

Add Mss 45798

BL10 Add Mss 45798-45807 907 pages

Add Mss 45798, microfilm, 268 folios, 71 pages, general correspondence 1861-64, Adam Matthew reel 30, mainly incoming letters, includes some copies of Longmore corr at RAMC; on cover of volume: presented jointly by Mrs R. Vaughan Nash and Lady Margaret Stephen;

**ff1-4**, handwritten letter to FN from R.S.E. Chermshire. Oct. 8. 1861, embossed Wilton Rectory, he and EH agree that if house for convalescents takes shape, FN to be the "ultimate authority upon all that should be done" re "they did not know him", SH

Many thanks, my dear Miss Nightingale, for your letter. I begin with answering its last question. Yes, the money may go to the banks mentioned, but if you like to send me a cheque, I will pay it in at Salisbury and get a proper receipt from the Treasurer, which would perhaps be simpler and more satisfactory. Both Lady Herbert privately, and I as a member of the local committee, have long since enforced the doctrine that if the Home for Convalescents took shape, you were to be, if you would allow, the ultimate authority upon all that shd be done. The promoters would only be too thankful as far as I can learn their mind to be guided by you in the matter. I shall pray you that time and scope be given you thus to embody knowledge so painfully acquired by him whom you call master and by such a fellow workman as he counted you.

You are very right in saying that "they did not know him". I know this now more thoroughly than when I asked you for the memorandum you so kindly sent. And which I no return with many and sincere thanks. I have been disappointed in the use I hoped to make of it. One editor writes me "it wd be better not to enter minutely into anything like a justification or eulogy of his political career, while, at he same time, his disposition to sacrifice himself for the public service was not forgotten &c"

Another writes "Sidney Herbert did no more than put into effect measures wh had been discerned and virtually decided out of doors and which out of door opinion furnished the strength to carry through." That is how he was judged by a man who yet says of him that he was "of superlative nobleness of sentiment, integrity of hearty, simplicity, courage and superiority to mean tricks and selfishness." Glad as I am so to see his moral size thus admired, I choke at the undersizing of his intellectual and administrative greatness. Do forgive me for the pouring out vexations to you. But I know you will understand me and I cannot speak out to that dear suffering widow. God ever bless and comfort you. Yours most sincerely.

typed copy of a signed letter, ff5-6

**f5** {archivist: original owned by Colonel Heathcote}

**[16:600-01]**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 8/61

Dear Sir William Heathcote

I am glad that my Hospital remarks were of any use to you.

Of course what you call my "strictures" were meant only for the private consideration of yourself & Sir H. Verney.

But Winchester is not sinning in ignorance so much as you think.

Winchester sent for Mr. Rawlinson in January. And his January Report did all that could be done, in the way of information & advice.

I am glad you are going to see Aylesbury Infirmary.

But I venture to remind you that their Estimate was £7377 for 54 beds, including cost of oak floors & polished Parian walls & ceilings in the wards - that their Architect himself estimated the cost of *doubling* the accommodation for sick at £1500 more - i.e. two wards under the original two - offices behind - Operating Room over Offices -

For, as you will see - in the Aylesbury Infy. - only 4508 square feet (out of more than 9000 square feet) are occupied by sick - the Administrative offices actually occupying more room than the sick whom they are for -

The Elevation also, though simple, is handsome & expensive.

So that I should not fairly put the Estimate of a Hospital of over 100 beds at more than £90 to £95 per bed - *excluding* in each

**f6**

- 2 -

case the Out-Patients Offices, which cannot fairly be charged to the "per bed" expence.

I will most gladly put the whole of my Hospital plans at your disposal, when you are further advanced - as also consider & revise your Draft plans, if you are so disposed - & if you ever come to any.

At this moment, I am being consulted by the Staffordshire Infirmy. upon exactly the same premises. They want to do as you do.

In the War Office, we are now building Regimental Hospitals (with all the modern appliances) at only £70 per bed -

But local Institutions must make their own plans & their own Estimates - Others can only revise them

Our Barrack & Hospital commission will be home before Nov. 5; & could be consulted by you - (Capt. Galton & Dr. Sutherland)

But we are so overwhelmed with business during the month of November that we hope this will not be done without necessity.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Let me also remind you that it is not only cheaper but far more healthy to run all Administrative Offices out behind - instead of putting them under the wards, as at Aylesbury - & to have sick & their attendants in the main building apart - which, after all, is built for sick. **[end 16:601]**

(Sgd.) F.N.

typed copy of a signed letter, ff7-11

**f7** {archivist: original owned by Colonel Heathcote} **[16:601-04]**

COPY

Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 12/61.

Dear Sir William Heathcote

In answer to your note, I feel almost inclined to ask you (if, as I hear, you are passing thro' London this month) to drive down here & look over such plans as I have by me, of Hospitals - It would best answer Winchester questions - Should you have time & opportunity to do this, I would ask for a day's notice, that I may not be too much occupied to see you - also, that I may send you my address so as to find the house -

The points I would press by means of plans are

1. that it is quite possible to "put the Offices out behind" (connected with a covered way) - at such a distance as neither "to form two corners" - nor to be inconveniently far.

The trouble to attendants is often objected.

All that I answer is that it is actually done - in Hospitals too of vast size - that the meals &c are conveyed upon a truck (& tram-way, if desirable) - & then up to the wards on lifts - & that the meals arrive hotter & with less trouble to attendants - than with the ordinary rush & bustle & tray-carrying up-stairs - & sending Nurses (or what is worse Patients) - to wait at the kitchen - All that is wanted is a little system - And you actually save one attendant to every 30 sick by this.

Whether the Offices are one or two stories high depends upon the nature of the site. In some confined sites, two stories would be too high. But as they are behind the Administrative and not the

**f8**

sick part rarely so. If too much. Then have one.

The Operating Room may either be placed elsewhere (in a County Hospital Operations are comparatively few & the room may be comparatively small) Or even if it is put on the top of the Offices, (for the sake of wheeling the Patient without difficulty into a ward on the same plane) it does not constitute a screen to free external ventilation or a whole second story.

The main want in an Operating Room is to have *one* large high North window - no cross lights - easy access to a ward - & not to be overlooked. All this may well be obtained) over the Offices.

2. I quite agree with you as to some points in the Bucks Infirmary. - I am not its Godmother - Indeed, I contended with Mr. Carrington about every single point you mention.

Some I carried, because they had used my name in print without my authority, points left in - (which I had expressly condemned) -

Lord Panmure once called me a "turbulent fellow." Because I contended with him when in authority. I hope you will not do so -

I can readily understand that those who have not seen with their own experience, the sick recover, with direct fresh air, who would not otherwise have recovered - & the sick die (who would not otherwise have died) with foul air or air passing over other beds & not direct from the fresh air - to them - do call me a very "turbulent fellow".

I am sure Mr. Carrington does.

With regard to yours prints, then:

I do not know which were the Bucks Infy. plans sent to you.

f9

--3 -

(Nor can I send you mine. For the N. Staffordshire Infy. have got them.)

But there were considerable alterations made in the working plans from the lithographed set - unless indeed they have gone back to their old errors again.

Among these were: kitchen removed to central building - laundry put out behind

- 3 beds at *end* of each ward (which were quite inadmissible) abolished altogether; Ward end windows opened - ward end conveniences very much improved - fire-places put on *opposite* sides of ward & not on the same side &c &c

(my calculation of comparative sick-area & administration-area was made on the first plan. I throw all the *Ward Offices*, which are perfectly necessary, (including Nurse's Room), into the sick area sum; & call all Offices, *not* belonging directly to Wards, into the Administration area sum.

Probably this is our difference.)

The cubic space was I believe from the first plan enlarged All Civil Hospls. should have 1500 c. ft. per bed in my opinion - 2000 may be necessary in London. But *if* necessary they shew that the Hospl. ought not to be in that position at all. In other words, where a Hospital is unhealthy without 2000 c. ft. per bed, it will not be healthy *with* 2000 or 2500.

A wall-space of 16 feet in width for *two* beds is certainly not too much. But it would be impossible in construction to put each bed exactly in the middle of its own territory. Let us not sacrifice the window space, whatever we do - Still it is better if

**f10**

- 4 -

possible to have an interval of *three* ft. between any two beds.

It is generally found that the more apart the Out Patients' entrance is the better. It is particularly undesirable that there should be any possibility of communication, by signs or otherwise, between the Out -Patients & ward-windows. And none of the attendants on the In-Patients ought to be able to communicate with the Out-Patients. In well regulated large Hospls. even where the Out.P. enjoy the advantage of the Hosp. baths, they are allowed no communication whatever. And the Out. P. and In P. bathe at different times. So with all the Dispensary work -

It would be impossible otherwise to preserve discipline.

It is difficult enough to prevent spirits &c from being smuggled in to the Hospital, as it is. And all honest Hospls - will tell you so.

And alas! it is too difficult to prevent fresh appointments for vice being made for the women already in (from vice).

This is again an experience of hard Hospital life - not to be controverted by the inexperienced.

I enclose two tracings of a Regimental Hospital plan to illustrate my proposition of putting the Offices out behind & the possibility of having four little airy wards in front, if the Doctors insist upon such small wards - I send it not for imitation but for illustration.

Of course a Civil Hosp. must be widely different.

Would you kindly return these to me at once?

**f11**

- 5 -

I also send the foul copy, which turned up quite accidentally of my criticisms on the first Bucks Infy. plan; which suggested alterations that were, I understand, adopted. I only send this, in case it should have been the *first* plan they sent you.

Please return me this Memo, as these memoranda which I had myself forgotten, are sometimes useful to me.

My cousin Bonham Carter, M.P. of Winton, has applied to me for information about the Winton Infy. when he returns from abroad.

Would you be so kind as to direct his attention to Mr. Rawlinson's Report. And would you kindly let him see all my letters to yourself & Sir Harry Verney forwarded to you - as I am unable to write any more than is absolutely necessary?

I will desire him to apply to your kindness -

Yours faithfully

(Sgd.) F. Nightingale

P.S. The covered way to the kitchen should be a mere light iron pillared arcade (with glass to fill up the arches in winter, if you are inclined to be extravagant) If there is no operating room above, this covered way is only one story high. Thus there can be no possibility of any "stagnation of air" thereby. **[end 16:604]**

F.N.

ff12-13 Letter to FN from Sam Walter Burgess, Oct. 14, 1861, noted "not answered" informing her reports on eccl matters to press, asks for assistance

Letter of Richard Monckton Milnes to Nightingale, Add Mss 45798 ff14-15

16 Upper Brook St.  
21 October [1861]

My dear friend

I know how irreparable a loss you and your objects in life had in Herbert's death, but I should like you to know how you [?] Lord de Grey to do all in his power to forward your good and wise designs. I say in his power, for that, you know, is extremely limited, but he may do something for you in indirect ways, and without much originality he has considerable talent in adroitness. You would like Sir G. Lewis [illeg] somehow or other you ought to do so for in his sincere way of looking at things and in his critical and curious spirit, he is by no means unlike yourself. He makes up his mind, no doubt, far better to the damnabilities [?] of the work than you would and though one does not illeg what you would illeg if you so ...I write this de Grey because I am staying with him ...long ago and he expresses himself in the objects with much earnestness. I didn't know whether you ever knew de Tocqueville, but whether you did or didn't, you may like to see my notice of him in the last *Quarterly*. We are all well, going to Fryston for the winter.

Please illeg copy of "Cassandra" [?] I fear it is only a small portion of the MS you confided to me, but which no one knows I ever saw. illeg I have as vivid a recollection of them as of anything I ever read. I am yours affectionately,

R.M.M.

ff16-16v Letter from Sam Walter Burgess, Oct 22, 1861

initialled note on an envelope, f17v, pen, letter from Sam Walter Burgess of 22 Oct 1861 {envelope postmarked London 7 Oc 24 61}

**f17v**

This is the *third* time  
this man has  
written to me -  
I think he must  
be put a stop to -  
& his "poetry" sent  
back, which I sent  
you -

N.B. I do not send you  
the twentieth part  
of the letters  
I receive.

F.N.

f18 letter to FN from the Revd Henry Giraud, October 24, 1861 re St John's House res

typed copy of a memorandum, ff19-21 **f19** {arch: Original owned by Colonel Heathcote} **[16:604-05]**

Copy

Hampstead N. W.  
October 28th

It is almost impossible to get the opinions of the practising physicians & surgeons of a Hospital, as to its healthiness: so many interests prevent them from even investigating the circumstances - which would lead to any opinion worth giving: e.g. in London, one always hears that the Hospital must be in the heart of the great thoroughfares, "because of the accidents". But ask to look over the Hospl. books, and you will find that with the single exception of the London Hospital, which is near the Docks, the majority of the accidents, in some cases a vast majority, come from a distance - St. Thomas's the second most important of the London Hospitals, showed upon examination of his books, a complete refutation of the argument universally used against removing him and that he would be positively nearer the majority of his cases - at Blackheath than in London - I do not believe that if this fact were really recognised, physicians & surgeons who more than any other profession give knowledge in charity, would ever again bring forward the plea - that it is too far for themselves & their Schools to go to a healthy Hospl. a little out of town, instead of to an unhealthy one, *in town* - you often hear the argument used, - oh but any Hosp. is more healthy than the poor people's homes - In the first place it is not true; and in the second - would it be an argument for not making the Hospl. as healthy as possible -

I would bring as authorities, Mr. Whitfield the able resident

**f20**

- 2 -

medical officer for 50 years of St. Thomas' Hospl. - Mr. Roberton, the well-known Manchester surgeon, - and perhaps the first medical authority in England on Hospl. construction - whose letter on the Manchester Infirmy. I enclose, - begging that it may be returned to me - These are two men who have nothing to gain or to lose, & who speak their experience, - the experience of half a century, - freely - which is, that patients, doctors, schools, would all alike gain, by being removed out of town - and that another century will consider it the most barbarous proof of a nation's want of civilization that any Hospl. should be found within the precincts of a town -

I will add the authority of a Surgeon of an Infirmy., of one of the largest cities in the North of England, who is also the surgeon to the Railway Companies, ' whose statement I saw in writing, that he seldom sent one of his Ry accidents to the Infirmy., where they were sure to do ill, but preferred at a great loss of time and money to himself, to attend them at their own homes - where they were almost sure to do well - I am not at liberty to give this man's name - whose interests it would injure - and his statement, if at all, must be taken on my word -

Of course in crowded cities - the Paris plan must be adopted, - which is to have an accident ward or two - near any place where accidents are continually happening - (which are after all, very few) as a succursale to the great Hospl. on the outskirts - Or, you must frankly calculate the percentage of life you will sacrifice, to a neighbouring & a crowded site for your Hospl..

**f21**

- 3 -

I also add the letter of a Dr. Pincoffs, about the Manchester Infirmy, also begging that it may be returned to me -

(He is half German, half Manchester, - was employed at Scutari - afterwards in Syria, - during the massacres - and is well known to me as an able man who has thoroughly studied the Hospital question -)

Mr. Paget, the great Surgeon of St. Bartholomew, has given it as his opinion, that healthy accidents, strong men coming in from the country, suffer materially from their Hospital sojourn in towns - and the opinion is so well recognised in Paris, that it is as little questioned there, as the reverse is questioned here - **[end 16:605]**

f22 letter from F.P. Verney to Sir William, Oct. 30, 1861

f23 letter from Hy. Bonham Carter, sec N Fund, to the Bishop of London, Nov. 6, 1861. Miss Nightingale has desired me to ack the receipt of a copy of a res passed at a meeting of the council of St John's House

ff24-25v letter to FN from John Romilly, Nov. 7, 1861

Letter of John Romilly to Nightingale, Add Mss 45798 ff24-25

Rolls Court  
7 November 1861

Dear Miss Nightingale

Your letter which I admit took me a little by surprise has reference I suppose to an application made to me yesterday to allow a large portion of the rents arising from the estates of the infant Lord Herbert to be applied for the support of a residence at which he and his brothers and sisters might reside with Lady Herbert. This is a question on which the wishes of the father would have a paramount effect, provided they had been expressed by him in his will in his writing, but the law does not allow any other evidence to be given of the wishes of a deceased person as to the mode of managing or applying the property he leaves behind him. The court is in the habit of allowing considerable sums of money out of the fortune of an infant for the purpose of keeping up a family mansion, of which he is or will become the proprietor, but when it is not a mansion of this character then only a much smaller sum is allowed for the purpose of providing a residence for himself with his mother and guardian and in company with his brothers and sisters. In all these cases the court professes to act solely on the consideration of what is most for the benefit of the infant himself and it considers that the accumulation of his income during infancy ought carefully to be provided for after providing for his education and a suitable residence, but I have never known a case where several thousands pounds were allowed by the Court of Chancery to be applied towards providing and keeping up a residence which did not belong to the infant himself and which in the regular course of events might not necessarily become his. The court in making the allowances consider liberally the situation of the mother and the other children but this cannot be done to the serious diminution of the fortune of the infant himself.

I am my dear madam  
yours very sincerely  
John Romilly

ff26-27v letter to FN from P.E. de Strzelecki, Nov. 21, 1861

ff28-29 letter from A. Hayward to de Strzelecki, Nov. 29, 1861

ff30-33v letter from P.E. de Strzelecki, Nov 22, 1861

ff34-35 letter from P.E. de Strzelecki, Nov 23, 1861

f36 letter from J. Gibson to P.E. de Strzelecki, Nov 21, 1861

ff37-38 letter from J. Sothern Estcourt Dec. 4, 1861

ff39-40v letter from Ld. E. de Strzelecki, 200? Savile Row, re heir of SH, strong, his tutor, Dec 18, 1861

ff41-42v letter from J. Sothern Estcourt Dec 19, 1861

typed copy of a signed letter, f43

**f43** {archivist: original owned by Colonel Heathcote} **[16:608]**

Copy                            32 South St.  
                                         London, W.  
                                         Dec 23/61

Dear Sir William Heathcote

I admire your Resolutions, *qua* Winchester Hospital, which are very thorough.

As to sites, the shortest way would be to look out for them - And when a few have been fixed upon, to have down Dr. Sutherland (or better still Dr. Sutherland & Mr. Rawlinson together) to choose you the best out of those available -

Dr. Sutherland is in the employ of Government - And you could not offer him money remuneration. But I have already communicated your note to him. And he will be very glad to go down & advise for the day. But we are so excessively busy just now, as you may suppose that it could only be for the day. And even that is difficult to spare now - **[end]**

You can always find him by writing to me here - not always at his address

41 Finchley New Road  
London N.W.

I can hardly offer you Christmas Good wishes on this sad, sad Christmas of this miserable year, which, like a child, I am glad to see so near its close, as if another would restore to us our losses!

Yours sincerely  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of an inscription, **f44** {arch: original owned by Maurice Truelove}, book is in VGH School of Nursing Alumnae Assoc collection

Copy of inscription in -

*ARNOLD'S LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE.*

by

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A.

in two volumes

1858.

To

Mrs. Truelove

this record of a truly great man who left his impress for good upon so many, many young minds & consciences & who is an old admiration of hers

is affectionately offered

by-(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Hampstead 1861.

f45 letter to FN from D. Davies, Jan 7, 1862

incomplete, initialled letter, ff46-46v, pen

**f46**

What am I to say? I *must* answer to night.

I do trust that Mrs. Sutherland will say to the Gillies', in such way as it may reach Mrs. Brown - that she is overreaching herself, for if, as she wrote to Mrs. Sutherland, she wishes "to let her house to me every year", she is certainly taking effectual means to prevent me from ever taking/~~enter~~ it again - & indeed, as I told the clerk, whom I have just seen, to make me

**f46v**

wish to break off the agreement now

F.N.

f47-49v letter to FN from Liverpool Town Hall, Robt. Hutchison, Jan. 20, 1862 ref to meeting in Liverpool Friday last [17th] in reply to hers, re Rathbone

Letter of Robert Hutchison, Liverpool Town Hall, 20 January 1862. Add Mss 45798 ff47-49

Letter by Robert Hutchison, Town Hall, Liverpool ff47-49

Town Hall  
Liverpool  
20 January 1862

Dear Madam

I must apologise for having so long delayed a reply to your letter, and can only plead in extenuation the nature of my official duties which have been so heavy and continuous the last three months, that all private correspondence has been next to laid aside, indeed I might say almost forgotten.

One reason I had for delay, and it was that you might see, at one and the same time, the use we had made of your letter, and the steps taken to launch our little bark on the sea of public opinion. This we have at length done, and I take the liberty of sending you by this post a newspaper report of our meeting on Friday last, which was a decided success, though one of the clergy made a illeg remark (injudiciously as I think) which might have marred the harmony of our otherwise unanimous meeting, but the audience took it in good part, well knowing the idiosyncrasy of the individual. It had however no effect in preventing the most cordial assent of the friends present being given to our proceedings.

I thank you very much for your kind letter, which, I quite agreed with my friend Mr Rathbone, would be of essential service to us.

For many years past the establishment of a nursed institution in connection with our infirmary has been a pet scheme with me, but the expense of the undertaking seemed to be so great, and the funds had been reduced to so low an ebb, from the large sums expended on improvements during the previous half dozen year (£12,000) that I despaired of being able to carry out the project, until the princely offer was made by my friend Mr Rathbone to erect a suitable building for our operations, entirely at his own expense. This was a great encouragement, and we have since gone on planning and maturing our scheme until it has assumed the proportions which you now see.

That it will prove successful I will not allow myself to doubt for a moment, because I believe it to be a work founded on right principles, and that it will receive a blessing from on high.



note written on an envelope, f55-55v, pen postmarked Taunton Mr 23 62

**f55** {written in a corner, upside down under her address}

don't know  
 don't wish to know  
 him - "don't want to"  
 redeem his jewellery  
 from pawn. Is it necessary  
 to answer?

**f55v** {postmarked: London 7 B Mr 24 62}

f56-57, letter to Lady Leigh [probably] from the Mother Superior of All Saints, May 1, 1862, on embossed All Saints Home, 82 Margaret St. Cavendish Sq W. May 1 1862

Dear Madam, Having been requested by the Committee to undertake the entire mgt of the nursing at the University College Hospital, I am most anxious to meet with really superior persons as Nurses and my friend Mrs Lancaster has suggested to me that such might be found among the country ribbon weavers, in whom she tells me that you are much interested. At her request I venture to send you some of our papers stating terms, conditions &c, trusting you may be able to assist me in this matter.

