however very wisely made experimental. Its execution is peculiar, but still in entire accordance with Russian admin work. The emp addresses his order to the war min, who in his turn addresses the illeg of academie, a sum of £8000 Is set aside for prelim expenses. The supce of the dept is under an officer who corresponds to our DG and also under a female insp. The regs carefully lady down the pr that the female students are to be dealt with precisely as the male students are, neither more nor less, they are to be taught in all the preliminary sc branches and are instructed sp (lots more)thoroughness. Quite different from FN's proposal, adapted to Russia. It does not mean Miss Jex Blake or Miss Blackwell. It does not propose to form mere midwives, still less female physicians too haughty to soil their fingers. It means as I have said English practs of the old school. These Russ women wd be called into courts of justice to give evidence in cases of female jurisprudence, they wd make up medicines and visit women and ch in illness, besides following midwif practice. It is taken for granted that they wd be robust enough to stand a Russ winter and strong enough to for any emergency....staff of professors.

Much sense in Dr Arneth's letter as bearing on the practical issues of the whole movement.

initialled letter, f57, faint pencil

f57

Proof (enclosed) (see back) 35 South St. W
Jan 2/73

Could you kindly look over this
& make an suggestions
for alteration, omission, or
addition that you think
well? as soon as convenient?

[If you approve note at
bottom of last page but one,
perhaps it ought to go in
text - AS there is not room
for it at bottom of page]

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland Many thanks
for St. Petersburg
criticism
(midwives)

initialled letter, f58-59, faint pencil [8:358]

f58

Queen Charlotte's Hospital
35 South St.
Jan 24/73

It is singularly unfortunate, I think
that the answer shd have
been put off so long -

I have only just received the
enclosed from Hy B.C. -
& think it better to forward
the whole to you -

Certainly it seems as if the W.C.s
were different from those
in the plan of Q.C.'s in my
"Notes" - & outside the wall

In their printed paper wh I enclose
you will see that they carefully

f58v

omit "Mortality" -
But since the reconstruction,
some of the highest Mortalities
81. 2, 70 . 3, 54 - 2.
have been recorded
see p 40 of my "Notes"
i.e. since "1857, when the New
Hospital as built" -
see their printed paper)
That is, I have given tho' incidentally as one
reason a reason wh no
longer exists - & still the
high mortality exists
They had better have let it
alone -

f59

Please return the whole
to me
with your suggestions
F.N.

[end 8:358]

{f60 blank}

note, f60v-61, faint pencil

f60v

Basket lined with zinc 1½ inch
 Book Charcoal 2 or 3 or 4
 {sketch} filled up with inch
 Silver Sand
 Moss on top

{The following is written diagonally at the bottom of the page}

Slippers - urinals - bedpans

Glass Urinals for fractured femur

leaving Bread & Butter in Locker

Vestiary for out of door things

{Pegs for Vestiary in Lavatory with Curtains {1½ ft
 no shoes
 { [illeg]

Shoots never used: zinc boxes or baskets with key

No closet linen, basket with lid in her private

Open spittoons W.C.

Lockers

Pinned Counterpanes

initialled letter, f62, faint pencil

f62 {arch: [See Mrs. Senior's letter Jan 24. 1873]}

Mrs. Senior

___ sister of Tom Hughes (Tom Brown)

most efficient worker at St.

___ Martin's Pl: with Emily Verney

also: with Octavia Hill & Emily

___ Verney at Lodging Houses

also: at Boarding Out Workh

Orphans

Can we help her?

I am very glad she has this to do -

25/1/73 F.N.

{JS's reply follows ff62v-63}

unsigned note, f64, pencil

f64 {this is written at the top of a note about the Indian Blue Book }

Could you kindly enable
me to answer this? 13/2/73
Dr. Sutherland

signed letter, ff65-67, pencil

f65

Miss Lees' M.S. 35 South St.
(to be *published*) W.
19/2/73

[12:248-49]

Dear Dr. Sutherland
Could you kindly look
over this sketch?
[She wants to publish it]
It seems to me so very little
to represent her real
knowledge, capacity, experience
& I may say Hospital genius.
In a single conversation,
she gives me more idea of
what she knows than
in all this -
If it is intended for a Manual

f65v

for Training Sisters to train
others, nothing can be
more wanted, nothing could
be more useful - no one
could do it better than she -
I would take 50 copies of
her at once -
But I ask myself: What
could our very worst
Sister learn from this?
Nothing -
And the great subjects
in wh: our very best Sisters
are deficient, such as
training Probationers to

f66

observe symptoms, progress
of diseases, to take
notes of Cases, & generally,
to be able to give "the
Doctor" an accurate &
intelligent account of
what has happened to every
case in the Ward since
he last saw it -

of these things Miss Lees
takes only the barest notice
Then, she betrays such a want
of experience of *English*
Hospitals that English nurses

f66v

will be always taking her
up sharp -

Of course I could say a
great deal more -

If you will be so very
kind as to look through
the M.S.

& make your remarks on
a separate paper -

criticizing every thing -
also: title page & Dedication,

I will send for it at 12
to-morrow - But if

f67

-2-

you would kindly give it
 a longer time, I would
 let you have it till *tomorrow*
 night
 It is more worth having your
 criticisms than any hurry -
 Miss Lees comes to me to-morrow-
 But she wishes to come again
 on Friday for a final word
 I told her she ought to have let
 me have it a week beforehand
 to give an Yrs ffully
 opinion of any
 value F. Nightingale

[end 12:249]

{ff67v-68v JS's reply}

initialled note, JS to FN, f69, pen {arch: re Miss Lees Manual (with her letter Feb 12 1873) embossed. If you accept ded, shd contain no word whi in any way connects you with Miss Lees's views.

signed letter with pencilled notes & underlinings by FN, JS to FN, ff70-72v, pen. embossed. Dr Muir's, you give deaths wh he does not. Greenway's proposal for dividing hosp wards into glass rooms

f70 {FN's notes in bold; underlinings are hers}

10/3/73

Dear Miss Nightingale

The passage in
 inverted commas in my
 paper was copied by me
 from Dr. Muir's. *You give*
He *deaths which he does not.*
gives anyway the facts are
2. most lamentable. They came
 up in this way. We had
 Mr. Greenway's proposal for
 dividing hospital wards into
 glass rooms before us, &
 he himself was present. His
 object is to prevent hospital
 diseases altogether, and
 Dr. Muir had the statement

f70v

about *St. Thomas'* {written in the top margin with a line to here} **It refers to St. T's at Surrey Gardens** with him.

Mr. Greenway had been over **new** *St. Thomas'* and considered it a confirmation of his case.

Of the two statements I should take yours. But what has pressed itself so strongly on my mind ~~was~~/is that I called forth from Dr. Muir a statement at the committee that a case of pyaemia in an army hospital would stand as a charge against the Medical officer as it undoubtedly ought.

If I as a surgeon was

f71

satisfied that my patients died of hospital diseases because of the hospital, no power on earth would compel me to have anything to do with it.

initialled letter, JS to FN, f72, pen

f72 {written in the top margin}

Please return

with remarks

to F.N.

{letter follows}

{at the bottom of the page}

x 7 Deaths

note, JS to FN, with underlinings & comments by FN, f72, pen

ff73-74 JS to FN, with FN's pencilled comments in bold; underlinings hers

Please HG 15/3/73

return to

FN

Dear Miss Nightingale

[12:255-57]

It is evident that Dr. Muir not having been acquainted with facts from recent return from India has not separated the cases due to the old & new hospitals.

I suppose we should take either November or December 1871 as due to the new building & all preceding these months as due to Surrey Gdn

If so the case would stand thus
Erysipelas Case ~~11leg~~ 21.x 23. New St. Thos

Case 23 is Curries Servant Hospital

Pyæmia, Case 5. appears to be the same case as No 23 (*erysipelas*)

only that the date of death

9th August is before the opening of New St. Thomas?

The dates of all the other cases are anterior to the New St. Thomas".

Tetanus, All the cases anterior to the New St. Thomas.

To me these facts appear to throw

x i.e. on the assumption that the 6 last cases took place in Oct. Nov & Dec 1871

f73v

grave doubts on former statements

Why? It appears as if the years Pyæmia & Erysipelas cases had been all lumped together & credited to New St. Thomas'

I do not see any way out of this mess, except by a careful analysis of the Erysipelas table at the Hospital - The dates of the cases are not given in this piecemeal report -

One scarcely dare think that there has been falsification of the returns.

Their 1872 *returns* ought by this time to be ready. Could you get a copy?

Or what would be far better could you get a return of all cases of Erysipelas, pyæmia & **If I can, it can only be in private**

f74

tetanus which have taken place within the new hospital. To be complete the table should be like the Pyæmia table in this report. It should give besides the *dates*, **all these I sent you (as to Pyæmia), the injury or disease operation, date of attack** x just as these are in the Pyæmia & tetanus table. Query *why were the dates* not entered on the Erysipelas table? **Because they are all for August.**

You will see that at present there are no accurate statistical data on which to found proceedings.

It will be better to wait **Why?** until we know exactly what are the facts *before going down to look at the hospital*. Last year I asked for information of this kind & about the *affected beds*, but I never got it. **I sent it all except the no-of "beds affected" impossible to get**

f74v**impossible to get**

As soon as we have data to warrant an examination I should ask you to let me have your *remarks* {There is an arrow from here to the following paragraph}

It would take me some hours to copy out my Notes in the most abbreviated form. I could not do this but for a definite good - I cannot see why you should delay your "Examination"

about management **They are not all about management** & then we

Some are about construction could see *what is to be done.*

Why put it off?

Yours ever faithfully

J. Sutherland

Dr. Sutherland {written across the foregoing paragraph red pencil}

I will try to get the above thro

Mr. Croft our new Medical

Instructor & my new friend

But it can only be by degrees

& only in private

**Why "wait" before going down to [blue pencil]
"look at the Hospital" till you "get"
this?**

initialled letter, embossed JS to FN, ff75-76, pen {arch: Dr Farr's report, Cholera} 15/3/73

f75 When I was younger than I am I promised to look through the last report of the Reg Gen & tell you what I thought of it. I have done so, and I can safely say that it is one of the most important for practical purposes which has yet been issued. It will be most useful for reference on many questions.

I wish Farr's pathology were as good as his stats. If you will turn to p 403 3rd pr you will find him reiterating again Dr Snow's fallacy about the destructib[ilit]y of the "propagating fluid of cholera." All this is long since past & is considerably laughed it. In the last report of Dr Cuningham you will see that cholera excreta have the same power in causing death as non-choleraic excreta, and that to ensure death with either there must be putrefaction. The very latest pathology from India denies in toto that there is any specific disease in cholera, that in short it is only a phase--with intermittent, remittent, and continued fever of certain lesions of the gt. Lymphathetic nerve and that the diseases pass into each other in India before all which are open. [so, in 1873 still a continuation]

initialled letter, ff77-79, pencil [12:257-58]

f77

St. Thomas' Report 17/3/73

Please

return to

F.N.

sorry for the trouble to you & myself - in sending back this once more -

I tried to explain that, altho' the "Report" seems intended to mystify, the whole of the cases of Erysipelas

Pyæmia

Tetanus

appear to have been *previous*

to the move from the old

Surrey Gardens *in August*

(in September there were already

beds occupied in the *new*

Hospital - *in October it was*

nearly full)

f77v

-where do you find

"Oct Nov - & Dec 1871" "as

"due to the new Building"

in these Lists? -

The *last* case "23" in "Erysipelas"

is obviously the same as

Case 5. in "Pyæmia".

wh:, it is expressly stated

died on Aug 9 - 1871

["Curry's servant was ~~am~~putated

of breast in Alexander Ward

some time in 1872 (*new*

building) -

I sent you the dates]

{In JS' hand, in bold}

P.S. Suppose we went now to

examine, we should have to go

back when we get the statistics

Better wait till you get what you can

& then we must make the best of it. J.S.

f78

Why do you make the
 "assumption" that the
 "6 last cases" of Erysipelas
 "took place in" "Oct. Nov. Dec. 1871"?

Please say

[Even supposing it to be done
 by mere rule of thumb,

Medical beds occupied

in Surrey G.	74
in new Building	____186

Surgical in Surrey G. 116

" *in new Building* 280

Total Beds occupied in Surrey G 190

" " " _____ in new build: 466

If you have done it by an
 average you see that there
 can be none -

but the fact is, these Lists for
 "year 1871" are only till August -

f77v {JS' reply}

f79

	Cases	1871	Fatal	
Erysipelas	23		5	But the Report calls Fatal Cases 3. because 2 were "cured" of "Erysipelas", to die of Pyæmia
Pyæmia	7		7	(including the above)
Tetanus	5		3	

[end 12:257]

initialled letter, f80, pencil

f80

Dr. Acland March 26/73

Immediate

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Please help us

Bearer will wait

F.N.

{JS' reply follows, ff80-81v}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff82-85, pen March 29/73 {arch: re St T. Hospital} 29/3/73 embossed. I met Sir Harry & Mr Carter at 3 yesterday acc to your desire. We were together with Mr Croft nearly 2 hours and we deemed to have scarcely begun to enquire. The place is so vast and complicated that we only did part of one pavilion, besides the prelim investigation.

I was somewhat nervous from my late illness and what I saw made so deep an impression on me that it cost me a night's rest.

Mr Croft is a very good man and knows and feels his work but he is powerless. I have reduced the result as it struck me to a practical shape in the enclosed paper. Perhaps Sir Harry and Mr Carter may be able to add to it. I do not see what else can be done. To those who know what hosps are, the case is all clear enough. But there are physicians and surgeons and stewards and gobs all of whom exercise the glorious privilege of our country of holding their own views and opposing everyone else's, and I fear the public wd take too little gen interest to care about the matter....gen mgt is very far from good and there are things about the wards which ought not to be. We saw foul linen in the W.C. compartment and brushes and pails there. It seems next to imposs to keep so enormous a place clean as it ought to be for a hosp. It is not like an mil hosp nowadays.

Ff84-85 JS notes 29/3/73 on St T. On general plan nothing more to say than said after previous visit. You and I know that the utmost simplicity is necessary in all hospitals because the inevitable contingencies to be met even in the simplest hosp bldgs are enough to tax the powers of most administrators. What must they then be in a great hosp wh combines in itself a vast outdoor work besides a medical school? Now under these conditions, except in the formal adoption, but by no means the complete adoption of the pavilion structure, I think the new hosp may be classed amongst the most complicated in existence.

2. Imposs to alter this great disadvantage. All that can be done is to remove such parts of the evil as can be done at least cost. 3. According to a list prepared by Croft, there have been 20 fatal pyemia cases int e new hosp besides non-fatal cases. They occurred after accidents, after surgical diseases, but mostly after ops. In one ward 6 deaths. 4. These cases all directly or indirectly due to the hosp, and I do not see any prospects of rooting out the evil entirely. Cd diminish. How, get com of appt to investigate. Money will be reqd for certain structural alterations, if com has power of execution whole mt be completed w/o disturbance. Croft pointed out toes to be trodden on. 6. Complete isolation of every ward from general atmosphere common to bldg. Each ward shd have to do with the outer air only and with none other. Each ward also must be kept quite separate in its vent from every other ward or room. Every source of foul air outside the wards and yet within precincts shd be swept away....All changes of linen and everything likely to be injurious to the air of the ward to be at once removed away from the pavilion. No refuse of food or cooking to be retained, but to be immed removed. 8 I think all the ventilators leading from the wards into the shafts at the fire places shd be closed (those at the ceiling). Paste paper over in meantime. 9 A thorough good stringent govt evidently wanted 29/3/73
Encloses paper on Madras water

signed letter, JS to FN, ff86-87, pen April 23/73 {alternative hosp plan} embossed. H.G. I have just had time to run over this paper. She is very curious for she sees no difficulties. These proposals will never be carried out as she has put them. The practical difference between your St T s plan and this is infinite. When the St T. plan was under consid you may remember how carefully we discussed the extent of instr to be given and we cut out some proposals wh cd not have answered and wh were simplicity itself when compared with all this. You have besides the long experience now of St T. with this before you, cd you say to Miss Lees, "go on and ? You will succeed far better than we with all our advantages have done." what she has done in this and in the former paper is to sit down and think out with your papers and others before her every conceivable detail of work and instr, a very easy way of conquering the world. It is just what wd please our Oxford friend. But as she has asked for advice it surely is nec to say that the first thing to do is to consider who are the subject of our instr and what their capacities are likely to be.....The beginning, middle and end of nursing is the "mens sana"

signed letter, ff87v-88, pencil

f87v

Miss Lees 35 S. St

April 23/73

[12:293]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Could you be so kind
as to look over these
papers of Miss Lees
(the sequel of what you saw
before) intended for
publication -

& give me your valuable
remarks upon them
{JS' remarks in bold written in the side margin}

**If she sends them to
press be sure to
get a proof before
you concur**

Yrs v. fully

F. Nightingale

f88

N Schools

We have made the reverse
mistake of what is
usually made -

We have considered that a
Supt. *only* requires a good
Nurse's certificate
(not that she requires
a good *Nurse's* certificate
after *one year* - then a
good *Supt's* after *another*
whereas the usual belief/mistake
is that the Supt requires
no *Nurse's* certificate at
all

[end 12:293]

signed letter with JS's reply & FN's underlining, ff89-90v, pencil

f89

Dr. Acland 35 S. St. [8:364-65]

April 26/73

Dear Dr. Sutherland

H.B.C. has restored to me the last note I had from Dr. Acland And I think it worth while to send it to you, because you see it involves the whole question raised by you in your note of yesterday, for which I thank you.

You see *Mr. Stansfeld* wants "Registration" -

Dr. Aveling says so well (in fact it is the only truth in Dr. Acland's Report)

"Unless this is done (i.e. Midwives INSTRUCTED) "it is USELESS to provide

f89

"for their (Midwives) examination,
licensing, REGISTRATION, &
supervision -"

This seems to me a matter
not of discussion but of *fact*
Suppose an Oxford Professor
were to go to Khiva, &
propose a system of
'examination' ~~into~~ &
'registration' of Graduates
in Classical Literature & Philosophy!

It is much the same thing -

I will not answer Dr. Acland
till I have heard from you -

Please return me *this*

yrs mo: ffully

F. Nightingale

f90 {JS' reply in bold, FN's underlining}

-3-

Dear Miss Nightingale

The reply to Dr.

**A's note is given by the
Committee. After the reception
of the report it does not appear
to me that *the question of
registration* except in the
case of Lady Physicians
desirous of entering themselves
as midwives *can be entertained.***

{vertical lines FN's}

**If Mr. Stansfeld must
have an answer it must
be that except in these cases
*there is nobody to register.***

**Sinclair is the only man
at all eloquent on the prowess
of his uneducated women &
*surely they would not advise
Mr. Stansfeld to register these.***

Now if they - (the Committee)

f90v

will take the common sense course of enquiring into the teaching capacities of the existing midwifery schools & will select from among them those who give a proper education (*if any*) then let the council on its own responsibility recommend a form of register to Mr. Stansfeld. But up to the present time we have no knowledge, & *neither have they that that* there are any women except Lady doctors *who ought to be on a Midwifery register.*

I will return the other barbs &c as I have gone over them

Yours ever faithfully
J. Sutherland

initialled notes, ff91-93, pencil

f91

-2-

I send Dr. Aveling's little book - not because it is to the purpose but because it is *not* It is a good little book but much more *gossippy* than I expected not at all terse & to the point like the Extract in Dr. Acland's Report which was ~~so~~ eminently so - Do not return this book for a day or two, if you want to glance over it
26/4/73 F.N.

{ff91v & f92 JS' response} April 26/73

f93

I send Dr. Farr's copy
of "*Obstetrical Transactions*"

He wants us to look over
Infant Mortality Report

p. 132 -

& return it to him

(no hurry for a day or two)

That is a curious fact, if
a fact, at p 138, that you
can't keep "3 or 4" nurse= children
together without their suffering

- "even with the best food &c
attendance & cleanliness

26/4/73 F.N.

initialled note, ff94-97v, pencil

f94

Dr. Farr 35 S. St -

April 26/73

Please say what I should
say about this -

I have delayed too long
sending it you -

Take a day or two there is
not hurry -

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{JS reply ff95- starts here upside down & continues to f97v; Haller's stats,
ventilation

28/4/73 JS to FN obstetrical society. Indirect infanticide

ff96- JS to FN aft 26 Ap 1873, embossed. P.S. Committee's report will not
help. Stansfeld. Fragment from Contemp. Positivism in science. The real truth
is that all kn involves faith in large measure, much of it involves a stretch
of faith far beyond the grasp of a humble ploughboy who has faith in his
Bible. "Positivism" indeed presupposes an amount of faith quite equal to that
which led the French pilgrims to Lourdes ...A fact est by experiment has
always been preceded by an effort of faith and in sc we may say as in Xianity
"by work in faith made perfect."

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff98-99v, pen May 1/73 {re Mr. Croft & disinfecting bedding} embossed. I don't believe in the least in "disinfection of bedding." But I believe enormously in "cleansing bedding." Disinfection rests on the existence of "germs," or of certain "catalytic" matter which has become deposited somehow in the texture. Now if any such exist you must either get rid of them or destroy them. If heat is used you just have the temp sufficient to decompose or destroy the texture of the matter a germ as well as of the material. Chlorine has never been shown to act in this way. But suppose you boil, wash, scour with much soap and ? And say chloride of lime, then dry and expose to air. The whole noxious matter will have been removed entirely. This is what ought to be done in a hosp with all sheets, blankets, coverlets, bedticks, towels, rollers, bandages etc. The main difficulty is with hair. (I put cotton quite out of th question; if used it shd be burnt.) With hair the only thing is heating to about 350 degree, teasing, exposing to air.

I am very glad about his san com. You much leave them entirely to their own devices in the meantime and if they want help they must... You might send them any points...

initialled letter, ff100-01v, pencil

f100

Draft Report May 21/73

Would you kindly look over
this Draft Report?

& let me know what you
think of it? any suggestions?

I will send for it at 3 -
Our Annual Field Day at St. Thomas'
for the School is on Friday

I suppose as Mr Croft was
not appointed till Christmas
he is not much mentioned - Otherwise
~~that~~ /he is our great event - He
has already given us 2 courses
of admirable practical Instruction
& otherwise worked us up vigorously

FN [T O]

f100v

Miss Gregory

will do very well at Highgate
never would have done any thing
but very bad at St. T.'s

Miss Hall is a wonderful woman
N.B. Miss G. not so much of a
gentlewoman as Mesher or Lyons
or even some very inferior women -
- no idea of the influence she ought to have
& never therefore will have any -
- so obvious that, when she talks of her
fellow P.s (e.g. Miss Bourne) at St. T.'s -
much her juniors & much her inferiors in
rank - she had no idea but of abusing
or amusing herself with them
Anything less of a clergy daughter I
never saw -

but much good in her - &

Miss Hill brings it out

f101

Miss Gardiner

that brings out defective side
of Highgate training

Miss G. much more of a moral
power than any of our present St. T's
Sisters

but so awfully inaccurate -
never without more training, could
report cases to any of our St. T's
Doctors as Sister of Ward

initialled note, ff102-03, pencil

f102

35 S. St. W June 7/73

(See Mr. Chadwick 2.6.73)

What shall I answer to this
pathetic note of

Mr. Chadwick's?

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{his reply begins here & continues ff102v-03

initialled letter, ff104-05v, pencil

f104

Midwifery Training Question

June 9/73

Dr. Sutherland

I enclose a letter from Miss Firth [June 7] -
That who 'Miss Firth' is may be
recalled to you I re-inclose
Dr Acland's Report - [The
copy of the letter *she* incloses
is printed therein, p 21

I also enclose your own letter
about the "Russian School" [31/12/72]
for reference - [Please be
particular in returning this
to me]

I agree with Miss Firth (& with
you) that before long
something will be done - (tho' not

f104v

by Dr. Acland)

What do you think should
be answered to Miss Firth?
Please say - (returning me all the
documents) F.N.
to-day if possible -
{his reply begins here & continues ff105-05v}

initialled note, ff106-06v, pencil

f106

My Annual Address to Probationers
14/6/73

Would you criticize add to
or omit in this. *

[You will see that the printing
- especially as to punctuation
is infamous - But that I
have already corrected - in
another proof]

14/6/73 F.N.
{his reply begins here & continues f106v}

initialled note, ff107-08, pencil

f107

Mr. Chadwick 8/7/73
{arch: [See Mr. Chadwick 5.7.73]}

What do you think of this?
F.N.

Dr. Sutherland
{his reply begins here & continues ff107v-08}

initialled note, ff109-12v, pencil [6:552-53]

f109

24/7/73

Edinburgh Infirmary

Could you kindly ask Dr. Sutherland
this:

after all our Sanitary bargaining
with Mr. Fasson

this is the result:

1. the drinking water **(1)**
in our Nurses' Home
has been poisoned
by infiltrations it is supposed
from the sewage of the Fever
House
our Nurses have suffered
severely from Diarrhoea
our Head Nurse over the
Fever House has been at
death's door with Typhoid
3 Nurses (*not ours*) have died

f109v

2 the Cess-pit, just outside
Miss Barclay's door
Infirmary

Cess-pit {this is written in smaller letters, the Ce
enclosed in a circle}

{ Miss Barclay
& Assistants

Nurses Fever House

Home {Nurses Home, written in smaller letters, enclosed in a box}

is seldom emptied till it
overflows **(2)**

& when it is emptied (tho' by night)
the nuisance is tremendous

And it is mopped out not with
earth but with horses' dung

It *is* emptied now (in consequence
of Miss Barclay's remonstrance)
a little oftener

Would Dr. Sutherland give any
hints

f110

-2-

- as to how often Cess-pits should be emptied
(v. Military Hospitals)
- & by what *carts*?
- & in what *manner*?

Mr. Fasson is doing all he can about the first matter - the polluted water

Would you tell Dr. Sutherland that I have given our Probationers the new Edition of Dr. Murchison on Fevers, (3) Tho' it is not in our 'Course of Reading' -

f111

Edinbro Infy 24/7/73

The Nurses' drinking water as I understand is from a *Well* within the enclosure And Mr. Fasson makes no difficulty at all in confessing that the ground may be so infiltrated from the *Cess-pit* as to pollute the Well

There is *no drainage* at all. as I understand - And they *will* keep the Cess- pits till they move into the new Building

[The Mortuary was in a *room* in the Nurses' House!!! till after our Nurses went down!]

[end 6:553]

f112 & f112v {JS' s reply} July 24/73

initialled note, f113, pencil

f113

35 S. St Aug 2/73

[to-day Sidney Herbert
has been dead 12 years]

[12:281]

Could you kindly look over
this book on Ventilation
& give your opinion upon it?
[also whether it would be a
help for Lessons to our Probs
at the Training School?]

[end 12:281]

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{JS's reply follows, ff113v}

initialled note, f114, pencil Aug 6/73

f114

35 South St Aug /73

Park Lane W

Mr. Stansfeld is coming here
on Friday to see me
by his own appointment
Please advise me if you
want me to say anything
or as to what I ought to
say to him

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{JS's reply follows, ff114-15}

initialled note, f116, pencil

f116

35 S. St Aug 8/73

C.D. Acts: MANAGEMENT (reformatory)

Dr. Sutherland {arch: (See Mrs. Grant 2.8.73)}

 " H. Cameron 1.7.23

 ^ Sir H. Verney}

You will remember the **[8:484]**
correspondence with

Miss Cameron

Sir H Verney

Mr. Bruce &

you - & what you said

What do you say to the

letter enclosed? -

What should be said? **[end 8:484]**

F.N.

{JS's reply follows, ff116-17v}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff118-19, pen

ff118 {FN's comments in bold}

[see Mr. Campbell 14.7.73]

Please

return to

F.N. 13/8/73

This is a good letter of Mr. Campbell. When you write to him you might say that the fever districts in England & Algeria & elsewhere have been cured without subsoil drainage under - merely by trenching, & in Holland the same thing is done below the level of the sea & the water pumped up above the sea level to be discharged.

This is really what Burdwan requires at first, After a while it has been found necessary in some cases near towns to lay pipes in

f118v

the trenches and fill them up.
The reason is that where there
is population they defile the
trenches & cause disease.

The Calcutta people are in a
sure grip. The Campbells
don't usually let go of anything.
A word from you now & then
will have power.

You see if one's better half
runs away in this fashion &
leaves poor Mr. Stansfeld and
the Cabinet in the lurch. what
can one do but run away
too. I want fresh air for a
week or two and purpose to
go away on Saturday. I

f119

thought of Normandy.
When I return I will tell you
and then I could see CA
King, but he would naturally
begin by saying that I was
not FN & that made all
the difference!

{underlining in pencil by FN} *As soon as we get the
revises of the Memo from the
I.O. I shall send you copies.*
Mr. P. should be well on with
his report. He has got all
our papers for it.