The nurses I am desirous of engaging must be women of a superior class and *thoroughly* respectable such as could be employed as upper servants in gentlemen's families.

Mrs Lancaster had me to hope that you may know of some such persons whom you can recommend. If you can now, or at any future time assist us in this respect I shall indeed be greatly obliged. Believe me, dear madam, faithfully yours in our Lord, + Brownlow.

f58 Printed form from Brownlow. Women of a superior class received to be trained for nursing the sick poor in hospitals, and for private nursing in the families of the rich. Re applications....probationers 20-45, 3 months probation, now ages and no clothes given, then wages from 10.10.0 in first year to 18.0.0 in 5th year and after that £20 without further increase..."The probationers must be members of the Church of England and will be required to produce certificates of baptism and, if married, of marriage also, and to bring testimonials of good character; they must also be able to read and write."

f58 printed advertisement for training nurses at All Saints, from Lady Leigh, All Saints Home, 82 Margaret St. Cavendish Sq W. In 1862

Women of a superior class received to be trained for nursing the sick poor in hospitals, and for private nursing in the families of the rich. Re applications....probationers 20-45, 3 months probation, now ages and no clothes given, then wages from 10.10.0 in first year to 18.0.0 in 5th year and after that £20 without further increase..."The probationers must be members of the Church of England and will be required to produce certificates of baptism and, if married, of marriage also, and to bring

testimonials of good character; they must also be able to read and write.".....

Typed copy of a signed letter, f59

**f59**

9 Chesterfield St.  
London, W.  
May 5/62

My dear Sir

I only write these few words (in great haste) to-day - to acknowledge the very kind gift of Dr. Fyffe, which I have paid into the hands of the Hony Secretary of the "Herbert Memorial."

I send you my copy of the Report of that Meeting. I will try to ascertain whether it is now to be had. I agree with you that a much greater circulation should have been attempted. Do not trouble yourself to return my copy. To me necessarily the whole subject is so painful (I mean, in *his* not having met with the recognition he deserved, as you so truly say) that I had almost rather be without the Copy. The War Office does not follow his traditions, which is the only gratitude he would have cared for.

Two parts of your kind letter in both of which I fully concur, caused me great pain. I may perhaps some day have to write to you more fully about them.

They were no surprise.

Believe me ever most faithfully yours,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

incomplete letter or draft, ff60-61v, pen, black-edged paper

**f60** {archivist: [Unfinished To Sir J. Paget?]}

9 Chesterfield St.  
London W  
May 10/62

My dear Sir

I dare say you will  
have entirely forgotten  
what the enclosed  
refers to.

**[16:574-75]**

Some ~~months~~ time  
ago, you were so kind  
as to lend me Topinard  
on Hospls., a book  
which stirred up  
all the old dog's  
Hospl. enthusiasm,  
both by its truths &  
its errors, errors i.e.  
to the old dog's Hospl.

**f61v**

experience.

You then wished  
for Paris Medical  
authority to an assertion  
of mine that Pyaemia  
was indigenous in  
Paris. The man in  
whose wards I had  
seen it, M. Roux of  
La Charité, was dead.  
I asked others &  
got no answer - Lately  
Dr. Shrimpton, (whose  
name may be known  
to you as having been  
many years in the  
French Army Medical

**f61**

Service, & all his life  
a practising physician  
at Paris), & Baron Larrey  
began a correspondence  
with me about the  
artificial ventilation  
of Paris Hospls.

I am entirely  
unacquainted with  
Dr. Shrimpton. but  
in the course of our  
correspondence I  
asked him my  
question "promiscuous".  
I enclose a copy of  
an Extract containing  
his answer, *telle quelle*,  
in order that I may

**f61v**

not give the trouble  
to you of returning me  
his letter -

I also enclose a  
"Discours" of Baron Larrey,  
which I am afraid  
I must trouble you  
to return. I think  
it shows them to be  
about 30 years  
behind us in the  
"Hygiène des Hôpitaux".  
Also the Gazette Medicale,  
in which is the  
conclusion of the  
Hospl controversy, (no  
conclusion at all, as  
usual) I am afraid

[end]

[is this same as Goldie ref to 9 May 1862 to Paget? Private source]

ff62-63, letter & invoice to FN from Mudies Select Library, May 27, 1862  
note in FN's hand: case despatched to Lt Col Higginson. Has advised him he  
will receive For *Soldiers*

*Reading Rooms*} Enclosure

ff64-67v list of names with some annotations in FN's hand, June 1862  
{archivist: Foreign delegates to Congrès de Bienfaisance. London [June  
1862].} some ticked and marked to see, some for Mrs H to see.

Typed copy of letter, f68, handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/4

**f68**

Hampstead, N.W.  
Oct. 7/62

My dear Sir,

I am extremely indebted to you for your kindness and considera-  
tion for me in sending me Dr. Muir's remark.

Would you be so kind as to write to him and to say that I am  
excessively grateful to him for having prevented a thing which would  
which have given me so much pain, and been so hurtful in itself, as the  
publication of that "Private" Report - and would you say that, if he  
thinks it desirable to put a stop to it more effectually, I should be  
truly obliged to him to do so, using my authority, and saying that, how-  
ever useful they may suppose it to be to put in circulation certain  
passages, it would be a direct breach of faith in them to do so, or in  
me to allow it.

I cannot tell you how obliged I am to Dr. Muir for his prompt  
interference.

I have no idea how the Bp of London could have got hold of it,  
unless Lord Panmure gave it him himself. But I agree with Clarendon who  
says that, of all classes of men who can read and write, the clergy are  
they who have least knowledge how practically to work human affairs.

When, about the time of my dear Master's death, the American  
Govt. wrote to me for all these things, I sent all the War Office Blue  
Books  
printed Reports and Regulations, but directly refused to send them this.

I am very glad to hear a not unfavourable report of the poor  
Americans from Dr. Muir's account.

Yours sincerely  
and gratefully  
F. NIGHTINGALE

ff69-69v, letter to FN from Lucy Fitzpatrick, Oct. 21, 1862, from Tralee  
{archivist: [applying for training as Nurse]}

ff70-71, Letter to FN from Lucy Fitzpatrick, Nov. 6, 1862

typed copy of a signed letter. ff72-73, handwritten RAMC 1179/LP54/5

**f72**

*Private*

32, South Street,  
Grosvenor Square, W.

Nov. 8/62

My dear Sir,

I should be very sorry that you should think that your kind and wise letter of May (?) last had been neglected.

I have always had it in my head.

I wrote to the W.O. about it. But as you did not wish your name to be mentioned, they required some *quote*-able medical authority.

I then wrote to Dr. Sutherland, but as he did not seem inclined to stir, I wrote to Sir James Clark.

After a good deal of correspondence between the W.O. and me, it has ended most unsatisfactorily in Dr. Jenner (sent by Sir J. Clark) and Dr. Parkes coming together to the conclusion that *he* has nothing the matter with him.

The whole of my action tended only to this; to the great importance, of finding an agrégé to be Dr. Parkes' Assistant and his successor - *not* to "finding" Dr. Parkes in a condemned state of health.

I hope the subject will be brought forward again. Sir James Clark, who was much struck with your "sensible" letter, which I shewed him in private - but who is absorbed with poor Lady Clark's suffering decline - is the only man who could bring Dr. Parkes to consent. And without his consent of course we can do nothing.

Since then, papers have reached me, of which I dare say you have cognizance, by Dr. Parkes' desire, thro' Sir James Clark.

I hope that all these things will be satisfactorily arranged at

**f73**

- 2 -

a Meeting at the W.O. next week.

Yours sincerely,

F. NIGHTINGALE

f74 initialled note on a letter to FN from Helen Menzies, Edinburgh, Dec 17, 1862, ff74-75v, pen, Mrs Allan Menzies, Auchindinny, Milton Ridge. Long felt lack of educated nurses, trained to their work and above the tippling. Our inf and private families suffer much disadvantage in consequence and we are anxious to illeg things to remedy this evil. We wd hire as nurses for their exceptions...They wd live under a suitable matron. FN: who is she? F.N.

**f74** {in FN's hand} To be returned to FN.

**f75v**

all depends  
upon whether the  
persons are what  
she says. Of course, if,  
the Probationers are trained  
under a bad system of Nursing  
at the Infirmary, they will  
be trained to bad & not  
to good. F.N.

Ff76-77 unsigned note on letter from Helen Menzies, Dec 17, 1862, ff76-78v, pencil, re her kind and judicious letter came

**78v**

~~The~~  
Before any thing further can be done  
you must have some fixed proposal  
to make about your nursing and  
you must be in a position to make  
the proposal. It does not appear  
from your note what you intend to  
do. So far as I can learn you only  
desire to improve the Nursing in  
Edinburgh infirmary but before you  
can do this, you must have a  
position from which to act. It  
does not appear who is to receive the  
probationers, or who is to be  
responsible to them or for them. These  
are all-important practical points  
and until they are settled you  
could not obtain qualified probationers.

note in JS hand [13:305]

There is no obligation on the  
probationers at St. Thomas' to

**f78**

go anywhere. And  
the only way would be to write to  
Mrs. Wardroper at St. Thomas'

Add Mss 45798

26

making an offer for the two  
probationers you require; but it  
will depend on them to accept  
your offer.

**[end 13:305]**

ff79v-80v, statement about King's College Hospital, archivist: In Lady Monteagle's writing, no date

ff81-82, statement from Her Majesty's Printing Office, Jan 5, 1863

ff83-83v, statement from Day & Son, Lithographers, Jan 7, 1863

f84, receipt from James Nisbet & Co., Jan 14, 1863

f85, receipt from McCorquodale & Co., Jan 23, 1863 for 300 copies of Army Sanitary Adminst 11 8vo in cover, 3.18.6

f86, letter to FN from Day & Son, Lithographers, Feb. 6, 1863 re photos you desire to exchange shall be sent

ff87-92v, letter to FN from Elizabeth Soden, 101 Sydney Place, Bath, Feb. 7, 1863

signed letter, ff93-95v, pen, black-edged paper

**f93** {archivist: To Sir James Paget}      **[16:577]**

4 Cleveland Row

S.W.

Feb 21/63

My dear Sir

I sent you copies  
of the Operation Tables,  
completed, in the  
flower of their perfection  
(from the printers')  
the other day by my  
sister. I had no  
time to write &  
thank you for these  
Tables, which I  
must call yours.  
I trust that their

**f93v**

utility will spread  
to other Hospitals &  
thus recompense you  
for the invaluable  
labour you have  
bestowed on them

I am sending  
copies to our principal  
London Hospitals.

I am not so young  
as to expect now  
that they will be  
accepted on the face  
of their obvious  
usefulness at once.

But the Hospitals

**f94**

will carp & alter this  
& amend that. And  
in the end a great  
deal of good will be  
done, if only by  
directing attention  
to the subject, &  
awakening them  
to make their own  
criticisms.

I intend, if I live  
so long, to bring the  
whole subject before  
the next Social  
Science Meeting. And  
it is then I hope  
to make use of ~~all~~

**f94v**

the information you have given by filling up those Tables.

I mean also to propose a Form for registration since the first step in the way of improvement is to obtain a terse & accurate registration of the elements of the problem. Every well kept Hospl. record ought to contain these as: -

1. age
2. sex
3. occupation
4. accident or disease leading to operation

**f95**

5. date of accident & of operation, or date of operation, if from disease
6. nature of operation
7. constitution of Patient
8. complications occurring after operation
9. date of recovery or of death
10. fatal complication
  - a resulting directly from accident
  - b resulting from operation

I imagine that the Agricultural County Hospitals who have

**f95v**

perhaps but one or two  
 operations a year,  
 will not go farther  
 than keeping such  
 an operation Book  
 as this. But all  
 London, Liverpool, Leeds,  
 Manchester, Glasgow  
 & large town Hospitals  
 should tabulate  
 these elements for use  
 on your Operation  
 Forms.

[end 16:577]

Believe me  
 ever gratefully & sincerely  
 yours

Florence Nightingale

f96, statement from Eyre & Spottiswoode Her Majesty's Printing Office, Feb 24, 1863 recd 24.18 Feb 24 1863 for printing table I and Table II 200 copies

ff97-98v, letter to FN from Ellen G. Hill, Hampstead, March 12, 1863 re good of the sick, Notes on Nursing, re a contrivance with another note on to FN by Bowman

ff99-101, letter to FN from Ld Nelson {arch: re Mrs Girdlestone}, April 19, 1863; has not had privilege of your acquaintance, and now venture to introduce a cousin of mine to your notice--Laura Girdlestone, widow of Major Girdlestone, from desire to enter into a work similar to yours; during her 11 years of marriage life in India her husband and herself worked together for the spiritual and temporal good of the soldiers of the Madras Army under his charge. Her labours have been blessed by most converts to Xnty and she always attended the men and the women belonging to her husband in their illness. ...she has sound judgement

ff102-03, letter to FN from H. Ellesmere, May 2 {archivist: [1863]} thanks for kind letter recd today, the latter part of which esp moved me, undeserved and unlooked for as it was.. advantage of lady supt KCH (Miss James I think) will communicate with her on the matter of the training of my contemplated village nurse (Harriet Ellesmere presumably)

**f104**, receipt from Bickers and Bush, for books April 10, 1863

Tom Crinkles' Log  
Nicholas Nickelby  
Uncle Tom's Cabin  
Gleig's Story of Waterloo  
Japhet in search  
King's Own  
Peter Simple  
Bride of Lammermoor  
Count Robert of Paris  
Heart of Midlothian  
Woodstock  
Don Quixote  
Adventures of a Soldier  
Children of the Abbey  
Story of Peninsular War  
Tales of the Genii  
Roderick Random  
Peregrine Pickle  
Gulliver's Travels  
Creasey's Battles  
Abbott's Napoleon  
Prescott's Peru  
Sam Slick  
Calendar of Victory  
Life of Bruce/Nelson/Wellington/Columbus  
Masterman Ready  
Entertaining Things total 4.18.2 Cheap Book Establishment

ff105-05v, letter from Harrison & Sons' Printing Office, May 18, 1863, sends 50 copies requested of volume, binding, further expense, Mortality in the Army not bound, regret troubling to remove remaining stock as printing periodicals, bulk of these books is 4 ft high and 1½ ft square

ff107-11, letter to FN from Elizabeth Soden, May 18, 1863 thanks for kind response to communic (missing) I venture to address again, re how inst goes on

initialled note on a letter, ff112-13v, pen

**f112**

It does seem the oddest thing to ask one School to contribute the "fees" for admittance to another.

vide X F.N.

f114-15v, letter to FN from Ella Clark [?] June 11, saw M. Jones [this shows problem] seeks not instruction I nursing but midwifery and can obtain at Br Lying-in

ff116-17v, letter to FN from Ella Clark [?], June 16, 1863 recd her letter signed letter, f118, pen, black-edged paper

**f118**

{printed address:} 4 Cleveland Row [war]  
S.W.

June 18/63

My dear Sir

Would you kindly  
look over the enclosed  
list of furniture  
prepared as an  
experiment for a  
Soldiers' Recreation  
Room in Barracks,  
& be so good as to  
say whether it is  
sufficient, or if not  
what additions  
should be made to  
it? yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

ff119, receipt from Harding, Marchant de Bouquets, June 1863

ff120-21, letter to FN from Frank Buszard, General Infirmary, Northampton, June 25, 1863 in reply to her enquiries (missing) inform you that the number of accidents 30, to all of whom the nurse is req to attend but she wd have an under nurse to scour and clean the ward. The head nurse ed have to take charge of the linen used in the ward and render account to matron. Both head and under nurses occupy the same room. We shd prefer a person not under 30 years of age and shall be willing to agree to the terms you...month's trial at first,

ff122-22v, letter from the Revd C. Lee to FN, 8 Camden Sq, Camden Town, Holy Trinity Haverstock Hill June 1, 1863 {archivist: July} recommends Mrs Hart for nurse

ff124-24v, letter to FN from J. Hart, June 30, implores aid in rec her for hosp, as per above letter

ff126-29v, letter to FN from embossed Privy Council Office, blue paper, Henry [I think] Hugh Reeve, July 15, 1863, Harriet Martineau had already written him some days ago to propose an article on the Indian Sanitary Report, answered if had early enough, but issue for July published today, and powerless until 15 Oct, so declined, has read 8vo form of it with greatest interest and can't overrate importance of subject, if can see way to sufficient novelty in treatment of subject in October wd. I am singularly grateful to an incident that gives me the high pleasure of having again found you I was afraid that we shd slide out of the world w/o making again and even on a sheet of paper and ...affords me an opp of saying with how much interest I have watched the course of your life and with what unfading gratitude & affection I recall your kindness to Helen & myself in 1847.

I am filled at times with avast melancholy when I look at the breach which death and illness and absence have made in the best relations four lives. The ground seems caving in behind us and how very many of those with whom we have lived and laboured in our best years are gone!

However I now proceed to answer your appeal. Harriet Martineau had already written to me some days ago to propose an article on the Indian San Report. The answer I gave her was this: If I had had the report early enough to produce the subject in its freshness, now I should most gladly have availed myself of it, but the review for July is published this very day. I am therefore powerless till the 14 October. In the interval the newspapers and mags and other reviews will publish in a thousand ... Declined. I have read the report (that is, the 8vo form of it) with the greatest interest. And I think it imposs to overrate the importance of the subject. If I can see my way to sufficient novelty and originality in the treatment of the subject *in October*, I shd still be happy to give every facility to the appearance of the

ff130-33, letter to FN from B. Biggott, July 16, 1863

ff134-35v, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, July 17 on embossed Privy Council

Office. I have got two folio vols of the Report and looked them over, not read them. I think I may say with Lord Dundreary "no fellow can do that, but I have read the Report itself, your very interesting notes on the Returns from the stations and a good deal of the evidence here and there.

I am very much obliged to you indeed for your note and for your suggestions of the main point of the reform of the Stations

one of my best contributors (not H.M.) has now in hand an elaborate paper on the more general question of the intro of Eur social improvements &c into India & if I shd be prevented from having a separate article on the Sanitary Report, it will at any rate take its place in this general survey of the subject. I think it wd be well to circulate your own Notes on the Evidence separately The bulk of the whole folio report is truly appalling. Believe me I will do the best I can.

f136, receipt from Vacher & Sons, Stationers, Lithographers & Printers, July 21, 1863 for draughtsman engaged in reducing and tracing plans of hospitals 18.4

incomplete letter, f137, pen JS hand

{archivist; [To Trevelyan] {ca 22 July, 1863}

**f137**

The great India report is on its way to you. I hope you will not do what an officer proposed to do here, namely take 6 months leave to read it. The ~~great~~ /chief thing now is to get its recommendations carried out as fast as possible. Every days delay is a loss. The Indian administrative arrangements can only be settled by you there

The Royal Commission proposes Commissions of Health A consultative commission, with ~~and~~ a responsible administrative head would appear to be the best arrangement & the whole might feasibly be raised into a department of Government. We can help you in all matters of detail & experience from this end, ~~and~~ Before anything is decided, it would be advisable to send me a sketch of what you propose & I will get the advice of all our Sanitary administrators about it. Sir John Lawrence ~~told~~ /wrote me the other day that he thought for England a Commission organized by the India Government with additions from the W.O. commission would be the best arrangement.

f138, receipt from Eyre and Spottiswoode, Her Majesty's Printers, July 24, 1863

unsigned report, ff139-39v, pen, not FN hand

**f139**

Lucknow July 25 - 1863

"There can be no doubt that  
"the finances of India, are as  
"flourishing, as represented  
"in Sir C. Trevelyan's statement  
"and the improvement is  
"mainly to be traced to Economy  
"especially in the Military  
"expenditure - The Income Tax  
"brings in only a paltry  
"Two millions, at the outside,  
"and was not worth the disgust  
"it gave; on the other hand  
"the increase of Stamp duty,  
"which costs nothing in  
"collecting, & is paid without  
a murmur, yields nearly as  
"much - The Enhanced Duty  
"on Salt, is also a very lucrative,  
though I must say, I think  
"it is too high for the poorer  
classes.

**f139v**

"No one who thought at all  
"in the country, ever doubted  
"that the ~~illeg~~-finances would  
"recover, if Economy were practised.  
"Money is now so plentiful  
"in India that all kind  
"of joint Stock companies  
"are springing up on  
"all sides - The Construction  
"has greatly increased  
"in the hills, and other  
"parts of Bengal, and is  
"proving very remunerative  
"and the reduction of the  
"Duty will give [illeg] impetus  
"to this branch of trade  
"in India -

f140, receipt from S. Finter, July 30

f141, receipt for payment dilapidations to No 4 Cleveland Row

unsigned letter, f142, pen JS hand

{archivist: [To Trevelyan [~~summer of~~/ ca July 1863]}

The report has created a great impression here, and will continue to do so - I will write more about this again, but in the mean time it would be most politic that not a day should be lost in taking the matter up in India. The great question now is what should be done. The report has passed into the administrative stage. Could you consider at once about your Presidency Commissions. They ought in reality to be public health departments of the Government of each Presidency. It is very doubtful if much good would be done by making them ~~an~~ deliberative bodies. Such bodies waste time & breath, create jealousies & do nothing. Should you not have an executive head responsible for ~~the~~ carrying out the requisite reforms, & ~~n~~ in this case the commissions would be consultative. Large powers will be required & promptitude of action. In the infancy of the question it is probable that you will have to work ~~by~~ through inspectors & officers of health, waiting the time for ~~affording~~ ~~de~~ granting local powers where at present they could not be ~~gran~~ exercised with advantage. I foresee that this report will lead to immense changes in India; for it really contains the germs of local self government under central supervision: - a ~~sort~~ kind of transition period between military rule and municipal actions. The only other way ~~to~~ would be for Government to do all, if the military system is to be retained, and to pay everything out of revenue. One way or other the thing must be done. Our moral title to hold India has been called ~~in~~ the question, on the ground of what we have left undone there. Now is the time to make our title good. I have only time further to say that we shall be glad to give you any advice in matters of detail coming within our cognizance.

unsigned draft letter, ff143-43v, pen in JS hand

{archivist: [To Trevelyan [End July - by Aug 1863]]}

**f143**

Some practical difficulties have presented themselves in giving effect to the administrative proposals of the Commission which you in India must assist us in removing. Our great object is to be able to bring European experience to bear on the Indian health questions without in anyway interfering with freedom of action, and the point at issue is how this is to be done. All the Sanitary work must be done in India. It cannot be done ~~from/~~ in England All we can do or propose to do is to give to the Commissions in India the benefit of English Experience and to prevent the mishaps & failures which are quite certain to ensue if the Indian Commissions are left to gain their experience. The report of the Indian army Commission only states the most general principles, but the question really lies in the application of these principles to suit specific cases,

It appears that at present there ~~are~~ is no direct reference of plans from India to England, and such a reference as regards Sanitary works is what is required. It would work as follows. Suppose that the Madras Commission of Health were to draw up at the request of the Madras Government a plan for the Sanitary improvement of Secunderabad or of Madras itself. They would do this without any practical experience of how such cases had been dealt elsewhere ~~at home. Yet every step necessary~~ If such a plan were carried out {written in pencil in the margin} without consulting this experience, it would be mere matter of chance

whether the whole did not prove a failure. The only way to prevent this as far as practicable would be to refer the plan ~~there/home~~ without loss of time to the Indian Government here. It would then come before its special Commission, the details of the plan could be minutely canvassed in the light of home experience, and after the best practicable decision had been arrived at the plan would be sent back with all ~~the~~ needful information as to matters of detail in water supply, drainage, Latrines construction & improvement of Buildings & ~~which their experience had arrived at,~~ and then after the Madras Commission had profited as much as possible by the criticisms & information, the plan

**f143v**

would be put forwards for Sanction in the usual way.

It has been proposed here to send out ready formed Commissions of practical men to deal with the Indian question, but it is quite certain that for some time ~~to come~~ the men will not be forthcoming. There are yet very few ~~pr~~ men practically conversant with ~~these~~ this class of works, and all we have are occupied on duties here. To send out inferior men would be to misspend money. The Medical School at Netley is now training young men in Sanitary knowledge, but it will be some years before any number will be available. Cadets of engineers for Indian service will it is hoped before long be trained in this branch of knowledge, but as yet nothing has been done. As regards India, your latest barrack at ~~Tut~~ Fort William is one of your worst, and you are now draining Calcutta apparently without a water supply. There is then no reasonable hope of progress unless some arrangement be made whereby we here may by good advice prevent such mistakes. All plans or proposals for sanitary improvements should be sent voluntarily from India - direct & without circumlocution to the India office here. There is no need of any jealousy, for all wish to help you. ~~and besides~~ We all feel that the interests really at stake are those of our Queens regiments, and we cannot understand why after the War Office has had a commission of practical men at work to improve our home barracks & hospitals with a saving of half the former mortality the troops which have had such care bestowed on them here should go to India ~~where there is as yet no Sanitary/~~and be there decimated ~~without~~ because there is ~~administration. It is clearly a matter for arrangements~~ no authority sufficiently informed to deal with these health questions

The plan ~~I have~~ proposed by the R.C. is similar to the W. O. method. At present all Sanitary works are sent from every station from the West Indies to China, to the W.O. The plans are carefully examined & corrected by the special commissions & then returned to the Station. This is what is wanted for India, & there is no reason why it should not work well. If it is not strictly in accordance with existing system, surely the system should bend to the greater necessity.

f144, letter to FN from James Waddell, Surrey Ophthalmic Hospital, August 7, 1863

copy of a signed letter, f145, pen

**f145**

COPIES

Lea Hurst  
Matlock  
Sept 2/56

Dear Mrs. Tainton

I am very glad to be able to inform you that you will receive a proportion of the Sultan's gift to the Nurses - and that I had already sent in your name to the War Office with whom the distribution rests and in whose hands money is. The sum, however, has so to be divide among {it does say divide} so many that I trust you will not be disappointed if your share does not amount to much.

If I hear of any situation which I think will suit you, I shall be sure to remember you

I shall always be glad to hear from you and remain sincerely yours

signed F. Nightingale

Lea Hurst  
Matlock  
Oct 20/56

Dear Mrs. Tainton

I am very sorry that you have not succeeded in obtaining a situation. But whenever any one may be requested by you to apply to me for a character, I shall be prepared to give you one such as will not fail to be a strong recommendation of you - For I know the many good qualities you possess - You have therefore no need to fear - I will also let you know if I hear of anything likely to suit you.

Believe me

Yours sincerely  
signed F. Nightingale

ff146-47, letter to FN from Lucy Fitzpatrick, Aug 8, 1863

ff148-49, letter to FN from James Paget, Aug.10, 1863

45798 ff150-51, letter to FN from Frank Busgard, Aug.13, 1863 answering hers recd yesterday, "I must inform you that the scouring to which you refer consists simply of washing the tables in the wards and cleaning the furniture and I believe does not occupy more than a few minutes" nurse has not complained

ff152-53v, letter to FN from James Paget, Aug.17, 1863

incomplete, initialled letter, ff154-54v, pen

**f154**

Aug 21/63

[see date, queried by verifiers]

Indeed if you are  
going to our last  
best home I don't think  
I shall be long after you  
It is 6 years this month  
since I have been nearly  
confined to one room  
but like you I have kept  
to my post till the last.  
I shall be very glad to  
go when it pleases  
God to take me.  
I heard the other day  
of two Englishmen who  
were nearly lost by  
being caught by the tide  
on the coast of France  
& a little french fisher  
girl ran all along the  
wet sands to shew them

**f154v**

the only rock  $\frac{3}{4}$  of  
a mile from the shore  
which the tide did  
not cover & where of  
course she was obliged  
to stay with them  
It got quite dark  
the water rose above  
their knees but presently  
they heard a sound faint  
& far off & the little  
girl said "they think  
the tide is turning they  
are shouting to cheer  
us' I often think I  
hear those on the far off  
shore who are shouting  
to cheer me I will say  
no more but, God bless you FN.

draft letter, ff155-56, pencil in JS hand rough

**f155** {very faint pencil}

{archivist: [To Sir Henry Storks] [ca Aug. 1863]}

I do not know if you have yet received this report and therefore I send you ~~my~~ a copy which I have just received from the W.O. If you have time ~~among~~ in the midst of your hard duties to look at it, you will find the gist of the whole matter, ~~both~~ both the defects & remedies in the first 22 pages. These with a glance at the lithographs will enable you to master the whole subject as regards ~~these~~ the Mediterranean Stations also the Indian Stations, with the sole exception that all the improvements for India require to be on a more extensive scale ~~with more water, larger [illeg] in~~ Barracks & hospitals, ~~or better as~~ more complete ventilating arrangements & more constant attention to Sanitary Police [?]

You will find some curious information about the Ionian islands in the report which may throw some light on the subject of a forthcoming debate I have heard of in regard to the Cession.

**f155v**

{larger writing, very very faint pencil}  
Did you ask him about his own statement as to *Trades* ?  
But they would not let him make the motion  
Did you tell

f156, receipt from Edward Stanford, Mapseller, Bookseller & Stationer, Sept 3, 1863

f157, receipt from Eyre and Spottiswoode, Sept. 10, 1863 for £3.3.6 for "printing 20 copies of "Note on the supposed protection" &c Foolscap folio, recd Sept 10 1863 stamped

f158-159, typed copy of a letter to FN, no signature {archivist: Wm Heathcote?}, Sept. 10/63

typed copy of signed letter, f160-61

**f160** {archivist: Original owned by Colonel Heathcote}

COPY

Hampstead N.W. [16:611]

Sept. 11/63

My dear Sir William Heathcote

I feel bound to send you my opinion as soon as possible, as you ask for it.

My experience is very conclusive & my feeling very strong on all three points. {written in pencil [against Dayrooms, Small Wards, Balconies]

{typing resumes} I had written what I enclose before I read the sheet of "Opinions adverse" - as one does not want to read what is similar to one's own view - But now I have read it, I must say, Miss Russell's is a good practical opinion, which all who are really conversant with Hospital Patients will echo, particularly p. This applies to day-rooms & small Wards too. I often smile to think how little people really know of the feelings of Hospital Patients, who have not nursed them. These actually prefer a full large ward & think it "so cheerful."

Mr. Davis & Mr. Yeo have also given excellent practical knowledge, shewing that they know their work -

If you would like me to get you Dr. Sutherland's opinion, he will be in London (41 Finchley New Road) on Tuesday. I would have kept the papers for the purpose, had you not wished for an immediate answer - Should you like to send him the two sheets of your own, & the two of mine? [end]

Ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

I have been so over-ruled by Medical men & Sanitary Engineers

**f161**

- 2-

about Dayrooms that modesty has been the evil cause, if I have "not given my opinion very decidedly against them." My experience has always been, as now stated.

F.N.

ff162-69, letter to FN from C. Trevelyan, Calcutta, Sept. 27, 1863

incomplete letter draft, ff170-70v, pencil JS hand rough [hard to read]

**f170** {archivist:[ To Trevelyan] [ca Sept 1863]} JS hand

I ~~believe~~ /have heard that Sir C. Wood has finally decided to adopt one of the recommendations of the R.C. ~~now~~ as to the Home Sanitary Commission, namely to ~~place~~ ~~ad~~ make use of the Barrack Hospital improvement commission with Indian additions to form the Home Centre for Indian Sanitary improvements. The next thing is get your Indian Health department organized with men of the best available knowledge & experience. At first you will ~~be~~ ~~at~~ have difficulty but after time everything will it is hoped proceed well. Could we think of a plan which could enable the Indian Commission to act in Concert with the Home Commission We could try here, & no doubt by ~~mutual~~ ~~gain~~ your aid we could come to an agreement. The ~~main~~ ~~thing~~ ~~with~~ function of both the Indian & Home Commissions are sufficiently sketched in the report to enable you to judge how these powers should be arranged.

Next in importance is the finding of good men for Indian Commissions & offices of Health. I have only been able to obtain the names of Medical officers herewith sent. They are partly ~~taken~~ ~~from~~ proposed from the kind of knowledge shown in the {there is an arrow to the last part of the facing page}

reports they sent to the R.C. & partly from ~~in~~ independent enquiry.

We want in addition Indian civilians, Military officers and Engineers to act both as Commissioners & the engineers as inspectors. I can make enquiries about these & could write again. You will have I suppose to provide for the present practice of sending all plans of Military buildings up to the Government of India. Should these plans be sent to England before or after they are sent to the Government of India

{There is an arrow to the top of the page}

How would it do to send everything from the Presidency Commission direct to the Government of India, & then home & from home back to the Government of India & thence to the Presidencies for execution. ~~Now everything~~ If this would work it should include Military Buildings & all civil Sanitary works.

{The following list is written the opposite way on the page between the two preceding paragraphs}

BUILDINGS

D. Grierson  
J. Vaughan  
G. S. Maitland  
J. Peet  
W.C. Coles  
T. S. Frazer  
G. R. Ballingall  
J. Miller

**f170v**

Or should there be  
direct communication between  
the Presidency Commissions & the Home Commission  
(of course through the Sec of State for India)  
I merely put this point for your consideration  
in order to bring out the best administrative  
arrangements

{written horizontally}

*Bengal*

Medical Commissioners

Dr. Norman Cheevers

Dr. Ewert

Dr. Mouatt

J.E. Dempster [T.E.?)

D. Maclelland ~~Dr. Moore~~

~~C. [illeg]~~

officers of health Dr. Moore

A. Grant

H. N. Macpherson

J. F. Beatson

C. H. Montgomery

J.D. Playfair

A. Christison [?]

G.P. Sutherland

---

Madras

Commissioners Dr. D. Macpherson Inspector General

" E.G. Balfour

Officers of Health S.A. Reynolds

D. Macfarlane

N. Rogers

S.W. Mudge [?]

W.A. Leslie

C.M. Duff

D. Macleary

unsigned letter draft, ff171-72, pen, neat JS hand

**f171** {archivist: see joint W.O. & Joint Home [Sept - Oct. 17

B & H. Commission for India 1863]

{archivist; ~~Autumn of 1863~~} {not FN's hand}

**[9:464]**

As I know you take a deep interest in the Indian Army question I do not scruple to tell you that no time should now be lost in giving practical effect to the recommendations of the R.C. The India office here, has appointed members to add to the W.O. Barrack & Hospital (impermanent) [Improvement] Commission which you may remember was recommended by the R.C. as the advising body of the India Office in all matters relating to the Sanitary improvement of Stations &c ... But the commission can do nothing more than give its advice when asked for. It can execute nothing. All practical work must be done in India, and there is an urgent necessity for the appointment of the ~~local~~ Presidency commissions, or rather "departments of public health" recommended by the R.C. to take official charge of the great work to be carried out in India.

The report has made a deeper impression, than the report of the first Army Sanitary commission did, and people are beginning to ask whether the state of things the report reveals is to last a day longer. If some efficient [?] steps are not taken soon, the whole question will be taken up in Parliament. I hear about it from all quarters, and I have already myself written more than once urging that the Presidency Commissions should be appointed without delay. It would be much better that the Government of India, in India should take steps itself than that pressure should be exercised from this side. **[end 9:464]** Much depends on the initiative being well taken, and willingly taken. I cannot suppose for a moment that the Government of India would settle down quietly under such a weight of responsibility as this report has put upon it. Surely the first impression produced by it, must be never to rest till the deplorable evils it exposes have come to an end. **[9:465]** Could you in any way help by writing or otherwise

**f171v**

in urging on the work in India. What we want there is a department of health under a responsible head, for each presidency to be constituted out of the required elements. Civil, Military, Engineering, Sanitary & Medical to place this department in the relation of receiving aid & advice from the War office Commission at home, and in the position of advising the Public Works department & local authorities in ~~India~~ /each presidency on all matters connected with Barracks, hospitals, stations Bazaars, Native towns & c . ~~in each~~ On this side we would gladly help with a plan of working out the details. But what is now wanted is that the best men should be found & the commissions constituted. We know some good men to begin with such as - - - - - who would render efficient aid. Unless we can reduce the death & invaliding rate of the Indian army we must give up the idea of holding India by British troops. Even now I happen to know that the H.G. wish to extend reenlistment by an increase of pay because they do not know where to turn for recruits next year. The sanitary condition of India is the key to the holding of India by British troops, and on the Indian Government now depends the responsibility of doing so. I have said nothing about the native population, but I must here add that it is an obvious duty to care for their interests also. It is ~~surely~~ surely something to stir us all up, to know that

**f172**

Indian pestilences are of Indian manufacture. But the ~~illeg~~ /causes which give rise to them are ~~now~~ removable, that Indians are as much our own fellow ~~illeg~~/subjects as the people of London, that if we profess to govern India we must in the eye of humanity & of public opinion govern it for the good of the people, and that the last **[end 9:465]** ~~illeg~~ charge under which we should consent to rest is the one launched against the Indian Government by Bushe ~~that~~ viz that if Englishmen were to leave India tomorrow they would leave behind them no more trace of Civilization than the Tiger or Hyena. Let us hope better things. ~~No~~ ~~Noblement at the head of the Indian Government~~/Lord Elgin is too enlightened ~~to~~ not to see the importance of all this. No doubt the difficulties of progress are great, but all things are possible ~~and~~ if we only help ourselves & have confidence in the good cause, and I am sure no better or nobler ~~so~~ ever ~~claimed the illeg illeg illeg~~ demanded our help.

ff173-75, letter to FN by Annie Michison [Nimchison?], Oct. 1, 1863  
FN note on diagonal in corner. To be returned  
to F.N.

ff176-77, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, Oct. 2, {1863}

f178, receipt from Bickers and Son, Oct. 3, 1863

ff179-80v, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, Oct. 4, {1863}

ff181-82v, letter to FN by Annie Minchison, Oct. 8, 1863. Please accept my best thanks for your very kind response to my letter. I am very sensible of the goodness which impelled you to enter so fully into detail and to give so much valuable instruction on the subject on which I ventured to ask your advice. If I have been longer in replying to your letter than I ought to have been, but I did not want to trouble you with any unnecessary note...unless I could tell you that I had been able to get our committee of Ladies to enter into a project I am so very anxious about,. Re system of nursing opening it is very hard to move a body corporate esp that of women. Again thanks for your very valuable letter, the generous offer it contains (I mean not of permitting a nurse to be trained of ours if I send up a suitable person). I trust you will allow me to address you again on the subject when the Ladies may come to a favourable decision.

typed copy of signed letter, ff183-84

**f183** {archivist: original owned by Colonel Heathcote **[16:611-12]**

COPY  
Hampstead, N.W.  
Oct. 19./63

My dear Sir William Heathcote

1. The Lariboisiere Hospital at Paris is the one which I remembered as having had Day & Dining rooms; & having discontinued them on account of the men-Patients making themselves rather worse than better in them.

Both in St. George's & in the Fever Hospitals in London you see Day rooms in all the perfection of their discreditable-ness. But then I don't know that these Hospitals wish to leave them off -

In the Fever, they look much like the parlour of a discreditable public-house -

In St. George's, a Nurse is told off, who can do nothing else to attend to them. And you see the Patients gossiping & lolling out of window -

The Lady Supt. of King's College Hospital is totally against them. She says as we do, - to put a Nurse to sit there & expect her to check the gossip & tricks! of course she gossips too!

She also conceives it totally impossible for a Ward Nurse to have a Day-room (to each Ward) under her care.

And I can't conceive it architecturally - or rather constructively -

But, after all nothing can be added to the evidence you have already. People who do not object to badly managed & badly constructed Hospitals will not object to Day rooms. But those who think that Hospital administration has a very serious effect on the results

**f184**

- 2 -

of cases will see that the cost, involved by having a whole separate staff, which is necessary, for Convalescent Dayrooms, had much better be spent, because more efficiently, on a separate Convalescent establishment or "home" - or country branch.

2. I send a separate Memo on the subject of Lock Wards - I had rather not be quoted on this subject. It is strictly private. **[end]**

Ever yours most faithfully, in great haste  
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter, ff185-88

f185 {archivist: original owned by Miss Mary Farr **[16:612-14]**}

COPY  
32 South St.  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
Oct. 28./63.

My dear Sir Wm. Heathcote

1. "Convalescent wards" are, properly speaking, merely dormitories, which the "Convalescents" leave in the morning and go back to at night.

They must therefore have "Day & Dining Rooms."

This does not entail a double staff - because the sleeping rooms are left in the day time ( in some establishments locked up, expressly in order to prevent the "Convalescents" lounging on their beds. But this is unnecessary.)

In all Convalescent establishments, small or large, there must always be separate sick Wards, in which relapses (or even "convalescents" (?) unable to leave their rooms) are nursed with a staff of their own.

The difference between your wards (or those of any provincial Hospital) & "convalescent wards", strictly speaking, - is that yours will *always* have some cases confined to bed: And therefore can *never* be shut up in the day-time.

Farther than this, in convalescent establishments, every means is (or ought to be) taken to employ the Patients, both in & out of doors, in the day time -

Now the question manifestly is - is it not better to transport this "convalescent" establishment quite away, - requiring, as it does, a different staff, & different, I had almost said, opposite rules,

**f186**

- 2 -

from the Hospital? and to make a sick ward an apanage of the "Convalescents," instead of "Convalescent wards" and apanage of the sick?

2. Sir John MacNeill told me that he had never succeeded, in all his life, in making the most intelligent (Civilian) Medical man understand the difference between Military and Civil Hospitals.

If he can't, I can't I can only repeat, all MILITARY "Hospitals especially during war & in warm climates must have convalescent wards *and* day & dining rooms" - because you can't send "convalescents" from Diarrhea, Dysentery, Fever, Cholera, back to Barracks. To leave them in the sick wards is simply to consign them to relapse. To make them sleep at night in the sick wards is as bad. And what *are* you to do with them?

3. I have looked all through my "Notes on Hospitals" to find the sentence attributed to me that "all Hospls. should have convalescent wards & day & dining rooms" - And I can't. But the question is now, not what I have said - but - what is right?

If Dr. Crawford will send me the quotation, chapter & verse, I am quite ready to cry "peccavi" {I have sinned - GW} I never aspired to be infallible

- But I cannot remember to have ever had a different opinion from what I have now, tho' my present opinion has been strengthened by experience. (The first & second Editions of my "Notes on Hospitals" were composed mainly of my evidence before the Royal Commissioners, in answer to certain definite written questions, which referred exclu-

**f187**

- 3 -

sively to MILITARY Hospitals. And the first Edition was reprinted without my even correcting it. It is very possible therefore I may have said, "all Hospitals," meaning all *Military* Hospitals.

In the third Edition, which is entirely re-written & has long been in the printers' hands, I am quite sure there is no such sentence with regard to *Civil* Hospitals.

It must be remembered too, that all that has been published of mine hitherto on the Hospital subject has been the *odd times* & not the substance of my life - carelessly written, & sometimes not even corrected by myself. I have often been over-ruled by medical men. And I would rather appeal to my practical arrangements than to my writings.

But, as I say, the question is - not this, but - what is the best?

---

So far upon the general principle. But everything depends upon the case in point. If you were building a large Hospital in the heart of an unhealthy city, or even if you had determined to continue your old unhealthy Hospital of Winchester, in either case you must, IF you will not have a Convalescent Branch by the sea or in an open country, have Convalescent wards *in* the Hospital. And you will find that the very Medical men, who most advocated Day-rooms in the old Hospital, will, when they come to have their Patients in the new, be the first to say that neither Dayrooms nor "Convalescent wards" separate from your fine large wards, are wanted -

**f188**

- 4 -

The proposal of the glass screen amounts to having a Dayroom or Convalescent Ward as a vestibule to the W.C.s with all the sick passing through it.

It has been found that the large end window is the most popular part of the Hospital for all Patients able to leave their beds. But a screen is not necessary. It obstructs the ventilation. There is danger of your sacrificing simplicity while you seek for so many classes of accommodation in so small a Hospital. And again I say, have a Convalescent "Cottage Home" at a distance - if at all.