JS

{with a line back to the underlined section}

**have never come
to my great
inconvenience**

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff120-21v, pen Aug 15/73 {re a Prussian
conference on cholera}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff122-23, pen {comments on his trip to France}
Sept 4/73

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff124-25, pen {arch: [See W. Clark 4.8.73]}

JS to F.N. 5.9.73]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff126, pen {arch: {at the end} Sir B. Frere
C. ?
Ellis
Hewlett
Berlin Cholera

signed letter, JS to FN, ff127-28v, pen Sep 19/73 {arch: Galton's paper
Memo on Cunningham's 8th Report
Cholera death rate amongst Indian Troops}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff129-30v, pen 20/9/78 {arch: See Capt Galton's
16.9.73 Col Hay's scheme
Lincoln County Hospital Capt. Galton's paper
F.N.'s paper. [See F.N. 24.9.73]}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff131-32, pen {arch: [See Cunningham 24.8.73]}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff133-33v, pen Sep 24/73 {arch: F.N.'s paper &
Galton's address}

envelope addressed to JS, postmarked BRADFORD 5 SP23 73 YORKS, f134, pen
{not in FN's hand}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff135, HG pen Sep 26/73 {arch: [India]}

initialled letter, f136v, pencil

f136v

Sir Bartle Frere Lea Hurst
Matlock

Sept 23/73

My dear Dr. Sutherland

You asked me to send you
again

Sir G. Campbell's &
Mr. Clark's

letters as soon as Sir B. Frere
answered

in order that you might

"draft for me letters

"to Sir G. Campbell & Mr. Clark"

Here they are

I have kept Sir B. Fr a day or
two: but think it better
now to send them all, at once

yrs v. ffully

F.N.

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff137-40, pen Sep 26/73 {reply to f136v} embossed

signed letter, f141-43, pencil

f141

Please return to Lea Hurst

F.N. Oct 10/73

Mr. Stansfeld {arch: [See Mr. Stansfeld 7.10.73
" Dr. Sutherland 17.10.73]}

My dear Dr. Sutherland

May I send you this?

- Dr. Bridges does not seem
to me very luminous -

Nevertheless it is clear that
they wish to do what we
want.

1. The "*International Letter*"
is what they chiefly want
our suggestions for -

What do you propose?

2. **N.B.** With regard to the last
Para (in clerk's writing) they

141v

seem to me quite at sea -

It is because "Medical
Officers" & ex "Matrons" & all
sorts of people give Testaments
(*& these T.s are taken,*) that
the mischief is - vide Burdett -

The rule at Highgate Infy
an excellent rule: (which I
have heard Miss Torrance who
now has broken it (praise)
was that the *Managers'*
stamp should be put
on *all* Testimonials received
or given -
(but if other Infirmarys will
~~take~~/accept Testimls without the
stamp - - - ?)

f142

As for asking "MEDICAL OFFICER"
as to "NURSING efficiency"
What M.O. really knows
anything about it? **xx** You might
as well ask the Cook

[I never took a Nurse
from a M.O.'s certificate:
I have heard Miss Torrance
say the same & laugh,
as I should at *Dr. Dowse's*
certificate!]

xx This really must not be; else *how is she (the Matron)*
"the head of the Nurses?" "the head of her Dept.

2.3.

"P.S." last Para. in Dr. Bridges'
hand.

Please look at this

[Miss Hill goes on Tuesday away
for a fortnight's holiday]

f142v

Unless you write *by return*
of post,
please write
to 35 *South St.*
where I shall be on
Monday

ever yours ffully
F. Nightingale

4. Also please look at the blunder [6:322-23]

last page but two [Liverpool
Workhouse] It is because it is
the GOVERNOR & *not* the Medical
Officer: the *Governor* "who is
"supreme over the *whole* Establishmt"
Medical Officers & all - that it
"works harmoniously" - And the *Hospl*
Committee is the head of the

f143

-2-

"Lady Supt" - (her real masters, as
they *should* be) *not*
the
Governor

Really Dr. Bridges is
blundering -

The *Medical Officer* at
Liverpool Workhouse has no administrative
authority whatever over the
Nursing Staff - and when
there was a *bad Governor*
we know the result to poor
Agnes Jones

F.N.

memorandum, ff144-63, pen stylized printing {Dr. Bridges's memorandum re
Liverpool Workhouse, on top of f157 in FN's hand, incorporated into my Memo
to Mr. Stansfeld, 'ditto' written at the top of the following ff}

excerpt from printed regulations with comments by JS, ff164-76, on top of
f175 in FN's hand, incorporated into my Memo to Mr. Stansfeld, 'ditto'
written at the top of the following ff}

signed memorandum, ff177-91, pen & pencil {copperplate with comments by FN in pencil and is signed in pencil by her} and Clendening [6:469-73]

f177 {arch: [Oct. 18. 1873]}

On "Memo by Dr. Bridges" {in FN's hand} by F.N.
The cases put are:

1. The Medical Officer is always there
he is an educated man: and in many
cases the most able man of the set.
Ergo make him supreme.
2. The Governor is always there: but he is not
Master
necessarily a man of sufficient power or
education.
Ergo he cannot always be trusted with
Supreme jurisdiction.
3. The Committees are difficult to get
together; and in some cases cannot
exercise supreme control.

[This is not however the case at
Highgate] {pencil} And there are first rate men
on the Committee ~~of Managers~~ or Board

{pen} Ergo they cannot be trusted.

Conclusion: that Matron and her Nurses

1.

f178

must virtually be under the Medical Officer.
 an experiment which has been tried since Hospitals
 began and has always ended ill, either for the
 moral or the efficient element

A Medical Officer has quite other things
 to do than to be head of the Nurses.

A Man can never govern Women -

{pencil} No good ever came of Medical Officer doing Matron's duty,
 And even the efficient
 treatment of sick
 is thereby sacrificed.

{pen} The fight has been fought out in Military
 Hospitals since Military Hospitals existed
 owing to warning experience, the following is
 now the System:

(1.) At the central Military Hospital (Netley)
 the Nursing and the Nurses are obliged to do
 the bidding of the principal Medical Officer

But he can't stop their beer if they don't.
 (a notable expedient formerly adopted in
 India.)

The Matron (Supt.) only can do this: i.e.
 wield discipline

2.

f179

And there is a Governor over all.
 With appeal in certain cases to the Secretary
 of State.

(2) In another large Military Hospital
 the principal Medical Officer is also (unfortunately)
 the Governor.

But precisely the same relation exists.

If (in the case 1.) the P.M.O. got up a
 'row' with the Matron (Supt) both sides
 could come before the Governor.

If (in second case) the P.M.O. got up a 'row'
 With the acting superintendent, both could come
 Before the P.M.O. as governor

With appeal in either case to the Secretary
 of State

[N.B. I would observe that this anomalous state
 of things (2) is what it is sought to make *law*
 and *System* at the Metropolitan Workhouse
 Infirmaryes. _____

3.

f180

If the Matron and Medical Officer differ on a point of Nursing morality or discipline or on what are the best internal arrangements to carry out the Medical Officer's orders, - (Which if she does not know better than he does, she is not fit to be head of the Nurses and ought not to be there at all - any more than he ought to be there, if she knows Medical treatment than he does - (a thing which has happened)

then the Medical Officer and Matron go before the Medical Officer as supreme Head -
Is this administration?]

II. As regards the application of this to Metropolitan Workhouse Infirmaryes.
is it permissible that the whole administration should be under the Medical Officer?

If he does his duty as Governor,
must he not neglect his duty as Medical Officer?

— 4.

f181

[N.B. He is not like the principal medical officer at a Military Hospital:
he has to attend with one assistant on 500 sick perhaps or more]

Must there not be some supreme power with appeal?

And must not the Guardians (or their Committee) be that supreme power?
and the Appeal court the local Government Board

[N.B. If the Guardians won't attend or won't act,

Mr. Stansfeld can appoint, can he not?

ex officio Guardians to watch over the interests of the rate payers.]{pencil}

I may add that first rate men *won't* act unless they have the *power* as well as the trouble. If the power is visited in Medical Officer & Lo: Govt Board,
the best men will not serve as Guardians

III It would seem as if the application of this to Metropolitan Workhouse Infirmaryes were

1. You must trust to your Committee of

5.

f182

Managers

2. Your Steward must be their Officer.

3. Your Medical Officer must be their Officer

4. Your Matron must be their Officer

5. If the committee choose to appoint a Governor - as in the case of Liverpool to represent them, altho' *under* them, let them: [but don't let the *Medical Officer* be implied Governor.]

6. If they appoint the Medical Officer as Governor, let them do it subject to approval as to *administrative fitness* by Local Government Board - taking care however that the attention of the Medical Officer, withdrawn from the sick be supplied by additional Medical assistance, and taking care that duties and authority of the Matron - {pencil} over {pen} ~~the Nursing Staff~~ is properly defined and guarded {pencil] The Nursing Staff

{pen} They must be under the Matron
They must be amenable to her alone
in discipline
and for the discharge of duties.

6.

f183

Subject to appeal to the Guardians or ~~(better)~~
to the Local Government Board thro their
Guardians (in the same cases in which in {brackets are in pencil}
Military Hospitals, Nurses have right of
appeal to Secretary of State.)

The Matron and Nurses must be obliged
to obey the professional orders of the *Medical
officer*: subject to complaint against *Nurses
solely to the Matron*: and against the
Matron to the {pencil}—Guard Managers or thro' them to the {pen}
president of the Local
Government Board.

~~such complaints to be transmitted
through the Committee or Guardians~~

The Matron must look to the Medical
officer for professional instructions {pencil} which {pen} she
must obey: but for nothing else.

She should be supreme over her Department
so long as she discharges her duty and sees
that her Nurses discharge theirs -

She loses her supremacy only when she
neglects her duty or fails to see that her
Nurses discharge theirs: and this

—
7.

f184

only until the complaint is investigated (and
appealed about to the Local Government
Board if thought necessary.) {pencil bracket}

The Matron must be admitted, censured
suspended {in JS's hand} solely by the Managers {pen} and {pencil} if
{pen} discharged ~~solely~~

by
the sanction of the Local Government
Board.

—
8

f185*Liverpool WORKHOUSE case*

I might say that it is because it is the Governor and not the Medical Officer: the Governor "who is supreme over the whole Establishment", Medical Officers and all: that it "works harmoniously" and the *Hospital Committee* is the real practical head of the "Lady Supt." - (her real Masters, as they ought to be) *not* the Governor.

The Medical Officer at Liverpool Work House has no administrative authority whatever over the Nursing Staff.

And when there was a bad Governor, we know the result to poor Agnes Jones {pencil} the first Lady Supt who died there {pen} But I should prefer to ~~say~~{pencil} /add {pen} that the success of a great and hazardous experiment at Liverpool was due mainly to Self-devotion, to forbearance, to sinking personality in work - to the good wishes of the Committee - to the action of Good Men

f186

and true privately

Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Cropper, {pencil} xx {pen} and the like - and not to any law or Regulation that there was in fact no ground on which to rest either and that this example shows clearly that not much can be expected if a cut and dry plan is laid before Boards of Guardians to make or to mar.

"Make slow haste."

Better to get it done and a tradition introduced. *at one place at a time* is it not?

{pencil} xx There are equally good men at Highgate (Central London Sick Asylum Board) Mr Wyatt a prince of men Sir Sydney Waterlow &c &c will these men "come when you do call for them", if you don't give them power?

f187

IV. On the "Certificate" question: viz: to Nurses leaving.

It does not appear to be quite understood that it is because "Medical Officers" and ex="Matrons" and all sorts of people, give Testimonials (and these T.s are taken) that the mischief arises.

The rule at one great "sick asylum": an excellent rule: was that the Managers *stamp* should be put on *all* Testimonials received or given. [but how if other "sick asylums" *will* accept Testimonials *without* the stamp - - - -?]

At that very asylum, upon a Nurse being dismissed very properly, by the on Matron for insubordination the "Medical Officer" (whose Certificate it is now proposed to take) and the ex=Matron gave the Nurse such excellent ? "Testimonials" that she was immediately taken on at higher wages at another "sick asylum"

f188

As for asking "Medical Officer" as to
 "nursing efficiency" - how can the Matron
 be the "*Head of the Nurses*" the head of
 her own "Department" *if this be done?*

If the Matron is not the best judge of
 her Nurses' Nursing, {pencil} if she is not directly responsible for
 carrying out the Medical Officer's
 directions, {pen} she had better not
 be there at all.

and we had better give up trained {pencil} nursing
 {pen} Matrons and revert to the old Housekeeper=
 Matron: the decayed cousin of some Green
 Grocer Guardian.

[I have known - and not once only
 a Nurse of my own receive an
 excellent Testimonial from the
 very Doctor, an excellent Man,
 upon whose report I had (rightfully)
 dismissed her.]

{pencil} And it may be added with at least equal truth as what has been said
 of good men acting as Guardians: that you cannot get educated women,
 gentlewomen, trained
 women to act as
 Matrons: unless power
 is given them to
 fulfil their responsibility:
 Unless they are
 really the Nursing
 heads they have been
 trained to be: And that successful
 Medical treatment depends mainly upon successful organization
 of Nursing

{pen} If however the Local Government Board
 object to the War Office plan,
 would not the best way about Certificates
 be to prevent their issue altogether. and

f189

for some authority say the Board of Guardians to grant a statement of services

only on the application of persons wishing to employ the Nurse?

[One does not give Certificates to servants to hawk about.]

V. *On the "duties" question* v. Dr. Bridges' {pencil} proposed {pen} "letter".

If the above pages be at all acknowledged as true, Must not these "duties" be recast?

Will all that mixing up of authorities and "aidings" do?

Is not the first thing wanted a common-sense set of rules, putting everybody's saddle on every body's own back?

at present they have one saddle for the whole household: and it is expected that every one will put it on when so disposed.

Is it possible to ingraft a really good Nursing system on these Rules?

Do as you will - will not every body with any authority interfere with Matron and Nurses?

If the president does not see his way to alter this. Would it not be better that he should, by attracting the

f191

enemy in detail and carrying one fort
after another - introduce the Nursing
element completely and successfully?
{pencil} Florence Nightingale

London October 18/73

signed letter, JS to FN, ff192-96v. pen {arch: [See F.N. 10.10.73
" Mr. Stansfeld 7.10.73]} embossed My dear Lady re org. Gov, med
officer, com, workhouses. F196 I don't think you can ingraft a really good
nursing system on these rules. Do as you will, everybody with any authority
will interfere with the supt and nurses. (Compares workhouses and mil)

unsigned letter, ff197-98, pencil

f197

Herbert Hospital: Nursing Quarters Oct 21/73 [16:463-64]
{arch: [see Mrs. Shaw Stewart]}

Do you know anything about this?

I mean about)/what is in the letter marked "Confidential"
It is the continuance of a correspondence (which I
showed to H.B.C. - - you were abroad)

saying that there was a probability now
of its being ~~ultimately~~ decided once for all
whether the Nursing Quarters now occupied
by Sick Cadets, should be permanently alienated to other

f198

purposes
 that the present P.M.O. avows himself
 anxious to have a complete Nursing Staff -
 but if he cannot have this to have
 no Nurses at all

Our Secy & Commee are not the least anxious
 to fight the matter with the W.O.

Or to take any initiative with them.

They say: it would be different if
 Muir were D.G. & if I would fight it
 with *his help*.

Do you know whether or what has
 been decided about the *Sick Cadets*
 or the *Nursing Quarters*? [It was
 said that on the removal of the Sick
 Cadets, if we did not re-appropriate the qrs
 vi et armis, they wd be made into
 M.O.'s quarters]

[end 16:464]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff199-200v, pen {comments about Dr. Pierce,
 Herbert Hospital, Netley, Norwich paper & Red Book} embossed. Cardwell
 requested N com to train a supt for HH, and nothing was done. F200 It will be
 years before the health law of India is made out. It is scarcely made out yet
 for London.

initialled note, f201, pencil [15:498]

f201

Nurses: Ashantee 24/10/73

Is it possible that they are going to send out Lady=

Nurses, or any Nurses to the *Ashantee War*?

Ladies have applied to me: but mainly, it
 appears, on account of my letter on *Prison*
 =*Treatment of Thieves* x !!

Dr Sutherland F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

x wh: it seems appeared in the "Times" [end]

initialled note, f202, pencil [8:981]

f202

My little maid: Jenny: Pills 24/10/73

Could you tell me what the enclosed Pills are? - or could you have them *analysed*?

Would you believe it that the maids of the mistress of ~~the~~ supposed greatest authority on Nursing take Quack Medicines?

this for a pain described as filling the whole bust inside & catching the breath -

Her mother died early of consumption: her father early & suddenly of heart disease -

This makes me very uneasy *What should you do?* F.N.

initialled note, f204, pencil

f204

Electioneer's Charities {arch: [letter to Sir Sydney Waterlow]
(see his reply Nov 1) 30/10/73

My dear Dr. Sutherland

Could you read & suggest improvements on this letter & return it to me this afternoon by your Messenger if possible?
F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

initialled letter, ff205-08v, pencil [*Times* "Voting Charities" 4 November 1873 10F

f205

Private 30/10/73

Dear Sir Sydney Waterlow

You have more than once invited me to the privilege of corresponding with you in your many wise & benevolent undertakings.

In none more do I wish you God speed than in what I believe you have now in hand: viz the considering the nuisance of the system of *election* of Candidates to Charitable Institutions.

My experience (which has been, as you may suppose) very large,) would induce

f205v

me to describe it as the best system for electing the least eligible: or at best of the system of/for preventing the discovery of the most eligible

You who are the master of all the facts & all the arguments relating to this unconsciously nefarious trade need not be troubled by me with these:
I call it trade, for I conclude that many contributors must sell their votes, from the number of ~~te~~ applications I have (not to sell mine but) to give money to buy others'-

f206

I will only add that for very many years my experience has been such as to compel me to contribute to no Charity except anonymously which gives me a vote, i.e. which elects by vote the poor who are to benefit by it.

In one instance the Charity insisted ~~my name upon~~ keeping my name ~~on~~ as a Subscriber: & upon my withdrawing my subscription in consequence, ~~they~~ it wrote to me, (rather impertinently, you will allow) that my name was worth more than my money.

And - my name still figures on their List of Subscribers.

f206v

Of course I am deluged with applications for my vote x what is worse my & "interest"

I know other persons whose judgment is to be esteemed as much higher than mine, but whose experience of this great evil of the day cannot be larger: names well known in your world of active benevolence who have adopted the same course that is, of giving no ~~no~~ contribution except anonymously which brings with it a vote.

As to the evil: I scarcely know whether it is greater to the Canvassers or the Canvassed - to the Canvassers in absorbing

f207

-2-

time, money & energy which would ~~support~~ /nurture, relieve or educate a Legion of applicants

to the Canvassed for, in that they who want ~~it~~ most are they who get ~~it~~ least

Permit me two illustrations & let me stop there:

1. A now aged & experienced philanthropist once said to me, quite simply: "when the lists of sufferers (candidates) are sent to me, I look/~~go~~ them thru ~~down~~ for those who have fewest or smallest or no names to canvass for them or look them up.

Of course these are they who are most in need"

Would that all followed this example:

f207v

2. A lady of noble name once
 gave me the ~~abridgement~~/summing up
 of her exertions in the
 Canvassing line:
 for about 6 weeks:
 12 or 13 hours a day spent in it
 £30
 180 letters within a day -
 nervous fever ~~which ruined~~
~~her health~~ at the close
 Upon my expressing my
 vigorous & grieved astonishment
 that such energy which
 might have organized &
 supported the whole Institution
 should have been wasted
 thus in canvassing for it
 she added - Yes, ~~it~~/these things have ruined my
 health ~~too~~ for life.

f208

Vigour run to waste
 which might do what these
 Charities profess but don't do
~~at their best~~
~~applicants~~ in wretched ~~need~~/suffering
 of whom those whose ~~sufferings~~
 need is the greatest are those
 who are most often disappointed ~~in this~~
~~help~~
 this is the sum ~~of~~ & substance
 of Electioneering Charity
 One more illustration & I have
 done -
 I have lately been consulted
 upon a proposed Charity
 where the poor applicants are to
 subscribe but the annuity

f208v

promised is still to go by vote
of the rich contributors
This on the ground that otherwise
the rich would not contribute!
How ingrained must be our
gambling propensities!
Pardon me this letter: ~~I only~~
~~wished to~~ Would I could strengthen your hand.
But I am myself unable from
illness & business to suggest
remedies - ~~But I am~~
However, your hands are thank
God strong enough already
F.N.

initialled note, f209, pencil

f209

Nov 3/73

Dr. Sutherland

Please say what you think
of Sir S. Waterlow's request
& return it me if possible
by your own messenger this
afternoon -

I enclose my original
Draft for reference
F.N.

{JS's reply follows} The ld mayor has altered your letter so that it is now
a simple protest. [?] You must leave it so, as he is the best judge of the
case. I have no doubt that after his experience of the meeting he does not
wish that a red rag shd be shaken in the face of the mad bull. Look at line
12...

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff210-11v, pen Nov 4/73 {Indian questions}
embossed

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff212-12v, pen Nov 18/73 {arch: [Re Gordon
Balfour "Lord Mayor's Day" /73]}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff213-14, pen Nov 21/73 {Mr. Clark}

45757 incomplete note, f214v, pencil

f214

Mr. Clark Nov 2/73

I am very sorry about this
*Can you suggest what to do
 about an Engineer to replace him?*
 `[I have written to Capt. Galton's
 & Mr. Clark ~~filed~~ to Mr. Rawlinson.-]

Reformatories

& C.D. Acts

[8:488]

Sir H. Verney is coming up to see
 Mr. Lowe about this:

specially about the *Portsmouth*
 Lock Hospl that you know of -
*Can you tell me whether or what
 'Refuge' or 'Home' there is already
 at Portsmouth?*

I cannot imagine that Govt. will go to
 the Ho of C for fresh powers: nor
 of course, do I wish it.
 If they do anything for Sir H.V., it might
 be a small grant in aid

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff215-16v, pen {Mr. Clark; arch: [See Sir B.
 Frere 25.11.73]} embossed

initialled letter 5 Dec 1873, JS to FN, ff217-18v, pen {arch: [See Mr. Clark
 2.12.73]} embossed

initialled letter, 9 Dec 1873 JS to FN, ff219-20, pen {Miss Cameron} Alleyn
 Park

unsigned letter, ff221-25, pencil

f221

{bottom of the page}

C.D. Acts 35 S. St [15:500]

Portsmouth Dec 15/73

Dear Dr Sutherland

I have been embarked in this cruelly against my will: as I have not an oz. of strength to spare, & have no hope of good to carry me on: besides being quite overworked in almost every direction already.

I did not understand your *first* letter about Mr Cardwell: & had drafted a letter (for Sir Harry Verney) to Mr. Cardwell before your *second* came.

Messrs. Cardwell & Lowe *expressly*, (as I sent you the documents to show,) *refuse* any "Legislative"

f221v

changes: but Mr. Cardwell assured Sir Harry that he *desired to consider the subject: in view - of making a grant, & of any administrative changes--* In that view I drafted the Letter

~~But~~ Mr. Vernon Lushington, Secretary to the Admiralty, (whom of course I could easily reach,) would probably be very glad to *entertain any suggestions* in the same way--

He goes down to inspect: & is very accessible to influence.

Last week I had *the Matron* with me for 4 hours: she is full of zeal & ability, (& knows it well:) conscientious & energetic: but with a strong vein of worldliness & humbug cropping up in unexpected places (which she does not know at all) She is a hard, clever, religious little Scotchwoman: a person whom one can trust the more - because she has no *sentimental* views, but a strong horror of the sin - to give a very plain unvarnished account: [She was a St. Thomas' Sister] She wants more salary: has only £40

I enclose what I have written down - at what cost to myself no one can tell

I also enclose (for reference) the papers you

f221

{top of the page}
saw before

[I did not think that any thing was wanting
to give me a greater horror of the Acts.]

Tho', if I were to publish what I have written, I
do think it would almost suffice *to set the women* of
England up *to repeal the Acts*,
yet I repeat I have no purpose of a "legislative" kind.

Please consider what is to be done *in this view*.
[Please to send me my papers back when you return them by
a messenger: in order not to crease them: I can't rewrite them.]

f222 {arch: [ca. 1873]}

I could not hatch their eggs - I had more than enough of
my own: & theirs did not strike my fancy **[end 15:500]**

I have a great aversion of monopolizing every thing in
Nursing

I decline all responsibility for a plan which I never
approved nor blamed, but had taken no part whatever in

{at the bottom of the page, upside down}

Gas	18	9	
Wool	4		
Draper		6	4
	8		

incomplete letter, ff223-25, pen

f223 {arch: [ca Jan. 1874].}

{JS's comments in bold} -2- **The only disadvantage is the**
 : **summer heat & the north**
 exposure. Vide what Hun [Hew?] **said**

due South: or nearly South

even then I should open a large dormer
 window to the *E.* over the *Infants' Room:*
 tho' to give this a flat roof is so *objectionable* -

**This could be done but a
 pitched roof might be preferable**

[I do not think any sufficient good is to
 be obtained by opening a Dormer window
 to the *N.W.* over the *Class Room* (present
 proposed Block plan retained) as to light &
 air. the 3 aspects proposed *S.W.*, *N.W.*,
N.E., for a room of this size ~~is~~/are nearly as bad
 as possible and, at the present price of
 coal, most costly are not they?

4.

Boys' Park

appears to me so objectionable as proposed
 that a *Passage Porch* between *School & Class*
Rooms altho' draughty & uncomfortable is
 preferable **I concur, vide my plan.**

5.

Infants' Rooms

The giving 2 good aspects to this does not
 compensate for the great loss to the *School Room*

6.

Girls' Porch: I see much objection & no sufficient gain in the

f224 {arch: [ca Jan 1874] re {illeg Mount? Town} School?

-3-

proposed projection to *Girls' & Infants' Porch* -
 The opposite corners of *School Room* are thus both blocked up
 by the 2 *Porches*.

Why cannot the *Principal or Visitors' Entrance* be
 thro' the *Girls' (Passage) Porch*?
 not thro' the *Boys'*?

f224

-4-

W.C.s Are they not *too near* the building?

**yes decidedly. They
should be away from
the effective playground**

Master's House -

I think the suggested alterations are improvements,
if "Cupboard" & "Stores" have *each a window*.
So serious do the present difficulties of appeal
appear that if the *present site* does
not conveniently admit of *another disposition*
of buildings - would it not be adviseable
to recur to the former sites proposed?

envelope, ff226-26v, pen

f226 {JS's comments in bold}

(with a roll) with a Wild-duck
& a Teal

{edge of sheet is missing}

{Private}

**A great deal better adapted
to their purpose than the
Roll I keep the one &
send back the other with
with thanks & amazement
JS.**

Dr. Sutherland
Horse Guards

21/2/74

f226v {pencilled note in JS's hand}

unsigned note to Dr Sutherland, Add Mss 45757 f227, pencil

f227

Feb 21/74

[8:783]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

The enclosed plans are plans for the Ladies' College at Cambridge, under the "principal" Miss Clough -

They earnestly ask for your advice
The plans seem to be nearly as bad as they possibly
can be made in almost every respect
Please send these *my 8 pages & the plans* back to-day, without fail, *with your criticisms* - They *must* have them tonight.

initialled letter, ff228-28v, pencil

[16:799-800]

f228 {at the bottom of the page}

Wellow School 35 S. St

Feb 27/74

Dear Dr. Sutherland

1. Would you be so very kind as to look once more at these miserable plans?
2. They have now ~~proposed~~/chosen a new *site* to the *N.* instead of to the *S.* of the *same road* - In some respects this is a great improvement but if it is to entail the objections I have pointed out (in the 4 enclosed pages) *which please return to me* does it not become inadmissible?
3. Please be so good as to make your remarks.

f228v

& suggestions on *all* these points

4. & on any other that may occur

5. also: as to whether the *W.C.s* are not too near?

6. [I cannot conceive Beatrice suggesting the

Boys' Porch on the *only sunny* side

Some weeks ago when Mrs. Empson

suggested it - the *long School room* having

(as you will perhaps, I hope, remember) *then*

2 good sunny aspects *S.E.* & *S.W.* (the *Infants' Room*

being as in *pencil plan B.*)

Beatrice violently, - &, as I thought, justly opposed it)

"Tantaene animus coelestibus"

caelestibus irae" changes?]

7. The *Coppice* may be *grubbed up* leaving

4 or 5 good trees a nice addition to the

Boys' Playground: but as unfortunately

the largest of these trees is in the green line

between *Coppice* & *School* this would

overshadow the *School* if placed too near:

& *the School* overshadow the *Play-ground* -

8. On the *other* side the *Coppice* & *Road*, but

within the 7 prevailing Winds, there is a nearly

f228 {top of the page}

used up *Brick field & kiln* -

They say this will be *extinct* by the time
the School is built -

Are there any precautions necessary
with an extinct *Brick field* ?

9.

N.B. The specifications Mr. Thomas so kindly
overhauled will be almost the same for
any alterations we may pass

We shall be truly obliged to you for your
suggestions *to cut our knot* - *Please return me*
all this yrs v. ffully F.N. **[end 16:800]**

initialled note, f229, pen {arch: [Wellow School] March 2/74}
[16:800]

Dr. Sutherland

This, & this only - viz -
the *two* ridiculously
small *windows* to
the S.W. in the gable
of the General School=
Room (above the
lower pitched roof
of the Infants' Room)
which are all that
is possible - makes
one think that
one must give up
Plan A.A. What do
you say?

[end]

{pencil} 5. {there is a pencil sketch}. JS: Plan B gives the master's house
the really best site. If I were he I wd stick to it. Plan B places all the
school rooms in a decidedly inferior exposure. Plan AA is much better, but if
the ...Lines on AA far better than on BB wh is indeed a complicated plan. [so
FN consulted JS on, this his reply]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff229v-30, pen {JS's comments on the Wellow
School plans}

initialled letter, ff231-32, pencil

Lock: Portsmouth 35 S. St March 7/74

f231

I think that this is pretty well:
considering that Sir Harry goes down with
the *Admiralty* Inspector at their, the
Admiralty's invitation, they having written a
letter to show that my whole statement is
"gross misrepresentation, injustice & inaccuracy"
that, under these auspices, this is all they can
disprove - In fact a good deal of what

f231v

they disprove ~~is~~ actually tallies with
my statement viz. that the reforms
have been made "*since June*" by the
personal influence of a Matron who
cannot stay because she is not
paid enough (she has an old widowed
mother}
& has only been there since January 1873.

f232

Please make your comments & point
out any further subjects of enquiry
on a separate sheet
(~~but~~ NOT on Sir H's rough Draft to the
Admiralty)
& return me all these & *this*:
for I have to see Sir H.V. about it
tonight

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

initialled letter, ff233-34, pencil

f233

Wellow School March 13/74 **[16:800]**

Dear Dr. Sutherland

 Could you look once more at these
 & return them to me to night?
 their last invention (see plan pinned
on "Block plan")

 appears an unmitigated evil -
giving no more sun to *Master's House*
& cutting off BY *Master's House* the whole

f233v

free line of School rooms to the W.

 But I don't object to the *Boys' Porch*
[I am quite weary of this]

 Please say F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

I send you the *OLD* Elevation
for you to judge about roofs

f234

I don't object to Master having a sun:

 but he must not have *my* sun

[end]

{JS 's reply follows}

signed letter, ff235-37, pencil

f235

Wellow School Embley
Romsey

April 10/74

[16:801]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Please let me ask you a
last 'vero ultimo" - question
about this -

Shore and I are really
at last breaking ground

The *last* plan, accepted
by all the Great Tycoons, is:
- to build Master's House &
School *separately* -

The question I want to
ask you is about the *School*:
Please answer by return of post:

f235v

We have reverted to this plan:

{plan follows}

The lie of the ground (in the new
site) favours this plan: &
gives a very good play-ground
on one side & on the other
(planted out) Yards & School
Offices -

f236

{JS's replies in bold}

The questions are:

1. Will that *corner* between
Boys' Porch & Infants'
Room be *dark*, looking
as it does to the N? **Yes**
2. do you like the *S.W. & S.E.*
aspect of *Long Room*? **No**
or do you think the *S.W.*
long side will be hot? **Yes**
3. do you think there will
be a deficiency in light
& air on opposite side
of *Long Room*? (*N.E. side*)?

To some extent yes

N.B. We get rid of *Passage*
Porch wh: I always thought
a nuisance - yrs v. fully
F. Nightingale

[end 16:801]

{ff236v & 237 are JS's reply & plan}

initialled letter, ff238-39v, pencil

f238

Pleasley School 35 S. St.
May 11/74

Dear Dr. Sutherland

We are going to build large Schools at Pleasley
for 200 to 250 children -

Sir H.V. put this plan into my hand, requires
an immediate answer.

I dislike parts of the plan very much

1. I think the Infant School perfectly intolerable
with only *one S.E.* and one *N.W.* window
and I propose to turn it round with *long side* to

f238v

S.E.

& to put *Master's House* somewhere next
the *Class-room*

- 2 I also think the *offices* & Walls & Gravel yards blocking in the whole corner of the building (& is completing the parallelogram) pestiferous.
3. The large School room a right angled room has a good S.E. & S.W. exposure

f239

but the *Porch* must be moved up to the part
adjoining *Class-room* Else it blocks out sun

4. The Class room will have no sun all the year round: S.W. & N.E. exposure: but I know not how to improve it
[And this is a Government plan!!!]
N,B, The ground slopes rapidly from the S.W. (Class Room) side down to a brook below the (present proposed) *Master's House* so that unless we put the

f239v

Master's House on a much lower level, we could not move it farther out *this* way
The new *Colliery Works* are about 150 yards to the S.W. [The Railroad was to have run between them & the School: but this has been prevented]
The *large School-room* is the only portion of this plan intended to be carried out *this* year.
Please return me *this*:

F.N.

initialled letter, ff240-41v, pencil [16:772-73]

f240 {arch: [see Capt. Galton May 2 sending these plans to F.N.]}

Glamorganshire Home for Convalescents 35 S. St.
May 16/74

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You will remember having ~~this~~ before a previous plan for this; from that Dr. Lewis

I hardly know how to criticize it

1. "It is like a *cottage Home*", because it is not
2. I think I never saw so much *complication* with so little *accommodation*
3. It has all high wrought accessories of a *Hospital* without its means: of *supervision*.

f240v

4. And it has all the inconveniences of *sub-division*,
without its advantages
5. The *wards* are like the famous *goose*, too much
(for a *Home*): too *little* (for a *Hospital*)
6. If the "*Central Pavilion*" is meant for *sick* (relapses)
then they ought not to be ~~in the same block as~~/separated by
Day & Dining Room: ~~& each Ward ought~~
but by a *Nurses' room* -
7. Every arrangement seems to be made for
something else

f241

8. The appendages are those of *St. Thomas'*:
the site's plan *wild country*
 9. The blocks are like *Pavilions* seen thro' the
wrong end of a *Telescope* & called *Cottages*
 10. You might as well diminish the *Herbert Hospital* to
one hundredth of its size & say: now I
have built a *Cottage* for *Convalescents* because I
have omitted the *Corridor*
 11. The *Matron's Room* must not be in the *Offices*
& the *Manager's Room* must not be by the
sick
- [I should recommend the Architect to go & see

f241v

the Liverpool Convalescent Home built by
 Worthington (I do not like the plans:
 but it is far better than this:) it has 3 *bedded*
 rooms: like Vincennes - 6 or 8, I think, - besides others
 Miss Leslie, a most intelligent woman, trained
 by us, is its Matron: She would frankly tell its
 success & its defects from experience.]
 12 There is *no supervision whatever* for *Ground*
Floors of Side Pavilions [26:773]
 Please return me *this*: F.N.

initialled letter, f242, pencil

f242

My small Notes on Nursing 35 S. St.
for new Edition May 22/74
 I not only thankfully send you a *copy* for
additions & Corrections for a new Edition
 but a copy interleaved
 I would however suggest that *you* should
 kindly make your additions & criticisms
on separate sheets & leave *me* to enter them
on the interleaved copy F.N.

unsigned letter, ff244-45, pencil

f244

Notes on Nursing 35 S. St
New Edition June 15/74
 Dear Dr. Sutherland
 After keeping me & Harrisons *a year and a half*
 waiting, you keep the copy sent *one hour*
 & return me about *half an hour's* work in
 suggestions (on my own little sheet)
 I have rather more to do each day than can be done
 in the 24 hours And this is my busiest time
 Unless you can do something more for me - I think
 I shall give up the idea of furnishing Harrison's -which

f245

I only promised upon *your* suggestion & *promise*
 repeatedly renewed to help - with a new
 Edition. He has sent for it again & again
 I now send you back these poor little 'scrimped duds'
 I think *p. 2/ M.S.* that a most effective & useful
 addition might be made to *Chapter "Health of Houses about Sewer Air*
Schools, Houses, Fever, Pr of Wales, if you would
 give me the data, I would put them into form
 If not, not [*Indeed I thought that this was to have been the*
main part of the addition.]
 You can take out your own story of the handkerchief
 if you like it Je n'y tiens pas

Nightingale asked her colleague for data on sewer gas

ff246-46v letter to John Sutherland, black-edged. Pencil

35 S. St.
 June 18/74

"Notes on Nursing"

New Editn.

Dear Dr Sutherland

Excuse me for trying to ~~coming to~~ you once more:

If we ~~you~~ would give me the *base data*
 know about *Sewer Air* coming into our ~~the~~ *houses*
how it comes

how it can be preventible? Briefly & generally
 -as exemplified too often alas! In *London*
in our my own houses
 or in a *grand country house by the sea*
 where the *heir to the throne* was all but

v

~~murdered~~ killed

in what should be /was attempted to introduce as *Legislation* via Mr Stansfeld
 in ~~Caius~~ *College Cambridge* at Universities
~~or some similar instances~~

in some of the numberless instances of Typhoid
 & *Typhus;*

this cause:

~~saying briefly~~ *how the Sewer Air come sin*
 & *generally & how it is to be prevented;*
you wd much oblige yours to command

we must seek the cause of the sewer air in bad sewer drains. F.N.

18 June 1874

Notes on Nursing. New Edition.

Excuse me for trying you once more. If we would know about *sewer air*
 coming into our *houses, how it comes, how it can be prevented,* briefly and
 generally, as exemplified too often alas! in *London* in our own houses, in a

good country house by the sea, where the heir to "the throne" was all but killed [murdered], should be was attempted to introduce as legislation, in [Caius College] colleges [Cambridge], at universities, in schools [like the R. Hibernian], in some of the numberless instances of typhoid and typhus, [like Lord Chilver's], even among noblemen's children, from the cause, finding out how the sewer air comes in and how it can be prevented, yours to command,

F.N.

We must seek the cause of the sewer air in bad sewers and drains.

initialled note on embossed WO stationery, JS to FN, FN to JS, ff250-51, pen & pencil

[6:556-57]

f250

Quetelet 23/6/74

my own opinion is in favour simply of a portrait such as Dr. Ian proposes. It appears the best *sequitur* to the Brussels Bust. One has to look into the future & see whether in raising a high class monument one is not raising a low class monument to one's self in after-time.

I was once placed on a committee for a memorial to a dear friend of my own who served faithfully his generation in his own line. Although I knew most of him, I proposed

f250v

simply a bas relief portrait in
white marble as a memorial
that {underlining in pencil - FN} *such a man had*
lived & that such work
had been done. (He was amongst
other things, the father of Night
Asylums for the houseless poor)
I was however overruled by the
whole Committee & we put up
a statue sculptured at Rome
by Gibson (the younger) I believe, and
at the funeral day no one
except those who knew him
here any idea of why it is
there!!

I scarcely see the force of
medals in such a case. or
scholarships. We have as
you know an absolute ~~of~~
plethora of statistics &
{FN's pencil}} *literary*

f251 {JS's pen} Statisticians, and the only medal I would found would be one to encourage young men {FN's underlining} *to take existing statistics & tell us what on earth to do with them.* We want a similar medal for Meteorological observations FN I never read Q's Phys Soc without being astounded at the force of genius & of accurate observation wh: has produced such a work but also never without feeling that such a man shd have lived 150/twice 75 years instead of 75: that the work is but an Introduction & even/ but an imperfect one - & that the world might be reformed & transformed almost into the fabled Millennium! there will be no heaven unless we make it. if it did but

f251v

know how to make use of the Statistics
wh: Quetelet has given us in
reforming Legislation, Government,
Criminal Law, Education, Institutions
Sanitary practice &c &c
{in JS's pen, written between the paragraphs, upside down}
The sous letter is beautiful.

Quetelet's short Chapter on
Medicine alone is a book for a
whole Profession to work out
May you & I & this generation
now springing up be called
more & more to the sacred duty
of applying Statistics to reform
the world!

[end 6:557]

My Preface to
Quetelet
{written in small writing in the bottom left corner}
Trustworthy
Punctual
Quiet & orderly
Clearly & healthy
Patient Cheerful
& Kindly
p. 7
& 8

f252

In memoriam
To
Quetelet
F.N.

f253 [6:557]

Preface

I write this less to indicate any results than to
 shew the way to find them to those who
 have the leisure &/ the power & the will
 Aim less to treat the subject radically than to shew how interesting
 & how necessary to be treated radically
 For facts of this kind, there can be no expression too lively,
 too raw or too strong
 My aim not to present a complete picture but to shew how
 our political Institutions & our philanthropy
 may influence - our whole being, physical & moral
 Prophets the first Protestants

initialled note, ff254-55v, pencil

f254 {arch: see her letters, July 30- Aug}

Miss Schuyler 35 S. St.
 31/7/74

What would you answer this woman
 How can I write her a Poor Law Treatise?
 F.N.

PS.

Dr. Warburg is "living" - And if you had
 read Genl Cotton's Memo which I sent you
 You wd have seen that it was on that very account I was
 {continued up the right hand side of the page}
 asked for advice

{ff254v-55v JS's reply}

initialled note, ff256-57, pen

f256

Mr. Bright: Liverpool {arch: [See her letters re Liverpool Lying in Charity,
 Sept 4 & 11] **[8:370]**}

Claydon
 8/9/74

What should you say in answer to his 3
 questions?
 [Dr. Steele does not seem to have gone
 much farther than our book for his figures]
 F.N.
 {JS's reply follows, & on f257}

initialled note, f258-58v, pen & pencil

f258

Mr. Barnes of Liverpool {arch: [See her letter May 22/74] sending "Notes on Surgical Nursing"}

Claydon Ho:
Bucks
8/9/74

What can I say to this?

{pencil} I do not see what I can do but order a certain
number (which I don't want) {pen} F.N.
{pencil} & pay him 2/ a piece for them
{JS's answer follows to f258v}

initialled note, f259-60, pen

f259

Lea Hurst
Matlock
Sept 23/74

I have brought my poor mother down here, after all.

{JS's comment}

What shall I say to this Mr. Wray?

F.N.

{JS's answer follows to f260}

initialled note, f261-64, pencil

f261

Moscow Children's Hospital 4/1/75 [16:804-05]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

The enclosed gentleman came to London at the end of August with plans of the above as he said to consult me

At the same time, came 2 Canadian gentlemen from Montreal with proposals to us to send a Canadian lady we have in training (an admirable one) & Nurses to their *old Hospital - improvements* to be made - at Montreal

The collision was in the nick of time since

f262

the *Russian* declared that what the *Canadians* said was *impossible* was *perfectly easy*:

viz - ventilation by *windows* open
- open ~~coat~~ fire-places
- W.C.'s in outside wall: apparatus to prevent water & soil pipes from freezing -

[Every body was out of London but me:
so I made what strife I could by myself -
You were abroad.]

± The *Russian* has now written me the enclosed letter, in answer to my written (August) criticisms:

I have from memory put down a slight sketch of one of the 8 Buildings

There was much that was really beautiful:
but the administrative & Nursing arrangements were fabulously insufficient

F.N.

f263*Proposed MOSCOW Children's Hospital*

[from memory]
 [Jan 4/75]

One Building (out of 8) for "Surgical & Internal Diseases"
 {sketch follows}

[1 story this wing] Boys'

Ward

for 16 beds

Play room for Girls & Boys

2 Stories

Ward

Vestibule

W.C.

30 beds

[1 Story

Bath

for infants

] this wing]

etc

both sexes

{written horizontally} 1 bed

Operating room

1 bed

2 beds

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

W.C. Bath

& Vestibule

Girls'

Corridor

Ward

for 16 beds

Porch &

[Nurses' rooms above

Entrance

2nd Story]

[I think there was more *outside* Wall - in this Moscow
 plan than in any plan I ever saw]

The advantages of plan were enormous:

- *outside* windows & ventilation by windows:

pipes & water prevented from freezing by warm
 water apparatus

But

[over]

f264

-2-

there was no W.C. Bathroom, Nurses' Room or Scullery
to *any* of the *Wards*

The *one* bed *Wards* all opened out of one another:

& into the Corridor: which Corridor was
closed at both ends: at one end by a
darkish Vestibule (& Wing): at the other
by W.C.s (&Wing) -

Over the centre building are the Nurses' Rooms

One of my criticisms to the most intelligent

Projector (Dr. Rauchfuss was that *all*
the Nurses' rooms were away from the *Wards*.)

He concludes from this that I wish *all* the
Nurses' Rooms to adjoin *Wards*.

Like a man, he does not see (all the Nurses, it
appears are under him) at St. Petersburg: as under a

Director at Moscow) the absolute necessity,

rather *more* in a *Children's* Hospital than

any where else: rather more where *mothers*

are admitted to nurse their own children in

one=bed *Wards* than under any other circumstances

- of having a *Head Nurse* or *Sister sleeping*

off her own Ward in command of her own *Ward* or

Division day & *night*: & of having a *Matron* -

[It is rather disheartening to be having always to repeat this self-
evident

axiom]

[end 16:805]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff 265-66, pen {re Lord Northbrook} black-edged
H.G.

initialled note, f266v, pen

f266v

Lord Northbrook's answer to my letter to Lord Salisbury

What should I say to *Ld Salisbury*?

And what should I write to *Ld Napier of Magdala* at whose instigation (& Sir B. Frere's) my letter was chiefly written ?

[It is a real misfortune that Sir B. Frere (who is in France) has never returned to me *Ld Salisbury's* letter to me - You can judge of its kindness by what he must have written to Lord Northbrook: but you cannot judge of its ignorance.]

5/1/75

F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

unsigned note, f267, pencil

f267

Moscow

{JS's notes follow}

initialled note, f268, pencil

f268

35 South St

Will you say what you think about this

& *return it to me to-night?*

[It is obvious that Sir B. Frere thinks I should write to Lord Salisbury at once: so that Lord S. may, if he pleases, write to Lord Northbrook by *this weeks' mail,*] ~~if he likes?~~

Could you get *Ld. Northbrook's* letter COPIED in the Office & *returned to me to night?*

F.N.

{ff 268v-69 JS's reply}

initialled note, f270, pen

f270

Could you give a judgment upon the enclosed

(impracticable if desirable

& undesirable if practicable)

{ They propose an
Act of Parliament

20/1/75

F.N.

{JS's reply written in the top margin & f271v}

f275v

we have done for them more in some cases
than their old rulers. Lord Salisbury
says (untruly) that the only remunerative
Irrigation works are those engrafted on
old native works

Yet these people whom it is said we have
to "awaken" - go on in spite of the heavy
~~yoke~~ burdens our rule lays upon them:
in spite of the still heavier atmosphere
which our opening *no* career, or a career
not much more than a drop in a bucket, for
natives of education & intelligence to rise to, -
lays about them, like Dante's leaden hood
in spite of all this these people go on
with incredible energy & industry almost
unknown to our working classes, who drink
or play their 3 days in the week -
husbanding every drop of water for cultivation:
keeping up the struggle for life against
almost every draw -back that can be imposed

Instead of "awakening", the word should be:
lifting off the burdens of an industrious &
energetic people: allowing free course to
their enterprise: enabling them to work without

f276

an incubus: ~~or~~-lifting off a ~~hindrance~~ system depriving
them of the fruits of their labour:

Read in the "Progress of India" 1874 - just out -
of the "extraordinary increase" (this relates to
jute) "due solely to the energy of the ryots of
Bengal": this is official testimony:

of their "creating the trade":

these are Government words:

of the "native cotton manufacturing industry"

& of the "excellence & durability of the clothes
manufactured in India" so superior

[it is an I.O. official who writes]

of & "Manchester goods so "inferior":

of "rapid deterioration" of "Manchester imports"

this is a curious commentary coming out of

the I.O. ~~o~~/in the same week on the

speech of the master of the I.O. at Manchester

Read these things: & the jargon talked by

the highest quarters about India

seems like the Nursery song sung by the

Nurses to their infant not intended

to have other meaning than a jingle to

put the baby to sleep -

But is Manchester a baby?

f276v

With all this, I think like Sir B. Frere

Ld Salisbury's worst better than any other

S. of S. for India's best -

And Ld Salisbury's kindness to me is almost

overpowering. I had two letters from him

yesterday & day before

[end 9:749]

signed letter, ff277-80v, pen

f277

Nursing at the Herbert Hospit 35 South St.
Feb 2/75

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You might think well to bring this
before Sir Wm Muir {arch: the Dr. Muir there were 3 Sir W. Muir's}

The only reason why I do not trouble
him directly is: that I should have to
tell him a long story, - and I, and I have
no doubt he is too, am so overwhelmed
with work that I find this quite out
of my power.

I entirely concur that, if women Nurses

f278

(trained Nurses) cannot be in Military
Hospitals *under the "Regulations"* framed
for the employment of Nurses in such Hospitals,
they had better not be there at all:

that the two Nurses now at Herbert Hospl
are not under such "Regulations":

& particularly that a Nurse in charge of linen
under a Capt. of Orderlies is in quite an
impossible position.

That part of the Linen business which is under the
women must be adjoining their own quarters:
& under their own Matron- Superintendent.

2. A *FROTTEUR* for St. THOMAS' Hospital 3

We have failed in finding this very
necessary, indeed essential, Article: tho' I
have made all sorts of enquiries at the
Board of Works & elsewhere

It is possible that Sir Wm Muir would
bear us in mind in case a superannuated
N.C. Officer or Orderly from the Medical Staff
Corps who has really been a good *frotteur*
at Netley or the Herbert would 'take office'
at St. Thomas'? He would find it a
good berth there, if efficient.

f278v

Pray believe me
yours very ffully
F. Nightingale

f279

-2-

N.B. I dare say that you notice that all the foreigners without any exception who come to England to inspect the Herbert for a practical purpose & who communicate with me speak of instantly detecting the absence of women at the Herbert from the want of cleanliness & neatness *about the Patients*

I sent you one Russian letter, the writer of which came to London to consult me about a Moscow Hospital, in which you would observe that he forcibly sets this forth.

{JS's reply ff280-80v} Feb 2/75

signed letter, f281, pen

f281

Herbert Hospital Nursing 35 South St.
March 15/75

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You will see that it is impossible for me to say anything about the Draft enclosed, ~~because I have~~ /it does not as yet appear whether we may/~~shall~~ not be asked to send a Nursing Staff in the only way which will make it ~~im~~ impossible for us to comply with the request according to their own Regulations, including provision of Quarters

yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale

initialled note, ff282-83v, pen & pencil

f282

Liverpool District Nurses 35 S. St. [8:371]
13/3/75

{pencil}

Would you look at this sheet
prepared in accordance with our instructions
It is very curious that they should have so high a
Mortality from Puerperal Fever
& Childbirth

*at their own homes**

& so low Mortality in the *Workhouse*:
the *number* of Childbirth Cases (400) being but a few
less than what the *WORKHO*: has had of late years

Other ~~things in it~~ /figures are also unexpected
I suppose the "Deaths" do NOT include F.N. *N.B. The same Nurse
those of Cases "Removed to Hospital" nurses Fevers & Childbirth

{ff283-83v JS's reply}

initialled note, ff284-93v, pencil

f284

Montreal General Hospital 35 S. St. [16:814-15]
June 2/75

My dear Dr Sutherland

*Could you kindly look over these plans: &
make any suggestions?:*

I enclose a few of mine: (very imperfect, as yet.)
We are requested to make haste: but this should
not prevent the most careful scrutiny.

I am staying on purpose: yrs v. fully

F.N.

{ff285-85v JS's reply}

f286

-1-

Ground Floor

1. Probationers (& Nurses in general) should never be compelled to use a Lavatory
A neat Wash stand in each compartment essential & the compt must be large enough for this:
2. How are the Nurses' ~~illeg~~/Compartments to be warmed?
3. Lady Supt must have an Office
& also Matron
should not be near Furnace Room &
4. Post Mortem Room should be quite removed from Hospl. It is almost under the Lady Supts room & the Nurses' Day room: Another window looks down upon its roof

f287v

-2-

1st Floor

1. Not desirable to have a P.P. Ward adjoining Night Nurses' Dormitories;
Preferably one Nurses' Sick Ward may be required e.g. for a Lady Probationer who does not like being warded
- Operation Room*
2 Operation Beds may be useful: but (generally) carry your Patient back to his Ward as soon as possible

f288

-3-

1st Floor

1.

Private Paying Wards: off Night Nurses' Dormitory
would require a *W.C.*

Or all slops would have to be carried *thro'* either
the Dormitory which is impossible:

or the Female Ward: which is undesirable

2. The objection applies to *ALL* the *P.P.* Wards:

& *no P.P. Patient* would go *thro'* a Ward
to his *W.C.* supposing him able to use it
her her

Nor should it be required. They should have a
private W.C. **[end 16:815]**

f289v

-4-

1.

Will ~~not~~ the *Private Paying Patients* come, unless
their Wards are in a *separate block* or cluster
from the mass of Patients?

General Hospital

2. I conclude that ~~these blocks~~/ this Hospital can be so warmed
as to admit of *open fire-places*

open windows

of the *W.C.* & other *Pipes not freezing*

& *Hydraulic machinery ditto*

& so *ventilated* that when windows can't be
opened there will be *fresh air* provided

f290

-5-

Out Patient Dept.

1 It is certainly undesirable to have this *under* the Wards: tho' it appears well cut off

ACCIDENT RECEIVING WARDS

2. doors too narrow; & an awkward turn for carrying in Patients: *if from Corridor*

Or are they to pass *thro' In Patients Waiting Hall?*

3.

Undesirable to have *Stores under Wards*

tho' Kitchen being under Chapel ~~it so~~ is well contrived

f291v

-6-

1. Where are

*Nurses**Probationers* to dine?

2.

Please say whether it would not be undesirable to place *another story (for Probationers)*

OVER the *Ground Floor buildings* (one story)

of Entrance Hall &c

3. *Fireplaces*: Is it not intended to give open Fireplaces to Lady Supt's Rooms, Day Rooms, Medical Officers Rooms,

f292

-7-

Small Pox & Fever Hospital

1. I should not like to be the *P.P. Patient* in the *small Polygonal Wards*

they are terribly built in with only *one corner* squinting out to open air:

& *Small Pox & Fever* ought if possible to have the open air ALL ROUND them as in Bath-room

I had much rather be in *Bath-room* jutting out at end

Also: I should have thought *Private Paying P/Small Pox & Fever* would peculiarly have objected to not

f293

-8-

having *their Small Wards* in
Clusters to themselves:

Any how: they must have a *W.C. & W.C. sinks*
to themselves: as there *is a* strong
objection to carrying all their *W.C. slops* THRO'
the Wards.

2.

And the *Nurses* ought *not* to be required
to use the *Patients' W.C.s*
especially ~~of~~/ in *Small Pox & Fever Patients*
General Hospital -9-

1. This objection occurs elsewhere in the
Hospital

The *Lady Supt* must have a *private W.C.*
& the *Nurses* - of the *Men's Wards* at least
a *private W.C.* on each floor

And all these *W.C.'s* so contrived so that
the pipes shall not freeze -

2. The provision of *Baths* for the *Nurses* is good

They should also have a *Housemaid's Closet*
to the *Dormitories*

f293v

-10-

3. I think the *Dormitory* for the *7 Day Nurses*
would require a *W.C.* or they would so
disturb the *16 Nurse Dormitory* in passing thro'

4. The *windows* of all the *Dormitories* should
be so constructed that one woman could
open her half without opening her
neighbour's half.

signed note, f294-94v, pen & pencil Sept 15/75

f294

"*Temperature: Childbirth*": Dr. Moore {pencil] Lea Hurst
Cromford Derby

Aug 14/75

- What do you think of this little book?

- *And what* should I say?

{JS's note: Book returned by post - JS}

You know, I suppose, that Capt. Galton has
resigned: I think I never was so sorry
yrs ffully F. Nightingale

{f294v JS's reply}

signed letters. ff295-98, JS to FN, pen {replies to her various letters}
Dublin 15 Sept 1875, Mrs S has sent me the contents of the various letters
recd at our house from you thro the WO, shall reply as I best can. 1st HH
nurses. In a gen (mil) hosp the ward furniture wd be under the gov, but HH is
now a quasi reg hosp....If Oakes resigns the WO is quite certain to advertise
for a nurse. S of S asked N com years ago to provide a supt and this is the
only peg on wh you can hang interference even at this late hour of the
meeting. Dr Maclean--truly glad you write to him. ... re art

f297 JS to FN from Dieppe 23 Sept 1875. Paris, re Woolwich, more on Netley
nurses **[end]**

Add Mss 45758, Correspondence with Dr Sutherland 1876-87, ff1-288, and Mrs Sutherland ff289-324, microfilm, 326 folios total, 141 pages

initialled letter, f1, pencil

f1

Tabulated Form for District Nurses 35 S. St.

Jan 11/76

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You probably know that we have started since August the *London District Nursing* under Miss Lees on its only real basis: i.e *real Nursing* apart from Relief & cooking [The longer I live, the more I see that the Nurse will degenerate into a mere *Relieving Officer*, cook & Almsgiver: if *relief* & *Nursing* are not administered by distinct organizations: (tho' co-operating): the Nurse simply to nurse, to teach care & *cleanliness* by her *direct work*, & to forward all *Sanitary & Health work*:† not alms - giving or cooking]

===
We shall want some sort of *periodical* (weekly or

f1v

monthly abstract) *statement of Nurses' work*
for the information of the Committee:

& Mr. Wigram propose the enclosed -

(He is our Vice-Chairman)

Will you please consider it & make suggestions?