**[end 16:614]**

In haste

ever yours faithfully

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

**[end 16:614]**

ff189-90v, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, embossed Privy Council Office Nov. 23 {1863} re informant not Dr Crommelin but Col

ff191-92, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, Nov. 25 {1863} embossed Privy Council Office. Many thanks for this extract which is curious, but as I am not looking at either side of the shield, I am inclined to think you are both right and both wrong in thinking the other side wrong. That there are still plenty of abominations in India I have not the least doubt, but that

minimal [?] progress has been made in barrack constr &c is equally certain. My kinsman Meadows Taylor is now staying with me-- he is a very competent and impartial witness, have illeg in India for more than 30 years, though not under the E.I.C. He says the improvement in all the barracks he knows is most remarkable. At Secunderabad, Hendersons' new barracks are splendid, at T... excellent....Ditto at...

f193, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, Nov. 26 [1863] embossed blue Privy Council Office. Many thanks. I have read your note with much interest. It is certainly hard to turn round on your.. With facts they neglected to furnish when asked. Not to keep the messenger I say no more today.

ff194-95v, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, Dec. 1 {1863} blue embossed Privy council Office. I have delayed answering your last very interesting note, in order that Meadows Taylor might read Dr Crawford's report. He has now done so and I enclose a note from him to me on the subject, which you may like to keep. I am well aware that magnificent buildings may be extremely unwholesome. But in building the wards of Trimilgherry so large, they thought they were doing right. If not, you must set them right. Of course much of the present difficulty in India arises from the fact that since 1858 the European army has been raised from 25,000 to 70,000 men, hence a want of good barrack accommodations.

However, this discussion is the best thing that could befall you, and when the statements and counter statements are fairly before me I will endeavour to find somebody to review the whole case. With many thanks.

ff196-99, letter to Henry Reeve from Meadows Taylor, no date re reports

ff200-02, letter to FN from Annie Minchin, Dec 10 [1863]

initialled note, **f203v**, pen

What is to be  
done? FN  
Dec 10/63

f204, receipt from Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, Dec 11. 1863

f205, receipt from Bickers and Son, Dec 15, 1863

ff206-09, letter to FN from Henry Reeve, on embossed Privy Council Office paper Dec. 16, {1863}

unsigned letter draft, ff210-11v, pen {not FN's hand, JS hand

**f210****[9:481-82]**

1. Has not the time arrived for improving the entire management of the army in India, & bringing it into conformity with advancing intelligence everywhere. So far as Concerns the Military part this change would involve improved means of occupation. That is commanding officers seeing more to ~~the~~ better general employment of the men. Soldiers institutes, Gymnastics, Government providing the means such as Covered Sheds, workshops Gardens, tools, apparatus, buildings. Better regulation of Canteens as regards issue of spirits & better police of Bazars to prevent sale of spirits.

Next the question of increased Marriages & better provisions for Soldiers wives & children.

**f210v**

2. Should not the question be finally settled as to the points to be held in India. Which unhealthy stations could be given up. Which are the best hill stations and the best way of using them.

3. Improvements in the ration with reference to vegetable food

4. ~~be~~ Better management of drills.

Then as regards general Sanitary improvements in Stations. Drainage Water supply, better barracks & hospitals. On all these points we at home will gladly help with our experience.

But allied to this the great thing in India is to improve the Social condition of the people.

**f211**

The stational returns shew a lamentable state of matters. Can this not be dealt with. Surely under British rule we should try to improve the habits of the people & to raise them in the scale of civilization by laying a basis for this in improving their towns & dwellings. ~~Impro~~

Better water supply is everywhere imperative, & this cannot be got without drainage. Everything must go hand in hand.

5. It is absolutely necessary to make this great work somebody's duty. The presidency Commissions should do this. Should not these be appointed at once & instituted to proceed with this work.

India has to be educated and

**f211v**

Christianized, but we know in this country that education & bad Sanitary conditions are ~~ad~~ antagonistic.

The whole secret of progress is in improving Physically, intellectually, morally & Christianly at the same time. This lesson is the last to be learned. We shall succeed in civilizing just in proportion as we recognize the unity of the whole process.

Government in India is everything as regards physical progress. It can also educate. It should do both.

[end 9:482]

unsigned draft of a letter, f212, pencil JS hand rough

**f212** {archivist: [ca 1863]}

If I were to take up all the unfledged Chickens that insist on being provided for my whole time would be occupied in unproductive works.

I have just as much on hand as I can do at present. This [illeg Nettage?] institution is not an institution but a set of cottages taken for a very questionable object. If they ever want my advice as to plans for building, I will give it, but in its present form however much ~~they~~ the object may be commended, I do not see what good I could do. The real parties to raise the funds are the Iron Masters & others of the district.

f213, letter to FN from C.E. Trevelyan, Jan 14, 1864

ff214-15, letter to C.E. Trevelyan from J. McClelland, Jan. 13, 1864

ff216-19, letter to FN from Annie Minchin, Jan 19 [1864]

incomplete letter, f220, pen, black-edged paper

**f220**

115 Park St. W

**[16:427]**

Feb 2/64

Miss Nightingale presents  
her compliments to  
Mr. Mennie & begs  
to return the Indian  
Barrack plans, by  
Capt. Galton's desire,  
which she thinks  
admirable. She has  
no further criticism  
to make,  
She will return  
the Hospital plans  
tomorrow.

**[end]**

incomplete, initialled letter, ff221-22, pen

**f221**

This Hospital plan  
has come out remarkably  
well; but may be  
improved in the  
following points:

[16:427]

Plan A.

bed space rather  
small - wall should  
project beyond bed  
on each side.

corner beds to be  
18 inches from wall  
large end windows  
to be reduced to three  
feet in width.

bath to stand out  
in floor of Bath room

**f221v**

Is not the space for  
basins in Lavatory too  
narrow?

change Serjeants' bed  
as suggested

shew wall double

plan b

shift corner beds

18 inches from wall

other alterations

similar to plan A

In both plans, shew only one  
stair.

*Elevation*

shew a shield in  
front of louvre

**f222**

Sections required  
to shew ventilating &  
other arrangements

Shew a first floor,  
laid out for Patients'  
dining, day & reading  
room, games &c  
ward stores, &c  
orderlies' rooms &c

~~i.e. dining room~~

~~sleeping "~~

& Night Orderlies'

sleeping room

separate

Also, on the first floor of one,

**f222v**

block

waiting room

surgery

pack store

office

clean linen store

bedding "

utensil "

as well as Day room -

in which case there should be two  
stairs

We want a set of  
sketch plans of first  
floors to shew how all  
the accessories can be  
accommodated in the  
Hospital blocks.

**f223**

2

The block for Convalescents  
should have Day room  
and dining room -  
because the Patients  
will be the greater part  
of the day in their  
day=room - the ward  
being only used for  
sleeping=room at night

The block for sick  
requires space only  
for 10 out of 24 to  
have day=room -

**[end]**

F.N.

115 Park St. W.  
Grosvenor Square  
Feb 3/64

ff224-25v, letter to FN from W. Bowman Feb. 14 [1864]

ff226-27, from J. Strachey, Feb 22 [1864]

ff228-29, letter to FN from Robert Lowe, Feb 23, 1864, embossed PCO paper, Mr Holmes of St George's and Dr Bristowe of St Thomas' are employed to report on the hospitals of the United Kingdom, only incidentally re Paris. "You wish we had taken 'better men.' Were you not rather premature in this wish as you do not know who the men were. I should have been glad to have employed better if I could have found them."

It gives me much pleasure to hear from you once again.

believe me

always

very sincerely yours

Robert Lowe

FN evidently protested the appointment of Holmes and Bristowe for a letter from Robert Lowe to her defended them. Letter 23 February 1864, Add Mss ff228-29. Nightingale presumably wrote the minister again, for a lengthy reply 26 February 1864 took her to task for her concerns. Lowe defended his official adviser John Simon and complained that she might have "an undue prejudice in your mind against him" and argued that the "medical world has its factions" as much as the political. As "proof that Simon has not overlooked the subject of hospitals" Lowe referred her to several pages in a report of Simon's in 1840 on preventible disease! He then suggested that her *Notes on Hospitals* was flawed in its statistical analysis by using the percentage of deaths to beds.

Letter 26 February 1864, Add Mss 45798 ff230-33, letter to FN from Robert Lowe, Feb 26, 1864

Letter of Robert Lowe to Nightingale, Add Mss 45798 ff230-33

26 February 1864

My dear Miss Nightingale

I should be very glad to do anything in my power for the reform of hospitals but unhappily like the fool my bolt is soon shot and when I have laid the report which I have directed on the table of the House I have done all in my power.

I am sorry that you do not approve of Mr Simon my official adviser. I have no pretensions to the knowledge which would enable me to form a judgment of his medical acquirements but having had five years experience of him I can say with great sincerity that he is singularly well informed with a great appetite for knowledge of all and a most ardent zeal for sanitary reform as he understands it. I cannot help fearing that you have met with those who have created an undue prejudice in your mind against him. The medical world has its factions as well as the political and we should all cut strange figures if we were to be judged by the report of our antagonists. As a proof that Simon has not overlooked the subject of hospitals I may refer to pp 18, 19, 36-40 of his report in 1840 on preventible disease where he expatiates on the effects of ventilation and drainage on puerperal fever, pyemia and erysipelas. Will you allow me to point out what appears to me to be an oversight in your book on hospitals? You speak of hospitals as unhealthy (in a bad sense) because there is a large percentage of deaths to beds. In one sense every hospital ought to be unhealthy, that is as the refuge for disease and in this sense the healthier it is (that is the better it is conducted) the more unhealthy it will be.

Is it not rather on the number of patients received into the hospital in the course of the year and the severity of the cases that the percentage of deaths to beds depends and is it not quite [illeg] that a hospital may be unhealthy from bad management and yet show a small percentage because few people go to it. Before we infer the unhealthiness of a hospital from the percentage of deaths to beds we ought to know how many people have occupied the bed in the course of the year. It seems to me that this error vitiates the argument from statistics which is assumed to prove that the unhealthiness in the bad sense of the London hospitals is to that of the county hospitals as 90 to 39.....[hasn't shown her letter to Simon]

unsigned notes, ff234-35, pencil [7:336-37]

**f234** {archivist; [April 1864]} {very faint}

La fourmis au général

Eh bien! vous avez fait en cinq ans en Italie l'ouvrage de cinq siècles - Vous avez fait un miracle -

Mais faites la part du temps, mon Général - Vous même vous ne pouvez pas faire ~~que cette~~/une machine à vapeur, comme celle de Bedford labourer tout le champ en ~~une seconde de temps~~ en cinq ~~ou~~ minutes

Eh bien il faut faire que l'Italie se consolide toute, se fonde en un seul instrument fort, comme cette machine à vapeur.

Il faut fondre toutes les villes, tous les villages, mêmes que vous avez gagnés à l'Italie libre dans un seul gouvernement constitué, consolidé -

Votre gouvernement vous paraît mauvais - Mais donnez-lui la main - ayez une bonne intelligence avec lui -

Cela vous paraît bien fait à vous dans votre Caprera que tous les hommes soient des grands hommes comme vous. Mais ce n'est pas aussi simple que vous le pensez - ces changemens exigent des impôts, une taxation lourde pour le peuple. Eh bien ils ne se soumettent pas comme vous à être de grands hommes à leurs propres dépens -

Donnez-lui du temps

Vous ne perdez pas votre temps - fortifiez vous sur le terrain que vous avez pris, faites vous y fort. Vous travaillez à l'oeuvre de la libération complète de l'Italie ~~lorsque~~ /quand vous travaillez à

**f234v**

Barclay & Perkins

Consolidez votre Gouvernement dans chaque  
village que vous avez conquis à l'Italie

Quand c'est fait, ça, Venise et Rome vous  
tomberont entre les mains - Vous vivrez, allez,  
pour le voir. Je ne le verrai pas. Manin ne l'a pas vu

Mais voyez donc, tout ce que la France et  
l'Autriche demandent c'est que vous fassiez un  
faux pas - la France où les prêtres et les voleurs  
se donnent la main.

Mais ~~administrez~~ l'Italie libre administrée par un  
gouvernement juste et libre, chaque jour que  
~~vous faites cela~~ /cela se fait, c'est un jour gagné pour  
l'Italie une et libre, c'est un jour perdu  
pour l'Autriche et pour Rome

Allez, l'Autriche et Rome ne subsisteront  
pas une heure après que cela s'est fait -

Vous ne perdez pas du temps, peut être  
que la fusion qui s'accomplit aujourd'hui en Italie  
ne pourrait s'accomplir autrement que sous le  
canon Autrichien

Il faut acheter Venise  
Manin ne l'a pas vu. Vous, vous le verrez

**f235**

Ouvrage de cinq siècles fait en cinq ans

Bedford Steam plough

ne peut le faire en  
5 mins

L'Italie doit se  
consolider

fondre tous les villages  
en un Steam  
plough constitué  
consolidé

Barclay & Perkins  
Votre Gouvernement est mauvais

paraît bien facile  
à vous d'être  
grand homme  
pas facile aux autres  
qui sont taxés

Vous ne perdez pas le temps  
Vous travaillez à libérer l'Italie  
lorsque vous travaillez à  
consolider un Gouvernement

gouvernement juste et libre  
jour perdu pour Rome  
et l'Autriche  
jour gagné pour l'Italie

Venise et Rome  
Il faut les acheter  
ne brisez pas la force de l'Italie (non encore mûre) contre les forteresses  
Autrichiennes

Ah que ne pourriez vous pas faire pour l'Italie?  
la fusion ne  
pourrait  
s'accomplir que sous le canon  
Autrichien

vous tomberont entre La France et l'Autriche  
les mains une heure ne demandent pas mieux  
après

que vous fassiez un faux  
pas  
jour perdu pour l'Autriche  
& Rome  
jour gagné pour l'Italie

ff236-37 letter to FN from Clara Ciglinni, from Torino May 2, 1864 re Garibaldi, Cavour, envelope postmarked London May 4 64

**f236**

Torino, May 6d 1864

2 [?] Piazza Maria Teresa

Dear Florence Nightingale, or such is your style and title in the tabernacle [illeg] to you in my heart (besides who calls Mr or Miss the greatly good? or thinks of M. Danté or Mr Shakespeare?)

I kiss in spirit your revered hand for writing to me - who have been so long athirst for news of you--Alas! that I now hear you are such a sufferer@

First let me assure you your confidence in me is not misplaced--I shall implicitly obey your desire that no one should see your letter or even know you have written to me--and now to reply in part to its contents.

I agree with all your sentiments & reasonings but I cannot divide your hopes or expectations from Garibaldi, your mainly desiring him now to take a serious & sensible part & place in parliament. He has no such powers, to expect it of him is about equal to expecting you with your special gifts for administration, strength of patience, admirable powers of comforting the suffering to be required now to take forced marches or fight sword in hand the Croats.

Garibaldi is a very intelligent leader of volunteers--he has especial & great military talents for *that kind* of warfare. He is a patriot after his fashion, & would give his life for his country--but he is not a liberal, but a complete dictator for he puts his own will over, not only the laws, but over the liberty of all whose opinions differ from his own. He has no sort of notion what is meant by a parliamentary government, among other many proofs he has given of this his ignorance are his letter to the king, when he wanted him to dismiss Cavour, and his revolt of 1862.

What regular government could possibly work with a man who after taking an especial oath of allegiance to

**f236v**

the King, to the constitution and laws of the state as deputy gathers a small army under a banner? (not even that of the state!) A man who on every occasion has reviled all constituted order, calling the deputies "sold servants" because they do not bow to his will!

The liberal party (quite distinct people from the party of agitators who call themselves of "action" is quite willing to accept the cooperation of Garibaldi when the proper time arrives, but only in his capacity of leader of Volunteers, but they would consider themselves guilty toward the country if they put him in a situation to carry out his unpractical and subversive ideas, or rather the ideas of that small sectional party whose tool he is. Why his intense weakness is so well known, his best friends tremble he should be drawn into some fresh compromising blunder.

Those who echo the misnomers he assumes of "Creator of Italian unity", "liberator of Italy" as if he alone had done it, dazzled by the splendor of his expedition to Marsala & Naples--commit a serious breach of justice & gratitude towards Cavour--Ricasoli & Torini [?] who, to say the very least, have done as much towards the liberty & unity of Italy as Garibaldi--nay, he could never have *succeeded* in his part had he not found the way prepared by them, yet no cry is made over their disinterestedness, their giving of crowns & c & c.

I wonder if England would have glorified any citizen of her own who after rendering any service, however signal, had rebelled against her laws-- & had perished within a hair's breadth her utter ruin? Had Nelson or Wellington or any other acknowledged great citizen done what Garibaldi did? in Sicily in 1862?

If it be true that Garibaldi received no [illeg] to leave England what does his odd silence on the subject mean when a word from him would have silenced all the remarks & blame to those who have so caressed & fêted him--a sad want of delicacy & gratitude surely.

Do not consider anyone connected with me as in the least responsible for the above sentiments--however unpopular they are my own, & as such I make no excuse for having spoken them freely.

How touching is what you write of Sydney Herbert's words to you respecting Cavour--alas! That two such men should die & so soon--oh! for Cavour for another 20 years. I still weep his loss as for one of my own best loved.

Sunday the 8th my brother & sister Sabilla came to me to take our eldest girl, Porzia, with them to London via the Rhine, with a weeks stay at Aix la Chapelle to hear the music festival there. I envy Sabilla the mere hope & possibility of seeing you. Remember me to our dear nurse, Hillary Carter. She perfectly bewitched me in the very short time I knew her.

Adieu dear Florence Nightingale, believe me, with the tenderest reverence, your very affectionate  
Clara Csiglini

I have even made up my mind, after a severe struggle to burn your letter since you desire it--what would one not do to obey you?

**f238**, receipt from S.J. Williams & Son, May 6, 1864 [not verified, too faint]

list of money amounts, f238v, pencil

73 18	6	188	5	1			
3 2 8		3	15				
3 5 6		2	6		6		
<u>4 10</u>		3	12		9 ½		
84 16 8		1	3		11		
			11		11 ½		
		<u>199</u>	<u>15</u>		<u>3</u>		
Moving		1	16		Clothing	4 7 ½	
Charity		8	3		<del>illeg</del>	2 12 6	
Art	4	12	6			4 16	
Stationery			2 11 7				
Messenger	6	9 0				5 19 5 ½	
Medical	4	4				4 5	
Wages	8	5	27 10 1				
						<u>22</u>	
						27 10 1	
						8 5	
						11 10 2	
						<u>10 18 2</u>	
						80 3 5	

ff239-40, General Order, Simla, June 21, 1864

45798 signed letter, ff241-45v, pen [India] black-edged paper

**f241**

{printed address} 115 Park Street, W.

June 25/64

My dear Mrs. Clive

It is not, as Col. W.  
Greathed supposes,  
because the overworked  
War Office has not  
time to attend to the  
under-worked Viceroy,  
that the delay has arisen.

[9:207-08]

Not one moment  
of time or work has  
been required from  
any single member of  
the India or War Offices -

**f241v**

to do what Sir J. Lawrence  
desired.

All has been done  
by other hands.

All that was required  
was to sign the initials: -

de G.

C.W.

on: two minutes'  
conversation between  
"de G." & "C.W."

It is not that the  
W.O. "has 1000 interests  
pressing on it," while  
Sir. J. Lawrence "has  
only one". It is that

**f242**

Sir J. Lawrence was so idiotic as to believe (in December 1863) that the habitual jealousy, supposed to be entertained of the India Govt. at home by the India Govt. in India, & alleged as an excuse by Sir C. Wood for not sending out the required plans & schemes - alleged not once but nearly every week during the last 6 months - while every mail I had in my

**f242v**

pocket a written entreaty from the head of that very Govt. in India to send out these plans without delay - "We are at a stand still without them" - " We are in danger of doing worse, instead of better than formerly" &c &c &c &c &c

it is that the Viceroy who cleared off half the arrears of 18 months of his Predecessors at one sitting, was so weak as to believe

**f243**

2

that his written word  
would be taken,  
without a Printed  
Minute.

At last I wrote out  
to him for the Printed  
Minute. And it is  
come - But this took  
four months.

"Hence the delay".

I have taken effectual  
means that all my  
papers shall be  
destroyed after my  
death. But I would  
gladly have left, as  
a lesson to the nation,

**f243v**

the record of how  
the greatest living  
administrator, who  
rules over one tenth  
the human race, not  
by courtesy but absolutely,  
who organizes/governs the  
financial, territorial,  
judicial, international  
affairs of 120 millions,  
compared with whose  
sway that of the three  
absolute monarchs,  
France, Austria, Russia,  
is a sham where it  
is not a tyranny & a  
tyranny where it is  
not a sham in

**f244**

endeavouring to bestow  
upon these 120 millions  
~~the blessings of health~~  
& civilizationed life - has  
been foiled by the  
~~pett laziness~~/torpor & the  
self=sufficiency of a  
petty, peddling Office,  
which rules over  
at most half a

**[end 9:208]**

million, {in pencil} & with the ease with which {pen} & these all  
soldiers {pencil} are ruled over {pen} ~~who are, as~~  
compared with civilian races  
what your own children,  
are to manage, compared  
with the Ho: of Commons  
or Public opinion.

**f244v**

And then he is to be  
told that the War Office  
has no time to attend  
to him!

**[9:208]**

Was there ever anything  
like it since the  
treatment of the D. of  
Wellington in the  
Peninsula by the home  
Govt.?

If I am told that  
I know not what  
the W.O. has to do,  
I say, no man knows  
it better. I have done  
the work of an Under  
Secretary {printed address} 115 Park Street, W.{upside down} of State  
for five years, up to the

**f245**

3

time of Sidney Herbert's  
death.

But I shame to  
speak of myself in  
the same hour as  
of that great man,  
Sir John Lawrence -

Had I known what  
a Government Office  
was, I fear I should  
rather have shot  
myself than entered  
it.

Did it ever strike  
you how, if Christ  
had had to work

**f245v**

through Pilate, how  
would he have done?

I have often had  
to think of it.