It must be decided *this week* -

As you & I made the suggestions for Dr. Trench & the Liverpool District Nurses. No one could help us so much as you:

I enclose 4 Liverpool Reports
1 Preliminary " of our own
1 Nurses for the Needy

merely as suggestions.

Please return them all: & *this sheet*: & the *M.S. form enclosed*.

Yrs v. ffly

F.N

chart drafts & notes, ff2-4, pencil

f2

1. Superintendent's Cheque Book

enters: when case first visited: the

1.DATE /2.NAME /3.AGE /4.RESIDENCE /5.OCCUPATION /6. *Nature of Case:*
Disease or
Injury
{8.HIST...may be struck out}

7. *Under Care of:* /8.HISTORY /4 a. *Number &* 8.Nursing Treatment
name(of Doctor) *Relationship* *biggest expence*
of Room=mates:

--- {arrow points for 4a to go under 4. Residence}
{*Death & Date*
blank lines for *Result* - - - - {*Recovery* "
{*Discharge* "
--- {*Transferred*} "
{*to Hospital*} "

Cheque ~~Book~~ delivered to *Nurse who completes*
history of each case: & returns it to *Superintendent*
to enable her to fill up Ledger

f3

A copy of these 2 books
in each Home
would give any member
of the Comm who desired
it at any time
All the information with
regard to the cases
that could be desired

f3v

2. {vert. on page}

Nurse's Summary

to be given to her Superintendent every week Total {vert.

Cases remained end of last week on pg.}

New Cases during week {4 columns drawn

Died " " vertically}

Discharge " "

Recovered " " 3 {no.s in 1st col}

Transferred to Hospital " " 2

Remaining at end of week

A copy of this filled up by each Supt= would give

Committee at weekly (or monthly) Meeting signed

together with Supt-s filled up Form by Sup ~~Genl~~

an exact account of week's work countersigned by Sup

Genl

f4

A large book
to be kept on
Table of Home
in which shall be entered
every case visited or nursed
in order as they came
giving w

/

economize the writing

f4v

3

Form for Week to be made up by District Supt=

" Year " " {~~by Supt Genl~~
{or Secretary

on same model (but with age-headings less minute)

as Liverpool Form - p.49

see also Form P.10

& to be submitted only to Supt- Genl={line up to Form for Week from '&'}

Blank Form 2 for Supt= {line drawn up to Genl from Supt}

~~books~~ {sent for when required

{& to be returned to Districts following day -

ff5-6v, Sutherland, 12/1/76 Horse Guards, record of caseload of the Nurses' to superintendent [or 12th?]. The Liverpool nursing table is amply sufficient for your annual and weekly statement of work. When we discussed it, we thought details of age necessary to be able to compare the mortality outside and inside hospitals. But this is not required now. The age headings might therefore be "under 5" "5 - 10" "10-20" &c by tens. This form for the week wd be made up by the district supt, and for the year by the supt general.

How to get the data? This will depend on how you organize. Suppose any poor person wishing a nurse is reqd to apply to the district supt, then her book wd contain all the data entered at the time of applic. But not any additional data to be obtained solely from the nurse. Suppose the supt besides her ledger had a cheque book in wh she entered date-name-age-residence-disease etc with blank lines for result death & date, recovery & date, illeg & ^ date, transferred to hosp & date. This delivered to the nurse wd enable her to complete the history of each case and the cheque when returned to the supt wd enable her to fill up her ledger.

The nurse shd also send to their supt every week a summary return. Thus cases remained end of last week
new cases during the week
die during week
dismissed during week
recovered during week
transferred to hosp ditto
remaining at end of week.

A copy of this filled up by each supt wd give the com at their weekly meeting together with supt's filled up form an exact account of the week's work.

I think the MOs report very good About the relief part of it. This is a great difficulty. Look at the ragged school discussion. Lord Shaftesbury appeals for the schools and one fact is the want of shoes. Sir C. Reed replies that the school bd get the children or the parents find shoes! In so utterly demoralized a state as many poor are in, one scarcely knows what to say. If they have any self denial left, sickness in the family might be expected to turn part of the money wasted in drink to buying food Is not one use of sickness this very thing? If you feed the sick, the others will rejoice over your goodness in the public house. But there must be cases where food is the great want and where proper food cannot be got. I am afraid you cannot draw a hard and fast line. But the whole matter requires very careful consideration.

Mr R's book is most interesting. Only thank Rendal for his paper there is not much in it.

Thanks for the pheasant and with every good wish,

ff7-12v, Sutherland, February 22 1876, summary of health of the troops, civil population, public economy, appointment of Indian Sanitary Commission and it's abolishment, local Sanitary Commissions &c. I got your note at home last night and now reply to it. There are no books you cd show the new V. We have only reports to the understanding of which much other knowledge is necessary.

I think that personally you will do all that can be done, and you must take it for granted that He knows nothing. I wd put the case in 2 lights--first as regards the health of troops secondly as regards the civil pop. In both instances I wd dwell not only on health, but on public economy.

You mt say that no doubt he had heard about the san com of 1857 presided over by Ld H, the measures taken on the advice of this commission and the reduction of the home army death rate to one half.

That fact brought out before this com led you to propose to Lord Stanley then sec of st to issue a com for the Indian army (Show Lord L the page we wrote together at the end of your own fat book at Malvern) that in consequence Lord Stanley issued the com and it examined witnesses,at every station in India. [long letter, much underlining, presumably for Lytton]

ff13-14, Sutherland to FN, embossed WO, March 6 1876, placing of Nurses in other hospitals besides Herbert Hospital, illness of Dr. Parkes; saw Muir on Saturday and the nursing question is settled all except the nursing with which the matter at present rests.

No change in the Dept will lead necessarily to all large hospitals being general hospitals, or that I hope you may eventually be able to place nurses in three or four besides Herbert Hosp.

I am very sorry to tell you that Dr Parkes has been very ill. Pneumonia, expected to rally in summer. If you see your way, you might write him such a letter as you only can write and this might give him a beneficial turn.

ff15-16v, Sutherland, March 9 1876, Longmore's proposal letter re Parkes. About the school. You see that in this country there is no continuity in improvement. Everybody thinks he can do better, & does worse. I have no doubt the proposal mentioned by Mr Longmore has cropped up in the brain of somebody totally unacquainted with our reforms and their reasons. I told the D.G the other day that I would never assent to abolishing the arrangements we entered into with Lord Herbert. I don't know what you can do. There are now three parties to the school. The army, the navy and the I.O. Could you in any way influence any of these to consider the question in all its bearings before so fatal a step is taken? The D.G. you could write to & he would no doubt oppose any change.

Could you write to Dr Acland and show him Longmore's letter privately and ask whether he could help with the public journals. It would have to be treated as a rumour.

Balfour. Women's hospital. and quarters for married soldiers, Windmill Hill and its epidemics due to sanitary neglect, now being drained and supplied with water.

About the Dept. Everything has changed with the abolition of purchase. The A.M.D. will henceforth be a staff. The new warrant is not out yet, but Balfour will have seen the outline in Mr Hardy's speech. All who enter will get £250 a year for 10 years. Then there will be a selection for permanent promotion and those not selected must go out with £1000 bonus. Pat him on the back. His representations should never cease. In time the best will bear fruit.

initialled note, f17-v, pencil

f17

Gibraltar [archivist: To Dr Sutherland] 13/3/76

Sir H Verney will ask Mr Whitbread to ask Dr. Balfour's question in the Ho: of C.

Sir H.V. proposes the enclosed:
I doubt his first two lines:

& propose the other enclosed
I send you Dr. Balfour's letter: again: for reference:
& ask you to write the question -

--- P.S.

You do not say anything in your letter to me as to whether Dr B. is justified in fearing that the M A s

Add Mss 45758

1015

will all be put back to looking after stores
see pp. 6,7

----- /Over
Dr. Parkes: actually better: letter from Longmore this morning

f17v

but needs a Trained Nurse

I telegraphed immediately

Sad Telegram from Longmore in return -

he is sinking -

F.N.

13/3/76

note, f18, pencil

f18 {archivist:} [ca. 15 March 1876 See Dr Sutherland]

Whether it ~~can be possible~~ is the fact that in so large a Garrison as Gibraltar no provision has been made for a Hospital for the wives & children of the soldiers and if Married Soldiers Quarters for the whole strength are to be built: {next 2 lines have 5 vert. lines drawn thru} and whether any representation has been made on these subjects by the local Military authorities

f19-v, Sutherland, March 15 1876, Sutherland's feeling Balfour will not lead to results

f20-v, Sutherland, March 16 1876, how long will there be married men in the army to need married quarters

signed letter, f21, pencil

f21

Gibraltar } 35 S. St.
Mr. Whitbread} March 16/76

Dear Dr Sutherland

It would be so very convenient if you would be so very kind as to answer the question:
Is the recommendation about ~~the~~ new Married Quarters & Women's Hospl= in the B. & H. C. Report on Gibraltar &c (Yours & Capt Galton:)?
If yes, then please give exact Title of Report, date, & reference to page:

& oblige

Yrs v. ffully F. Nightingale

Please send answer to this at once *by hand*

f22-v, Sutherland, [16 Mar 1876], responsibility of P.M.O. for stores

ff23-24, Sutherland, March 21 1876, Netley training, influx of 10 year men

f25-v, Sir W. Muir to Sutherland, March 20 1876, re: thanks S. for "commission re Medical School" which will be useful when it comes up for consideration 45758 f25

ff27-28v, Sutherland, March 31, Oakleigh, concern for the future of the 10 year men and measures needed to be taken to reassure the plan a good one

ff29-30v, William Aitken to Sutherland, March 29 1876, Woolston, the threatened Army Medical School. I presume you to know already that the existence of the Army Medical School is threatened, and that we are called upon to show cause why it should any longer exist We hear it is wanted to extinguish it (1) on the ground of cost (2) because hygiene is now taught in Edinb, Dublin and London and can therefore be acquired by those who desire to enter he services. We also hear that in place of the school it is intended to subsidize those teachers of hygiene in those towns and (2) to send the men when they first enter the service to the stationary or depot centre hospitals to learn in detail the routine of duty. You are now the last survivor of those who called the school into existence and hope you will be able to help us still to maintain its existence.

Ever since the death of Lord Herbert we have been constantly fighting for existence, which has been constantly threatened from one quarter or another, so that we have really been working under a kind of sufferance....

ff31-32, Sutherland, April 3 1876, Oakleigh Alleyn Park, does not feel a female hospital can be worked. Re Balfour's letter, sends on Aitken's

ff33-36v, William Aitken to Sutherland, April 1 1876, Woolsten, problem of managing to defer a senate meeting & discussion until May and return of Fayrer and Sutherland himself to be well

ff37-38, Sutherland to FN, April 5 1876, Oakleigh Alleyn Park, difficulty in getting the number of candidates required to fill up the ranks, and need to abolish the school as a result of the increased expense but with a little management cost would be minimal; Judging from these letters I expect little good. There has been at the bottom of the whole movement something of this kind. They could not get the number of candidates required to fill up the ranks and to enable this to be done they increased the pay and ... proposed to abolish the school. What the senate must do is to show that the school with a little re-arrangement will cost very little.\ e.g. men educated at Glasgow would have to go to Edinburgh or London to hear lectures on hygiene at their own expense. Well then why should they not go to Netley at their own expence and get there not only hygiene but all the necessary practical training.....only salaries of the profs. If the WO arranges that the pay is to begin at the concl of the Netley course or that a small part only should be given during the course, I don't see that anybody need complain. If you don't save the school personally, yourself, it is lost.

ff39-40, Sutherland, April 15 1876, Oakleigh Alleyn Park, writing from his

sick bed with a bleeding larynx, with the desire to help with a proposed hospital by sharing his copy of "the book" to give the Committee and Galton access to. Saw notice of proposed hosp in the Times. There is now no doubt that the "book" over wh we fought is destined to do its work. I have a copy here so you need not send one. The shortest way wd be to send your commissioner down with the plans here and let him wait for them. I think Galton shd also see them.

I rejoice over your letter to the Times of yesterday both on account of what it told and of the great help it will doubtless give to this work. One requires to be ill and helpless to estimate the great necessity everywhere among the poor.

f41-v, Sutherland notes to correspond to FN, [April 1876], proposed Lying in Institute St. Johns House, details on building. Better 2 floors of wards over ground floor

This is the main defect in the plan both on the side of health and admin. If they cannot get the funds for 2 floors they must do with these plans. Their open windows are intended apparently to avoid the danger which no doubt they would diminish but at the expense of high winds and drafts if cold. All these *open* windows must have ventilating ... handles.

As a whole this plan shows a great advance on the part of committees, architects and doctors in grasping sound principles.

Advise them to be sure that each room is ventilated by a separate shaft above the roof and by a ventilator. [red und by FN]

f42, Sutherland, July 7 1876, embossed WO, to find something disagreeable to say about [archivist Proofs of the Sanitary Blue book]

ff43-44, Sutherland, July 8 1876, embossed WO, returning the proofs, apparent blunders by the draftsmen ignoring Army Sanitary Commissions & its advice & services and requesting FN to send a note to Mr. Hill to show that she has observed a defect

f45, Sutherland, July 8 1876, WO embossed, asking her to write regarding the report above, that the few defective principles copied from Indian documents unless corrected might lead to the idea that they expressed the views of the I.O. while they are opposed to sound sanitary procedure

initialled letter, f46, pen & pencil, red und [15:514]

f46

Gibraltar: Coffee-room & Home for Soldiers

Could you tell me what has become of all

Capt. Pilkington Jackson did?

or generally of what is the present state of

Gibraltar Recreation-room Accommodation?

[I could not see these Officers: but I am bound to try & help] [end]

F.N.

You know Dr. Balfour}

is in England }

11/7/76

f47, Sutherland response to f46, H.S. favours regimented rooms rather than general recreation rooms, soldiers did not support the Jackson day room so it failed

ff48-49v, Sutherland, WO embossed, August 12 1876, Mr. Hill's revised report a good one. Advise you to tell him that he has improved it.

ff50-51v, Sutherland, August 28 1876, Alleyn Park, Mr. Hill's 1st report very defective, the second after Sutherland's opinions was better, with opinion that the form needed to be altered or to combine the report to a detail of practical work he hopes to be done

ff52-53, Sutherland, embossed WO November 14, 1876, safe arrival of plans, regrets trouble to her as the people concerned will take nobody's opinion but their own. The plans [arch Johns Hopkins] have arrived safe. They are somewhat old acquaintances of mine and I really regret that these people have given you so much trouble and though on a matter which cannot be improved, and on which they are certain to take nobody's opinion but their own.

These were sent to me along with others by someone in England, and I saw in a moment that not one of the plans ought to receive one word of sanction from me. I simply said that the architects had taken every proposal they had heard of, and strung them together w/o any attention to economy or necessity.

When any dyspeptic patient came to Abernathy he used to take his fee and dismiss him with a rec to read his book. I shd feel disposed if I were you to commit yourself in no way to these plans, but to say that you were thoroughly aware of the requirements of hosp constr and that if the plans admitted of criticism you wd gladly have helped to perfect them. Such however not being the case you beg to refer them to your book on hospitals wh contained an amount of those fundamental prs reqd to be embodied in hosp plans. As it is one might suspect from the plans that they were intended as a mauvaise plaisanterie. To show how the sick might nurse the attendants. I have sent the plans to Captain Galton.

ff54-55, Sutherland, November 18 1876, embossed WO., returning plans with Galton's remarks. I return the plans with Galton's remarks in which I concur. I have read the speeches you sent me and wish to keep them for the present with reference to the Madras mun report not yet recd.

signed letter, f56-v, pen

f56

{vert. at top of this folio has text by Sutherland re: hospital dust and principle of beds and linen to be shaken in open air, not in the wards}

"Art in Hospitals" } 35 South St.
Dr. Lawrence Hamilton } Park Lane W.
Feb 15/77

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I wrote to this man, declining to be on his Committee - telling him that "bric à brac", "old armour", &c &c in Wards would not do: & the reason why.

Would you revise the enclosed Extract from my letter telling him *what would do*, & say what *you think would do*?

And would you also tell me whether you think I should let him publish it?

And would you also send me *for myself*

f56v

not for publication a sentence of yours (which you sent me about 3 years ago for Miss Lees, defining the evils of Hospital dust

What it includes, viz. flakes of skin, & what is the beau ideal of removing it, from bed clothes &c &c

-- to which we are to come as near as we can in practice?

yrs ever ffully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff57-59v, pen {text vert. on page} [8:493-95]

f57

Geneva Congress: Abolition of Govt-Regulation of Prostitution:
Dear Dr. Sutherland

[blue pencil] 35 Sa. St. W.
June 22/77

I enclose you 4 papers to show what is the question:

I took no notice of No= 1 till the other day,
when I rather unwillingly gave my name:

I told them it was quite impossible I could give
a paper: [I am at least two years in arrear of
things which I am engaged to do:

but I wrote Mrs. Butler a few lines saying that
experience confirmed me every year in &c &c &c.

Then comes Mrs. Butler's letter No= 3:
I do not know what she alludes to p.3
To this I made no answer:

f57v

This morning comes printed paper No= 4
in which you will see I am pledged to
a " Lettre sur les institutions hospitalières":
which I have never been asked to do: &
when I had declined writing any: it is a pure
imposture:

I should simply write complaining of their want
of faith, & desiring them to strike out my name:
at all events:

But, would you like to do this?
would you like to put down a few words
such as you & I have often said together
upon the subject: as to evidence
adding as to every year's experience confirming
it as she puts on her p. 4
& as I did write to her
& send it to me
for me to do as she wishes?

[I do not care about it: I mean I do not
care about putting in an appearance at Geneva
- it may be exactly as you wish.]

yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

Madras Drainage Id Salisbury has put what I
asked in train. And I have seen Mr. Ellis, who

{at top of f57} is now as you know on the India Council:
he was most zealous: F.N.

f58

Are we "to contend against the social evil of Prostitution"? Every woman who takes the trouble to think & to feel answers: Yes. And is "Government Regulation of Prostitution" successful, even in the one matter in which it professes to be successful viz the prevention of disease? My Official experience which can be quoted says. No. While 'regulation' increases evil by a fancied & false security It is a gratuitous assumption ~~& a false one,~~ in my opinion, that the consequences of immoral action are or can be prevented by equally immoral legislation

Experience confirms me every year in the opinion I hold so long ago: Overworked & all I will cite only one fact: but a large one: viz. the result of "Contagious Diseases" legislation, in ~~our large~~ that ~~vast~~ greatest of dependencies of India. where ~~we can enforce~~ it can be enforced by absolute government. ~~These are the facts~~ Here it is after about 13 years of work:

"In spite of a very general introduction of the rules for the prevention of (venereal) disease among European troops, the results hitherto have been a failure. x x x

f58v

"The stations with Lock Hospitals have established no decided superiority over those without them It is argued that the disease is now of a milder type than it used to be: but no facts have been adduced in support of this statement - nor does it appear how such a result could have been attained unless it be admitted that the disease is contracted from the registered women, for the others are under no surveillance, & cannot have been affected by the system. It is very disappointing to be obliged to acknowledge that the Lock Hospitals have failed - They were introduced at the recommendation of the Sanitary Department; and year by year their working has been carefully watched and suggestions have been made by that department in the hopes that success would yet be attained: but so far these hopes have not been realized, & it is very evident either

f59

"that the women who are the real source of
 "the evil still escape detection. -- Or - and
 "this is a danger which does not appear to be
 "sufficiently appreciated - that registered
 "women to all appearance healthy are yet
 "capable of propagating disease". x

This is the *Government* which speaks: no private
 person: this is ~~the~~ the Government's evidence:
~~the very Government which~~ about its own measure -
 Fact & authority cannot be denied And ~~this~~
 it is a test fact.

"Contagious Diseases" legislation like some other legislation of a
 similar kind has been founded
 on a limited & one-sided appreciation:

And the sooner it is ~~abolished the better:~~ &
 succeeded by a careful enquiry into causes &
 remedies : ~~& an active application of the trust~~ the better both for our
 sense & for these poor victims

~~remedies~~ - Other means should be sought &
 actively applied for remedying these social
 evils & their consequences to society than such
 false principles of legislation

As the matter stands at present, much of
 x Twelfth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner
 with the Government of India: just issued:

f59v

so called Sanitary Law might have been
 suggested by the enemies of all improvement;
 for it stands directly in the way of Sanitary
 progress & of true morality & civilization
 Florence Nightingale

London June 1877

signed letter, ff60-61v, pen & pencil

f60

Madras Drainage Private Lea Hurst
Cromford: Derby
Sept 7/77

Dear Dr. Sutherland

[10:137]

I have no copy of the long letter which I addressed to Lord Salisbury on I think June 2.

[I sent it to you: but you were absent.]
Lord Salisbury it seems sent it to the D. of Buckingham: who replied in the long letter which Ld Salisbury sent to me with a note from himself.

I send you copies of

f60v

- the Duke of Buckingham to Lord Salisbury
- Lord Salisbury to F.N.
- the A.G. of Madras to F.N. on the Duke's letter.

All are *strictly confidential*: please
return them to me -

I shall await your remarks with anxiety :

This is a crisis

If you chose to draft me a letter to Lord Salisbury I think it would be wise.

But it should go in as soon as possible, in order that if there is time to send out 1. first rate Sanitary advice from England before the Drainage scheme is decided upon

2. a first-rate Municipal President,
these persons should be sent out at once: [end 10:137]

yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

ff61-62v, notes in FN hand on the Duke's letter {copy referred to in f60v}, need for scientific opinion about the city drainage problem

f63-v, Lord Salisbury, {copy referred to in f60v}, August 22 1877, India Office, gave FN's notes re the Duke's letter to the governor of Madras who is considering the questions requiring his expertise

ff64v-70v, Buckingham to Salisbury, {copy referred to in f60v}, July 24 1877, Government House Madras, Clarke's scheme and problems of water supply for an underground sewage system

initialled note, f71, pen

f71

Madras Drainage: Lea Hurst

Private {up at an angle} Cromford: Derby
Sept. 23/77

Private

Lord Salisbury's answer:

Please return to

F.N.

{other text on page not FN}

f72-v, Sutherland, Sept 19 1877, India Office, reasons for the indecision of the Madras Government in selection of plan of drainage

ff73-74, Sutherland, Jan 12 1878, WO, sanitary measures to follow re prevention of wound poison

signed letter, ff74v-75, pen & pencil

f74v

St. Thomas': Sanitary} 35 South St
Park Lane W
Jan 12/78

Dear Dr Sutherland

The enclosed printed Report comes on for *consideration* immediately.

[The copy is not mine: nor Hy Bonham Carter's:
& must not be written upon]

Would you be so very good as to criticize it
freely on a separate sheet of paper?

But I must have it back on Monday at
latest: with your remarks, if possible
if not, without.

I send an *old printed sheet* of mine
which you have seen before)

& a *new M.S. sheet* of mine -
to assist your criticisms.

Neither, please, must be written on:

Now is the time if we wish to do anything
at St. Thomas'.

I trust you are better:

yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

f75

I send you 2 letters of Col. Yule to me [10:141]
 (confidential) -which please return -
 They are not very hopeful.

Can you suggest anything else to be done?
 I have had so much correspondence lately
 on various subjects with Lord Salisbury
 that I would rather abstain from
 writing to him on one which I know
 he would bestow so little thought upon:
 Still that is not a reason for doing nothing. [end 10:141]

F.N.

8/3/78 {the remaining text is not FN, but JS}

signed letter, ff76-89, pencil & pen

f76

Private {up at an angle}

Please return me THIS & all the 4}
papers } 15/2/79
sent }

My dear Dr. Sutherland

You tell me that you are now 'doing' the [9:826]
 Famine figures.

I have been in communication with the India
 Office about this & at their own request
 furnished them with a *Memo-* of my own,
~~a copy of which I enclose: [I have no copy of it]~~
 They replied with a *Memo-* signed by the
 Under Secy- Mr Stanhope, (entirely Confidential)
~~a copy of which I also enclose [I have no copy]~~

I also enclose

Dr Cornish's Statistical Paper
 & Mr Elliott's paper on Mysore - with Gordon's covering sheet

[I have also written to India for further papers-]

If you could enable me to answer Mr Stanhopes
 Memo= by means of the figures I send you, it
 would be most important at the present junction

~~[Mr Gladstone is going~~

To enable you more readily to turn to the reference,
 I add the following [end 9:826] f76v

India Office Memo- (2) *Mr. Stanhope's*
p.p. 1,2 of the I.O. Memo- (2)

(3)

refer to Table p. 14 of *Dr. Cornish's Statistical paper*
p. 7 of my *Memo=* (1.)

p. 3 " 3 other Districts' compares
Table top of p. 9 in Statistical paper (Cornish)
& *Obsns=* middle p. 10
 with Table p. 14

- the "3" are obviously *Kistna, Trichinopoly,*
Tinnevelly -

I don't understand I.O remarks:

but neither do I *Cornish's*

comparing *decrease* of popn- Table p. 14

with *increase* mentioned p.p. 9, 10

p. 5 Chingleput combines 3.

remark about Chingleput p. 10 (*Cornish*)

& Table p. 14

p. 7 loss of 5 per cent refers to *Table p. 14*

I don't understand remark but could not
 answer it because I don't know how 5 per cent
 was got on these 4 *Districts*

p. 8 I too could form no opinion on N & S. Arcat
 [So far I.O. note on my Memo- studiously fair,]

p. 12 "Decrease of births: unable to give an
 opinion as to the 'million'.

£77

p 13 *Epidemic diseases*

[9:826-27]

This excites my ire. *Epidemic* diseases are one of the worst results of famine - *Therefore* they are not to be considered a result of famine at all

"Unusual *epidemics*" are the inevitable consequence of "unusual" famine. *Therefore* they are not to be reckoned to famine at all. Instead of their being added in the awful total, they are to be deducted.

[It is like the former fallacy: '*Cholera* is the worst result of insanitary conditions'. *Therefore* Deaths from *Cholera* are to be deducted, in judging of any increasing mortality due to want of Sanitary measures]

I gave the I.O. an Abstract of that part of Cornish's Report, where he gives the want of accuracy in the (village accountant) Registrars, putting down *famine* Deaths to Fevers, to "Bowel Complaints", & all "Other Causes"

The orders of the Govt- of India are, as you know, to ignore any Deaths but the following 6 Headings

1 *Cholera*: 2 *Small Pox* 3. *Fevers*: 4 *Bowel Complaints* } 5 *Injuries* 6 {*Other Causes*

But the I.O. evidently thinks that *whatever Deaths* can be *properly* put down to *Fevers*, *Cholera* *Bowel Complaints* &c are to be deducted from *Famine Deaths* (instead of the reverse)

I cannot say what grief this causes me. It falsifies

f77v

the whole history & argument from the history
["Unusual Epidemics are a thing quite apart
from "unusual famine" in *their* estimation,- just
as much so, *they* think, as a storm-wave or
inundation is a thing quite apart from a drought]

Sir M Kennedy, whose famine work in
Bombay was prodigiously good, has yet
done enormous mischief in this way.

*If you could by facts & arguments, enable me
to dispel the mischievous delusion, it would be an
invaluable service.*

p. 16 I cannot conceive how they could present
the "registered" Deaths as the *actual Famine*
Death, without any qualification, to an
ignorant House of Commons

[You see too they look the Famine Mortality
only up to *October* 1877 - whereas it certainly
existed & was severe all over Madras & Mysore
even in *January/78*].

I asked the question at the time *what is* the
estimated proportion of *registered* Deaths to
actual Famine Deaths?

No answer was given

Mr. Elliott estimates the *registered* Deaths for

Mysore as *22 per cent* of the actual Famine Death{s}

-Cornish as under *50 per cent* for Madras **[end 9:827]**

f78

p.p.1, 2 refer to Table p. 14 of Statistical paper
 p. 7 of my Memo-

p.p. 3 3 other Distts- compares Table top of p. 9
 in Stat. paper & Obsns- middle of p. 10
 with Table at p. 14

3 are Kistna, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly
 I don't understand I.O remarks -
 but neither Cornish's comparing decrease of pop.
 Table p. 14 increase mentioned p.p. 9, 10

p 5 Chingleput combines remark about Chingleput
 p 10 & Table p. 14

p 7 loss of 5 per cent - refers to Table p. 14.
 I don't understand remark but cd not answer it
 because I don't know how 5 p c was got & thru
 4 Districts

p 8 I too cd 'form an opinion' on N. & S Arcot
 So far note on Memo- studiously fain

p. 12 "Decrease of births unable to give an opinion as
 to the "million"

p. 13 Epidemic diseases
 This excites my ire Epi. dis are one of the worst
 results of famine. And therefore they are not to be considered a

f79 {blank}

f79v

result of famine "Unusual epidemics" are the inevitable consequence of "Unusual" famine. And therefore they are not to be reckoned to famine at all - instead of their being added in the awful total, they are to be deducted [It is like the former fallacy: Cholera is the worst result of insanitary conditions And therefore Deaths from Cholera are to be deducted in judging of any increased Mortality due to want of Sanitary measures.]

I give an abstract of that part of Cornish's Report where he gives the want of accuracy in the (village accountant) Registrars putting down famine Deaths to Fever, to Bowel Complaints & All "Other Causes" - But the I.O. evidently thinks that *whatever Deaths* can be PROPERLY *put down to Fevers, Cholera, Bowel Complaints &c* are *to be deducted* from *Famine Deaths* (instead of the reverse.)

I cannot say what grief this causes me - It falsifies the whole history - & argument from the history ["Unusual Epidemics are a thing quite apart from "unusual" famine, just as a storm wave or inundation is a thing quite apart from a drought] Sir M Kennedy has done enormous mischief in this way

And if you could by any facts or arguments enable me to dispel this mischievous delusion you wd be doing an invaluable service

f80

[3]

p 16 I cannot conceive how they could present the "registered" Deaths as the Famine Deaths without any qualification, to an ignorant H. of C.

I asked the question at the time what is the estimated proportion of registered deaths to actual Famine Deaths

No answer was given

Mr Elliott estimates the registered Deaths for Mysore as 22 per cent of the actual Famine Deaths.

And Cornish for Madras at under 50 p c

What estimate of Famine Mortality has been *officially* presented by you?

Or what estimate *officially* accepted by the Madras Govt-? I trust you have presented one: & that the Stat paper does not form the only one.

Does it not form a part of your completed Report? It is essential that Famine Mortality Statistics should be *officially* sent to the I O

x You see they took the Famine Morty only up to Oct /77 whereas it certainly existed & was severe even in Jan /78 -

f81

Please return the *whole*
of this - viz
3 M.S.S. and
3 printed papers
(I have no copies of any)
as soon as possible

WITH YOUR REMARKS to

Florence Nightingale

19/2/79

f82

[2]

I do not know what estimate of Famine **[9:827-30]**
Mortality has been *officially* presented by Dr. Cornish
or what estimate *officially* accepted by the Madras
Govt=

[The I. O. do not dare now to stand up for theirs]

Bombay

I have read the Bombay Reports most carefully:
& have but 2 long interviews with Mr. Hewlett
(who is yet more of a hero than ever:)

No reasoning can however be made founded
on *Bombay* for *Madras*
e.g as to what Epidemic Deaths should be
deducted from Famine Deaths &c

&c &c &c

To shew what I mean,

f82v*Famine*

Madras

Population affected 20 millions

" severely " 17 "

Famine from November 1876}
to March 1878} 17 months*Mysore*

in Jan /78

Death rate still high

REGISTERED Deaths not 50 per cent
of actual DeathsRegistered Deaths
22 per cent of
actual Deaths
according to Mr. ElliottVillage Accountants (Registrars) thought
Famine Deaths at all events not to be
recorded.

Cholera = anything result of Famine

Small Pox = result of overcrowding &c &c in Relief camps

Fever = famine Fever

Bowel } = generally (always & nearly always in children)

Complaints} the internal state due to starvation

Other = anaemia innutrition

Causes

European supervision neglected or impossible:

native petty official corruption hideous: both in
the Relief works & in distribution of relief : All kinds
of bribes taken by the native official he who could not
bribe got nothing - Relief did not reach persons it
was intended for: people could not get on Relief
Works even without a bribe

f83*Famine*

1 {a large '1' written between crease of f82v & f83}

Bombay

Population affected 8 millions

" severely " 5 "

Famine from January 1877}

over in November 1877} 10 months

Registration of Deaths better than in ordinary years -
more accurate: due to increased supervision

The village headmen (over Registrars) were afraid of
not having Deaths enough on their books:

thought their English masters wanted deaths

Cholera = real Cholera

Small Pox = worst where Famine was least

Fevers = malarial Fevers

Bowel } = anaemia innutrition & other direct results

Complaints } of Famine classified under these two heads

Other Causes =

European supervision made effective by being multiplied
thro' the higher native officials: native gentlemen:

Not an anna but reached the hand it was meant for

- if a bribe was taken to get a man put on relief works, it was
detected, & bribe-taker instantly dismissed or punished

f84

[3]

f84v

Madras

Relief camps & houses models of Sanitary defects,
overcrowding, want of conservancy &c &c
Cholera & Small pox the result:

[In Bombay the people on relief works seem
to have been actually better off in Sanitary things
than at home] but it is not denied ~~that~~ officially
that even in Bombay Small Pox & Cholera Patients
succumbed from being half starved by the Famine
who would not otherwise have died

peculation immense: almost unchecked or uncheckable
the poor nation had no reserves of money or grain
- utterly exhausted & in the last stage of emaciation they
were put on relief works & on the insufficient pay or ration
no "special treatment" (including any food judged suitable that
could be had)

appears to have been given or was perhaps possible
children's allowance appears to have been neglected or not
seen to: children wandered away & perished in vast
numbers

Villages deserted by the thousand
headmen & Village Accountants disappeared
perished, wandered away.
Registration dropped

f85

{a large '2' written between crease of f84v & f85 at top}

Bombay

Sanitary supervision of Relief Camps, Relief works, splendid

If a native official neglected the conservancy, European Officer was riding up & down the lines: & the petty official was instantly dismissed

Grass huts erected every 200 or 300 yds for babies whose mothers were at work on the lines - where the babies were under the care of an old crone

Even chupathis sold by a trader appointed by European Officer that they might not have to ~~sell~~ cook their own food

Conservancy of Relief houses very bad at first
no speculation possible -

European or high native official saw the daily pay paid into the people's hands:

the poor natives had generally reserves of money or grain - without these reserves relief works pay would not have been sufficient - where they had none, they were put on

"special treatment" till able to work -
children under 7 years had also their allowance

& it was seen to that they had it -
also: that they ate their food in a place where parents could not see them & take it away

No deserted Villages
headmen always remained
Registration not suspended

f86

[4]

f86v

Madras

Europeans have counted 90 corpses by the way-side
in a morning's ride

Inquests impossible either on one corpse or on 90 -
3 fourths of the Deaths in a relief houses were from
innutrition (starvation) - They were so starved when
they came in that no food could do them any good

As a rule women's ornaments all gone(sold)
1 lb rice not worth 1 lb. jowari

Sir R. Temple as Delegate in Madras different from
Sir R. Temple as Governor of Bombay

~~It was~~ Normal increase of population at / per cent
included in calculations of loss of population
shewn by Test Census

f87

Bombay

Only 5 corpses ever seen by way-side by Sanitary
 Comms- - Inquest held upon every such death
 corpses had money in its pocket
 they *would* try & wander home as wild animals do
 to die
 Men & women would come to the works with their
 ornaments on
 1 lb jowari much more nutriment than 1 lb. rice
 Sir R. Temple's Famine Policy very different as
 Govt- of Bombay from Sir R. Temple's policy as
 Delegate in Madras
 Increase (normal) of population forbidden altogether
 by Secy- of State (to be included
 Results of partial Census ignored

f88

[5]

I have carefully gone over the Bombay Reports
 I cannot help repeating: Mr Hewlett is as brave a
 soldier against Sanitary evils & Famine as the bravest
 War Soldier that ever held a post against overwhelming
 numbers.

The grandeur of his success (& Sir M. Kennedy's too)
 in the Bombay Famine deserves its place in a
 higher history than ours

Also the Bombay Registration of Deaths appears
 to have been more accurate than in ordinary years
 Epidemic Deaths at least as far as Cholera &
 Small Pox go, appear to have been *Epidemic* Deaths
 & not *Famine* Deaths

In Madras all this is altered
 Still as I look over the Bombay Mortality Returns

I find my pencil notes on the margins
 "But there is no evidence of *famine* Deaths in any
 part of this."

"The famine might not have been at all -
Famine Deaths might not have been at all,
 for any evidence there is here.

"What are *real* Famine Deaths then registered under ?
 "where are the *Famine* Deaths?"

&c &c &c

f88v

x See notes

next page {up at an angle}

It is understood that an authority who is, I believe accepted by the I.O., does not accept Sir Richd= Temple's figures or conclusions.

And others, among whom is one great authority at least, considers as quite inadmissible the separation of Cholera & Small Pox as *unconnected* with famine in Bombay:

The first authority also considers that '*ignoring the results of the partial Census* makes the Bombay 'facts unreliable & that they have yet to be subjected to impartial review'.

[Both these authorities are unconnected with Madras.]

At the same time, it is quite obvious that there was success in overcoming the Famine - in registration - in everything in *Bombay* that there was not in Madras

And it has done no little good in softening the bitterness felt by those who knew that the *Registered Deaths* in Madras were not 50 per cent }

in Mysore 22 } of the Actual
- bitterness felt at what appeared like an ~~ab~~ official attempt to represent to an ignorant Ho. of Commons *registered* as actual Deaths

to know that in Bombay they were more nearly so

f89

But it remains that it is quite impossible to eliminate Cholera, Small pox, Fever &c &c &c in Madras from Famine Deaths -

Do you remember the Rhine legend of the Archbishop who said: "let the villagers burn like rats" And a long line of rats swim the Rhine, & silently enters his island Castle & - - nothing is left of the Archbishop -

Sometimes it seems to me as if we were bringing upon ourselves in this ignoring of the Famine Deaths of India, a similar awful ghostly retribution

Parlt- has entirely obliterated the Famine Note to x {up at an angle}

I will gladly give these authorities but - - - I thought I was old in official ways - but I have discovered in my old age how like official [Indian ways are to the ways of *Vatican Councils* on Papal Infallibility. The Bishops go into the Vatican Council, not only convinced but prophets of the one way of thinking - & come out prophets of the other a parody of 'they that have gone to scoff remain to pray'

So is it with official ways of the Govt= of India. **[end: 9:830]**

F. Nightingale

notes, ff90-99, pen & pencil

f90

[9:830-33]

Memorandum on ~~Madras~~ S. India *Famine Mortality of 1876-7:*
greatest since 1770:

includes 9 Revenue Divisions of Bombay:
14 Districts (out of 21) of Madras:
nearly all - Mysores-
S & N. of Nizam's dominions-

2. no connection between famine & excessive population
- districts with sparse populations as

Pop per sq mile

Kurnool 130.4

Nellore 162.7

Cuddapah 161.5

Bellary 151.5

suffered the severest famine

while

Tanjore 540.1

saved by Canvery irrigation

Godavery 255.9

not only grew enough for their own populations |

but for material help to the famine Districts. |

{at an angle @ |} refer to Inspector Genl's Report Irrigated Districts

So with Malabar 376.7

saved by S.W. monsoon

Trichinopoly 341.5

saved wherever there was Canvery irrigation:

~~those saved themselves~~ but crowded with famine stricken
wanderers from Coimbatore & Salem

1. money famine consequence of grain famine

f91*Madras Famine*

3. Defective Registration -
except in Municipal towns:

in the country no legal power compelling people to register births & deaths. Every village is a commune - more than 50000 villages - each village has a separate 'accountant' who is *ex officio* registrar= [the village accountant is the man who keeps the accounts of the Govt= for the lands cultivated by each ryot & the tax due on them-]

in ordinary times about two thirds of Deaths registered in famine times, not one half-

village accountants suffered starvation with the rest & went away in search of food & work - thousands upon thousands of Deaths occurred of people dropping down by the wayside or in desert places which were of course unregistered The Registration has no absolute but much relative value

{x up at angle:} *Non famine Districts

x can give per 1000

these figures
in detail, if
desired

Births decreased only from 19.9 Mean Ratio of 5 years
to 19.5 in 1877

Deaths increased only from 18.6 Mean Ratio of 5 years
to 24.8 in 1877

x Famine Districts

Births decreased from 20.0 Mean Ratio of 5 years
to 14.4 in 1877

NB decrease of Births much greater in 1878

Deaths increased from 19.7 Mean Ratio of 5 years
to 70.2 in 1877

[2]

f92*Madras*4. *Previous famine of 1833 - 4*

practically arrested all development of population
for 4 years after famine ended:

In the area now included in the 8 Districts of
Godavery, Kistna (these before Irrigation Works,)
Nellore, Cuddapah, Chingleput, N. Arcot Madura
& Salem, the population in 1838 (next Census 4 years
after famine) was less in these 8 Districts
by 1,153,000 souls than the ascertained population
of 1822 (last Census before:)

[It is not pretended that these numbers are accurate

- the ascertained numbers only are given.]

But from 1851 to 1871 (Census) the population
had increased 35.8 per cent in these 20 years.

And from 1856-7 to 1871 2 the Revenue had
increased 58 per cent in these 15 years.

in 1856 7 Revenue £4.880.093

71 2 " £7.125.581

there was no material check to the increase &
prosperity of the people during these years,
except a scarcity in 1853 & 1866,

there was none at all between 1871 and 1876

[3]

f93

Madras Famine

5. Areas selected for Famine Census: March 1878

Salem : whole District censused- (a Pop. of 2 millions)

*Total Pop. in 1871	Total Pop. March 1878	Decrease
1,966,995	1,559,896	- 407,099

Salem : Total loss of Population thus -- 20.7 per cent

(without allowing any increment for normal growth of popn- during a prosperous 5 years.)

* 6 "Selected" Taluqs : in Famine Districts:

to wit, Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah;
Nellore, Coimbatore, Chingleput

Total loss of Population -- 15 per cent-

[These Taluqs were "selected" as fair averages: neither the best off in the District: & certainly by no means the worst-]

*4 "Selected" Taluqs in non-Famine Districts -

to wit, Kistna, Trichinopoly,
Tanjore, Tinnevelly:Total increase of Population: + 6.1 per Cent -
since 1871 -or, allowing for villages transferred
since 1871 to another boundary} + 8.2 per Cent

N.B [The increase of population was thus more than the estimates

7.5 per cent-, in the 5 years before the beginning of the famine;
or the estimated 1.5 per cent per annum-]

* can give the actual numbers for each of the Taluqs, if desired=

[4]

f94*Madras Famine*

6. Decrease *not* accounted for by migration :
 all natural population-movements in definite
 directions to find food & work -
 e.g from the districts surrounding Madras to Madras:
 from Coimbatore to Malabar or Trichinopoly
 from Salem to Tanjore (the great irrigated Canvery 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 12 from Salem:
 the great bulk 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.]
 Again: Madras Famine Districts: pop. 20 millions
 they did not go to Mysore, for all Mysore was famine
 nor into Bombay,
 nor into Nizam's dominions, for these were worse off
 than our own -
 Nizam's & Mysore people came into Bellary for relief.
 Before end of 1877, the great surplus of emigrants,
 including even those who went to Ceylon & Travancore,
~~all~~ ie those who were not dead had returned to
 their villages :

[5]

f95*Madras Famine*

Mansion House fund hastened resumption
of village life by grants for repair of houses,
purchase of implements, seed grain, cattle &c

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 had died .

This disproves the Migration theory as
explaining the decrease of population:

f96*Madras Famine*

7. In the partial Famine of 1833-4, upwards
of 2 millions of the population disappeared
(2,205,578)

but for Government relief the losses of population
in the greater calamity of 1877 extending over
14 revenue districts, would have been nearer
5 million than 3.

8. decrease of Births:
they diminish month by month in exact
correspondence with the intensity of famine
9 months before -

but causes of diminished Birth-rate continue
to operate for a long period after famine: **[end 9:833]**

[N.B. In January 1878 Mr. Elliott gives Mysore
Birth-rate where actually enumerated
as only 7 per 1000.]

f97

Madras Famine

9. Mortality *Returns* alone cannot be trusted [9:833-34]
to show whole absolute Mortality

But - the 17 months' RETURNS

from November 1876 to March 1878

show an EXCESS of *Deaths* of 1,140,048
over average of same months
in former years:

while Test Census would indicate
a probable decrease of population

of at least 3 millions 3,000,000 {u/l twice}

Such was the disorganization of village
life & communal administration that
not one half of the actual *Deaths* were
ever recorded -

May be reckoned roughly as *Deaths*

rather more than two millions 2,000,000 = DEATHS

accounting for one million 1,000 000

as DIMINISHED BIRTHS

Facts *ascertained* do not account for more
than 100000 of the missing people by *migration* =

Famine cuts away population at both ends
& it will be well if the Census of 1881 does not
show the losses to be greater still than are here
estimated:

[9]

f98

Madras Famine

10.

*Causes of Mortality from 1866 * to 1878 June

	Total	Small	Bowel	Other		
<i>Years:</i>	<i>Deaths:</i>	<i>Cholera:</i>	<i>Pox</i>	<i>Fever</i>	<i>Complaint</i>	<i>Causes</i>
1876	680384	148193	23469	230092	31876	240454
1877	1556312	357430	88321	469241	133366	507934
1878	409151	18926	41506	181610	25602	141507

Jan to June

Famine Deaths were sometimes registered under "All other Causes": because it was announced that 'no Death was to be allowed from Famine' -

- sometimes under 'Fever': yes, but famine Fever: altho' it may have spread among the well-to-do:
- sometimes under "Cholera" or "Bowel Complaint": affection of the Bowels being, especially among children, the very type or characteristic of the famine state -

These methods of registration are to be expected among the village accountants, ex officio registrars, non-professionals: whose only rule of Registration often is how to please the English Masters.

In camps & relief houses at least *three fourths* of the Mortality was the direct result of innutrition (starvation)

[10}

* could furnish the numbers for each year from 1866 to 1878 June, if desired -

f99*Madras Famine*

11. Food x rose to 400 per cent - above
 its normal ~~prices~~, value, & under this enormous
 rise wages were reduced by Government
 25 per cent.

N.B. Roads & rail roads & increased facility of
 communications have very much reduced
 the practice, before universal, of keeping
 reserves of grain enough for 3 or 4 years -

It is obvious that the usual tests of market
 prices cannot hold here

[end 9:834]

go on to 12 Relief corruption
 native officials

x could furnish, if desired, Statistics of the kinds of
 food eaten, amount of food required &
 of the Madras populations [11]

statistical report, f100, pen
f100

Madras Famine=

Probable Decrease of Population due to Famine up to March 1878

District	Population in 1871	Population of Loss in 1878, in census ed subdivision	Numbers Missing	Remarks
Salem	1966995	20.7	407099	Actual
Bellary	1668006	15.8	263544}	
Kurnool	959640	19.7	188049}	
Cuddapah	1351194	20.1	271589}	
Nellore	1376811	18.1	249202}	Calculated
Coimbatore	1763274	12.6	222172}	on Census of
2 Chingleput}				} subdivision
& Madras }	1335736	3.1	41407}	
Madura	2266615	10.0	226661	No Census=district suffered nearly as much as Coimbatore
N. Arcot	2015278	20.0	403055	No Census=district suffered as much as Salem

Districts of

Partial Famine:

S. Arcot (4 distressed) Talugs	817223}		40861	No Census=proportions
Tinnevelly (3 Talugs)	630192}	5.0	31509	estimated on
Trichinopoly (2Ts=)	544354}		27217	distressed talugs only
Kistna (6 Talugs)	563972}		28198	

17259290

Total 2,400,567

*Add for 5 years increment of population of distressed}
areas from 1872 to 1876 at one per cent per annum }

862 960

3 273 527

*Tho', without doubt, the population in these 5 years increased in the ratio of at least one *and a half* per cent per annum, yet, to be well within the mark, it has been assumed that in the 5 years ending 1876 the population of Famine area increased at rate of one per cent only per annum:

1. (Coimbatore) Area Census-ed of Coimbatore did not give average of calamity

high enough for District

2. Selected area in Chingleput did not fairly represent distress.

Thus 3 1/4 millions are given as loss by famine by March 1878.

But, as famine Census taken before Famine distress ended,

& before Birth:rate became again anything like normal,

probably Census of 1881 may give for whole of Presidency

a loss of 4 millions:

ff101-10, [notes by Stanhope], Madras Famine Mortality

f101 {at top right FN} Florence Nightingale

ff111-20, printed article by W.R. Cornish 'The Influence of Famine on Growth of Population {F.N. has underlined text 'in part' throughout the article}

f111 {at top right FN} Florence Nightingale

f115 {printed number 19.7 crossed out and changed to:} 20.0

f118v {table showing probable decrease of population due to famine, annotated by F.N. in the left column, with numbers possibly as her own changes to the totals that were printed: these numbers are not transcribed}

f120 {printed text not FN:} I should be inclined to reckon, roughly, the losses by death at {insert here} two millions, and the diminished birth rate as accounting for one million.

{FN inserted words:} rather more than
{in left marg.:} Madras Presy=

signed letter, ff121-24, pen & pencil [8:374]

f121

Birmingham }

Lying-in Charity}

{added up at an angle:} for reference

3/3/79

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

First of all I send you what
you asked for: the *Causes*
of Deaths of the 18 Mothers
who died, during the years
comprised on the Report,
in Childbirth 1870-8 (9 years)

Please return it to me -

I also send you a Birmingham
paper with the Report.

[end 8:374]

----- *Indian Barracks*

2. Did you see the extraordinary
(mis statement concerning me
& the 12 millions £ for the
Indian Barracks by Mr.
Onslow in *Friday's* debate
reported in the "*Times*" of
March 1 -

I suppose I shall be made

f121

to answer it in the Times:

I think it would be a

very good *opportunity*

to do some good -

you know that Hewlett

says: the *Indian Engineers*

have *not* the *Suggestions*

nor the Army Sanitary

Commission's works: nor

the Notes on Hospitals :

that they build Barracks,

in defence of all that has

been therein laid down:

e.g.

on the *ground* instead of

on a raised basement :

against a hill: the water

bursting up under the floors:

&c &c &c

that they build Hospitals

with wells all fouled

by neighbouring cess pools

&c &c &c

you know the other errors

f122

Now, *if you will give me a statement*, I think I would say: that in consequence of the revelations made

1. by the *Royal Comm.* on the Sanitary state of Army
2. by the R.C. on the Indian Army 1859-63

presided over by Sidney Herbert & Lord Stanley & of the *principles* laid down by the *Army San. Comm.* in such & such papers & books (*state what*) Lord Lawrence took ~~up~~ 10 millions £ but that the principles of building Barracks laid down in (*state what*) were *not* adhered to - that such & such errors were made (*state what*) in building "palatial Barracks"

f122v

but that nevertheless the *Death-rate* had been brought down *from - - - -*
to - - - -
state by what measures:
 A letter made as short as possible might do some good
 For [This is not the first I have heard of this:
 A friend of mine told me that an Indian Major had said: "that old woman" - meaning me "she wrote to the Queen"!!!
 "& got 18 millions & built Barracks which were huge mistakes" - &c &c &c]
 Please return me this letter it may be useful to me:
 & believe me mo ffully yrs
 F. Nightingale

initialled letter, ff123-24, pen & pencil

f123

Mr. Onslow's statement in the Ho of C. 5/3/79

{up at an angle:} for
reference

Dear Dr Sutherland

Sir Harry Verney means to answer Mr. Onslow
in the Times.

He says, (& I concur with him,) that, tho' he believes

"Mr. Onslow to be a member of very little

"authority, a false statement made in the Ho. of C.

"ought not to be left uncontradicted -

"that the false statement is believed, & that

"people may act upon it - indeed I think that

"they are justified in acting on it.

"I think further that the right construction

"of Barracks is so important & their sanitary

"arrangements: that, whoever may be in fault, the

f123v

"mistake ought not to be ignored: that, on the
 "contrary, for the sake of future Barracks,
 "attention ought to be drawn to the subject."

x x x

"I should insert in the Times a short note to some
 "effect like the enclosed"

And he sends me the enclosed
 which I transmit to you.

It is not exactly to the effect that I intended
 I thought something might have been said as to
 the *principles* of constructing Barracks -

Would you kindly look over Sir Harry's note?
 I re-inclose my own proposal, (which I sent
 you before:) *for reference:*

The last Para - page 1 in Sir Harry's would have
 to be corrected: somewhat thus:

"and in 1859 {overtop 1869} Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, S. of S
 for India, appointed the Royal Commission on the
 Sanitary State of the Indian Army, presided
 over first by Sidney Herbert ~~& after his death~~ then by Lord
 Stanley, which sent out questions to India (*Please*
~~& invert~~ arrange this) & thoroughly sifted the subject in the
 country. The R.C. reported in 1863"

"And the permanent Army San Comm keeps up the good tradition" of
 principles laid down by the R.C. & c" (*Please arrange this.*)

And I would *decidedly* put in *What the Death- rate*
 of the Army was and is in such & such years
Please put in send me this at all events for other use

There is no occasion to attack Lord Lawrence
 or any one under him.

{this para at the top of the f123 goes here:}

But I think I would draw attention to the
 Army San. Comm's "*Suggestions*" which no one
 in India has.

Sir Harry sends the Times of Saturday
 & has marked Mr. Onslow's observations

I wish you had kept my *Monday's* communication
 in order to think it over for a day or two,

~~but~~ (instead of answering it by Bearer):

but I am afraid I must ask you to *return*
 this TO- DAY with YOUR REMARKS, as Sir
 Harry leaves London tomorrow:

yrs. mo. ffully

F.N.

Please return me the whole boutique:

f124 [pencil]

I think you will like to see this account of the Madras Junction Canal & the deepening of the river Cooum -

But please return it to me to-day with your remarks:

Is the Cooum improved *sanitarily*?

[end 10:156]

F.N.

7/3/79 [the text from here to the end of the pg by Sutherland re: unable to express opinion, the above being a local matter} This is purely a local matter that I cd express no opinion about it, as regards the comm the canal opens into it, but whether the bar was removed or not is another matter. I shd think not. Does it not seem odd to make a canal as a means of transit along the sea shore? What is the sea about? I suppose there is no go in it in the hot weather.

initialled letter, f125, pencil

f125

Answer to Mr. Onslow 7/3/79 **[10:156]**

Please say how Mrs. Sutherland is

My dear Dr. Sutherland

Sir Harry Verney insists upon making full answer the "Times" - & from your letter I made the following enclosed 2 Drafts for him - of which I think the 2nd is the least objectionable as *not* connecting me (as Sir H had done in *his* Draft) with the appointing of the R.C

But I pointed out to him (& he concurred) how very open to controversy the *69 per 1000* was [you remember what Lord Sandhurst personally said to me about it.] I am sure you think so too: more especially as we give, in the same letter, the Death Rate of 1861 as 29.3 (two years before the R C reported)

And people will say: -- how did the *R.C. of 1859* manage to get the Mortality down from 69 - to 29 in 1861? They began to write [illeg] in 1859

Could not you kindly give us the Mortality for say the 2 previous five years from [No J.S.] 1856 to 1860 [No J.S.] & from 1851 to 1855?

Or, if the Mutiny of 1857 interferences, for some similar period? And alter the two calculations of 4145 recruits

It would lead to controversy {& 3030 " dependent on the *69 per 1000* accordingly -

I have (positively) kept this back till to day, on purpose to ask you to do this

in great haste as this is my India mail day yrs ffully FN

[end 10:156]

ff126-27v, notes by Sutherland, death rate among British troops in India, & response to FN for f125

f126 {FN hand, vert. down in r. marg.} For reference f127 in JS rough hand pencil

drafts, ff128-32, pen & pencil

f128

In the debate on Mr. Fawcett's motion on Indian [10:154-56]

Finance on Friday Feb 28 Mr Onslow said

"He believed that the waste of money x x x

x x in pursuit of this philanthropic object"

The Barrack & other improvements have (saving the costly character of the buildings) followed from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army issued by Lord Derby in 1859: whose Report showed that altho' the Death rate among British troops serving in India had varied year by year, yet in past time it had "oscillated round 69 per 1000"

Since this R C was at work, improvements have been in progress The Barracks have been costly on account of a style of construction which might well have been avoided

Altho all that may be done in site, in construction, in pure water supply, & drainage or in Sanitary arrangements has by no means yet been done, Still the result of the measures taken for the sanitary improvements of ~~the state~~ of the Army in India has been a saving of life, stated in a Resolution of the Govt- of India, October 1878, on Dr. Brydon's Statistical Returns as follows

Over

f129*British Troops*

<i>5 years</i>	<i>Death Rate per 1000</i>
1861 - 65	29.30
1866 - 70	27.48
1871 - 75	18.50

These are facts about which there can be no dispute: Any body can calculate the difference in the number of recruits required to keep up the present strength of 60000 men at these different Death rates, and as every man saved is valued at £100 to the State, the Barracks ~~or other improvements~~, costly as ~~they have been~~ have the architecture has been ~~paid for themselves~~ & need not have been & the other Sanitary improvements have paid for themselves

And the saving will be greater as the improvements become more complete

Florence Nightingale was never in India: She was in no sense responsible for the expensive character of the Barracks which have been built at some Indian Stations

f130

In the Debate on Mr Fawcett's motion on Indian Finance on Friday, Feb 28. Mr. Onslow said

"He believed that the waste of money x x x x x in pursuit of this philanthropic object".