[end 9:208]

ever yours

F. Nightingale

ff246-46v, letter to FN from Joseph Toynbee, 16 Savile Row, Burlington Gdns embossed June 30, 1864. In reply to your note I beg to say that Miss Agnes Jones suffers from debility of the nervous apparatus of each ear, which debility is likely to be increased by strain of mental or bodily work. Unless the relinquishment of her present duties wd cause great mental discomfort to Miss Jones, it is better for them to be at once given up. After rest and change of air Miss Jones mt try the workhouse duties, but they must terminate if the deafness increases.

ff247-48v, letter to Sir C. Trevelyan from John Strachey, July 10, 1864

f249, receipt from Charles Handford, July 11, 1864

f250, letter to FN from H.A. Tebbutt, July 16, 1864

ff251-52, letter to FN from Townshend, 6 Grosvenor Pl July 26, 1864 re testimony by her for nurse by name of Montague, destitute

ff253-53v, letter to FN from Townshend, (dictated perhaps, signed by him) 39 Dover St. Aug 1, 1864, thanks for having kindly replied so fully to my letter respecting Mrs Montague (missing)

ff254-56, letter to FN from E. Baggallay, Kingsthorpe House, Upper Tooting, Aug 6, 1864, re her letter of 21st ult. Not an early reply re com, Mr Whitfield wd be , open court.

ff257-58, letter to FN from Anne Garnier Maconbrey, August 12, 1864, was maimed in 1855 St John's House went out to Koulali sent by Lady Canning 24 March

ff259-60, letter to FN from E. Marie Kingdon, Sept 11, {1864}

envelope, f261v, pen

**f260v**

Mrs. Lambert (Care  
20 York St  
Portman Sq.

f261, letter to FN from M.A. Smith, Grosvenor Hotel, 19 Sept 16, 1864, thank you for bust of Garibaldi wh I found on my return and also the two sovereigns the 15/ I have given to Mrs Ede for wh she begs me to thank you.

ff262-65v letter to FN from John Strachey, Sept. 21, 1864, thanks for her letter. I beg now to thank you very much for you r letter and for the Suggestions for the sanitary improvement of Indian stations which you were good enough to send me. These will be very valuable to us both on account of the excellent information which they contain and because they will help partly to strengthen the recs of the govt. ..Suggestions reached us we had sent off rules and regs for the san admin of mil cantonments. I have asked Dr Walker to send you a copy and we have rec the govt to obtain the opinion and advice of the War Office com regarding them. I hope that you will think that our proposed rules will at least be useful as a beginning. They are ...I have also asked Dr Walker to send you a copy of a letter which I have lately sent to the govt of India regarding the org of a system of san admin.

ff266-68, letter to FN from Dr. A.H. Leith, Sept. 27, 1864, Poona I have had the gratif of receiving your letter of 18th ult (missing) enclosing one from Sir Ranald Martin

Add Mss 45799, microfilm, general correspondence 1864-66, 264 folios, 75 pages, Adam Matthew reel 31

ff1-2, 21 Cockspur Street., London, October 3, 1864, E.B. Elliott Madam, Please accept my most cordial thanks for the very valuable essays and accompanying diagrams with which you have so kindly supplied me.

I need hardly state thank I shall very highly prize them all, especially the earlier edition of your "Notes on Hospitals," procured by you with difficulty, and in which is contained a copy of your "Evidence" as to the Crimean statistics.

Appreciating the inestimable value of your arduous services not merely for the soldier in the late Crimean campaign but also for the soldiers of existing and future wars, I remain, Madam, your faithful servt, E.B. Elliott

to Miss Florence Nightingale, Hampstead, N.W.

ff3-7v, 1 St. Peter's Sq., Manchester, October 4, {archivist: [64]}, FN pencil top left: To be returned to F.N. John Ed Morgan, MB. MA. (Oxon), re plans to establish a Nursing School at Manchester and asking for FN's advice re training in London. FN hand: To be returned to F.N. / An Inst for the training of nurses is about to be established in Manchester. It is probable that the home itself will not be opened, nor the lady supt appointed for about 12 months.

We propose to spend the interval in procuring some 20 young women and sending them up to London in order that they may be instructed in the duties of nursing at one of the more officially? Efficiently? Illeg London hospitals. Under the circs knowing the deep interest you feel in everything connected with this question, I take the liberty of begging you to favour us with your advice in regard to the steps which ought to be taken to get our young probs thoroughly instructed. I believe that the nurses in whom you are yourself more esp interested are chiefly engaged at St Thomas' Hosp. Would it be possible for us to obtain admission for our future nurses into that inst for 12 months as probs, in order that they may be instructed illeg upon the sick. I have been informed...nursing at King's College Hosp is carried out in a very careful and skilful manner. Possibly you may be able to informs whether we could get our nursing probs trained at illeg inst .... re 20 young women in really good hosps [long letter, on nurse training]

ff8-9v, 4 Chapel Street W. Grosvenor Square, October 8, 1864, Miss Cust, requests appointment. to get advice re nurse training institution, no id found. Compliments to Miss and knowing that all those who cd ask for her are most likely out of town she ventures w/o a formal intro to beg Miss Nightingale kindly to fix some time when she cd see her. Miss Cust is most anxious to have the benefit of Miss Nightingale's advice in regard to an inst that is now forming for the Tr and supplying houses for paralysis epilepsy and mental cases. It is meant to be a self-supporting inst and supply the need now felt so strongly by Ld Shaftesbury and the commissioners in lunacy of houses to attend the better class of patients in their own houses but ..charitable purpose. Cd be grafted to it by subs for that purpose and it will begin £500 to start the inst, £100 has already

been given by a lady.

ff10-11v, 54 Conduit Street, October 10, 1864, General Storks. I cannot tell you with what feelings of gratification and pleasure I received your kind letter of the 8th inst. If I have not 'ere this expressed a wish to see you again, it was not from any indifference or want of inclination to renew our former acquaintance, but solely from a fear of intruding on you.

You know the interest I take in the great work you have in hand, and which notwithstanding the difficulties and opposition with which you have had to contend, has been so successfully conducted. I therefore need not say, how anxious I am to assist you and to carry out any suggestions you may be kind enough to give me, before I leave England for our strong illeg the Mediterranean a plan which requires a thorough sanitary reform.

I am reading with attention the Report of Barracks in the Mediterranean and shall study the "Suggestions for Indian Stations," and I trust when you are so good as to received this, that I shall be well up in the subject.

As I do not leave England until the beginning of next month, the arrangement you propose for me to wait upon you after you return to London will be the most convenient, but at the same time, as I told Lady Verney, I am ready *at any moment* to obey your summons. I therefore beg of you to study your own convenience as regards my visit.

with renewed thanks for your letter and kind recollection of me, I remain, my dear Miss Nightingale,,,,,

ff12-13, October 10, 1864, Office of Commissioners in Lunacy, 19, Whitehall Place, S.W., W. Spring Rice, sorry for delay in not sending reports as FN requested but will do so. I am very much vexed that my absence from England has delayed my sooner complying with the application made in your letter of the 3rd inst.

It is a great pleasure to me to be able, in however small a way, to further any object in which you feel an interest and I write now to say that you shall be furnished with all the reports, marked as you request, of which we now have copies. Unfortunately some of the early ones are not out of print.

The parcel shall be ready for any messenger you may send here for it. Shd it be more convenient, if your exact address is furnished to me, I will send a messenger myself. With sincere wishes for your restoration to health...

ff14-15, October 12, 1864, W.C. Spring Rice, apologizing for not sending reports FN had requested for info for Sir John Lawrence, thought some requested not useful and so has selected some to send

ff16-17, October 14, 1864 , 1 Red Lion Sq, W.C., Committee of London. Infirmary, Mr. W. Hart for ulcerated legs etc. The com of the London Inf for Ulceratd Legs &c have just had before them the great importance of securing larger premises. Patients flock here from all parts of London and even from the country. One of our present inpatients has been sent from Oxfordshire. The doctors report that we must have a larger house as we have not room to accommodate the numerous out-patients who attend.

Under these circs the committee have been obliged to open a building fund and they most earnestly invite the aid of the friends of the afflicted poor in this important and compulsory work.

To you who have been one of the earliest and warmest friends of the inst the com feel esp indebted.

ff18-22v, October 18, John Ed Morgan, thanking her for her advice re nurse training institution. Sudden family affliction has prevented me from replying sooner to your very kind note. Allow me to thank you most warmly for the interest you manifest in our training inst, and for the very valuable advice with which you have favoured me. I have written to Mrs Wardroper and to the lady supt of King's College Hosp with a view of learning from them whether they would each admit at their respective hosps ten of our probs. Shd I receive a fav reply it appears to me that it might be desirable to sent those who are intended to direct themselves to hosp nursing to St Thomas' and those who will be employed as district nurses for the poor to King's College. We are very anxious that a certain proportion of the latter shd be instructed in midwifery and I have touched on that question in my letter to the lady supt. I entirely agree with you in regard to the illeg of the lady supt having recd in training at all events to a considerable ... Re midwifery....

ff23-24v, October, 1864, Cardiff, Emily Markham, seeking help for the Infirmary at Swansea.

Pardon the liberty in bringing this subject before you. I cd not think of any other means by which to introduce? It to your notice than this. Hearing of your interest in the new infirmary at Swansea, it raised the hope that this too might poss claim a portion of your large sympathies and the thought of it having to be brought to an end for want of enlarged means and support seemed such a pity that it appears at least worth an effort to those interested in it. It was originated for the benefit of Dr Lewis's own patients from the iron work district and has increased according to the statement during my short visit. I noticed Dr Lewis's pleasure in studying your "Notes on Hosps" which plan it wd be his ambition to carry out.

unsigned notes, ff25-26, pen JS hand

**f25** {in rough JS hand} {archivist: [ca October 1834]}

The Sanitary proceedings of ~~Calcutta~~/the Bengal Sanitary Commission have hitherto been very satisfactory.

It is to be regretted that the slowness of official ~~peop~~ people here about ~~filleg~~ led to delay in sending the suggestions prepared by the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission, but to save time we have sent through the India office three large packets of Sanitary books one for each Presidency, in order to put the Commissions in possession of every thing that has been done here.

Mr. Stracheys letter to the Government of Bengal is very good, ~~and~~ and shows courage & inclination to grapple with the evils. Your chief difficulty will apparently be with the official arrangement of Sanitary powers & responsibilities.

1. The R. C. appear to have considered that the Presidency Commission were the parties ~~filleg~~ most likely to advise as the general course of legislation, and that they should have certain controlling Sanitary powers. If any scheme of the kind is brought forward we should like to see it in order to be sure that it will meet all the requirements. In England under the Public Health act & under local Sanitary acts, the Police has no sanitary authority & never interferes, the Sanitary organization, of Engineer, Officer of health, Surveyor, Inspector of Nuisances, & his staff, Draining, cleansing, paving, water supply, all are managed by ~~a separate co~~ one or more separate committees of the local authority. [In India, of course the first thing is to put the Stations & capitals in good order.
2. At home every thing pertaining to the Sanitary im=  
=provement of purely military places, such as Aldershot, Thornecliff, & all the ground within barrack enclosures together with their works of drainage, water supply, cleansing &c is done by a Military authority. The

**f25v**

works dept of the War office acts for all permanent works, & all temporary cleansing is done either by W. O. contract or by the Soldiers. In such cases no other ~~M~~ authority except the Military authority can step within the boundary. You have the same kind of work to do in India, & whatever organization you adopt should be competent to respond to the requirements of the Army Medical regulations for protecting the health of troops. 3. ~~This~~/The procedure is as follows.

a. The Med. Officer must report every cause of disease requiring removal whether by permanent works or merely by temporary expedient, to ~~the~~ his Commanding Officer. [b. The Commanding officer on his part must apply to the proper authority either to have the work executed, or the nuisance removed, & ~~what qu~~ (unless he differs from the M. O. in which case he must send his reasons to the Superior Military authority,) and what you in India have to do is [c. to provide a machinery which by its foresight & activity shall render such representations on the part of "either Medical" or Commanding officers unnecessary, or shall respond to them immediately.

4. With regard to local proceedings you will have to provide for bye-laws without which it will be very difficult to treat the ~~var~~ great variety of cases which will arise. ~~After~~ [5. The R. C. has {written at the bottom upside down}

*Points in reply to the Geneva letter*

~~1 The essential characteristic of the British Army Sanitary system is that it is~~

**f26 JS hand**

recommended officers of health for civil purposes, & you should have the means of ~~maki~~ giving effect to the recommendations of their officers. At home this is done by the health committees, if they approve of the advice of the officer of health, remitting the matter for execution either to the local engineer if the matter refers to permanent works or to the Inspector of Nuisances if the matter refers to cleansing. Possibly some such procedure would answer well for India. (6. the whole work should in some way be connected with the Presidency health Commission, which should send down inspectors from time to time to ensure unity of action & the spread of sound principles.

ff27-29v, November 10, 1864, H K Storcks, sanitary reform in India

f30, no address, November 16 1864 Proby. T. Cautley, thanks for sending new edition of "How People May Live" etc.

draft, ff31-32, light pencil

**f31**

But are they *really* going  
to reorganize the W.O?

I shall do so.  
But that won't comfort  
Mr. Graham

**f31v**

Mail for India  
What shall I write?

Have you heard what Galton has done?

My dear send it rather  
too late for that

I have done no such thing  
I mean to say do you suppose  
Sir J. Lawrence & Trevelyan  
& Strachey & Ellis represent  
me as "perfectly independent?"

ff32-33v, November 18, 1864, H K Storcks, Goodbye. He's off to Malta. FN has already seen and approved the draft of his plans Sutherland concurs.

Typed copy of signed letter, f34

**f34** {archivist: original owned by Colonel Heathcote}

Copy  
27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
18/11/64

Dear Sir William Heathcote

I thank you for your note about the new Winchester Infirmary.

I am very glad to hear that your way is so far clear out of your difficulty

I wish an attempt could be made at once to raise the additional funds - Otherwise when the building is up, people may be less disposed to give. But I hope, from what you say, you have promises to a considerable amount.

I beg you to be so kind as to take charge of my (£100) contribution (which I enclose) now - not because I am afraid, if I live, of being unwilling to pay it - but because I am fidgetty, lest, if I die, there should be some stupidity, as I think generally happens in this kind of thing.

But more than all other feeling, I feel regret at your state of health, & can only hope in the winter abroad being a safe restorer.

Believe me to be dear Sir William Heathcote

Yours very cordially

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

ff35-36v, December 6th, 1864, John Ed: Morgan asking if she can recommend a lady superintendent for their new nurse training institution

ff37-41v, October 12, 1864, Caroline Fliedner, Kaiserswerth {in German}

ff42-44v, October 25, 1864, Caroline Fliedner letter {in German}

unsigned note, f45, pen [7:594]

**f45** {archivist: [ca. 12 Dec 1864]}

Florence Nightingale entreats the prayers of Christians (for Tuesday January 3) that it will please Almighty God to continue the Deaconesses' work at Kaiserswerth-on-the-Rhine, in the same spirit of poverty & of taking up the Cross, of purity and of a sound mind, that His servant Pastor Fliedner, did, whom He has lately taken to Himself, -and especially for his widow, Madame Fliedner, ~~who is~~ upon whom almost alone He has now laid it. [end 7:594]

ff46-47, December 13, {archivist: [1864]}, John Ed: Morgan, thanks for advice re lady supt & thinks paper on life in India will do much good. I feel very grateful to you for the kind and ready manner in which you have replied to my note. We will now exert ourselves to the best of our ability in selecting a suitable person as lady supt. I have perused with great interest the paper on Life in India and feel persuaded that it will be the means of doing very much good. Once more thanking you for the interest you have taken in our nurse tr inst and the

ff48-49, 37, Upper Brook Street W., December 14, 1864, G.R. Martin {archivist: Sir Ranald Martin}, comment on Dr. Leith's report {re health in foreign possessions?}

ff50-50v, 16 Queen Anne Street, W., December 15, 1864, Edward Smith, will FN accept presentation copy of his book? {re sanitary condition of poor?} Farr will send.

ff51-54v, St. Mark's Parsonage, Gloucester, December 17, {archivist: [64]} Charlotte Hutchinson, questions about admitting women to hospitals to be trained as nurses, enclosing draft of guarantee

ff55-58v, 4 Eyre Place, Edinburgh, December 24, Charlotte Balfour, nursing: seek FN's "all powerful help", refers to FN writing to Mrs Menzie 2 years ago regarding the formation of a "training school and home for nurses" in Edinburgh., emboldened to address FN once more. The work was commenced in the inf here January /65 and carried on but difficulties and discouragements. knowing as you do something of the defective of our chief hospitals. re a Mrs Taylor, our lady supt, she resigned and refusal of the surgeons to admit our women to the wards under their charge left us, at last, no resource but to withdraw our staff from that field. found another in Chalmer's Hosp; ref to Wardr and Merryweather to supply their great need, asks for her powerful help.

ff59-60, Bucks Infirmary, Aylesbury, December 28, 1864, Ellen Russell, nursing: use local women or direct from FN's institution? Thanks for books sent through Sir H Verney

ff61-65, 2 Cambridge Place, Clifton, Bristol, December 30, 1864, John Strachey, asks to see FN before returning to India - he's for publicizing reports about sanitary matters in India; also re barracks & hospital construction

draft, f66v, pencil {in JS rough hand}

**f66v**

I regret that your state of health is so precarious, because you will need all the strength you have to cope with R. Martin in India. If you will let me know when you are in town I will make an effort to see you, because more can be said than ~~could be~~ can written on such subjects. I feel anxious that if possible you should see more of the sanitary work in England before returning, because it would give a certain advantage over the obstructors who may not have seen it

ff67-70v, 17, Manchester Square. W., December 31, 1864, E.H. Sieveking, giving FN his views on how nursing, district, should be organized and urges FN to put them before people of influence; would be pleased to meet FN

draft, ff71-71v, pencil {in JS rough hand}

**f71** {archivist: [To Dr. A.H. Leith, ca Dec 1864] [see Dr Leith's letter 27 Sept or F N's draft to him]}

~~When I~~ Some time ago I received your letter written in consequence of my having requested a friend to introduce me to you. My object was to discuss with you the general principles of Sanitary improvement for the Bombay Stations & towns & to render any assistance I could in carrying out the work. Very shortly after receiving your ~~te~~ note I also received a copy of the ~~Bo~~ Times of India containing a report of yours in reply to the Report of the R.C. and I subsequently got a copy of the report itself from Sir R. Martin. I need ~~hard~~ scarcely say that all the friends of the cause who read the report did so with much regret, and Sir C. Wood sent a copy of it to the War office Commission for their remarks. They have drawn up a paper on the subject of which no doubt a copy will be sent to you. ~~Then~~ I am personally sorry that such a difference should have arisen especially as I feel certain that ~~if~~ it would not have arisen if you had had an opportunity of following similar controversies which have taken place in this country many years ago. However it is to be hoped that good will come of it and that the interests of the army & of the civil population will ~~benefit from by this~~ not in the end suffer. The next step to take is to get the surveys recommended by the Commission carried out at ~~a~~ two or three of the larger stations to begin with & then we here can help you in the practical work [T. over]

**f71v** I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st Nov last carrying ~~th~~ a request from the Gov. Gen in Council that I would give my advice & assistance the proposed organizing of a system of Female nursing in India; and to say ~~that I will~~ I shall be most happy to render any aid in my power & that I hope to ~~send you a reply~~ /write you ~~to~~ {illeg} on this subject in a short time

ff72-72v, no address, January 5, 1865, Pilkington Jackson, asking for FN's intercession with Lord de Grey to "recognize his services"

ff73-74, January 6, {archivist: [1865]}, Charlotte Balfour thanks for her letters "your favour has been of great service" from 4 Eyre Place, Edinb

ff75-77, St Mary's House, Gloucester {archivist: FN's notes on back dated January 23, 1865} S. Charlotte Hutchinson [?] superior, nurse training. On side Jan 8

initialed note, f77v, pen

**f77v**

{written diagonally on page}

Did you ever  
see the like of  
this? Here is this  
hopeless woman, actually  
telling us that she knew  
her Nurses learnt nothing -  
that she knew the "Nightingale Nurse"  
whom we did *not* recommend  
& who was only taken because the "old  
Hospital Nurses" were "so bad" that any  
thing was "better" taught nothing -  
& yet she told both you & me that  
her Bath system & rules "answered  
perfectly". What does she mean by  
answering perfectly - "learning  
nothing"? **[end]**

FN

Jan 23/65

f78, no address, January 13, 1865, William Clode, replying for Dr Farr re mistake in MS pointed out by FN

ff79-80v, 32 Paradise Street, Birmingham, January 23, 1865, Miss Cesborue, asking FN to help find places for nurses

ff81-82v January 24, {archivist: [65]} S. Charlotte Supt {archivist: [Miss Hutchinson]}, nursing: Bath Superintendent, hard to read letter

f83, Her Majesty's Printing Office, London, E.C., February 2, 1865, W Spottiswoode, FN will have her papers by 2:00 p.m. the next day

account, f83v, pen

**f83**

Plants	14.	9	
Music	2	6	
Mess.	12	511	
Pens &c	4	7	
	<hr/>		
	1	14	9
	4	15	10½
	<hr/>		
	3	1	1½
	3		
	16		
	1	11½	
	<hr/>		
	2	8	2½

ff84-85v, Trentham, Stoke on Trent, March 14, 1865, Edwd= Jas Edwards, sending "proof" pamphlet for her comments re parochial officials should be involved in selecting probationers

draft, ff86-86v, pencil {JS rough hand}

**f86**

{archivist: ca 12 Apr 1865} [13:63]

I have received your Bartholomew's Statistics for 1864 from Dr. Edwards & I cannot help writing to ~~tell you~~ say how much has been already gained by them. Only get this system fully established & continued & in a very short time you will be able to ~~giv~~ use Statistical data in discussing all hospital questions & treatment with confidence. We are all of opinion that apart from the Statistics, these tables form a most important medical & surgical contribution, ~~which~~ & convey to the eye as much information as many a laboured treatise. I have written to Dr. Edwards to suggest that in the second table from the beginning which gives the diseases springing up in hospital, it would be desirable to give three columns showing the "recoveries", "deaths" & "remaining" I would only take out the line of "totals" & place these instead. perfect model  
to the Prests. of the Royal College of Physicians & of Surgeons  
at Edinburgh

**f86v**

Your object in diocesan selection, training, & supplying nurses is an excellent one, but it would hardly be possible for me to add anything to the case as you have so well put it without far more local knowledge than I am possessed of. I could be of most use to you after you have obtained friends & are in a position to draw up a distinct plan of procedure.