The Barrack & other improvements have (saving the costly character of the buildings) followed from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army issued by Lord Derby in 1859: whose Report showed that, ~~in past time~~, altho' the Death-rate among British troops serving in India had varied year by year yet in past time it had

f131 {almost word for word repeat of f128}

[1]

In the Debate on Mr Fawcett's motion on **[10:]**
 Indian Finance on Friday Mr Onslow said:

"He believed that the waste of money x x x x
 x x in pursuit of this philanthropic object"-

Miss Nightingale was never in India -

It is true that ~~the~~ information on the condition of the
 barracks & Hospitals in India induced her to devote
 time & thought to the sanitary condition of the Army
 in India: and in 1859 Lord Derby issued the Royal
 Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army
 presided over first by Sidney Herbert & then by Lord
 Derby- from the recommendations of which R.C.
 the Barrack & other improvements, (excepting the
 costly character of the building) had followed -

The Report of the R.C. showed that in past times
 the losses from Death alone among British troops
 serving in India had been 69 per 1000 per annum
 from preventible diseases - a Death rate which,
 on the present strength of 60000 men, would have
 involved an addition of 4140 recruits per
 annum to make up the losses from Death alone.

Since this R.C. was at work, improvements
 have been in progress, but the Barracks have
 been costly on account of a style of ~~arch~~ building
 which might have been well avoided.

Altho' by no means all that might have been done
 either in site, or construction, a pure water supply, or drainage
 or Sanitary arrangements has yet been done, still

[1]

{sgl. vert. line thru center of pg, thru lines no.15-21}

f132

the saving of life has been great - as may be seen by the following statement in a resolution of the Govt- of India October 1878 on Dr. Brydon's Statistical Returns.

British Troops

<i>5 years</i>	<i>Death Rate per 1000</i>
1861 - 65	29.30
1866 - 70	27.48
1871 - 75	18.50

On an Army of 60000 men it requires 3030 recruits fewer per annum to fill up the gaps by preventible Deaths now than would have been the case under the old rates which rated before the time of the R.C. And as every recruit is worth £100 to the State, the Barrack & other improvements, costly as they have been, have paid for themselves.

{at bottom} this draft I think the least desirable

[2]

initialled letter, f133, pencil

f133

Mr Elliott's Report

Dear Dr Sutherland

As you wish it, I hasten to send you this Report [I am sending it myself & have not read above a third Please return it me *as speedily as possible therefore*]

If you have not received a copy, this is the only copy in England besides the one at the I.O., *which they will not lend.*

It is strictly private till Mr Caird's Report comes out

I suppose they attach considerable importance to my having it as the person at Calcutta who sent it paid between £2 & £3 postage to let me have it *via Brindisi*

Yrs mo ffly

F.N.

17/3/79 {Sutherland's response to this FN letter, starts here to end of folio}

ff133v-34, response by Sutherland {continues from f133}, returning of Mysore Report

f135, Sutherland, March 17 1879, FN not being responsible for costly architecture of the Indian Barracks

initialled letter, ff135v-36v, pen

f135v

17/3/79

Dear Dr Sutherland

I have never had more difficulty in [10:157]
anything than in this little Draft for Sir H Verney

The matter of importance is: *not* whether
the R.C. made a "careful examination" *not*
whether F.N. was ever in India *nor*
what she has to do with expenditure
but the condition of the men & the
progress of the Sanitary improvements

2 You know when we say what a *saving*
there has been, people say *where is it?*
show it me

No doubt you saw this strongly expressed
in a leading Article of Saturday's "Times".
(I enclose a copy, which please return) It says
"the Army charges *never showed any reductions*
on this account" - And this no doubt
is true: But should not Sir H
Verney notice this in any letter we draft for

f136

him? I enclose a Draft I
made from yours, *before* I saw Saturday's
Times But I own I could not make
head or tail on it -

Please send your opinion

as soon as possible

[end 10:157]

yrs ffly

F N

f136v

To day
17/3/79

envelope, f137, pencil

f137

Private {up at an angle} 2
Mr. Onslow's statement on Barracks
in the Ho. of C.
Dr. Sutherland
Army Sanitary Comm
Horse Guards

17/3/79

draft, ff138-41v, pencil, to JS

f138

Mr. Cunningham to P. {Ambalis}

{March 21/79

[10:147-49]

About the "gossip" I never heard one word against Ld Lytton except from you. And *that* seemed highly improbable. I do not know at all to what Mr C. alludes - As I hear a great deal of Indian conversation, I think him mistaken in supposing 'gossip' to be rife agst- Ld L. in England.

2 "Defence" "eloquent" after a fashion but the "eloquence" of priests & women: who know that they will not be answered - without a fact or a shadow of a fact

3 I for one believe there is a case to be made for

Ld L. B

Then why does he not make it?

He has made no case - (Like Mrs. de Novikoff

4 Last page simply diatribe of a Papal power or of every despotic Govt= - (Connu, connu)

'Don't question what I do or say -

I *must* know best -

You have only to listen & submit'

All despotism demoralizes -

But this process has been singularly rapid

It is not the letter of an English man

5 sheet 3 side 2

It is said that Ld Lytton's only policy is to destroy

Ld Northbrook's & especially Ld Lawrence's

Ld Lawrence's son-in law unconsciously confirms this is a singularly ungraceful manner

f138v

6 The P says that 'to have a strong opinion about it is 'not to understand it'.

Does he mean that Ld Lawrence, the highest authority about India, does "not understand it?"

7. Sheet 4 is simply Mrs Hominy declaiming.

Is Ld Lawrence "ranging far & wide for provender for his political hatred to feed upon?"

For M. C's own sake the letter ought to be burnt N.B. 8 Lastly what is said about the "2 Strachey's"

& "F. Stephen is begging the whole question. Ld Lytton is to be trusted because these 3 men trust him, & these 3 men trust him because he does with them what he likes *What he likes* is the very thing wh constitutes the gravamen of the charge, if any charge there be, agst- Ld L. viz. that he has 'enquirlande' a "clever man like Sir F. Stephen & made him write just what he, Ld L pleased in the Times - as also the "2 cleverest men in India - I thank thee, Jew,

I have no knowledge how the blame is to be distributed between Ld Lytn- & Sir J. Strachey (whom I know & admire & shd- never dream of attacking) as to what is called his Famine budget -

But it is certain both that the appropriation of the Famine Fund for the War after Ld Lytton's most solemn

f139

protestations, is a step wh wd ruin the credit of & destroy confidence in any Bank or Govt- in the world - & that even India has been so roused by it that the almost unprecedented step is being taken of sending home petitions to Crown & Commons against it.

As to Genl- Strachey, he is a diplomat - And he will have to answer questions enough asked of his Diplomat ship now he is come home: (I am told), by the I.O

Pray for the Famine Commission

& Mr Cunningham 6/5/79 [end 10:149]

9 Cock a doodle Sidney Herbert at the end

But this is all cock a doodle

f140

Mr Rathbone: [subscribed £200 to the Aug 23/79
Memorial]

Mr Fawcett would himself tell you that his labours in behalf of India were purely in the financial aspect & that he had avoided systematically social questions as being what he could not undertake

But as it is impossible to separate the two the consequence has been that Mr Fawcett has, not choosing his own advisers or searching out these questions for himself has fallen very much into the hands (small blame to him) of paid agents of Zemindars in Bengal, of those who could shout the loudest who were best able & ~~most~~ least-unwilling to pay taxes, all over India, -of a few noisy rich in Bombay - & generally of those in all India who don't want to be taxed & who are the only people who can bear taxation & the only people who can make their voices heard.

Pray God that the poor tens of millions who will now be worse off than ever, while the rich ~~tens~~ ~~of~~ thousands will be rather better off for these retrenchments, may be heard some day.

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose (~~for~~ at whose Meeting Mr. Bright spoke) is a paid agent of the Zemindars.

Without knowing this you could detect it at once by his, Mr. Ghose's, complaining of the increase of taxation on the Zemindars, the only people who can bear it, *the* people upon whom taxes have least ~~scarcely not~~ been raised & ought to be raised.

The real labours of Lord Lawrence during his *Governor Generalship* are not at all known, his pacification

f141 {blank}

f141v

of disturbed Northern India, i.e. Bengal
his upholding of some measure of justice
for Ryot against Talookdar in Oude &
Zemindar in Bengal & Baboo

Unsupported at home, he was allowed to carry
~~them~~ out his measures in Oude, merely because
they knew here he would resign if they did not
This was told me on the highest authority

I knew the man who proposed an address
to him on leaving the S.S. ship: No, the Zemindar
steadily said No.

It is absurd to speak of the Baboos, (as Mr
Fawcett does) as likely to contribute to the
Memorial. Ld Lawrence disposed them for
their odious indifference to the Ryot's claims.

Have you seen the papers in the Calcutta
Gazette published in reference to the Commission
now sitting for revising the entire sent Law of
Bengal, beside which (the land question) all
other questions pale into insignificance

It is not often that one has the luck to have a
High Court of Judicature on one's side. These are
the witnesses to the illegal practices, the systematic
frauds & forgeries of the Zemindars. It is the High
Court of Judicature that speaks -

{vert. in r. marg.:} where Harriet Limb got the water she was drinking

draft, ff142-v, pencil in JS rough hand **f142** {extremely faint}
[ca end 1879-beg 1880]

There is really no difference of opinion among us. There are two aspects of the pauper question one theoretical the other practical. When theoretically we have dealt with all pauper children so as to make them realize the sin of living on other people's labour & the sin of not providing for their own we still then require neither: poor law nor Charitable societies. The world is wide enough for all & we must *Cente qui Cente* aim at giving every child a fair chance in life. The practical question however is the present one Here we have sick & aged & imbecile who on account of our ~~fix~~ most culpable neglect would die if we did not care for them. These we must care for. But every man woman & young person who can contribute even a farthing in the pound to their keep should be

f142v

made to contribute it. If we get
a farthing on the pound this year we
shall get a halfpenny next year
& so in time we may extinguish
the pound. As for children we
must train them as Christians
in other words we must teach them
the duty of work & the way of work &
we must then help them to help
themselves here or in the Colonies

The year 1880 will be judged of by other tests of
national prosperity than those which continue, in spite
of the awfully suggestive fact that whilst capital is
being steadily accommodated pauperism is being almost
as steadily extended side by side with it to be
resorted to down to this day -

a nobler national life than one to be expressed in
a sort of Trade Circular General to be hoped for in 1880
the town criterion of a thinking nation to be sought
not alone in the magnitude of the imports & exports
but to a much greater degree in the proportion in which
the value created by labour is partaken of by those who
contribute labour

signed letter, ff143-44v, pen

f143

Children's Hospl= }
 Grand Duchy of Baden} May 24/81
 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
 PARK LANE. W.

[16:862]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

The Grand Duchess of Baden
 begs her best thanks to you
 for your kindness in revising
 the Sketch plans of her
 proposed Children's Hospl=
 at Heidelberg.

You know that I obtained
 for her the plans among many others of the
 Pendelbury Children's Hospl=
 at Manchester: by far
 the best there is

Would you read the enclosed
 letter?

[end]

I thought the things he so
 wisely mentions were
 now acknowledged everywhere:

f143v

& that they were in my
 "Notes on Hospls" &
 every book on the subject
 1. What shall I say to
 her? And
 2. Should I warn the
 Gd Duchess's Architect
 on these points?

Whether they are acknowledged
 every where or not, it is
 certain they are not acted
 upon

Would you believe it that
 in the new Edinburgh Infirmary
 the drainage of especially
 the Nurses Quarters, &
 worst, the Quarters of our

f144

invaluable *Miss Pringle*, the
 Lady Supt- are so bad
 steampipes, waste pipes, soil
 pipes all inter communicating
 -ventilation, so called, forcing
 the sewer gas *into* the rooms
 instead of *out* that Typhoid
 has arisen even in a Visitor
 & her *Miss Pringle's* health has been almost
 ruined

A lady called the R. Sanitary
 Inspectors did it, re-did it,
 inspected it, & now *report*
 on their *own inspection* -
 And *no* radical reform is
~~done~~ made.

What is to be done?
 Please return me my own
 note with your answer:
 Pray give my kindest love

f144v

to Mrs. Sutherland
 It is long since I have
 heard ~~of~~ from her
 ever yrs faithfully
 F. Nightingale

incomplete, signed letter, ff145-46, pen

f145

[2] [ca. 29 June 1881]

3 Thus, what I beg of you
 to be so kind as to do
 is: 1. to give us a *résumé*
of what the A.S.C has done
since 1864
 2. a *résumé* of the *Sir*
Stafford Northcote enquiry
 & its results ~~as~~ of 1868-70.
 - I mean of the circumstances,
 as bearing upon what we
 now ask *Ld Ripon* to do.
 Please let me have an
 answer to this letter
 by *Tuesday morning*
 with your suggestions.
 But by no means trouble
 yourself to prepare the two

f145v

résumés, by that date.
 Take time about them -
 Do not hurry.

4. Is there *anything* you would
 wish me *to ask Sir*
R. Temple further
 on the subject of my
Memo-?
 Please let me know soon

f146

5. Above all, please
 tell me particularly
 how Mrs. Sutherland is:
 & give her my very best
 & tenderest love:
 in haste
 ever yrs ff=ly
 F. Nightingale

note, f146v, pencil

f146v

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,
 PARK LANE. W.

{vert:} I return this
 in case you
 need it
 29/6

To Dr. Sutherland
 Refers to Lord Lansdowne
 letter of Aug 7 1893

f147-v, Sutherland, June 29 1881 WO embossed WO, HG, sending FN a draft and suggests she ask V. {Viceroy?} for his opinion. Enclosed s a draft. It is better to make it tentative. Ask the V. His opinion. Urge the present state of matters as strenuously as you like. You cannot unless you try Welsh exceed the facts and then the V. Wd prob not understand you. We can discuss this again if you like. I have only filed up the argument as it has occurred to me. We must not allow the local people to interfere with Dr C. I know all about it. It is only a question of the right of seniority not to be scolded, which i for one deny. I have corrected the stupid word in my last letter from "state" into "stay"

ff148-49, Sutherland, July 18 1881, HG embossed WO, difficulty of nursing scheme for Indian Nursing being in the training. I can quite see that the main difficulty with this nursing scheme lies in the training. If ear that the Indian govt in its present financial position will be indisposed to est any training school it seems doubtful wh you shd meddle with a point wh mt be rejected. Except this point I think the rest wd do. It is merely suggestive and raises matters to think about. The whole matter mt be arranged if an English hosp sergeant were attached to each regiment going and then he cd pick out of the ranks a man or two to help. I shd feel disinclined to raise simply the following....European soldiers and native nurses.

You are right about the volunteers. There s to be another turn out in Scotland. Why all this.

initialled letter, ff150-51, pen

f150

New Native Army Hospital Corps

[10:180]

Answer to Lord Ripon

6 Sheets

July 18 1881

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Enclosed is my *reply*
to Lord Ripon, written
as you suggested.

Please to look it over
very carefully & let
me have it back *to-night*,
not crumpled,

with your suggestions -

- to be shown to Capt Galton

- & then you can see it

again: if you please -

Probably it would be better

f151

you should -

[But I must make the
letter 'do' as far as I
can without copying.]

Please look over *particularly*
sheet 2 side 4

to

" 3 " 2

severely - this is Dr. Evatt's suggestion, in consequence of my telling
him how bad & untrained
the *home* Army Hospl= Corps
is.

But criticize *generally*
as severely as you can.

I have put in Dr Evatt's
minor suggestions, as you wished.

But they seem not exactly things
for me to write to the Viceroy about

[end 10:180]

{up diag.:} ever yrs fflly

FN

f152, incomplete letter {Sutherland}, [July 1881], India's desire for Native
Medical Education

ff153-55v, Sutherland, June 13 1882, [printed address] Oakleigh Alleyn Park
Dulwich S.E., Mrs. Sutherland's pneumonia, his conjunctivitis, condition of
army, his need for FN to find him a Nurse....I have seen Crawford and like
him very much, as I have always done. The AHC enq I have heard nothing of.
Unfortunately our AMD member is ill, the only person I know. The DG is
commanding officer and he is the proper person (Muir) to call to account. A
separate enq begins by inflicting a censure on the CO and if they enq into
this they ought logically to enq into much more. It is of at least equal
importance to ascertain who sent the men down to the coast by the deadly
route, and if this why not into the causes of the whole humiliation we
experienced there. I shd trace it all back to our so called army reformers
who altered the wise arrs we made under Lord Herbert so that we have at
present really no army and this being so the poor army unfitted... The best
thing for us is never to go to war for we are sure to break down. If I can
hear anything on the subject I will write to you. I have a case before me
where they actually camped a new regiment for 2 months under canvass--the men
sleeping on straw in one of the most malarial districts in India and typhoid
fever broke out among them.

If you and I were a quarter of a century younger we shd have plenty of
work to do. If you look back to old days so do I often, I was ... But alas!
As the wise man said "what is crooked cannot be made straight" and I am
becoming crooked too. I hope when I am better in health to have the pleasure
of seeing you sometime, but just now I almost need your aid in finding me a
good nurse. This is a joke with a grain of reason in it. I shall work here
tomorrow and go to town on ...

f156

Please PRIVATE {up at an angle}
 return to June 28 1882
 F.N. 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
 PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I earnestly hope that your
 eyes are quite well again:
 & that Mrs. Sutherland is
 entirely restored to health
 by Eastbourne: my very
 best love to her-
 Can you help me in this:--

I am asked whether *Night
 Nursing by Sisters* should be allowed
 in the *Herbert Hospital*
 on these terms? - - [It is Dr.
 Crawford who asks me.]
 - that another Sister should
 be put on the Staff to nurse
 at night *not* continuously

f156v

but when there are *bad cases*

I was told ~~out~~ of two bad
 cases only - one of
 Heart disease, dying: & one,
 I think, of Pneumonia:

[I asked the number of *bed-
 ridden* cases in proportion
 to the whole - (they are now
 full) & I could not learn it,
 but was told: "very few."

"A female Night Nurse was
 "only wanted occasionally
 "to a *special case*."]]

I said: it was impossible
 for one woman to sit up alone
 in that vast place of men with
 no other woman within call:
 & was told that Miss
 Caulfield, the Lady Supt=,
 would supervise her.

[This, I am sure, will be only
nominal]

f157

I asked whether there were not enough sick for a Night Sister's supervision to be always useful - & another to be put on to any special case - making two women -

to which I received no answer.

[At Netley where there is a much greater proportion of bad cases than at Herbert the Night Nursing - you know Mrs. Deeble some years ago applied for two Night Sisters - ... thus managed: (very bad): One Sister patrols for the whole Hospital from 8 p.m. till 12 the other 12 " 8 a.m.]

Often there is not one case wanting anything: the sick sleep the whole night.]

f157v

Now *what is to be done* about *female* Night Nursing at the Herbert?

It seems cruel to deprive those bed cases of a Nurse at night for the Orderly Nursing is nearly as bad as bad can be: & the supervision of the Wardmaster is absolutely nil. [That is an immense subject.]

But it is like pulling down one woman to watch in a vast Convalescent Hospl- of men: a thing we never should think of -

Advise me *what to ASK* & *what to say*.

As for additional Nurses' sleeping accommodation at the Herbert for such Night Sisters, if granted

f158

[2]

a room was partitioned
 into two for two of the
 National Aid Socy-'s Probrs=
 [but these were afterwards
 sent to Netley because
 they asked = 'where were the
 Surgical cases?' And there
 were none.]

These two beds could therefore
 be devoted to Night Sisters:
 And the Nat. Aid Socy=
 would lend one or two
 of their trained Probationers
 for the purpose

This is the case:

Advise:

f158v

[It is difficult for any thing
 to be worse than what
 is known at Netley
 about Mrs. Deeble's superinte=
 She is not in the Wards
 once a week: the Nurses,
 the Probationers ~~never see~~
 (placed under her care
 by the Nat. Aid Socy=)
 never see her: even at
 meals She does nothing
 for them - She is
 entirely occupied with
 her daughters & her sons
 And Professor Longmore
 pronounces that all is
 perfect.

God help us!]

f159

Do you know anything
 about the *Museum* at
 Netley?

No use is made of it.
 It is deserted.

And Dobson, the Curator,
 stuffs bats & hedge hogs,
 & makes mischief.

f159v

2. They are going to elect **[10:184]**
 a *Professor of Physiology*
 at *Oxford* either
 Prof *Gamgee* of *Edinburgh*
 (brother of the *Veterinary*)
 or *Dr. Burdon Sanderson*.

It is a matter of great
 importance at *Oxford*
 because this Professor ought
 to give *Sanitary* lectures to
 the *Civil Service* candidates for
India Which is best?

Can you recommend a
 Lecturer on *Sanitary Engineering*
 for the same? *not* to make
 them *Engineers*, but to show
 the Candidates the importance
 {printed address 10, SOUTH STREET, of Sanitation for
 upside down:} PARK LANE. W. India **[end 10:184]**
 ever yours sincerely
 F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff160-61, pen

f160

June 30 1882

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
 PARK LANE. W.

My dear Dr. Sutherland

The following question **[10:184-85]**
 relates to the *Civil Service*
 Candidates for *India*.

Is it better for men to go to
India at the ages of *20 and 21*
 or at " *23 and 24*?

As you know, the maximum
 age at which these young
 men can enter now as candidates
 is years
 19

- most enter at 17 or 18

The course is 2 ½ years.

This brings most of them to
India under 20 or 21.

And the maximum 21 ½ years
 old

f160v

It is strongly desired now
 - and Lord Hartington has
 been sounded upon it -
 (but Dr. Andrew Clark
 refuses ~~her~~ to give an opinion -)
 it is strongly desired, in
 which I take an active part,
 to make the maximum age
 for entering years
 20
 minimum 18
 & to make the course
 3 years & 4 months
 This would make for arriving
 in India years
 maximum age 23 1/3
 average 22 1/3
 What do you say to this?

f161

A delegation will go to Lord
 Hartington about it.
 Thanks for your news of
 Yourself & Mrs. Sutherland
 to whom my very best love
 ever yours faithfully
 F. Nightingale
 For the Indian R. Sanitary
 Comm: we had an ample
 discussion as to best age
 for arriving in India,
 for acclimatization, &c &c
 as I need not remind you **[end 10:185]**

incomplete letter, ff162-63v, pen

f162

PRIVATE {up at an angle} Nov 23/82 [15:945]
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Thank you for your note.
But the question (you kindly
ask) which you have *not*
answered is: how far
the present Regulations
embody the *Sanitary* Office
which was constructed with
so much trouble in the
Regulations of 1859.?

I do not know how far
we can get this subject
under the present W.O. Committee
of Enquiry It could only
be done in this way: that

f162v

the subject of the Regimented
system against the present
must come up: & with
it the duties, *Sanitary*
& other, of the Regimental
Medical Officer - & how
far they are performed by
the present Medical Officer
& were performed in the
present Egyptian Campaign.

*What is your idea about
this?*

[I hear it said: the Army
Sanitary Comm: might as well
not exist at all for any
good it has done us in

f163

the Egyptian campaign].
 You saw, at the Egyptian
 Medical dinner on Tuesday,
 Dr. Marston - [do you know
 him? what kind of a man
 is he?] he was the Sanitary
 Officer at Ismailia & is
 spoken of as the "coming man"-
 entirely ignored the Sanitary
 subject altogether & dwelt
 on there having been *NO*
wants of stores &c.

My idea is that never
 (for so short a campaign)
 was the Sanitary Authority
 more wanted- & never
 more ignored- even by
 those in whom it was vested

f163v

1. At *Ismailia* itself, the very
 Station of Dr. Marston, the
ground was polluted to such
 an extent *round the Hospital*
 that tents could not be
 pitched

1.a. The *Barracks* were in
 such a state when ~~illeg~~ our
 troops were put into them
 at *Cairo* - that the men
 had to be turned out in
 24 hours, (not by Sanitary
 but, by Commadg- Officer),
 & bivouack at first without tents
 in the Square. And the C.O.
 had to go (poisoned) on
 board ship. [C.O.s told
 me this themselves].

Where was the Sanitary Officer?

note, ff164-65, pen

f164

Indian Contingent

Native position

27/11/82

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}

PARK LANE. W.

whether there was food & forage **[10:182]**

for man & horse especially

during the first 3 days

what were the advantages

& what the disadvantages

in practice

of the Commissariat & Transport

arrangements

& especially what were the

Hospital arrangements

As to Medical comfort

food & cooking

transport & tents

& most especially as to

Sanitary arrangements -

were there pioneers to cleanse

the ground

round the Hospitals?

how did the new (enlisted) Native

Army Hospital Corps act

and

f165

were all the stores

landed with *each* Regiment

& separate transport

with *each* Regiment

& *each* Field Hospital **[end 10:182]**

signed letter, ff166-67, pen

f166

Strictly Confidential [15:952-53]

Jan 5 1883

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

In the STRICTEST CONFIDENCE

I send you Dr Marston's
evidence before the
Committee of enquiry.

Please read particularly those parts
which refer to his *SANITARY*
duties: (a little bit of
bread to an "intolerable"
"deal of sack.")

And please give me
your remarks upon the
Sanitary business- so
important: ~~how it has
been fulfilled~~

f166v

how_ it has been done:
how_ " neglected-
what ought to have been
done:

what " not to have been done

Please return me
the whole *this evening*
& mention to *NO* one
that you have seen
this evidence -

You remember of course
your capital letter to me
on the Sanitary subject

[end 15:953]

f167

2 I send you a letter
of Grant Duff's -
Please let me have it
to morrow or Monday
with your remarks:
Have you seen the despatch [blue pencil]
he refers to?
ever sincerely yrs
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff168-69, pencil [6:567]

f168

Bangor 10 South St
Ap 27/83
Dear Dr. Sutherland
I enclose the reply
of the Bangor Sanitary
Board to the Government
Commissioner's Report -
and also a note from
the Chairman of the
Sanitary Board, to be
submitted to you to
whom I submitted the
original document
They seem to Mr Rathbone
to confirm the view that

f168v

"the outbreak was owing
to the state of physical
health in the
neighbourhood being
prepared for such an
outbreak by defective
Sanitary arrangements,
& not to the water".
How is Mrs. Sutherland?
to whom my very best love -
I am pretty bad --- {line overflows into next folio}
ever yrs ffully
F. Nightingale

f169

I am very sorry. One at a time
bad is quite enough for me

signed letter, ff170-74, pen [6:568-69]

f170

July 30/83

Dear Dr Sutherland

I know not whether you [9:921]
know what has been
passing in your absence -
- about "Precautions against
Cholera" - Before he left England,
Dr. Cunningham attended a
Meeting at the Local
Government Board, in
which Buchanan & Jenner
carried all before them -
& Dr. Cunningham & Sir
Joseph Fayrer were left
absolutely alone in
protesting against "Germ"

f170v

measures & "Isolation"
measures - & *for*
Sanitary measures -
Dr. Cunningham whom
I saw twice was
positively broken hearted-
He left with me a letter
which I got into the "Times"-
And you see his excellent
Epidemiological lecture is
in full in the "Medical Times"
of July 21 [end 9:921]
I offered him to reprint
& distribute this -
It is however too scientific
for the general public -

f171

2. I have had a
C. Harry Meltzer of the
New York Herald, who
is come to England to
learn all he can for
his newspaper about
Cholera, & *practical* advice
about prophylactic measures
& *and* quarantine!!!

Hearing of your return,
*I have addressed him to
you - Please keep him straight
about Cholera*

It is of such terrible
importance that America
& England should be put

f171v

right on such subjects -
I have written him a
letter which he wants
to publish in the N.Y.
Herald x

& have sent him Dr
Cunningham's Epidemiological
lecture -

x I shall ask you to overlook/him to return ~~illeg~~
~~overlook~~ the my letter before
it is published, if I
consent

*Put Mr Meltzer on the right
tack about Cholera*

f172

[2]

[15:961]

3

But *the* thing of importance
 is that the Foreign Office
 should send out a
 Scavenging Staff- to Cairo
 Had we done this when
 we determined to stay in
 Egypt, Cholera would
 never have been -
 Do you see that, tho' the
 attacks among our own
 Officers & men have
 been few, two thirds
 have died?
 Could anything be done
 now with the Foreign Office

f172v

to send out Inspectors
 & men for a Scavenging
 Staff to undertake
 the cleansing of Cairo?
 under Dr. Hunter -

f173

[3]

4. I have had a Mrs. {'4' is overtop of a 3}
 Sheldon Amos here
 who was all last winter
 working at Alexandria
 among the ~~poor~~ natives- & who
 has now been telegraphed
 for out to Cairo to work
 there among the Cholera
 She wanted me to send
 for Lady Dufferin &
 to organize Doctors &
 Nurses to be sent out
 for Cholera at Cairo -
 Twelve Doctors *have*

f173v

been sent out - I can't
 see my way to the *Nurses*
 tho' one excellent Sister
 has volunteered to me. **[end]**

f174

My very best love to
 Mrs. Sutherland
 I feared she would be
 over fatigued
 ever yrs ffully
 F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff175-76, pen

f175

Most Dec 3/83
Private {up at an angle}
 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
 PARK LANE. W.
 Dear Dr. Sutherland **[15:254]**
 You probably know that
 a Committee is sitting daily
 at the W.O. converting
 the recommendations of
 Lord Morley's Committee
 into a scheme -
 I have been asked
 about many things: but
 especially now about the
 proposed extension of
 Female Nurses - And
 a Proof of the proposed
 new Regulations for Nurses

f175v

has been sent me with a
 request that I will
 return it at once with
 my remarks & suggestions
 I enclose the whole,
 including some remarks by Bonham
 Carter: & two sets of old
 Regulations for reference
 - entreating you to be so
 good as to furnish me
 with your criticisms &
 remarks -
 & to return the whole
 by 3 o'clock to-day
 at latest -

f176

Pray help me [end 15:254]
 & believe me
 ever yours faithfully
 F. Nightingale

notes, f176v, pencil

f176v

no distinction between Supt- & Sisters
 122 Supt- will dismiss
 strict out
 nowhere is it said: who is to remove
 the Nurse from Hospl-
 123 She will exercise control
 128 Supt- will fix the hours
 under the instructions of M O
 138 last words left out
 necessary steps taken by Supt-
 omit 138 new Regls-
 what are the duties of Supt- to Nurses
 what her ~~relation~~ with regard to Medl= Offr-
 not put in ~~at~~ first
 not systematic
 Age - not under 30 nor on appt-ment over 40

f177, Sutherland, Dec 5 1883, embossed War Office, packet being sent and encourages her to lay down principles and to ask them to embody them in regulations

incomplete letter, f178-v, pencil {text vert. on page}

f178

& the Supt of N on the other hand giving
implicit obedience to all Medical directors
& paying due respect to the M.O. as the
Superior Officer of the Hospl=

both of pg 2

And here I may say generally that in a
Nursing Service as elsewhere success
will not depend upon Regns= but upon
whether those who have to carry out them out
- the Nurses on the one hand & the M.O.s
on the other - are imbued with the proper
spirit in their relations to one another
- the M.O. having confidence in the Supt-
that she will loyally require her Staff to carry
out his instructions - & therefore not interfering
with her proper control over the nurses -

f178v

to the ~~instruments~~ 5a
In framing such Regmts due regard must be
had to the fact that the Nurses are women & the
~~M.O.S.~~ a service has to be organized in which
women are to be subordinate to men in their
specific duties with regard to the sick

signed letter, ff179-81, pencil

f179

PRIVATE *Burn* [2]
{both words up at an angle} Dec 17/83 [9:659]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

There are but two
objections to your (& our)
plan about the A.S.C -
1. There is not the
slightest probability or
possibility, as far as I
know, of "Capt G." being
"appointed in your place"

He does not think *if*
he will accept it, because
~~of this~~ he knows this -

Also: No one would attend
to him, *IF* he were, because
he is a R E., not a Doctor

f179v

Alas! alas!

2 The Comm: is a "W.O.
"Committee", as we all
know. But that does not
"prevent" its "clashing" with
the A M D. They simply
ignore it, that is all.
Has any one since Irving
"consulted" you? Does
the W.O ever "refer any
"thing to you as a Comm"?

No S. of S. has any
idea of its difference
from the A. M D -

If you resigned, ~~they~~ he the S. of S.,
would, if {UL 4 times} he did not dissolve

f180

the A S C . altogether
consult the D G - &
appoint an Army Med: Offr=
in your place -

~~The jealousy is enormous -~~
This is *as far* as I know, of
course -

Dr. Cunningham told me
distinctly that he *would*
accept your post, IF
it were offered him -
on his return -

This seems the only chance.

The I.O. would, I think,
appoint him -

I can say nothing about
the W.O. There is no one

f180v

there with any of Sidney
 Herbert's traditions - Sir R
 Thompson is quite useless -
 Pray think again & inform **[end 9:659]**
 ever yours most faithfully
 F. Nightingale

Most

Private {up at an angle}

Could you find out
 in strict confidence
 whether ~~Dr.~~ the D.G. is
 a R. Catholic?

I have never seen any
 signs of it

[This has no reference
 to the fore-going]

F.N.

f181

[3]

Military Nurses

Would you read &
 criticize these two
 printed papers?

Kindly do so -
 ever yours faithfully
 F. Nightingale

My kindest love to
 dear Mrs. Sutherland

I hope she is well

{last 2 lines is Sutherland responding, cont. in f182v}

f182 {blank page}

f182v, Sutherland, {response to f181v} Nurse papers are results of compromise
 between necessities and means of training

signed letter, ff183-84, pencil

f183

Private {up at an angle}

[16:474-75]

Malta Oct 5/84

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I have no doubt that you have been consulted about the following, & shall be very glad if you will kindly tell me what you have advised

"Mr. Bell, a very gentlemanly middle aged architect," went out in August in the same ship with one of our Sisters who was ~~going~~ returning to her post in Cairo Military Hospital "he has been sent

f183v

"out to *Malta* for a few weeks by Government to visit a site (which has already been settled upon) for a new Military Hospl=, & to draw the plan of it, with every *modern improvement* so that "it ~~is~~ may be the most *perfect* Hospl= possible Mr. Bell says "that it is to have a Training School for *female Nurses* attached to it: but we "can't help thinking he must be mistaken on this point "All that I am telling you he of course told us in

f184

"confidence -

"The Hospl= is to contain 240

beds only. Not enough, I
Should have thought. He
thinks the Building will be
commenced early next year.

" Mr. Bell has been getting
our opinion upon several
points with regard to his
plan of this Hospital."

N.B. Our Sister is
quite first rate as a
Hospital Sister but not
as a Sanitarian

I hope that you have
given your best advice

ever yrs ffully F. Nightingale [**end 16:475**]

signed letter, ff185-92v, pen & pencil

f185

Lord Reay} 10 South St
Bombay } Jan 23/85

Dear Dr Sutherland

- A thousand thanks for
yours of the 16th on the
subject of incensing Lord
Reay - [**10:307-08**]

I hope you are now
very much better -

You were so kind as
to say that you would
"refer" me "*to the facts*"
"in the XVI Vol. of the
"I.O. Reports" as soon
"as" you received your
copies - Doubtless you

f185v

have received them now.

[I have had a copy
some weeks. But I did
not like to trouble you -]
~~illeg~~ I now send you a new
copy.

You kindly say that
you "will ~~find~~ look out in them
"most of the points to
"which Lord Reay's
"attention should be directed"

Will you be so good
as to do so now?

(1)

f186

You also say that you
will show "in the Blue
"Book that Dr Hewlett
"has laid his hands on
"the worst Military
"Stations & laid down
"the principles of the
"remedies" - (2)

I shall be extremely
obliged to you to *mark*
these. & also to
tell me what to say
to Lord Reay, who is
most willing to be
taught.

f186v

You also mention that
"Neemuch
"Nasisabad
"Mhow"
what "others"?
"ought to be taken in hand
at once"
& that "there is a good
"deal to do in this way
"of inspecting & improving
"many towns" - say what?
Would you be so kind
as to *point* me to all
these things in the
Blue Book, & to put

f187

[2]

me in the way of telling
them to a man, perfectly
ignorant of Sanitary
things, but laborious,
& conscientious & willing
to learn (4)

I shall be extremely
grateful -

And would Mr. Frederick
send me a spare copy
of Vol XVI?

Doubtless I shall have

f187v

some more questions to
ask you -

You said that I had
asked you questions
which would or "ought
"to take you 3 days to
"answer"

[I have already introduced
Dr. Hewlett to Lord Reay
as much as words
could, telling him of
~~his~~ Hewlett's work in Bombay]

f188

Pray kindly say how
you & Mrs. Sutherland
are

(3)

N.B Dr. Hewlett -

One of his greatest works
is: that he *has*

"aroused the interest
"of the people in Sanitary
"things" is it not?

{text to end of folio is by Sutherland, responding to (3)} I cannot say as to
this. Hewlett's value, knows the subject, is the most practical of all of
them and did first rate hard san work in Bombay city.

f188v {response to FN's letter by Sutherland to correspond with the numbers
(1), (2) and 4. in her letter thus far ff185-88}

f189

[3] {FN's letter continues}

You say that "an attempt
"should be made at once
"to find *some persons*
"to do work of this class"
i.e in "villages where
"nine tenths of all the
"important work has to be
"done" - (5)

what '*persons*'?
Engineers? or headmen?

Please remember that I
have no eyes, or rather
I *have* eyes & they are

f189

neuralgic- You must
 not, please, tell me to
 "look in the Book", but
 mark the passages
 for me - & give me
 yourself the moral -
 I have been laid up
 all the winter
 {text to end of folio Sutherland's response to (5)}

f190 {Sutherland's response to text (5) continues re: cleansing and
 protection of water sources}

f191

‡ [4] {FN's letter continues}
 It seems to me that one [16:871-72]
 must always repeat the
 most elementary notions
 of Sanitary things again &
 again
 Do you know that in
 one week we have
 18!!! Probationers at
 St Thomas' "down"
 with Diarrhoea & Sickness
 "& in a "Typhoid condition" [end 10:308]
 To-day we completely
 empty our "Home" -
 send all the really sick

f191v

Probationers into two
 special sick wards -
 send all the *well* ones
 into an empty Ward
 fitted up in haste for
 them -
 Send the Convalescents
 to their homes -
 & then -- thorough inspection
 It is believed that the
 same cistern supplies
 drinking water & sinks - [end 16:872]
 It is believed that the

f192

waste pipe of the sink
 goes straight into the
 drain without being cut
 off

It is known that the
 tap for the drinking water
 is over a sink

And Mr. Currey is
 our Architect!

And Dr. Bristowe
 is Sanitary Officer!!!
 to the Hospital!!!

I think I ought to
 be hanged & Dr. Bristowe
 {line of text by Sutherland}

f192v

Mr Currey, his

Builder & Plumber
 shut up in a Sink!!!

{text to end of folio by Sutherland responding re: not to hang him as he knew
 no better, & the problem of crooked people in relation to building hospitals}

signed letter, ff193-94v, pencil

f193

10 South St

Nov 17/85

My dear Dr Sutherland

I have never had time to
 tell you of the very successful
 interview I had with

Sir F. Roberts. But I will

Dr. Hewlett's 5 6 points:

1 Village Sanitation & the
 best means of carrying it
 out {vert. word:} Yes

[This I am to write to

Ld Reay upon]

2 The desirability of the
 Bombay Govt= being informed

[10:312-13]

{vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder --

f193v

- that their views regarding
the contagion of Cholera
are opposed to proved
facts, & are likely to
cause embarrassment to
true Sanitary progress &
England's action regarding
Quarantine {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes
[You will help in this;
- and how can I?
- 3 The importance of the
Bombay Govt= giving every
facility to Municipalities
to take advantage of
Col Ducat's Services as
Consulting Sanitary Engineer {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes

f194

- [This, I think will be done
without us]
- 4 The advisability of Indian
Engineers being encouraged
whilst at home on furlough
to take every opportunity
of studying Sanitary
engineering as a speciality {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes
[This I think I have
nothing to do with]
- 5 The desirability of
employing Civil Surgeons
in each Zillah as Sanitary
Officers who should work
under the direct control {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes
of the Sanitary Commissioner

f194v

as in the Punjab -
 Would you kindly give me
 hints as to all 5
 points - how I could
 help - & particularly
 what view you take &
 how you are helping -
 & what I should say to
 Dr Hewlett
 if possible by Thursday
 morning [end 10:313]
 ever faithfully yrs
 F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff195-98v, pen & pencil

f195

Nov 27/85
 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
 PARK LANE. W.
 Dear Dr. Sutherland
 1. I have received the proof
 as usual from Mr. Hill
 of the I.O. Sanitary Blue Book,
 with the *usual request* for
criticism &c &c
 Now is the time if you
 want anything strengthened
 or corrected.
Please tell me what.
 I believe that you are
 very much better. There is a
 blessed change in the weather
 to day. But I also hope that
 you use common prudence

f195v

Sanitary TRACTS FOR INDIA

I am very much obliged
for the parcels I have received
from the Ladies' Sanitary -
2. bed also I should be very
much obliged *for a List*
marked by YOURSELF &
Mrs. Sutherland of those
which you think might
possibly do, adapted, for India
I am also grateful for the
caution conveyed in Miss
Adams' letter about
translation or adaptation
which I will carefully

f196

transmit to Lady Dufferin

But I could very much
have wished that nothing
had been said to Miss Adams
or Jarrold about leave to
translate or adapt till
we had decided whether
we should have even one book
or tract to recommend to Ly D.
~~her~~ for translation or adaptation
At present I have not one -
And I had made up my mind
to tell her so. Now, if
she puts that "Cleanliness is
necessary to health," Jarrold
will say it is "adapted" from
him. I have other books

f196v

to send to Lady Dufferin
which I have just
ordered from my Bookseller
but without any intention
of asking for leave ('leave' is blotched} to
translate or adapt till we know
whether we want it.
I have got together such a
mass of information &
advice for ~~her~~ Lady Dufferin that I
hardly know bow to arrange
it for her - from Dr.
Hewlett, from Mr. & Mrs.
Man Mohun Ghose. (She is
like a highly educated
English lady) from Mr. Hume
& others.

f197

[2]

3- Dr. Hewlett recommends
that in each province should
be selected an Indian native
to write, under the Superintende=
of the Sanitary Commissioner
of that province, a *Sanitary*
home-Manual for women
& *girls*

But what Sanitary
Commissioner is there besides
himself & Dr. Bellew of
the Punjab, who is fit
for the task?

No one know so well as
you. *Please tell me.*

[The *Madras Sany- Commr=*

f197v

is nobody. Dr. Cunningham's
successor with the Govt- of
India is much worse
than no one.]

3 Could you kindly send me
a List of the present
Sanitary Commissioners
whom you would consider
fit for supervising the writing
a home Manual for women
each for his own Province?
& I shall take care to include
in my letter to Lady Dufferin
(when it gets written)
your excellent suggestion
for teaching home Sanitary

f198

practice in any proposed
Ladies Medl- College, that
the Lady Doctors may
lecture to the women - one
of the principal suggestions
of Mr. Man Mohun Ghose
(a very superior brother
of Lal Mohun's)
Every one of my advisors has
considered adaptations or
re-translation from any
English books as useless
except that, as you say,
hygienic *principles* are
the same everywhere; but
we need not ask Jarrold
for these.
According to Dr. Hewlett, it is

f198v

also perfectly useless to send
 these kinds of things to "Parsee's,
 whose women's habits & superstitions
 are unknown to English
 people -

God bless you both:
 & with great love to Mrs.
 Sutherland, believe me

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

We are 'cast down but not
 destroyed! about the
 Elections -

signed letter, ff199-200v, pen

f199

Bombay Village Sanitation

Dec 9/85

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
 PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am so glad that you [10:316-17]
 are so much better. But
 pray be careful. The weather
 in London has been detestable

I send you Mr. Pedder's letter
 in answer to one of mine
 asking for a Despatch on
 Bombay Village Sanitation -
 You see he will do it; you
 see he waits to do it till
 your Memo= on Dr. Hewlett's
last Sanitary Report is
received. You see he
 wishes to come & talk to me
 about it.

f199v

You see that he forsees
 "difficulties" -
 Could you tell me what line
 your Meml- will take?
 what line I ought to take
 about his "difficulties".
 [By the greatest chance, I
 who have never time or
 strength to make Drafts
 or copies of my letters,
 find I made a pencil
 Memo= of my letter to ~~Mr~~ Lord
~~Pedder~~ Reay which I enclose,
 as that to Mr. Pedder was on the same pattern,
 in order that you may tell
 me what to modify or
 strengthen in conversation
 with him.]

f200

Please return me the whole
 'boutique' & give me
all the hints you can -
 We *must* support Dr. Hewlett's
 & Mr. Crawford's experience
 & practical judgement on
 this Bombay Village Sanitation
 against the altogether obstructive
 views, for they are nothing
 more than views, of Messrs.
 Melville & Nugent (on Lord
 Reay's Council) whom Mr.
 Pedder calls the "Bombay
 Govt=". [~~I have written~~
~~to Lord Reay~~]
~~After all, I cannot find the~~
 My letter to Mr. Pedder, to which
 his is an answer, was on the same
 topics, Mutatis mutandis, as the one I
 enclose to Id Reay. [I did not of course tell
 Mr. Pedder I had written to Lord Reay]

f200v

You know, I dare say, that Dr. [6:570]
Hewlett left 5 out of his 6 children
ill of Scarlet Fever, from the
abominable Bedford drainage -
one, a boy of 9, apparently
dying - his wife quite worn out
with Nursing - & he obliged
to start for India - He & she
were more to be pitied, I think,
than almost any one I ever saw.
However, I have heard from her
that the little boy has taken
a turn for the better - & that
all are making progress.

Dr Hewlett seemed almost
broken hearted at having
to leave them. Thank God
they are better -

with great love to Mrs [end 10:317]
Sutherland ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff201-08v, pen & pencil

f201

Private {up at angle} [10:317-20]

Despatch }
to Bombay }
Govt= (Mr. Pedder) Dec 19/85
Your Memo on Hewlett's }
Sanitary Report }
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am so very glad that you
are able to resume your
tri weekly visits to the Horse Guards.

Your letter shall now be
answered as well as I can,
having had a long conversation
with Mr. Pedder.

The IO is fractious &
quarrelsome: every one who
enters in there becomes an
Office man, & not a service man
- loses his undivided devotion
to the cause of India, & becomes
defensive, warding off troublesome
reformers. This being the case,
we must do our best:

f201v

Economy is the order of the day,
 in all except the Army,
 frontier defences & frontier Wars,
 (10000 men to be kept at
 Quetta at an enormous expence,
 for all their supplies must be
 brought from India] &c &c
 Every official in India who
~~goes against~~ dared to hesitate about this policy - to
 be spoken of with good natured
 contempt, especially at Bombay =
 "Ray" (meaning Lord Reay)
 "old Hewlett"
 "Willie Wedderburn"
 (meaning Sir W. Wedderburn)
 &c &c
 But we must do our best =

f202

I. As to pleading for a
 "complete executive Sanitary
 "organization", we are
 specially warned to do no such
 thing. 1. We are told that the
 answer from India will be =
 'give us a hundred millions,
 & we shall be too glad to do it'.
 2. We are told that an "Executive"
 means: the power of levying
 money by raising fresh taxes,
 & that nothing of the kind
 can be sanctioned.
 3. We are warned to begin at the
 bottom & restore the Mhars
 & Mangs as a "Village Sanitary
 Organizn-" (sec. Crawford's Note)
 Paras 12 and 13
 [Of that more anon: we will
 hope that we are not to *end*
 there]
 And actually at their own request

f202v

I wrote to "Ray", by last mail,
to restore these Mhars &
Mangs, re instate them in their
village perquisites (grain 'huks')
& their service lands.

4. We are told this - (by the way)-
but please observe this that we
must on no account speak
of Col. Ducat by name but
only as the Sanitary Engineer,
because!! he has the
misfortune to be "old Hewlett's"
brother- in law, which *I* did
not know till the other day,
& *you* I dare say do not
know it all.

5. We are told that we must
on no account urge the Govt-
to "instruct" the Municipalities
to carry out the "Sanitary Engineer's"

f203

[2]

"requirements" still less to
act with other Municipalities
as with "Calcutta", which
has made a dreadful "row" -
[I do have a word to say
about that anon]

6. Also: that the Municipalities
themselves will not stand a
too energetic native Sanitarian
member, because that entails
raising money. (just like
our Town Councils & Boards)
You remember that excellent
Sanitarian Native Chairman
of the Ahmedabad Muny=
whose letter Dr. Hewlett
inserted in his last Annual
Report but one. He would
not have been elected in the

f203v

new Municipal Board, &
he asked to be *nominated*,
which was done - But he was
not elected as Vice Chairman,
& he threatens to resign [We
are doing all we can to
prevent this.]

According to your desire
I was to find out what you
could put in your Memo- on
Dr. Hewlett's last Sanitary
Report, to strengthen their
hands, i.e. the hands of their

f204

Despatch which is to be
written to the Bombay Govt=
on your Memo=, when it
comes in:

they were profuse in their
acknowledgements of the
excellence of your Memo-,
& suggest as pegs to hang
their Despatch upon =

1. that you feel convinced the
system of Village sanitation
must begin from the bottom
2. para. 294. [Dr. Hewlett's Report]
- that you quite agree with
Dr. Hewlett that Village Sanitation
is all the root of removal of
epidemic disease - & are
very glad to understand that
some legislative measures are
to promote such Sanitation

f204v

& would be glad to hear the result.

[Upon this, put more strongly & better by you, Mr. Pedder says, they would be able to hang their Despatch]

p. 126. Dr. Hewlett speaks of Local funds spent on Sanitary purposes. Mr. Pedder says a great deal *has* been "spent on wells - the main thing". I think he would be glad if you would notice this [He says that "old Hewlett", "rightly" "notices the defects", & does not say much of what has been done]

As an irrelevant reflection I am ~~so~~ struck with Dr. Hewlett's superiority to all these I.O. men-

f205

[3]

[Mr Pedder is not half the man he was when I first knew him]
3 [This by the way] Mr. Pedder asks you to use the word "village organization", (not "Panchayat"): he says Panchayats do not exist, & they the I.O., want to encourage the village HEADMAN. [I am sorry he is wrong, because Messrs. Crawford & Hewlett on the spot speak incessantly about Panchayats. But till it is Mr. Pedder who has to draft one ~~on~~ which the S of S will approve & permit - And we must let him dictate his own terms, à la lettre]

f205v

4. para 303. Mr Pedder asks you to say a word in favour of the Leper Asylum & its advantage

5. I now come to a thing which it is most difficult to me to formulate Mr Pedder begs you "not to suggest" anything ~~about~~ based upon the "NON contagiousness" of Cholera". He says it actually has the opposite effect ~~fr~~ on foreign Govts- from what we wish for, & Drs. Hewlett & Cun{n}ingham suppose -

He says the I.O. entirely approve (*without* believing in "Cholera contagion") Para 14

f206

of the "Resolution" of Govt= (end of Bombay Sanitary Report, now under your hands) which has so distressed Dr.

Hewlett - that the I.O. has signified or will signify as approval to the Bombay Govt= of this Para 14 In vain I urged that the I.O. has done, as you told me, exactly what we wished - that the Govt- of India has instructed Bombay to clean its ships, as Dr. Hewlett wished. - & that we made no complaint.

Mr Pedder went into this at great length - I cannot re capitulate his arguments; you have heard them 50 times. But I suppose we must take ~~illeg~~ him at his word in this:

f206v

that European contagionist
Govts=, IF we harp upon *non -*
contagion, say: ~~if~~ "you ~~are~~ will be
careless about sending clean
bills of health with your ships,
& therefore we will stop our
ports against your ships."

I only tell you what Mr. Pedder
says: we cannot go against
him when he asks you
not to dwell upon Cholera
'non-contagiousness' as a
reason for the *Sanitary*
measures recommended

[As I wrote to you, I did not
feel Dr. Hewlett's indignation
against Para 14]

f207

[4]

6. I come not to Zillah Surgeons:
we can do nothing. Mr. Pedder
says it will only make a "row".

[I have told you my opinion of
the spirit of the I.O.]

He says "that the Zillah Surgeons
"should report on Sanitary things
"direct to the *Sany- Commr="*

would be as if, in joint
operations of Army & Navy,
the Army Surgeons were to
report direct to the *Naval*
Commander in Chief or vice

versa I can only tell
you what he says.

7 To return to Village Sanitary
things: *this* is the tone: -

'The cultivators & agricultural
populations & agricultural
population are all *underfed* -
& *this* is the cause of their great

f207v

'mortality'. To account for Army health:

'It is possible to have orders carried out in the Army which it is not possible to have carried out in the Villages'

'Sleeping on the ground & not on a charpoy one great cause of Village Mortality

'We do not believe in the Great decrease of *native* Army Mortality. But, if it is so it is because, tho' native troops have a great tendency to *under feed*, C.O.s watch against this to prevent it, & against sleeping on the ground &c'

[I think you might combat these prejudices very gently & indirectly dwelling in the Great decrease of Native troops *Mortality*] which they don't believe

f208

8. The I.O. ~~do not~~ say

Koch's discomfiture is not believed in -
N.B.

(Now please do always put the names of the Sanitary Commissions of each province at the head of your Memo= of each Province The I.O. asks me the name of the Sany Commr- of Bengal - And I ask *them* The Sany Commrs= ask one another And no one knows. Who is the Bengal Sany- Commr?

And is he good?

Who are the good Sany- Commrs- besides Drs. Hewlett & Bellew?

f208v

I think I had better send
 this letter as it is,
 containing as it does the
 chief points without
 waiting to write more - as you
 may be doing your Memo=.

I send your own letter for
 reference which please
 return -

With great love to Mrs-
 Sutherland **[end 10:320]**
 ever faithfully yours
 F. Nightingale

f209, Sutherland, Jan 1 1886, giving up hope for {Cunningham's} aid

ff210-13, Sutherland, June 30 1886, Oakleigh Alleyn Park Dulwich, Medical
 training to ladies, likely to lead to spreading sanitary knowledge among
 native women

incomplete letter, ff214-15v, pen

f214

10 South St. July 9/86
 Dear Dr. Sutherland

You will see that Dr. **[10:747-48]**
 Murdoch makes me almost
 the same request that Lady
 Dufferin did.

It is curious & hopeful
 this awakening desire for
 teaching the girls & boys of
 India, European & native,
 (& the women) Sanitary things.

Let us try & help them
 [You probably remember Dr.

Murdoch. He has travelled
 40 years in India at his
 own expence, urging primary
 education. His "letter" to Lord

f214v

Ripon on "Education"

urging that, as we had
the text=books of the Schools
in our hands, we could,
without interfering one tittle
in religion, have the minds
of the future native
generation in our hands, -
& showing the way by
illustrations, - Was the very
best practical thing I ever
saw. I sent for a number
of copies from Madras, &
gave them to Ld Reay, Ld
Dufferin, Dr. Hunter & others]

f215

Now, *what shall I answer
him?*

Very much the same that I
answered Lady Dufferin?

~~But~~ No, for you see, he has
begun already, (which
she has not done,) publishing
a native Sanitary Primer,
& touching on the principal
disease-causes of India,
just as you advised -
*/ Will you look at the
Primer* which I enclose, &
tell me if it is very good?

f215v

2 Will you kindly send me again a *marked List* of the *Ladies' Sanitary Assn*= tracts, that I may give them to him as illustrations & also of any *others* that you approve

3. Will you *suggest* how he shall go on to *publish* more tracts in the style of the one I enclose? as he wishes

I shall see him next week & ~~will~~, if I am able, & will tell him all you suggest- [end 10:748]

[I wrote to Lady Dufferin a hasty letter last week, but

ff216-17v, Sutherland, July 12 1886, Oakleigh Alleyn Park Dulwich, Murdoch's and Cunningham's primers for children

ff218-20, Sutherland, July 15 1886, problem concerning a marked list of LSA tracts

signed letter, ff221-23v, pencil

f221

10 South St July 20/86
Dear Dr. Sutherland

My immediate object is to ask you whether, as I propose to send to Lady Dufferin, Dr Murdoch's "Way to Health", which you approved. I shall send her the two other little Tracts I enclose, (which please return by return of post as nearly as you can) - also given me by Dr Murdoch - He has given me a quantity of [10:748]

f221v

little books, which appear to
me admirable:
Thank you for your letter -
He, Dr. Murdoch, sued
hard again for a marked List
of Sanitary books - But, as
it is not to be, it is not to be
He asked at least for the
Ladies' Sanitary List (for **[end 10:748]**
April) to be marked for those
which are fittest *for children* -
He asked that "Dr. Sutherland"
should do *this*, & that, & that
But I supposed it is no use
asking - or recapitulating

f222

what he told me -
He goes to Scotland on
Wednesday (to morrow) - &
returns to India in October
[He has been ~~there~~ in India
40 years - travelling over
the whole, including Ceylon,
for 6 months of every year]
He is a man whom one
might utilize to an
extraordinary degree -
his knowledge of the natives,
his extreme acuteness &
activity his devotion

f222v

If you can give me any
hints either for him or
for Lady Dufferin, to whom
I write again this week,
they will be gratefully received

Would you kindly send
me another copy of Report (the last)
of the Ladies' San= Assn=?

My very best love to Mrs.
Sutherland - I trust she is
pretty well

ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

f223

[2]

I grieve exceedingly for **[9:660]**
the state of your health
As for your remarks about
the Army San: Comm: What
else have I been painfully
doing (among all my other
business) for the last 2
years, & am still?

The possible collapse of
the Army San: Comm: is ever
on my mind & heart -

During the political
earthquakes of the last

f223v

8 months, still continuing,
no permanent interest
can be expected in those
who are so little permanent

The subject excruciates
me -

I wish you better with
my whole heart **[end 9:660]**
F.N.

signed letter, ff224-27v, pen & pencil

Aug 18/86

f224

10 South St

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I hope you have returned [10:749-50]
from Scotland a great deal better.