I should be very glad to give you every assistance which my experience might enable me to afford with the details of such a scheme, & if it be possible to aid also in training at St Thomas & Kings College a few good nurses. But the last ~~offer~~ is a hope rather than promise for we are under engagements already ~~quite~~ quite beyond our power to fulfil for a considerable time

Dr. Arthur {upside down}

[end]

ff87-87v, 1 Harwood Place, Hanover Square, W., April 14, 1865, James Paget, I thank you very much for your letter and will take care that your suggestions shall be given to our registrars. It is very cheering to have your approval of St Bartholomew's and I must not let it be dangerous. There are still so many, though they may seem small, improvements of arrangements that I am afraid to look too much at what is good, but I should leave off trying to mend what is bad. So, though I heartily thank you for it, not even your praises shall make me content with either my hospital, or my share of the work in it. Always sincerely yours....

ff88-88v, Trentham, Stoke on Trent, April 15, 1865, Rev E.J. Edwards, thanks FN for comments on pamphlet re nursing in Lichfield Diocese and asks her if she will endorse it. I am willing to persuade myself that it must cheer you at times, during your protracted illness, to be thanked heartily by others as well as by myself, for letters so valuable and considerate as your acknowledgment of the "Nurse Association" pamphlet received this morning.

It is because your letter expresses so consistently your interest in my branch of this nurse subject that I send you the pamphlet as it is, I hope, about to appear (some unforeseen delay having occurred in completing it) and the postscript of page 51-58 [56?] will give me some insight into the probably development of the work for the association in this diocese.

Dr Arlidge, a physician in this neighbourhood has supplemented at my request the pamphlet with a sketch of our existing hospitals, dispensaries (p 59) to the end.

Knowing that your health is painfully indifferent, I cannot bring myself to ask anything that shd call for exertion of thought or other trouble, but, if you should feel disposed to add a line of endorsement or cautions in to this letter "to Lord Harrowby" as illegs permit me to quote your

letter recd this morning, certainly the value of these pages would be pretty extended, as a manual (so, at best I wished in some sort to make it) for reference in these parts where the subject of nursing has yet to be mastered.

I will only add that I fully appreciate the premises of help thro your own experience, by the cautions argued in yr letter.

ff89-89v, copy of printed statement of Nursing Association for the Diocese of Lichfield

ff90-91, 1 Finsbury Square, April 18, 1865, George Nelson Edwards, re statistical reports for St. Bartholomew's. At my request, the treasurer of the hospital has directed that six copies of the Statistical Report of St Bartholomew's for 164 shall be sent to you. As the tables are only printed for the hospital authorities, they cannot be procured elsewhere.

I am much obliged for te kind manner in which you speak of the work, as well as for your criticism in the justice of which I fully concur. The table, or rather note, relating to the medical illeg, was tury inserted last year for the first time, in consequence of several enquiries having been made to me as to the number of fatal cases among those patients, to have contracted disease within the hospital. I hope next year that we shall be able to adopt your suggestion for surgical as well as medical illeg.

Allow me to thank you for the book which accompanied your letter. ...  
George Nelson Edwards

ff92-93, Southfield, Frome, April 19, 1865, Frederic Rogers, New York Emigrants' Hosp.; Lunatic Asylums in the Colonies & Aboriginal disease. Very many thanks for the copy which you had sent me of the account of the laying of the first stone of the New York Emigrant Hosp and still more if I may so w/o disrespect to my New York friends for the kind note which accompanies it.

It is Pleasant to see so good a thing done in so good a spirit. I think that you are aware that in stirring the hospital question (esp with regard to lunatic asylums) throughout the colonies. illeg will come next and I hope it may do some good. the credit of the enquiry is dir Henry Taylor.

I wish we could illeg of men ... I fear your enquiries in aboriginal disease, that most melancholy of subjects. I wish I could ....  
Henry Taylor.

ff94-95, April 20, 1865, E.J. Edwards, Trentham, Stoke on Trent, returning. I am but too glad to enclose your own letter in the hope that you will allow the "Letter to Lord Harrowby" to profit by its contents.

The subject of the nursing association will be brought before a meeting at Stafford in a few days, and the pamphlet will, I hope, be useful in the way toward bringing the *medical and clerical* mind to cooperate in a way that may be beneficial to both as well as to the patient in this country.

I am--you will allow me to say--most grateful for the attention you give to my request, and beg to remain....

Meeting at Stafford in a few days and the pamphlet will I hope to useful in bringing the medical and clerical minds to cooperate in a way that may be beneficial to both as well as to the patients in this county. Most grateful

for the attn you give to my request

ff96-99v, 4 Curzon Street, W., April 27, 1865, R.S. Wright, I am greatly obliged to you for the account of the Ward's Island Hospital (missing) and much more for your offer of assistance. Your letter gives me hope that you will allow me to apply to you for advice or correction from time to time as occasion may arise. At present I have only one question to ask, viz., what authorities in books or in person you consider the most trustworthy on the subject of the construction and sanitary requisites of prisons. Judging Sir J Jebb from his views on prison admin I cannot think him a very trustworthy guide. Part of what I want to know now is whether you endorse his views as contained in the reports which you mention. At a later time I shall ask leave to submit to you for your criticism the conclusions at which I may arrive. Supposing them to be approved by you it will be a great advantage if I may state that you approve them. Wd it be in your power to procure me a copy of Mr Inglott's plans or his prison? One more petition, when you have finished your Indian inq, may I see your statement? The great difficulty which I have to contend against in sanitary matters is this: the colonial authorities (or some of them) are of opinion that prisons have no right to the best of air or other necessaries for health any more than to the best of food or clothing. This view is evidently wrong, since it is no part of a prisoner's sentence that he shd be black-holed or injured in health unnecessarily, but it has an appearance of common sense and it is particularly embarrassing as taking the matter out of the province of science and therefore of demonstration.

draft, f100, pencil {in JS rough hand}

**f100** {archivist: [end Apr. 1865]}

Sir Joshua Jebb's prison construction is quite separate from his prison system, & his prisons are the best in existence. You had better ~~vis~~ visit the more recent examples where you will find all that has been done up to the present time. Sir J. Jebbs reports are still the best authorities on prison construction in existence. I suppose you would have to apply his principles to warm climates. The Malta prison plans ~~we~~ are at Malta, but this sketch will give a general Idea of their form. Each cell has an open exercising court overlooked from the Quarters. I am afraid there will be no separate Indian prison enquiry. ~~At~~ What we shall try to do will be to fix ~~th~~ a proper superficial area for each prison

{fan-shaped diagram in left margin containing following words:}  
 cells cells  
 exercising grounds  
 Quarters for officers

{notes in left margin, partially cut off}  
 only way to carry  
 on improving  
 is to keep  
 only in view the true  
 {illeg} of safety, health  
 {illeg} supervision  
 {illeg} ignore all  
 {illeg} considerations  
 to whether  
 {illeg} had a  
 {illeg} health

draft, f101, pencil {JS rough hand}

**f101**

{archivist: Apr.-May 1865}

I am truly sorry that your visit to Europe has done so little in improving your health. It will not do for Sanitariums to die, especially in such places as Calcutta! & the very best thing you can do will be to go to Simla with the government & visit the plague & heat in the Delta as seldom as possible - Would not you find a tour of inspection of Military stations a healthy occupation - with regard to the nursing - I have sent out a ~~paper~~ printed paper which will perhaps enable you to draw up a scheme suitable for your circumstances & which I shall be very glad to go over if you will send it to me.

{light writing at bottom of page, upside down}  
whether the P.L. Board can find regulations as to cubic space & ventilation or shutting up unsuitable wards &c  
Annual Report to shew up the Guardians before Parlt.

ff102-04, Liverpool Workhouse, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool, May 5, 1865, George Carr, thanks FN for her interest in their project & says approves of Miss Jones. I have had the honor to receive your note on the improved system of nursing the sick about to be introduced into the hospital of this illeg.

Its perusal afforded me much gratification and you may be assured that the facts of your feeling so deep an interest in our success stimulates me to even greater efforts than ever to prevent the failure of the scheme.

I shall have much pleasure in noting down every illeg in working the details of the movement and from time to time sending them to you. For my own part I do not entertain any doubt of success. Nevertheless, difficulties will have to be overcome of no ordinary magnitude. The chief one will be to bring home to the illeg of the Board of Mgt that the new system justifies the additional expenditure from the poor rate which will be required to pay for the staff. We have three years to do this in and if it cannot be done say, before the expenditure of that time, my expectations are doomed to disappointment. ON thing is certain, that the board here is composed of as honest and highminded a set of men as I ever had to do public duty with, and I am sure they will be most willing to adopt the whole system if it be proved a success.

The arrangements suggested by me and adopted by them are such as at prevent the chance of failure from the jealousy of the new and old staff. the new nurses will live here all to themselves and will in the way be

brought into contact with the old staff in any matter of duty. This I think you will agree with me is very important as it removes the chances of discord illeg. and the arrangement tho highly satisfactory to me is the provision for sleeping for the nurses. With so many as 82 women, all to sleep in the male hospital, 53 of whom are *promoted paupers* (an element I don't like in the plan) I felt a grave responsibility rested upon myself to preserve the morality of the house and to prevent any injury to the scheme in consequence of any acts of impropriety which might occur. This has been completely overcome and I have now made the arrangement so complete as to cause me to feel perfectly at ease upon that point.

Permit me to add that Miss Jones, our lady supt, is in my judgment well qualified to successfully work out the scheme. she realizes the difficulty well and sees the difference between an ordinary hospital and a workhouse hospital. This hospital must be worked under Poor law rules and not as private hospitals are. illegs...she shall have my very best support. She wishes to succeed. So do I. We will attain that object by supporting each other. I will keep her clear of all matters calculated to run counter to Poor Law rules and by so doing prevent the chance of opposition from those who wold argue that thee scheme cannot work under the Poor law rules, *which is a delusion*. Apologizing for having so long left your letter unanswered....

PS On next Tuesday week the London nurses come here. We are daily engaging a staff of probationers and in response to our advantages are glad to find enquiries being made from very intelligent and eligible persons.

ff105-08v, Epworth, May 6, {archivist: [1865]}, E.S. Tabraham, women belong in medicine, midwifery, "I long to see this iron yoke broken off the neck of the modest & virtuous Englishwoman."

ff109-09v, 44 Leicester Square, W., May 7, 1865, Mr. Maymott presenting copy of paper on workhouses he read at church Congress for FN's perusal

draft, f110v, light pencil {written on back of letter to FN from Mr Maymott re workhouses and Church Congress at Bristol, 44 Leinster Square, W. 7 May 1865, JS draft

**f110**

Thank him for his book & tell him you are greatly interested in the subject & are lending what aid you can in improving workhouse nursing.

Will you be so good as give me your real professional opinion about Miss C's case & its probable course & termination?.

f111-12v, Liverpool College, May 13, 1865, T.S. Howson, requests copies of FN's letter about Kaiserswerth/Flidner so can increase fund; Appointment of Agnes Jones to Workhouse "another great step here in the progress of womanly ministrations"; writes her, refers to great reference to Pastor Flidner, has not referred to her printed letters as yet

typed copy of signed letter, f113

**f113**

May 26/65.  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Sir,

No doubt you have seen the accompanying little book, on "Help in Accidents", which has been sent to me.

Will you be so good as to tell me what you think of it - and whether it would be at all an useful Aide-Mémoire in your training of Orderlies for Field Service?

I congratulate you on your success in bringing about that object, which I really hope is now near its beginning.

Ever yours sincerely,  
F. Nightingale.

Please be so kind as (to) return me the little book on "First Help in Accidents".



draft, f118v, pencil {JS rough hand}

**f118v**

So manage your work as to have always a balance of your power unused. If you attempt too much you will wreck everything. the only way to succeed is to be act within your strength & so it will as far as it goes. This will be the best argument for getting better & more aid.

ff119-20v, June 15, 1865, A. Mills, Poor Law Continuance Bill, on embossed H of C, Sir H Verney will have told you how matters stood on Monday when bill came on at midnight, did say a few words, f120: My hope is that Mr Villiers will not attempt to press more this session than a simple continuance bill as the important suggestions of the Parlm committee will have a far better chance of being dealt with if there...

draft, f121, pencil {JS rough hand} [6:341]

**f121**

{archivist Aft. 3 July 1865}

That inasmuch as the question of the due care of the sick poor in the Metropolis is neither one of local rating nor of local management but of administration it is expedient {illeg} for the sake of economy {illeg} uniformity and efficiency that there should be one ~~cert~~ central & responsible ~~& management~~ administration to undertake the entire medical relief of the sick poor.

ff122-23, The Mount, Oswestry, Shropshire, July 5, {archivist: 1865}}, Mrs. Kenyon, asks FN for hints re managing small town nursing association & how best to train nurses

notes, ff123v-23, pencil

**f123v** {JS rough hand} reply to above [export]

~~You~~ The scheme for founding a nursing association for Oswestry &c appears to be scarcely in a state to afford help to it yet. After you have ascertained whether the scheme is likely to be supported you will have to make up your minds as to how you are to work it. You must either train your own nurses, in which case you must connect it with a Hospital, say at Shrewsbury, or you must depend on receiving trained nurses from other quarters which will be a very precarious source of supply. When you are further advanced & have made out your programme you could ascertain by applying

**f123**

to Mrs Wardroper at St. Thomas' hospital whether she could send you a matron or the terms on which they, the trustees would train a matron for you

ff124-25v, Royal Infirmary, Manchester, July 6, 1865, A. Henna, Sister Superintendent, trying to confirm antecedents of Sybil Coulthard, nurse

ff126-27v, Husson, Administration générale de l'Assistance publique à Paris, Cabinet du Directeur, Vendredi, 14 Juillet, visiting hospitals & workhouses (in French) Madame, Miss Jones whom he recd, with her letter from FN, coming to London with 2 or 3 other persons. I desire above all to visit the hosps of London, several wkhs, the most important, smallpox hosp,

ff128-30v, Marstrand (near Gothenburg, Sweden), July 28, 1865, Leyonhufund, of Swedish Association, adulatory letter re FN & women's freedom & a Swedish Probationer, long letter. Dr Edwin Lankester having sent the letter he recd from FN, in answer to inquiries made on post of Swedish Assoc for the tending of the wounded and sick, and begging her to address further communic direct to FN, happy to comply draft, f131, pen {JS rough hand}

**f131** {archivist: [ca end July 1865] [Draft of letter for FN, JS hand, to General Storks at Malta in reply to his of July 15 1865 to Dr Sutherland]}

Dr. S. has shewn me your private note to him, and we have all been considering how you could best be assisted in the matter of increased barrack accommodation This has been long discussed and it occupied a prominent part of the question regarding ~~the~~ matter which was referred to Capt. Galton & Dr. Sutherland.

Their report shows clearly that when Gt. Britain got possession of Malta the government proceeded to occupy it just as if the casemates were part of a street in London. They never thought for a moment, or rather they were incapable of entertaining so simple an idea as that arches intended by their great predecessors say as places of refuge, stores & manufactures were not suited for human dwellings, and hence the high mortality rate which from first to last has scourged the garrison. The best thing ever was done in the island was building the St. Georges Barracks. They are not all that could be desired, but two or three more such ~~as~~ might be thankfully received. I fear it is in vain to ask for this increase of new buildings, but we all think a step in the right direction might be taken if you were to urge on the W. O. the necessity of providing more & better accommodation for the troops, ~~or in the absence of~~ If new barracks cannot be provided at present at all events ~~the~~ tolerably good accommodation might be had by building a new hospital for Valetta & converting the present hospital into a barrack. A similar course is I believe about to be taken with the Catharena hospital. If both hospitals were dealt with in this way, good barrack accommodations, at least much better accommodations than exists any where except at St. Georges could be had for 1000 men at the cost of two hospitals both of which moreover are required. If you pressed these views something might be done, but I am afraid not otherwise.

As regards the treelessness of Malta & its effects on the climate, could you not plant all the ridges & high ground as has been done at Ascention the result has been more rain and great improvement, at least I have heard so.

The Cholera is a terrible infliction, but will do good if it urges all the people to cleanliness & the cultivation of better personal habits. Treatment of premonitory symptoms at once & on the spot, with lime washing of houses & getting the people out of them till they are lime washed, are the best steps to take.

ff132-33, no address, August 15 1865, Frederic Rogers, thanks for your note (missing) and for Miss Rye's curious and interesting letter, just leaving for the continent, sending FN's letter & Miss Rye's to Henry Taylor; re Sydney lunatic hospital

ff134-35v, Liverpool Workhouse, Brownlow Hill, August 18, 1865, George Carr, angry re letter from Rathbone; governor of workhouse must have authority over lady superintendent: "Miss Jones has ample power & my best support". I was much surprised when I recd through you Mr Rathbone's letter. I do not disguise my annoyance that Mr R shd have placed my name before you in terms not calculated to raise me in your estimation or opinion. If he had correctly known my views as the standard of merit and intelligence I shd like to see every nurse possess, he wd not have written as he did, for he wd then understand that my views do not fall short of his own. I have requested Mr R to forward to you my reply. I flatter myself that I do not advance one word that will not meet your approval. You will understand that no comparison can be made between a wkh hosp and an ordinary hosp. The latter is entirely devoted to sick, the lady supt can there be head and properly so, may be said to govern. There is in fact no one else to do so as there is no governor. The same can be said of mil hosps, but in wkhses there can be no authority superior to the governor's. This I know to be your own written opinion for you wrote it to myself and long before you did me the honor to address a letter to me I saw it in one of your letters to Mr Rathbone.

Now in reality nothing has occurred here to cause the best friends of hosp nursing any uneasiness. Miss Jones has ample power and my very best support but she occasionally appears to me to writhe and feel annoyed when she cannot, acc to her own will and desire, dismiss a nurse. Now I believe that if this power were conferred upon her, it wd tend to be upsetting of the whole system or scheme. I take all the pains I can to explain to her the difference between an est supported by vol subs where she was permitted to rule supreme and a hosp supported by a compulsory tax, where, in fact, every pauper and officer has a legal right to be tried and found guilty and to appear before the Guardians to urge their complaints against the gov or any other officer. If she had the power to dismiss she as had also be prepared to appear before the bd to justify her acts. This she wd soon find a very teasing duty. Now I do it. She wd also have to report direct to the bd, now I do it. But I need not farther enlarge. Let me assure you that Mss Jones is now *and has been for some time* persuaded that it is better, far better, that the power of dismissal shd not be in her hands.

As regards the general qu, I know that Miss Jones makes you informed of our progress. Everything has worked as smoothly and as satisfactorily up to this time that I really have no more to say regarding it than can be summed up in the words "completely successful so far."

draft, ff136-39v, pen {JS rough hand} [6:251-53]

**f136** {archivist: After 18 Aug 1865}

[1]

Although in considerable suffering, I cannot help replying to your letter of the 18th inst. Mr. Rathbone has also sent me your reply to him. I certainly should never have forwarded Mr.

Rathbone's letter to you had I thought it would have given you pain for one moment. I of all those who have had to encounter the same difficulties which you have now to face am almost the last person who would have dreamt of such a thing. But we are all of us in a state of anxiety for the success of your great experiment, for upon its success or failure depend greater results than upon any other social reform at present on trial.

At first sight your letters made me regret having forwarded Mr. Rathbone's letter to you, but on consideration it was perhaps better that all who are interested in your work should have heard your own view stated fully & openly, as you have stated it. Will you kindly bear with me while I allude to a few points which have suggested themselves in your letters ~~to me~~, more especially as you {~~illeg~~} mention our experience in civil & military hospitals.

You have so to speak three separate works going on at once.  
1st Nursing under a superintendent  
by trained nurses.

**f136v**

2?. The training of probationer nurses under a superintendent.

3. Training of paupers to act as nurses, under a superintendent.

It is necessary to keep these various objects distinctly in view in dealing with the question.

Now it is quite certain that as all of these works are being carried out within the walls of ~~your~~/the vast establishment, over which you are placed as head & for which you are responsible, the ~~ultimate~~ governing authority

~~and I am not~~ must rest with you. This I have always said, and nothing has occurred to alter that opinion & indeed your authority has not been called in question. The only difficulty is one which has constantly occurred elsewhere , & that is in what manner to allow the superintendent to ~~h~~ exercise the power of superintendence inferred in her name & office, without infringing the Governors authority.

This question in as far as regards

**f137**

your workhouse experiment in Liverpool,  
is really not the least of those important  
questions which you have to solve.

It is a question which will raise  
itself in every workhouse before long  
and which must be faced, if good  
is to be lasting & it can only be solved by experience.  
Before going further allow me ~~freely~~  
to state that in the few months  
you have been engaged in laying  
the foundations of your work, it has  
been a success so far. It is developing  
itself. You are working a quiet  
but effectual change in ward nursing  
under your superintendent & nurses.

The least satisfactory ~~part~~/ result hitherto  
has apparently been that obtained  
from ~~pr~~ training probationers and  
especially paupers as ward nurses.

We have great difficulties in obtaining  
sufficiently good material out of which  
to form nurses, and paupers would  
scarcely answer our purpose at all.  
Your problem is hence greater than

**f137v**

ours and your difficulties are greater.

~~{In Military hospitals}~~

Perhaps the best way of showing you what we have done, or rather aim at doing will be to send you as I now do a copy of a private document drawn up by me at the request of the Government of India in order to show them what steps should be taken in providing nurses over that vast empire. You will see that difficulties similar to yours require to be met in India. After you have had time to consider the subject please ~~send~~/return me the paper as it is private & not official. In the appendix you will find the regulations under which nursing is introduced into the Army. You will see how we have endeavoured to ~~solve~~ solve the difficulty of leaving the superintendent sufficient power over her nurses without interfering with the Governor. Her power

**f138**

-2-

you will see is not absolute, neither is the power of the Governor absolute. In either case there is an appeal against dismissal to the Superintendent General of Nurses. There could be no such officer in Workhouses, and the real point at issue is how to find a similar check in Workhouses so that the service may be rendered systematic and efficient & yet that no injustice should be done to the nurse.

~~This as I {illeg} have already said~~ either by the Superintendent or by the Governor.

This as I have already said is a problem which you will have to solve, and I have every confidence that your great practical experience & your ardent desire to succeed will enable you to solve the difficulty for us. {circled} soft sawder

As regards the selection & discipline of probationers, you will see how we manage this from the paper I send you.

**f138v**

We have found it to answer in our training institutions in London. It may not do with you, but I have no doubt you will be able to arrive at the same result by some ~~more~~/equally appropriate method.

With regard to the training of pauper nurses;- this is the point of greatest difficulty & yet it must be met & solved if we are to succeed.