- & Mrs. Sutherland not the worse

While you have been away, events

have been marching. But I
have no time to {overtop of 'no'} recall my
recalled letters - I write now
to Lady Dufferin every mail:

a very bad plan -

1. Dr. Murdoch who asked,
as you know, to have hints given
him as to the best English Sanitary

f224v

Primers & Tracts -

who himself prepared the best

Indian Sanitary Primer, (which
I sent you in English) -

who knows Indian native

Schools & life as no other
man does, having spent 40
years in travelling into every
corner of India

proposed to draw up the
"Hints", of which I enclose
a rough 1st Proof, & wished
them to be freely criticized,
pulled to pieces & revised -

He would of course if I

f225

wished it, omit the

2nd line (of "prepared for"
me)

My feeling is I. that there is

so much about MEDICAL

works, of which I have

always steered clear,

except where Lady Doctors of India -

that my name is inappropriate

- as also his suggestion

of 5 R. Commissions -

Also: 2. that he assigns so

very little to Ly Dufferin's

Assoc"= to do -

f225v

At the same time, his remark

1. that "Medicine" is the only
"Hindoo science", is striking,
as, that Hindoo *Medical*
Literature is enormous -
& perhaps one must
hang Hygiene on that -
At all events, one cannot
ignore it

And in his little Sanitary books, (of
which I sent you two more
while you were away but
recalled them), he gives
the simplest receipts for
Fever &c - *not* medical at
all, chiefly simply Hygienic & Nursing - quite right

f226

[2]

I think these *Hygienic* rather than Medical
receipts are what he
means for his proposed Medical Manuals
His remark about Hindoo
resentment against our
meddling with their drains
is characteristic
& upon the most "illiterate
"cooly" expounding "medicine"
His knowledge of Indian
native books is probably
unrivalled
& we must not cast it
aside

But I confess I wish first
& foremost to get what I can
out of this Proof to help me how
to do *Lady Dufferin's* work

f226v

Will you help me?

2. It would not do at all to assign so small a place to Ly Dufferin's Assocn= -
-especially if my name is to be mentioned - I am in fact her agent

What was it that she asked me to do last winter for her, & I did? It was not solely for "women" His remark that the "work" "must be self-supporting" & therefore cheaply done is important -

f227

Now, will you be so good as to criticize largely, fully, this Proof? I wish we had Hewlett at hand -

God bless the work
ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

I had perhaps better add: I 1. think Dr Murdoch has mixed up Medicine & Sanitary things, but unintentionally: as I say, in his little books he puts in excellent Sanitary treatment for Fever &c

f227v

& that, I think, is what he means by what he ~~sometimes~~ calls Medicine in Manuals -
 2 when he first spoke about writing & sending me this Proof, I understood it was for the "diffusion" of *Sanitary knowledge* by LADY DUFFERIN'S Assocn= -

And it was *that* which I encouraged him to do
 3. p.4 He told me that he was F.N. going to collect from every province in India every thing, both in English & in the vernacular, that had been written on *Sanitary* things. Here he calls them *Medical* [end 10:750]

ff228-33v, Sutherland, Aug 19 1886, Alleyn Park, the concepts of appointing publication commissions and prizes, preparation of tracts on Domestic Cleanliness for Lady Dufferin's Committee, and consolidation of management to save money

signed letter, ff234-39, pen

f234

10 South St Aug 22/86 [10:750-51]
 {Dufferin}
 {Sanitary}

Dear Dr Sutherland

Thank you very much for your letter on the Murdoch proof -

The issue of the whole thing is rather changed by a letter from Lady Dufferin last night And I need to consult you again how it affects our criticisms.

[N.B. Another man whom I {vert. line drawn down l. side of this para} consulted on the plan of "Commissions" &c said that they were necessary for the object

f234v

of introducing the teaching systematically by the assistance of the "high authorities "in the Provinces" - specified as to be on the Commissions.]
- that they had nothing to do with "works"]
1. Lady Dufferin has referred her scheme to the "Home Office" [I presume the H.O. in *India*] & has now what she calls her "definite answer from this "Home Office". And the "Home Office" answer is "that I, (Lady D.) "Should "get the best books on these "subjects, & that a prize

f235

"should then be offered
"for the best Primer - the
"compilers being provided
"with a list of the books
"we wish to recommend to
them"
[I am more sorry for this than
I can say: the "Prize" plan
has never answered: & she
has the names of those who
are capable of writing
Sanitary Primers &c to her
hand]
2 Farther, she says:
"as the Inspectors of Schools
"have taken it up, it is

f235v

"now a *Govt- matter*, but

I am helping to push it on
That it is a "*Govt- matter*"

"now," is doubtless necessary
for success in a bureaucracy
like India. But, if it is
to become a mere Clerk &
Bureau & Aide de Camp
"matter", it will fail.

[She does not know as
we do that the "Home Office"
in India means Clerks & Under
Secretaries that Under
Secretaries & Clerks know
nothing of India beyond
their own desks]

f236

[2]

But how does this affect
the "Commissions"? - I suppose
the answer is that these,
the Commns=, to which you
so direfully object,
concern the great question
of Sanitary manuals for the natives of
the *Province* - & that
her "Govt- Inspectors" concern
(for the moment) her
"European girls'" schools only
3. I think it is clear that
the "compilation" of the
"Primer" concerns the "European

f236v

"Girls' Schools" only - But
it is always difficult to make
out from her letters whether
she is speaking of these -
or whether of her former
larger plan of Sanitary
Primers & tracts for *native*
girls & women & *their*
schools *all over India* -
4 She further says that
we "in England exaggerate
"the difference between a
"book appropriate for
"England & one for India
I wonder whether she has

f237

ever been in an Indian village
or a poor native house
5 Farther- & more important -
she says that I am to
send her all the books
that will be useful for
her plan I presume for the "European Girls' Schools".- Would you be so very
good as to send me *a marked List*
- mark them *all*, if you like: & *Report*
of the *Ladies' Sanitary Association*: [I
only wish we had done this before]
And if Mrs. Sutherland would be so
very good as she did before as
to direct Miss Adams to send me
two complete sets to be paid for of
course? Must I say anything about
their being *copy-right*?
I *have* sent Lady Dufferin all the books
which Girls' High Schools & Female Training Colleges
recommended

f237v

that she has written to Mr
"Hart, of the National Health
"Socy=" also for books.

And she sends me a
printed List of subjects,
drawn up by herself, very
numerous - *Irish, not*
Indian - upon all of which
I am to send her books.

[Murdoch's List is much
better]

This, she tells me, is for
the "European Girls' Schools"

She says: "I have now
"received permission to get

f238

[3]

"the books from which our
"Primer is to be compiled
"The Govt= wish to offer a
"prize for the best
"compilation" &c &c

5. Farther, she says: "The
"health Socy- of Calcutta
"is trying to get the subject
"taken up in *boys'* Schools
"& Universities" -

So it seems there is a
stir - And this is good

But oh that it could be
kept out of the hands of Clerks
& Aide de Camps !

f238v

6. Farther, she says that she
 "hopes it (the Primer) can be
 "adapted to suit *native*
 "girls- "adapted for India
 "& ~~the~~ for natives".

But she winds up with
 "the grand principles for
 "health are the same every
 "where".

Yes: but not their application

7. Farther, she says: "we
 "also wish to have *one*
 "book & not many, so
 "that our Primer must
 "be a compilation" !!!

f239

[So much the greater risk
 of failure]

A Primer to comprise all
 the subjects in her own
 printed List would be
 as big as a London

Directory [end 10:751]

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff240-41, pencil

f240

10 South St Aug 24/86

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Thank you for your letter, [10:751-52]

which simply says what I
 can't say to Lady Dufferin:
 'Don't teach & do execute' -
~~quite the contrary~~ -

Thank you very much for the
 marked List -

But if you read my letter
 to Mrs. Sutherland, you would
 see that I sent over a
 Messenger expressly with
 that printed paper of Lady

f240v

Dufferin's in order that
 you might mark or recommend
 "the *best books on all these*
 "subjects for the Manual
 "to be compiled from" -
 "adding to this List of subjects
 "which is incomplete" if necessary
 She did not at all want

us to say whether or what
 part of the List of subjects
 was to be 'issued'-- but

[end 10:752]

"to recommend books &
 "tracts which should include {'e' overtop 'ing'} instructions

f241

"as to all these things -
 (- not to say whether
 'the marginal headings simply
 'should be issued'-]

in great haste

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

{response from Sutherland to end of this folio and into f241v re: suggests FN
 tells Lady Dufferin the ones she had named for her, will answer the general
 principles}

ff242-46, Sutherland, Aug 25 1886, Alleyn Park, Native Schools (India) and
 Sanitary plans

f247-v, Sutherland, Aug 31 1886, the failing of Lord Ripons municipal scheme

ff248-53v, Sutherland, Oct 19 1886, adheres fully to recommendation that was
 made that the sanitary administration should be placed in sanitary
 commissions. I have ready your letter and think it better to reply at once.
 As a member of the RC of 1859 I adhere fully after 25 years experience to the
 rec we made that the san admin shd be placed in properly constituted san
 commissioner, not commissioners. The Indian authorities set aside our advice
 and took their own. They appointed simple medical officers to do work for
 which they were incapable for the most part and now they wish to roll up
 these offices with the local med staffs to save expense. Last summer Fayrer
 sent me some papers in wh the present commissioners objected to this
 operation as they had too much to do already and he asked my opinion. I told
 him what the RC had advised, that med san commissioners were a purely Indian
 invention with which our commission had nothing to do--only we had felt bound
 to accept such material as the govtg gave us to work with, and to make the
 best of it. Some years ago I was asked if I wd object to try the amalgamation
 in several very ltd areas and I assented as a trial. But the result was not
 satisfactory.

3. Let us now enq where we are in san work? Disease and death illeg have
 done their work, but practical procedures on the results have still to be

taken.

They have been taken in the British and native armies and are being taken in the jails (autocratically and not in the way of local self govt) and death rates in all these cases have gone down (in Eur troops to one sixth). In the cities they have tried local self govt and Madras after 20 years work returned in 1884 a death rate of 5 percent.

4. The san commissioners have shown stat that for nearly 200 millions of our fellow subjects nothing of any consequence has been done and that India suffers enormous death and property losses from epidemics.

We have called attention to the facts year after year and we have sent them instructions how to act.

5. But the executive is wanting and the real function of the present san com is really to tell us how many people die of preventable diseases.

Would then the union of the two offices, med and san, do good or evil? Of course I told Fayrer that if an opinion were asked we shd prob object. To the change as it was the first step downwards to non-entity. If the offices were abolished altogether I don't think India death rates would rise, but he govt wd cease to rest on a false security. Better it wd be, if they would discuss whether a san exec mt not take the place of the present commissioners... more

ff254-55, Sutherland, Oct 18 1886, will respond to Mr Ronson's report later, and the need for real sanitary work in forwarding sanitary education

f256-v, Sutherland, Oct 22 1886, embossed WO, reply to Mr Ronson's report re san executive

f257-v, Sutherland, Nov 3 1886, Alleyn Park, enclosed sketch to fill and comments on the Midwifery Book **[8:387]** The midwifery book has done its work partly by info partly from envy and strife. If done now wd take a different form and as it is it.

f258, Sutherland, Dec 6 1886, WO, business with 1885 Indian reports and disappointment of increased death rates

ff259-60, Sutherland, Dec 12 1886, inquiry about a reduction of childhood mortality **[8:387-88]**

signed letter, ff261-62v, pen

f261

10 South St Sept 19/87
Private {up at an angle}

[10:191-92]

Dear Dr Sutherland
Mr. Hill has just sent me the
Annual Sanitary Blue Book,
marks it "Urgent", & asks
me to make remarks -

I am sorry to see your
Addendum, signed D. Galton,
in such very small print -

Could you kindly point out
to me what additions were
made *after* the Proof was
sent in to the I.O ?

And if you are dissatisfied

f261v

with any thing, or think any
remarks could be
enforced with advantage,
here is an opportunity
by which you can strengthen
any you have made or
wish made thro' me -

I was rather in hopes that
there would have been
stronger reprobation of
Calcutta,
some notice of the terrible
increase of Venereal disease,

f262

& above all a stronger
advocacy of *Executive*
Boards, call them what you
will.

Please suggest to me
what I shall say to
strengthen any part.

I have been back in
London some little time
but overwhelmed with
business -

[end 10:192]

My best love to Mrs -
Sutherland -

f262v

I hope you & she are
pretty well Believe me
ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

{note at bottom of folio upside down from Sutherland}

note, f263, pencil

f263 {archivist:} [ca. 1880's]

I did not ask him for "a Draft"

I asked him for a "very brief"
statement of what the A.S.C. had
done:

& the same of the history of
Sir S. Northcote's enquiry

Is an "enabling Act"
"requiring Sanitation"
needful

besides Sir R. Temple's
"Imperial" Act?

ff264-67, notes by Sutherland, [1888], for consideration on future
organizations of sanitary work [good material]

draft, f268-69v, pencil

f268

Belgium (La Crèche
Establishment administered by a Council of gentlemen
who visit individually & frequently 35 South Street {pr address}
Regular & systematic visitation by Park Lane,
ladies, a week in turn London. W.
In reply to my enquiry whether the
regular Lady Visitors had any
voice in planning the arrange=
ments of the house, the clever
directress congratulated herself
that no one of them had any power
to issue any orders whatever
during her visit, for in that
case, she sagaciously observed,
no business would ever be done
at all; but, she added that, if
any one who visited them had
any complaint to make against
existing conditions, or any suggestions
to offer with a visit to improved
management, a book lay open on
the table for the entry of it, which
book the gentlemen of the council
would have before them at their next
Meeting

f268v

God has sent her.

f269 {blank}

f269v {vert.} All proposals made to the Council should
be immediately submitted by them to her.

*I have found this quite necessary
with MY fools -*

[They were going once to entertain the
most absurd proposal from

Univ: Coll Hospl]

Council = fools - (synonyms)

f270-v {Sutherland}, views that nurses of midwifery would be of help to the poor. It appears to me that much of this corr relates rather to matters of detail than of pr. I can quite understand that clergymen and even medicos may not at the first blush see their way to introducing trained nurses, esp midwives, into their parishes. That is not the question however. The real point is ought women to be trained as nurses and midwives? All appear to agree in this and indeed the poor are admitted to employ midwives unfit for their work. All trained midwives are not expected to go to unions, very likely ...

f271 Sutherland, to leave suggestions out of an appendix in JS rough hand draft, f272, pencil

f272

I heard the other day from France that in consequence of the Emperor having established a mess for the Guides (who correspond to our Guards) that Corps from the excessive expence of it had become virtually exactly like ~~the~~ the Officials of our Household Troops -

They complain excessively of the expence - But they have virtually come to be filled by the wealthy & aristocrats

f273, unfamiliar hand, cooking instructions, part JS?

draft, f274-v, pencil

f274

They are going to send 10 to us next year
But 10 is nothing, except as Trainers -
And Trainers can only train in a Hosp -

f274v

I did not expect
I thought you would lack the general climate of the
South of Pall Mall
I suppose the lilacs are in flower there - At Pall Mall
Am I to return this

f275, in Latin in JS ink hand, re: the infinite universe in foreign lang. Newton Principia p 528. Hic (the infinite universe) omnia regit (daes) non ut anima nundi, sed ut uni... with Greek Newton's Principia p 528

f276 note, pen

a text for *Her* next Sunday

incomplete letter, f227-v, pen {text on front of black-edged envelope}

f277

Messrs Briggs & Co- (Limited

Methley - Leeds

Messrs Greening & Q (Limited

Salford - Manchester

have turned each their concerns into a company
- the men sharing profits. It was
not profitable before = now it is very
profitable.

The growth of improvement is much
retarded by the backward condition of
popular education which does not progress
any thing like so fast as it should owing to
the foolish dissensions of the religious bodies.

f277v {back of black-edged, blue envelope}

To give the workman an interest in the results
is the way to end strikes & many other
evils

f278-v, printed envelope to Sutherland from India Office

f278 {FN hand vert. down on right side of envelope} I think
Major *Marvin*

draft, ff279-80v, pencil

f279

But there's also another answer. *Always this*
When there's not an average sufficient number of
Patients requiring Night Nursing by trained women,
Night Nursing by trained women is not
required

When there *is*, it *is*

They will *never* have a proper Night *Orderly* Service
Therefore the only thing to do is to have a Night
Nurse over them - removing *no* Orderly.

This will only make one Night Nurse to from
120-150 bad cases (viz 1. to each Division)

~~And it~~ in 8 wards!!

And it is madness to think of removing the Orderlies,
such as they are

f280

She'll be up here with
 the letter this afternoon --
 or to morrow -
 And it will kill me -
 I should have gone to day
 if I could
 I think that H only means
 fit for Hospitals

f280v

I've heard again
 But she has heard nothing
 from the H.O.
 I stay in bed because I
 can't sit up -
~~And because I~~ Otherwise
 I should have gone away
 to- day

If I be not dead I go
 away next week

{printed address upside down:} 35 South Street,
 Park Lane,
 London. W.

f281 {blank}

ff281v-82, Sutherland, Mr. McKinnell's ventilator. Plan

f283, drawing of ventilator

f284-v, printed ad for McKinnell's patent ventilator

ff285-86, Wm. T. Conn ?? to Elizabeth, [1859], a letter of recommendation of
 Major Earl of the 14th Dragoon

ff287-88, Mrs Sutherland to My darling, Sunday, drawing room curtains

note, f288v, pencil

f288v

Do you know who
 Bedord is
 This is the whole set -
 I wanted to order some
 for those Australian
 Sisters to sell, Some
 for myself -
 to the tune of £7.7

f289-90v, Brook W. Bridges to Madam [FN], Dec 12 1862, Little Baddon Rectory Chelmsford, rental of a house, with note to Mrs S by FN

f289v {FN text in pen added at the end of Bridges letter}

Dearest

You know it is too
bad of this man
consulting his own
interest & not mine.
At first I felt
inclined to jump at his

f290

offer. But you see he
insists on me going
in directly tho' how
I am to take his house
for the month of
December, when we
are half thro' December
already I don't know.

I do think it
would be better for
me to take lodgings
over the Stationery Office,
at least till the
India Report is thro'
the press. And see
if I did not drive
thereby McCulloch
into a Lunatic Asylum

f290v

in 6 weeks or
compel him to resign
His intellects never
could stand me.

ff291-92, Glanherville to Madam, Dec 21 1862, Chillingham Castle Alnwick,
apologizing for unavailability of house in town for rent

incomplete letter, f292v, pen

f292v

Dearest I was so shocked
to find that you had gone
& come back again about
Lord Delamere's last night.
I am sure it must have
done you harm

I think it would be as
well to enquire after that
house in Cleveland Row,
if you are not too tired of
the business. Because it is
such a very eligible situation
for me: next best to living
over the stationery office
But I don't believe in Gillieses

I shall go & see 14 & 12
Hereford St, as soon as I am
able to go - I will
go on Thursday or Friday

ff293-96v, W. Wood to Madam, [1863], Bishops Hall Romford Essex, rental of a
house

f296 {added in FN hand following Wood's signature}

be had later than May 1,
and after that Sussex

Place, *if not let* {these lines to go after f296v}

f296v

I was too ill yesterday even
to show your letter. And
to day comes this from Col:
Wood [It must be 5 days
post to Essex]

I could not stay here
conveniently beyond Jan
10 so I think it better
not to think of the Campbell
house, particularly as you
don't think it so very good

Unless you were to think
5 Audley Sq. rapturously
desirable the disadvantage
of turning out on April 1
is something. And in that
case it rests between
Cleveland Row & the Pacific,
which however drunken
Sambo did not think could

ff297-99v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearie, Dec 28 [1864], 1 Finchley New Road

ff300-01v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest, [Dec 31 1886], Derby business not worth
her effort both think

ff302-03v, draft in Mrs S's hand, improving Nursing efficiency

f304-v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest [March 13 1868], had received Mr.
Whitfield's message through Sutherland regarding the mother of a child

f305, [Dr. Sutherland to Mrs. Sutherland & Mrs. Sutherland to FN], May 30,
Netley, enquiry being longer than expected

ff306-07v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest friend, March 19 [1878], Alleyn Park,
Norwood, requesting advice on whose lectures for Nurses, would be possible
for ladies of the association to attend

ff308-11, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest friend, April 4 1885, Oakleigh Alleyn
Park Dulwich S.E., delay in writing due to Sutherland's illness and issues of
the Army Sanitary Committee to be under the control of the Army Medical Dept.

f312-13v, Mrs Sutherland to dearest friend, June 5 1885, Alleyn Park,
possible successor for Sutherland to be Galton

draft, ff314-15v, pen & pencil [8:602-03]

f314 {archivist:} To Mrs Sutherland

Nov 14/85

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dearest kindest old friend

I have not been able to [10:730-31]
write. But it has not been
weather for you to come into
London I am so sorry for
your domestic troubles.

Now I am going to ask a
great favour:

the little simple Sanitary
tracts which I hear are
exceedingly good published
by the Ladies' Sanitary Assocn=
in Berners St to which
you used to belong -

how should I get them?

what ask for?

which are the best?

f314v

What I want is Sanitary tracts
~~they are~~ to send out to India
to undergo a process of
translation, revision &
adaptation there,
according to Lady Dufferin's
rather exacting request to me,
as the basis of a Sanitary
catechism & simple
Sanitary class books & tracts for
women & girls' Schools.
It is to be an adjunct to Lady
Dufferin's scheme for providing
"female Medical aid for the
"women in India" .

It seemed to me (what
she asks of me) so wild a

f315

scheme, considering the absolute
 difference between Eastern
 & Western female habits,
 & the immense difference
 between the habits & houses
 of different provinces of
 India

that I took the opportunity I
 had of asking 3 men who
 happened to be in England
 Dr. Hewlett
 Mr. Hume (returned to India
 Man Mohun Ghose (of Calcutta

The last says that there are
 no ~~poor~~ ryots' Girls' Schools in Bengal, -
 that the ryot women can't read -
 that native ladies lecturing to
 them would be of use, (and
 he gave me the names of two
 educated native Lady Doctors,
 one of them a cousin of his own)

f315v

who could teach & address
 ryots' women on Sanitary
 subjects For Christian
 women to address them he
 says would be of no use
 Dr Hewlett says that one of the
 best Sanitary books is written
 by a Punjab native -
 that Lady Dufferin could
 get good advice for her scheme
 in India what? {added in pencil}
 & he told me some extraordinary
 habits of Bombay women
 which certainly no English
 ideas could reach
 he also spoke of the extreme
 difference in different
 parts of India &
 commented on the same
 Barrack plans being
 given for all parts -
 he also says Mahratta women can read [end 10:731]

signed letter, ff316-17v, pencil [8:603-04]

f316

10 South St Aug 24/86

For Lady Dufferin

Dearest friend

I ought to have taken the
blessed opportunity of your
being here yesterday to give
you the enclosed paper
(which is by Lady Dufferin
& she says is incomplete)
for Dr Sutherland as the
List of subjects for the proposed
Manual for the EUROPEAN
Girls' Schools

[I was afraid of sending

f316v

it by post on account of the
delay And I was so dazed
by the pleasure of seeing you
& the fear of your being tired
that I missed the opportunity
of sending it by you]
She Lady Dufferin wants the *best books*
on *all these subjects* for
the Manual to be
compiled from
I thought the Ladies' Sanitary
Association books would
furnish a great many
She says we in England must "aid to

f317

this List of subjects" - which is
"incomplete"

[If I can have this List
by tomorrow morning it
will do

The thing is: to give *time*
to *Dr Sutherland* to look
it over & recommend books
& tracts "including instruction"
as to all these things - & return it
to me]"

I *must* send my packet
by next Friday's mail
to Lady Dufferin
God bless you & God help

f317v

the work -
with kind regards to
Dr. Sutherland
ever yours

F Nightingale
You did not stay after all
yesterday to write.
I am afraid you will
have been so tired

typed copy of initialled letter, f318, original RP 7462, copy FNMus

f318

COPY 10 South St. March 9/87. [8:604]

Dearest ever dear friend

I am so grieved that you are so poorly & suffering - I reproach myself, because they let you go away from my door without a cab, tho' I told them to call you a cab. And that must have added to the over-fatigue from which I fear you are suffering every-day - How I wish that you could get away to Bath or somewhere with Miss Cowie, & rest completely for a time, as Dr. Sutherland says you are suffering from "nervous exhaustion," which is, I am sure, but too true -

May our Almighty loving Father give you the rest you have so well earned - "for he giveth his Beloved sleep" -

I think of our 30 years of friendship & thank God for having given me such a friend. How I wish we were nearer -

We have had a fright about Sir Harry: but thanks to a little common sense & Sir Andrew Clark he is now wonderfully better.

How I wish you were: I pray God to give you His peace -

Do you know a little book called "Like Christ"? May I send it you?

God bless you again & again

With my kindest regards to Dr. Sutherland, ever yours,
dearest & kindest of friends,

gratefully & lovingly
your old (Sgd.) F.

typed copy of signed letter, f319, original RP 7462 [8:605]

f319 {archivist:} Original owned by D. Cowie Scott

COPY 10 South St. April 10/87
Easter Day

Dearest ever dearest friend

Easter greetings, love & blessings from my whole heart deep down, to you. May we "rise again" this morning here with new life & new heart from the Lord & Giver of life - as you, I believe, do every morning -

I so very much wish I knew how you are, dear friend.

God for ever bless you is the fervent prayer
of your ever loving & grateful old friend, poor

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

How is Dr. Sutherland? My kindest regards to him.

copy of signed letter, ff320-22, typewritten

f320 {archivist:} Original given by D. Cowie Scott Mrs. Nash
[to Mrs Sutherland] original is Woodward A.72

COPY
May 13/93
10 South Street,
Park Lane, W.

Dearest ever dearest old friend

I was so glad to hear from you. So often I think of you, & hope that you are happy, you who have so done your duties in love.

And thank you for remembering your old friend's poor old birth-day - & your dear kind note.

I am glad if you are able to go to your sister's & to Edinburgh.

You say you like to hear of our "family events."

You know perhaps that Rosalind, Shore's elder daughter, married last June a man, Mr. Nash, who has everything to recommend him except money. They have taken a small house at 12/ a week to the East of the East of London - where they are enormously busy - Workshops - visiting all sorts of trades - & writing about them. They travel all over Scotland, England, & are now in Ireland on the same quest. They telegraphed to me from *Donegal* on my birth-day. If Rosalind had but health! They were married at Embley.

Shore was very well in June in London, & quite unable to go to the marriage.

He has never recovered that illness, tho' a great deal better, but he still has a Trained Nurse - & Sam, the elder boy, who is a Doctor, still lives temporarily with them to take care of him medically. They are now at Embley till they can let the place - Shore's wife & Barbara are, of course, included in "they." They

f321

describe the place as being most beautiful.

Lea Hurst continues let.

Arthur Clough was married the other day to a delightful person, Miss Freshfield, daughter of the Traveller. I hope they have every prospect of happiness. His mother was delighted with the marriage. I have always seen a great deal of Arthur.

But I have not seen him since his marriage engagement. For my Doctor has strictly forbidden my seeing anybody I could help.

For the last 4 ½ months (you kindly ask after me) I have been almost entirely confined to bed - & sometimes hardly able to move - But I am better.

I saw Sir Harry Verney the other day. He is in his 92nd year. But he came up to town like a young 'un. I am sure he enjoys life. His buoyancy is as great as ever.

I venture to send you a Report of what we did at Claydon last year - It is not a sinecure being at Claydon.

And now dearest old friend, thank you again & again for all you have ever done for me, & for our faithful friendship - never changeable - never forgotten

ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

Our Sanitary & Nursing affairs are *up* & *down*. Princess Christian's scheme for the Registration of Nurses is a great misfortune -

People call the decline of life a going *down* hill. But

f322

[-3-]

surely it is a going *up* on the contrary.

I had forgotten to mention Sanitation in India. I think it *is* making progress, tho' slow. But it is such a large subject. Chicago - At their request I have written a paper on Health - Nursing & Sick Nursing - But eyes & hands are failing me now -

The Empress Frederick, full of cleverness, came to see me - she is very pathetic - such a great career manquée.

The Shore Smiths have taken the name of Nightingale -

copy, f323, typewritten

f323

COPY of an inscription in a little booklet called:

At EVENING TIME

given by F.N. to Mrs. Sutherland.

Mrs. Sutherland dear old friend

With best Christmas love

from

F. NIGHTINGALE

1894.

f324-v, E. Sutherland to Darling, gift of oranges received to be shared with Florence Nightingale

f324v {FN has added upside down under signature:}

HAVE

you done anything to enable us

to go on with those Medical

Dist papers?

draft, f325, pencil

f325

Dec 17 - 4.30 Mrs. S -

This is the word of the Lord unto thee:-

say: --

Dearie I don't think you would say so if you knew the whole

But I have no breath & you have no time to tell you

the whole now -

And I should be acting unfairly by her if I were

to wrangle about a little bit of it now - without

being sure that I had given the whole so that you

could understand it -

Part of it is the exact reverse of what you have been

told

{archivist:} [Perhaps refers to Mrs. Sutherland's having said something about Mrs. Bracebridge's grievance

note, f326, pencil

[8:1038]

f326

In holiest most loving remembrance

of the dearest of old friends

Mrs. Sutherland, ~~this wreath~~

She was the friend of God

She has crossed the dark river

and is with her Lord

Who follows in her train? Sept 17 1895

Florence Nightingale

Add Mss 45758

1149

offers these flowers