The poor law authorities with whom I have communicated appear to consider that the most hopeful material for training is to be found among the elder girls in workhouse schools. It has been suggested that they might be taken on trial & apprenticed if found suitable. It is certain that if such a scheme could be successfully carried out, a large number of women would ~~to be~~ be trained in a profession by which

**f139**

the{y} could live honourably.  
As regards ~~nurses~~ training of  
pauper women, there will of  
course be greater difficulty, The  
chief will be in the low moral  
qualifications they usually present.

I feel you will agree with me that  
women of known bad, dirty, drunken,  
dishonest & general immoral habits  
should not be selected for training.

Indeed even if such women could  
be trained they could never be  
recommended for any employment  
as we could never be sure of them.  
Hence the importance of knowing the character & antecedents of such women  
before training them.

Old women, or women in the  
decline of life are also unfit  
subjects for training. You will  
see the ages to which we have  
confined ourselves in the paper  
I have sent you.

I should feel greatly obliged if you  
would kindly consider the whole

**f139v**

subject now that it has been raised and communicate with  
me about it. I am anxious to  
help in every way I can, but  
I in no sense desire to interfere  
with your authority. our objects  
are the same, namely to provide  
safe & suitable attendance for the  
sick poor whether in hospital in the  
workhouse or at home, and I have  
no fears but that, with singleness of  
aim, we shall {illeg} succeed in  
our work.

ff140-40v, Marstrand, August 30, 1865, Sophie Leyonhufund, (usual address:  
Stockholm Drottninggatan 10), they will take FN's advice and send their  
probationer in 1866, thanks for her letter of 8th inst (Royal Library)

ff141-42v, The Priory, Ln. S.E. Kent, September 8, 1865, Flora MacKirton,  
or MacKickan, enclosing a letter from Pesth re need of a sick institution  
there, taxation, coercion, 1848

ff143-45v, 21. Drei Kronen Gasse, Pesth, Hungary, August 18 1865, Mary Jane Koenig, need for Christian hospital for Protestants in Pesth; they want to endow an English bed and hope FN will help

draft, f146, pencil {JS rough hand} have recd Mrs Koenig's letter with great interest, many similar, imposs to help in any other cause than already engaged in

**f146** {arch: to Flora MacKirton, [Goldie MacKickan?] [After 8 Sept 1865]}

I have read thro' Koenigs letter with great interest  
It is one of many similar letters which reach me. My ~~he~~ state of health is such that it is now impossible for me to help in any other cause than in those I am already engaged which indeed occupy the ~~whole of~~ whole of the little strength I have  
It has occurred to me that as this proposed hospital is a very important part of the Infirmary work that possibly the Society which has sent Mrs. Koenig out would aid in the undertaking

ff147-48v, Oriel College, Oxford, new address: 2 Cloisters, Temple, London, October 3, 1865, R.S. Wright, thanks for plans; report on Colonial prisons not yet begun; maybe done 6/66

ff149-50v, Brochet Hall, Tuesday, {archivist: [October 24 1865], Georgina Cowper, black-edged **[5:515]**

Brocket  
Tuesday [24 October 1865]

My dear Miss Nightingale

Some words of yours about our loved and honour'd Chief, quoted to us by Sir Harry Verney, have so much touched us all that, at Lord Shaftesbury's suggestion, I venture to write to tell you so that in the midst of our own grief we can sorrow that you who must need support so much in your great unflgagging work should have lost another friend, ready always we know to back you up and aid you. God can and will raise up others we know. But they are not the same, so perhaps, would He teach us to lean only on Himself.

Darling Lady Palmerston looks looks quite crushed, but she is most dear and lovely in her grief, quite childlike in her gentleness and submission and thankful for the mercy of his painless and peaceful departure.

Of course, dear Miss Nightingale, I expect and desire no acknowledgement of my note.

I would not give you illeg or minutes fatigue that I could spare you, & I shall hope without word of yours that this expression of our family sympathy may be accepted by you, with most respectful illeg

yours very truly  
Georgina Cowper

signed draft letter, ff151-55v, pen

**[5:515]**

**f151** {archivist: [ca 27 October 1865]}

34 South Street,  
{printed address}

Park Lane,

London. W.

Dear Mrs. Cowper

I cannot tell you how  
much I felt your writing  
to me & remembering my  
grief in the midst of your  
own.

I should have asked  
you to ~~give a letter~~ say from  
me to Lady Palmerston  
~~telling her~~ how my heart  
is full of her grief/sorrow. But  
I fear to be importunate  
She has the sympathy/fellow feeling of  
Europe. Big as is her  
grief, the admiration  
& sympathy of Europe  
are bigger.

**f151v**

It is a grand thing to  
go on to the very last  
doing one's country good.  
And a statesman, ~~at~~  
~~least~~ such as he was  
is the highest minister  
of God.

It is a grand thing for a human being to  
have an influence all  
over Europe - all over the  
world - so like God's -  
And no one in Europe -  
in the world - will be so  
missed. Perhaps we can  
hardly tell yet how much  
he will be missed.

**f152**

It may be, as history has  
sometimes shewn us before,  
& as the universal voice  
of Europe seems now to  
say, that the end of  
such a man's career may  
be the signal of catastrophes.

Surely a more disinterested  
servant in doing the  
work of God's world has  
~~never~~ scarcely been known  
in history. And to do the  
work to the end to fight the fight to the last is a  
sublime ~~thing & heroic.~~  
& the attribute of heroes.  
Cavour

In 1861, Sidney Herbert sent  
~~in sending~~ me the  
telegram of Cavour's death,  
~~wrote upon it~~ with these words: This is

**f152v**

the life I should like to  
have lived, this is the  
death I should like to die.  
Seven weeks afterwards,  
he had his wish.

Cavour's last conscious  
words, were: that he  
would not have a state  
of siege in Naples.

I am sure it is in the  
great heart of Europe,  
in thinking of Lord  
Palmerston's life & death,  
that such a life &  
death, tho' granted to few,  
perhaps only to one, is  
the noblest that can be  
lived & died.

**f153**

-2-

What our loss in England  
 is, I believe we do not  
 yet know - Few know  
 (What is no secret to you)  
 how often he dragged a  
 too liberal measure thro'  
 the Cabinet by the mere  
 force of his influence  
~~which~~/such as no Premier has  
 lately been able or perhaps  
 ever will be able again,  
 so far as we see the men to use

This very next Session  
 was to have seen a Bill  
 about London poor rates & London Workhouses  
~~& the whole of London~~  
~~poor rates~~, upon which  
 I had set my heart  
 & which they think will

**f153v**

not now get thro' the Cabinet  
 without Lord Palmerston.~~s~~

You will not mention this  
 which is not for me  
 to tell.

I would he had lived  
 another Parliament-  
 The wit, the wise jesting  
 lent another grace & ease  
 to the way in which  
 he handled the stupendous  
 interests of his life.

What he was in his own  
 home you alone can tell.

In the last over-loaded  
 three weeks of the Session of  
 1861, he found time to  
 write every day pleasant

**f154**

letters of political news  
 to Sidney Herbert, who was  
 then dying, & who, two  
 days before his death,  
 spoke of Lord Palmerston's  
 kindness & especially of  
*this*, with the tears in his  
 eyes. He said, I wish Lord  
 Palmerston to know how  
~~much I felt~~/grateful I was for his kindness.  
 But it was ~~so~~/the same in everything.  
 In Sanitary things which  
~~one may say from~~/after all are the  
 real principle of a  
 people's social life, &  
 without which nothing  
~~you~~/that can be done for them in  
 education is of any avail  
~~profit~~, I need not

**f154v**

tell you how open &  
 accessible he always  
 was - much more so  
 than *much* younger  
 statesmen which is  
 the more extraordinary- part  
 There is no Cabinet  
 Minister to take his  
 place in this - But  
 indeed in what is there  
 any Minister to take  
 his place? We have  
 lost one whose loss can  
 never be replaced in  
 this world.  
 He was the one to whom  
 were entrusted the ten {printed address, upside down:}  
 34, South Street, talents; and he  
 Park Lane, made them an  
 London. W. hundred.

**f155**

There are no tears which  
Europe can shed equal  
to his worth.

We can only say, as I  
have had cause to say  
once before: Perhaps God  
has taken him to be  
the statesman over one  
of His worlds larger  
than this earth.

It is the only comfort,  
for I am sure this  
earth will miss him  
every year more & more.  
Time will only make us  
feel the more what we  
have lost.

I have ~~taken up too much~~/wearied you too long  
~~of your time~~ already, even

**f155v**

if you read so far. I would  
we could hope that Lady  
Palmerston finds some  
support in the burst  
of European feeling for  
him & for her.

I think Lord Palmerston's  
life was the noblest  
exercise of religion that  
ever was - And I always  
remember his letter to  
Edinburgh (about the  
Cholera) as the most  
religious of human words.

Pray believe me  
dear Mrs. Cowper  
yours overflowingly  
Florence Nightingale

ff156-57, 2 Cloisters, Temple E. C., October 23, 1865, R.S. Wright,  
colonial prisons. Madam, If the statistics which you have been so good as  
to send had had their accuracy vouched for by you, they would have been  
sufficient to convince even colonial authorities.

If you should receive any corroboration of them will you communicate it  
to me? In the meantime I send you a specimen of the materials sent home by  
colonial prison authorities, with the endorsement of a colonial governor,  
to be the foundation of a report on prisons.

*Question* (one of a series sent from the C.O. to be answered by managers  
of colonial prison) - what is the mode of treating lunatics or maniacal

prisoners? *Answer* (of colonial authority). Maniacles is not nor ever has been in use in this prison.

ff158-59, Basset Wood, Southampton, October 29, 1865, Joseph Bullar, management of nurse training institute

unsigned note, f159v, pencil [perhaps reply to above?]

**f159v**

Your committee should  
confine itself solely to  
finance & general  
supervision

After obtaining a  
suitable superintendent you  
must trust her with  
everything connected  
with training & discipline  
with which no committee  
should interfere at all

ff160-61, Brocket, {archivist: [October 30, 1865]}, Georgina Cowper, Lord  
Palmerston's death, reply to FN's letter black-edged

Brocket  
Monday

My dear Miss Nightingale

Thanks, many thanks from us all. Dear Miss Nightingale. We have read and  
read again your words. Nothing has been written, nothing I think could be  
written, that so perfectly expresses what we feel, about him and his loss  
and the great gulph it has made in which our poor little lives seem  
swallowed up.

How grateful we are for your recognition of the *service* of his life and  
the *true* Religion of trust in illeg. his daughter in law and I fully share  
your hope & it seems the only explanation is illeg of that "the good  
servant" having been faithful illeges to higher work to the Ruler over the  
ten cities.

Dearest Lady Palmerston continues very calm and is lovely and unselfish  
in grief as in happiness.

Lord Shaftesbury has left us today. He means to ride to you himself and  
will express better than I can the sympathy of his strong fervent heart.

William unites with me in warm thanks & kindest affection.

ever, dear Miss Nightingale,

gratefully yours

G. Cowper

incomplete letter, ff162-62v, pencil

**f162** {archivist: Lord Palmerston October 1865}

*His*

*last conscious words*

were: (on Tuesday Eveng):

"that Belgium treaty it  
must be signed - yes -  
read me again the Sixth  
Clause."

**f162v** not FN hand

[illeg]

Poor Lady {illeg}

from his dying bed by her  
children. They feared a hard  
Death: Struggle. wh. did not come  
as he sank away as peacefully  
as a child & so she lost  
                                  {illeg} -poor

draft, f163, light pencil {in JS rough hand} [currey]. Your letter states several of the points in which you can help, e.g., construction arrangements. Mr Curry is preparing a plan for me to see containing the following points:

1. A separate house for 40 probs on the site, set apart in the plans for the northern block of officers quarters
  2. The matron's house will form part of this
  3. Each prob to have a separate room and half a window to the outer air. Area of floor 120 sq ft.
  4. Home to have a distinct exterior
  5. 3 floors of dormitories
  6. Sisters' rooms and room for convalescent nurses
  7. Nurses day and dining room, kitchen and all conveniences.
- The linen store and matron's office to be on the ground floor of the 1st pavilion to the north of the chapel

**f163** {archivist: [To Mr. Hicks, Treasurer of St. Thomas. End Oct.-beg. Nov 1865]}, pencil, JS hand

Your letter states several of the points in which you can help e.g.

From *experience*, the absolute necessity of any Constructive arrangements providing for the supervision of the Probationers by the Matron, the necessity of bringing all the {~~illeg~~} administrative arrangements within as *narrow* a compass as possible.

Mr. Curry is preparing a plan for me to see containing the following points

1. a separate house for 40 probationers on the site set apart in the plans for the *Northern* block of office quarters
2. The Matron's house will form part of this
3. Each probationer to have a separate room & half a window to the outer air, of floor 120 square feet
4. Home to have a distinct entrance.
5. 3 floors of dormitories
6. Sisters rooms & room for convalescent house
7. Nurses day & dining room, kitchen & all conveniences

{written in left margin}

The linen store & Matron's office to be on the ground floor of the first pavilion to the north of the Chapel.

draft, ff164-65, light pencil JS hand

**f164** {archivist: [To Mr. Currey, architect of the new St Thomas, End Oct.-beg. Nov. 1865]}

I have gone over your proposals very carefully and as I learn from Mr. Hicks that you think you might be able to find room for 40 nurses, perhaps the way to arrive soonest at an agreement would be to ask you whether you can arrange the plan as follows:-

1. A general kitchen &c in basement
2. Dining & day room are sufficient, but the windows should not open into any corridor or passage of communication.
3. Half a window will be sufficient lighting
4. ~~No windows~~ for each small nurses room.
4. No nurses room window to open into any corridor or passage of communication all to open to the outer air
5. Sisters day & bed room to have windows to the outer air
6. Dormitories can be arranged either round a central hall open from top to bottom of the building with balustraded terrace round for getting at the doors.  
(windows all to open however to the outer air)

**f164v**

or the dormitories may be arranged on opposite sides of a Central passage with a door at one end & window to the outer air at the other. In this case also all the dormitories to have their windows to the outer air.

7. If the plan you left with me were adopted it could be necessary to close up the windows of the sisters sitting room & also the windows of room 6,7,8,9,&10 opening into the corridor

8/area of Dormitories to be 120 square feet.

I send your plans with the windows closed & rough sketches to show the kind of arrangement with a central passage in the same scale & with a hall from top to bottom & a skylight over

9. Baths, W.Cs Stairs &c

If you can do without extending your buildings so as to interfere with the outer ventilation it would be most admirable

**f165**

I am afraid you must try to find the accommodation without extending your building so as to curtail the already small distance between the existing buildings in the plan. Every foot is of importance & we may be injuring the accommodation for the Probationers in the very point where it should be kept free in external ventilation

Please send the plans back to me with your reply as I must reply to Mr. Hicks by Monday morning and tell him when the committee are prepared to go on

ff166-67, 1 St. Peter's Square, Manchester, November 11, John Ed Morgan, Honorary Secretary of Nursing Institution, enclosing a letter & *Notes on Nursing* in Swedish which have already had effect there

ff168-69v, Liseling nr. Gothenburg, May 2, 1865, Emily Nonnen, enclosing her Swedish translation of *Notes on Nursing* & asks for hints on setting up nurse training school. Having heard from my nephew Dr Morgan of Manchester, that he has had some communic with you on the subject of an inst for forming nurses that he is establishing, it occurred to me that I mt take the liberty of sending you, through him, a copy of the trans of your valuable "*Notes on Nursing*" which I made some time ago into the Swedish lang. I have since recd the thanks of several eminent medical physicians for having made their country men acquainted with these admirable hints, of which every one who has taken any part in nursing the sick will understand the importance, I have illeg truly happy thus to be able to add my small mite to that great and noble work with Florence Nightingale has set agoing, and which will make her name beloved and honoured when that of many a conquering hero has gone to oblivion. In Gothenburg which is a very progressing place, owing principally to many enterprising English people settled here, the idea of establishing an inst for forming sick nurses is being generally entertained. Any hints on the subject w be recd with deep gratitude though I dare scarcely hope that with such numerous important calls on your time you cd poss find leisure to assist us in this respect, tho any word from you on te matter wd be most precious as there is no person in the world who has had so much experience in this important subject or who has made such excellent use of that exp have heard with deep regret that your health .Hoping that you will excuse the great liberty that I take in thus addressing you and sending you the acc little book.

ff170-71v, The Deanery, York, November 24, 1865, Angus Duncan Sr, Dean of York, asking advice about better nursing in County Hospital, to secure a few superior trained nurses to be attached to our county hosp; hosp consists of 80 patients is mgd by a house com a matron, house surgeon (resident) sec (not res) with women servants, and a few paid nurses who imperfectly know their duties. The q I wish to ask, what is your opinion of the best and most effective combined with modest expense of engrafting on our inst a ltd number of *trained nurses* who shall learn their duties in the hospital and subsequently be qualified to go amongst the poor and into private families? Next whether they shd be under the matron who at present has no knowledge of nursing or be entirely independent and if so, what in your opinion is the best kind of supervision?

ff172-74v, 336 Stretford Road, Manchester, November 27, 1865, George Greaves, with note in JS rough hand.

Accept my warmest thanks for your very kind and encouraging letter (missing). I hope the word "Private" in the corner does not imply that I am not to have the pleasure of reading it to the Guardians. Although, as their medical officer, I may claim some little shame of the credit of inspiring them with the liberal and enlightened spirit which actuates their skill it is they who do the work and, in doing it, they encounter a good deal of opposition from ignorant or interested persons, they therefore deserve and require all possible support and encouragement, and such support and encouragement your approval is highly calculated to give them. With respect to my visit to London, its object was as you have been informed to try to find a supt nurse qualified to take charge of our new hosp when completed, and in the meantime to manage for us one of our present detached hospitals, which, owing to the prevalence of fever in the union, we have been compelled to appropriate entirely to the treatment of that disease, and the supt of which (our best nurse is laid aside by illness. My immediate object was therefore to find someone qualified to take her place. After a series of almost disheartening failures, I met with and engaged a person most highly recommended by Miss Jones of St John's House and by the superior of All Saints Home, Margaret St. Miss Brownlow Byron. She has disappointed us and we shd have been in great perplexity but for the most kind proposal of Miss Byron to send down to us two of the sisters to remain with us until permanent arrs can be made. These ladies will arrive in a day or two, and thus our immediate necessities will be supplied, but our future at present is dark, whether the coming of the sisters will end in a permanent connection between our hospital and All Saints Home I do not know. Shd such a scheme be proposed by the lady superior I think we ought to accept it. The chief objection will be their connection with a part in the church of rather extreme views and practices. There is at present in Manchester a very strong feeling of illeg by some are styled popish tendencies. But the majority of our Guardians are liberal minded men and for the sake of the actual good done will be willing to overlook what in some respects they may not fully sympathize with. For myself I shall feel no such hesitation. I think you will congratulate us on the successful result of our efforts to obtain help in our present difficulties. Again thanking you for your kind letter.

JS notes, f174v, pencil

**[13:273]****f174v**

If ~~thin~~ you  
 think it would  
 in any way encourage  
 the Guardians in the great  
 & good work they have  
 entered upon to show  
 them my note individually  
 I can have no objection  
 I am glad you have  
 succeeded in making  
 temporary premises &  
 hope that when  
 your new hosptl  
 is completed  
 you must have  
 {from f172}  
 a training School  
 attached.

[export]

ff175-75v, December 3, 1865, George Greaves, Thanks for saying can read letter but, sorry, someone leaked it to papers. Knowng the interest you feel in the mode of origin and comun of febrile contagious diseases, I venture to enclose a copy of a report I made to the Guardians at the end of oct. You will be shocked by the picture it gives of the san cond of this neighbourhood. in Manchester. Received your kind note on Friday, re the sisters here

FN letter read at Manchester before Dec 3 1865 on hospitals, nursing

ff176-77v, Chenering Seven Oaks, Kent {archivist: [ca. beg. Dec 65]}, Catherine M. Webber, enclosing letter from Miss Rye, reports & Sydney Herald

ff178-82v, [c/o] Alexander Gordon Esq., Sydney, September 21, 1865, letter of Maria S. Rye, deplorable state of lunatic asylums in New South Wales, (FN should send answer to Bishop Perry, Melbourne). Note in red pencil: Please return to F.N.

draft, f183, light pencil [in JS rough hand] **[5:530]**

**f183** {archivist:[to Lord Shaftesbury] [beg. Dec. 1865]}

If you Have time to look over this letter of Miss Rye and the newspaper report about this Lunatic Asylum, I think you will agree with me that anything more awful can hardly be conceived. Are we to go on in this way allowing the world to become a charnel house, or is there no means of laying the strong hand of power on such men & things as are here described I have all the New South Wales Parliamentary papers which I can [~~illeg~~] send you. But before doing so I have thought it better to give you a sample of the disclosures [~~illeg~~] which they contain.

Mr Rendle

I need hardly say how much I am interested in all matters connected with the health of the Metropolis & that I wish well to every attempt to improve it. I cannot however see my way to any more definite expression of my feeling in the way of joining your proposed association. I have found it necessary to limit my public work as much as possible, ~~and~~ because ~~I should be~~ if I joined with ~~an~~ one association such as yours I should be ~~far~~ called to justify myself ~~in every~~ for ~~{illeg}~~ declining to to join theirs. **[end 5:530]**

ff184-85v, St. Giles's House, Cranbourne, Salisbury, December 7, 1865, Lord Shaftesbury, re the Sydney asylum & Jamaica asylum

ff186-87, Southampton, December 7, 1865, Joseph Bullar, thanks for advice re nursing systems. He has inclosed the Bath rules with Liverpool and Bristol as well and hoped FN will suggest improvements

draft, ff188-89v, pencil JS hand

**f188** {archivist: [After 7 December 1865]}

to Bullar

where you take proper care in previous selection of probationers no caution more is required. If you don't take care no caution wrong will be of any benefit.

Your Nurses house must be quite different from your training home. The Nurse under training must be in the hospital precincts.

**f189v JS hand**

1. This letter shows the present Art of Workhouse Nursing in Lrpool.
2. It shows more strongly the possible moral results of the present Workhouse system
3. Could not something be done to remedy this.

ff190-90v, Office of Commissioners in Lunacy, 19, Whitehall Place, S. W., December 9 1865, Thos. Martin for the Secretary, they will turn their attention to the Sydney affair; does FN have an authentic copy of the report referred to in the newspaper (by Brereton & Cox)

notes, f191v, pencil

**f191v**

Miss Rye in her letter shows that the report of Drs Cox & Brereton was only just sent in to the government when it was printed in the Sidney Herald

There is therefore no official copy properly so called.

I send all the other papers which please return to me when you have done with them

draft, f192, pencil JS hand

**f192** {archivist: [to Lord Shaftesbury] [ca. 10 Dec 1865]}

I am glad you have taken an interest in the horrible Sidney Lunatic asylum. Perhaps the best way now would be for me to send you the official documents on your return to town & you would then see whether you could find sufficient official grounds for a motion in the H of L

ff193-93v, Carlton Chambers, 4 Regent Street, December 12, 1865, Alex. Graham, estimate of cost for hospital.

Dear Madam

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this morning (JS draft avail). I consider £30,000 a very safe (rough) estimate for a hospital of 200 beds (at the rate of £150 per bed) on the Plan of the new "Swansea Inf".

f194, December 12, 1865, Thos Martin, Chief Clerk, acknowledges receipt of Parliamentary Paper re Sydney lunatic asylum

**f195** typed copy of signed letter, f195 {archivist: original owned by Miss Baggallay}

Copy

Dec. 16/65  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Sir

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind note of yesterday.

I am very ill, almost too much so to undertake any thing but my regular work - But I take so deep an interest in the future of your noble Hospital, and in the arrangements for our Probationers that I am anxious that you, of all men, who have done so much for great St. Thomas', should be satisfied that I have asked nothing but what is essential for our Nurses' accommodation.

I am afraid I could hardly see you before the last of the days you have kindly named, Friday next. Would 3 p.m. suit you?

Pray believe me dear Sir

ever your faithful servt.

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f196, December 21 1865, Charles Walmer Phillips, Secretary, Commissioners in Lunacy, subject of Sydney asylums referred to consideration of Colonial Office

ff197-200, Daylesford, Victoria, December 22 1865, Maria P. Rye, re new appointments to medical board; enclosing newspaper cuttings re these, f199 & new legislation re asylums in NSW, f200; news of other hospitals there

ff201-02v, December 23 1865, Catherine M. Webber, asking for letters of introduction for Miss Rye in Adelaide & Perth

ff203-06v, South Yarra, Melbourne, October 25 1865, Miss Rye, update on latest developments in Sydney asylum case

f207, December 28, 1865, Charles Walmer Phillips, responding to her letter forwarding Miss Rye's material

f208-09, Nurses Training School, Dover Street, Liverpool, January 1, 1866, Miss Merryweather, enclosing a photograph of nurses, with names, and expressing good wishes to their benefactor, FN

f210, 39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C., January 2, 1866, Longmans Green, re Angus Smith's pamphlet on Impurities of Water. Application has been made to us by HMSO for 600 copies of Dr Angus Smith's pamphlet on Impurities of water. Messrs Eyre and Spottiswoode inform us that they are printing it for you, but they do not know what number to print, nor whether it is your intention that we shd publish it for you on commission. We shall be much obliged if you will inform us on these points

ff211-13, {no address} {archivist: [January 4 1866]}, initials: J. {F.?N.?}, notes about arrangements for hospital?

ff214-16v, {no address}, January 5, 1866, W. Bowman, arrangements for new St. Thomas's. Pardon pencilled note as on way from Warwickshire.

I was by no means satisfied with the acc proposed to be given to the probs by the authorities who have framed the plans for the new St Thomas' Hosp. At our meeting it did not clearly appear on any reliable testimony what illeg was the plan decided on, if any, but supposing ..It remains highly important that the quarters of the probs shd be concentrated and close to those of the matron. Also that both shd be as central as possible. Is the present proposal satisfactory in these respects? But the *well levels* dormitories seem highly objectionable. The well will be most prob dreadfully cold in winter, if air is admitted at the skylight and if not admitted it will be badly ventilated and foul in the upper tiers. Now the dormitories have no fireplaces--only door and window. If the partitions reach to the ceiling each will be unwholesomely close. If they do not they will ..no thorough ventilation and the privacy will be lessened. In particular if those on night duty have to sleep here in the day time they will be very apt to be disturbed and if such when on duty has to be moved for sleep into a new room it is to be feared much inconvenience will be occasioned. I cd not in the brief time understand quite how the kitchen

arrs ...

My opinion has always been the St Thomas authorities have not ...us or their public obligation with regard to our work or the prestige our ..gives them. The cool way in which I understand they first drew their new plans without consultation with us adds to this feeling and now we are not made one of the *primary* objects in the adjustments of the architect but are thrust on one side. I think we need more self assertion as public trustees having a very sacred and special duty and that we shd make it a sine qua non in a *new construction* that it shd be a model of such a bldg.

Again, whether they fall into our views completely or not, as the fullest compliance with them wd be just as much in their own interest as in ours and as both bodies are public ones with really a common public object, I do not think we ought to be considered as otherwise than *perfectly free* after a certain term (7 or 10 years) to cancel the agreement on grounds seeming to ourselves sufficient, whether personal as regards the matron or resident medical officer or otherwise, for it is quite conceivable that other causes of dissatisfaction on our part mt come hereafter and I doubt whether it be competent for us even if we wished to tie ourselves for the future w/o power of retraction.... (lots more)

ff218-21v, {archivist: [January 5 1866]} same illeg hand as f211; {J.F.N.?), arrangements for probationers

ff222-23v, {no address}, January 10, 1866, E. Markham,, statements & building plan which can be sent to FN {archivist: trained by N. Fund & went to Cardiff in 1863} embossed The Infirmary Cardiff, E. Markham re building plan, letter returned as did not have correct address. I felt rather diffident about sending it again not liking to trouble Mrs Wardroper so often through whom I approached you at first lest I shd give occasion to disapprove my conduct. But as I cannot so easily relinquish the subject I risk it illeg. Dr Lewis has shown the written statements which were ready for print and a plan of the bldg proposed which cd be forwarded at your request.

ff224-27v, January 17, 1866, embossed The Infirmary Cardiff, Emily Markham, sorry to hear of state of FN's health, will forward FN's letter (missing) to Dr. Lewis) re bldg, regret about her health, so bright a sun cd not be allowed to hide its rays while yet in the horizon, wd fain come at once and stand sentinel at your door to exclude all those eager applicants. These are not idle words but succinct expressions of sympathy; mt minister to you in your suffering who has succored so many in distress; your letter shall be forwarded to Dr Lewis who will thank you much and he will give as little trouble as possible in the work

ff228-34, Calcutta, Feb 22, 1866, John Strachey, Indian sanitation

ff235-36v, March 2, 1866, John Ed Morgan, MD., Honorary Secretary, Nurse Training Institution, thanks for sending "Organization of Nursing" & help with training nurses at St. Thomas's

ff237-39v, Trentham, Stoke on Trent, March 16, 1866, E. Edwards, owe to you the copy of the "Liverpool Nursing Organ" forwarded to me through Mr Rathbone and am very much obliged to you for thus, thanks for helping diocesan organization for nursing get going in Lichfield; progress report; coming to the true base of Christian Society, has both read, quoted and lent "Nursing Organization"

ff240-41v, March 17, {archivist: [1866]} J. Bullar, district (county) nursing; potential patroness Lady Henry Scott. Red pencil note. Please return to F.N.

ff242-42v, March 29, 1866, Emily Markham, thanks for "Organization of Nursing"; she's passed it on to local influential people, grateful

ff243-44, Oxygenated Water Company Limited, 36, Long Acre. London, May 16, 1866, Chas Clayton, Manager, about process of making water & storage of same

note, f244v, pencil

#### **f244v**

{archivist: [To J.S.]}  
 Whenever a man begins "Respected Friend" I always know he means to insult me -  
 But the question is if he can't help it, shall I drink it?  
 But *if it's dirty*, a small quantity will do it.  
 Well but I do -  
 It's a very stupid letter.

ff245-49, Thursday, May 10, 1866, Geo Carr, Report on Workhouse nursing {Liverpool}

ff250-51, 5 Abercromby Square, Liverpool, May 10, 1866, Robert Gee, M.D., M.R.C.P., Physician to the Liverpool Workhouse Hospital, report on Liverpool workhouse nursing

ff252-55, no address, March 21, 1866, J.H. Barnes, Report on the success of the trained nurses at Liverpool Workhouse Hospital

ff256-57v, no address, May 12, 1866, R. Angus Smith, re pamphlet on water, should not be published as it stands, needs more quantitative support. FN ink note. I consider this so far private that I do not wish it to reach Dr. illeg I answer the questions for public reasons.

note, f258, pencil {in JS rough hand}

**f258**

Dr Angus Smith {archivist: [May 1866]}

I send you a paper which has been sent to me for you. On looking it over it appears to be a fair subject for criticism - explicitly the statement quoted from Dr. Parkes, I think we should all try to put this water analysis question on a proper footing and if any points occur to you in which the methods herein proposed are defective will you be so good as to let me know.

ff259-60, Board of Trade S.W., Manchester, June 5, 1866, Angus Smith, not working on water right now; inspections his work; sending an article on disinfection

ff261-63v, June 22, 1866, Angus Smith letter to FN re water & smoke reports

notes, f263, pencil {in JS rough hand}

**f263v**

I find that it will be necessary to obtain the training sanction. In the amount you should be paid for your chapter on Water. It should only be short, simply instructions for analysis, & ~~an~~ an estimate of the Sanitary value in different climates of water containing different ~~a~~ amounts of impurities.

~~If you cannot state what will do~~ we should think about a sheet of Post Octavo or perhaps less would contain all we want. It must be quite short to enable it to be useful. If you cannot tell us the fee, then you will have to ~~last~~ take the chance of our getting something for you after it is done.

FN note f45 [ca. 12 Dec 1864

Florence Nightingale entreats the prayers of Christians (for Tuesday January 3) that it will please Almighty God to continue the Deaconesses' work at Kaiserswerth-on-the-Rhine, in the same spirit of poverty & of taking up the Cross, of purity and of a sound mind, that His servant Pastor Fliedner, did, whom He has lately taken to Himself, -and especially for his widow, Madame Fliedner, ~~who is~~ upon whom almost alone He has now laid it.

ff67-70 from E.H. Sieveking, Manchester 31 December 1864

ff119-21 A. Mills letter to FN re motion, 15 June 1865

f121 pencil note by FN for Mills, dated after 3 July 1865

That inasmuch as the question  
of the due care of the sick  
poor in the Metropolis is neither  
one of local rating nor of  
local management but of  
administration it is expedient  
that for the sake of  
economy uniformity and  
efficiency that there should  
be one central & responsible  
~~management~~ administration  
to undertake the entire medical  
relief of the sick poor.

f127 re Miss Jones and the Assistance Publique

f131 FN draft of letter to General Storks re Malta re cholera

ff134-35 George Carr to FN 18 August 1865, irate, stresses differences with  
workhouse nursing (which FN wants to do away with) and ordinary hospital,  
"everything has worked so smoothly"

ff136-39 Unsigned JS draft of FN letter to Carr after 18 August 1865

Although in considerable suffering, I cannot help replying to your letter of the 18th inst. Mr Rathbone has also sent me your reply to him. I certainly should never have forwarded Mr Rathbone's letter to you had I thought I would have given you pain for one moment. I of all others who have had to encounter the same difficulties which you have now to face am almost the last person who would have dreamt of such a thing. But we are all of us in a state of anxiety for the success of your great experiment, for upon its success or failure depend greater results than upon any other social reform at present on trial.

At first sight your letters made me regret having forwarded Mr Rathbone's letter to you, but on consideration it was perhaps better that all who are interested in your work should have heard your own view stated fully & openly, as you have stated it. Will you kindly bear with me while I allude to a few points, which have suggested themselves, in your letters ~~to me~~, more especially as you mention an experience in civil & military hospitals.

You have so to speak three separate works going on at once.  
1st. Nursing under a superintendent by trained nurses.

**v**

2n. The training of probationer nurses under a superintendent.

3. Training of paupers to act as nurses, under a superintendent.

It is necessary to keep these various objects distinctly in view in dealing with the question.

Now it is quite certain that as all of these works are being carried out within the walls of the vast establishment, over which you are placed as head & for which you are responsible, the governing authority must rest with you. This I have always said, and nothing has

and indeed your authority has not been called in question. occurred to alter that opinion^ The only difficulty is one which has constantly occurred elsewhere, Y that is in what manner to allow the superintendent to exercise the power of superintendence inferred in her name & office, without in fringing the governors authority.

This question is as far as regards

f137

your workhouse experiment in Liverpool,  
is really not the least of those important  
questions which you have to solve.  
It is a question which will raise  
itself in every workhouse before long  
and which must be faced, if good  
is to be lasting & it can only be solved by experience.  
Before going further allow me ~~freely~~  
to state that in the few months  
you have been engaged in laying  
the foundations of your work, it has  
been a success so far. It is developing  
itself. You are working a quiet  
but effectual change in ward nursing  
under your superintendent & nurses.  
The least satisfactory result ~~part~~ hitherto  
has apparently been that obtained  
from training probationers and  
especially paupers as ward nurses.  
We have great difficulties in obtaining  
sufficiently good material out of which  
to form nurses, and paupers would  
scarcely answer our purpose at all.  
Your problem is hence greater than

ours and your difficulties are greater. Perhaps the best way of showing you what we have done, or rather aim at doing will be to send you as I now do a copy of a private document drawn up by me at the request of the Government of India in order to shew them what steps should be taken for providing nurses over that vast empire, You will see that difficulties similar to yours require to be met in India. After you have had time to consider the subject please return me the paper as it is in private & un official. In the appendix you will find the regulations under which nursing is introduced into the Army. You will see how we have endeavoured to solve the difficulty of leaving the superintendent sufficient power over her nurses without interfering with the Governor. Her power

**f138**

you will see is not absolute, neither is the power of the Governor absolute. In either case there is an appeal against dismissal to the Superintendent General of Nurses. There could be no such officer in Workhouses, and the real point at issue is how to find a similar check in Workhouses so that the service may be rendered systematic and efficient & yet that no injustice should be done to the nurse.

either by the superintendent or by the Governor. This as I have already said is a problem which you will have to solve, and I have every confidence that your great practical experience & your ardent desire to succeed will enable you to solve the difficulty for us. [illeg]

As regards the selection & discipline of probationers, you will see how we manage this from the paper I send you.

**f138v**

We have found it to answer in our training institutions in London. It may not do with you, but I have no doubt you will be able to arrive at the same result by some equally appropriate method.

With regard to the training of pauper nurses;- this is the point of greatest difficulty & yet it must be met & solved if we are to succeed.

The Poor Law authorities with whom I have communicated appear to consider that the most hopeful material for training is to be found among the elder girls in workhouse schools. It has been suggested that they might be taken on trial & apprenticed if found suitable. It is certain that if such a scheme could be successfully carried out, a large number of women would be trained in a profession to which

**f139**

she could live honourably.  
As regards ~~nurse~~ training of  
pauper women, there will of  
course be greater difficulty. The  
chief will be in the low moral  
qualifications they usually present.

I feel you will agree with me that  
women of known bad, dirty, drunken  
dishonest & general immoral habits  
should not be selected for training.  
Indeed even if such women could  
be trained they could never be  
recommended for any employment  
as we could never be sure of them.  
Hence the importance of knowing the character & antecedents.  
of such women before training them.  
Old women, or women in the  
decline of life are also unfit  
subjects for training. You will  
see the ages to which we have  
confined ourselves in the paper  
I have sent you.

I should feel greatly obliged if you  
would kindly consider the whole

v  
subject now that it has been raised and communicate with  
me about it. I am anxious to  
help in every way I can, but  
I in no sense desire to interfere  
with your authority. Our objects  
are the same, namely to provide  
safe & suitable attendance for the  
sick poor whether in hospital in the  
workhouse or at home, and I have  
no fears but that, with singleness of  
aim, we shall succeed in  
our work.

f140 letter from Marstrand, Sweden, Leyenhufund. Thanking you with all my  
heart for the kind letter of the 8th inst (Nat Lib of Sweden) I hasten to  
communicate to you the result of the meeting of the managing board of the  
association the day before yesterday, after having gratefully received our  
good advice on the subject in question, the gentlemen resolved to abide by  
it and to avail itself of the delay obtained by your kind intercession and

consequently to profit by the generous offer on the part of the Nightingale Inst in June 1866 on the terms mentioned by you.

I am desired to lay before you the assurance of the deep gratitude of the gentlemen in question for the renewed proofs of your kind and benevolent interest in the object of the assoc. Allow me to add to the public expression of these feelings in which I fervently join, the ..recovery. Stockholm Drottingatan 10.

ff143-45 letter re Kaiserswerth, Mary Jane Koenig

ff151 FN letter re Palmerston's death, pen black-edged stationery

[printed address] 34, South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
[ca 27 October 1865]

Dear Mrs Cowper

I cannot tell you how  
much I felt your writing  
to me & remembering my  
grief in the midst of your  
own.

I should have asked  
you ~~to give a letter~~ say from  
me to Lady Palmerston  
~~telling her~~ how my heart  
is full of her sorrow ~~grief~~. But  
I fear to be impertinent  
She has the fellow feeling ~~sympathy~~ of  
Europe. Big as is her  
grief, the admiration  
& sympathy of Europe  
are bigger.

v

It is a grand thing to  
go on to the very last  
ding one  
s country good.  
And a statesman, ~~at~~  
~~last~~ such as he was,  
is the highest minister  
of God.

It is a grand thing for a human being to  
have an influence all  
over Europe- all over the  
world--so like God's-  
And no one in Europe-  
in the world-will be so  
missed. Perhaps we can  
hardly tell yet how much  
he will be missed.

**f152**

It may be, as history has  
sometimes shewn us before,  
& as the universal voice  
of Europe seems now to  
say, that the end of  
such a man's career may  
be the signal of catastrophe.

Surely a more disinterested  
servant in doing the  
work of God's world has  
~~never~~ scarcely been known  
in history. And to do the  
work to the end, to fight the fight to the last, a  
sublime ~~thing~~ & heroic.  
Cavour

In 1861, Sidney Herbert sent  
~~in sending~~ me the the  
telegram of Cavour's death,  
with these words: ~~wrote upon it~~ This is

v

the life I should like to  
have lived, this is the  
death I should like to die.  
Seven weeks afterwards,  
he had his wish.

Cavours last conscious  
words were: that he  
would not have a state  
to siege in Naples.

I am sure it is in the  
great heart of Europe,  
in thinking of Lord  
Palmerston's life & death,  
that such a life &  
death, tho' granted to few,  
perhaps only to one, is  
the noblest that can be  
lived & died.

f153

2

What our loss in England  
is, I believe we do not yet know. Few know  
(what is no secret to you)  
how often he dragged a  
too liberal measure thro'  
the Cabinet by the mere  
force of his influence  
such as ~~which~~ no Premier has  
lately been able or perhaps  
ever will be able again,  
so far as we see the men to [illeg]

This very next session  
was to have seen a Bill  
about London poor rates & London Workhouses  
& ~~the whole of London~~  
~~poor rates~~ upon which  
I had set my heart-  
& which they think will

v

not now get thro' the Cabinet  
without Lord Palmerston's.

You will not mention this  
which is not for me  
to tell.

I would he had lived  
another Parliament.

The wit, the wise jesting  
lent another grace & ease  
to the way in which  
he handled the stupendous  
interests of his life.

What he was in his own  
home you alone can tell.

In the last over-loaded  
three weeks of the Session of  
1861, he found time to  
write every day pleasant

**f154**

letters of political news  
to Sidney Herbert, who was  
then dying, & who, two  
days before his death,  
spoke of Lord Palmerston's  
kindness & especially of  
this, with the tears in his eyes, He said, I wish Lord  
Palmerston to know how  
grateful I was for ~~much I felt~~ his kindness.

But it was ~~so~~ the same in everything.

In sanitary things which  
~~one may say form~~ after are the  
real principle of a  
people's social life, O&  
without which nothing  
you that can be done for them in  
education is of any avail  
~~profit~~, I need not

**v**

tell you how open &  
accessible he always  
was, much more so  
than much younger  
statesmen, which is  
the more extraordinary part.  
There is no Cabinet  
Minister to take his  
place in this. But  
indeed in what is there  
any Minister to take  
his place? We have  
lost one whose loss can  
never be replaced in  
this world.  
He was the one to whom  
were entrusted the ten  
talents; and he  
made them an  
hundred.

**f155**

There are no tears which  
Europe can shed equal  
to his worth.

We can only say, as I  
have had cause to say  
once before: Perhaps God  
has taken him to be  
the statesman over one  
of His worlds larger  
than this earth.

It is the only comfort,  
for I am sure this  
earth will miss him  
every year more & more.  
Time will only make us  
feel the more what we  
have lost.

I have ~~taken up too much, written~~ wearied you too long  
~~of your time~~ already, even

v

if you read so far - I would  
we could hope that Lady  
Palmerston finds some  
support in the burst  
of European feeling for  
him & for her.

I think Lord Palmerston's  
life was the noblest  
exercise of religion that  
ever was- And I always  
remember his letter to  
Edinburgh (about the  
Cholera) as the most  
religious of human words.

Pray believe me  
dear Mrs Cowper  
yours overflowingly Florence Nightingale

ff253 long note by J.H. Barnes on poor law

ff178-82 from Maria Rye 21 September 1865, re colonial situation, insts,  
esp lunatic, FN seems to have sent the letter on to Lord Shaftesbury, note  
of FN very hard to read f183, was in Dunedin, then travels in Australia,  
port to port, village to village, draws attention to state of one of the  
lunatic asylums in New South Wales, the Tarban Creek Asylum, visited in  
March when 462 patients, no church, no hosp, no amusements, no day rooms,  
no work, under mgt of Dr Campbell with salary of £750/year, large house etc  
. , describes other doctors, in 1855 Sir Wm Denison ordered a commission of  
enquiry to be held on lunatic asylums in the colony, led to nothing  
practical; in 1863 Bishop Watson, RC Bp of Hobart sent letter to Colonial  
Secy, corr led to discussion in House and another committee of enquiry,  
noting practical; Rye remonstrated with them, excuse was already reported  
these matters to govt; Col Secy Charles Cowper says nothing wrong. governor  
roused by story in Herald, Sir John Young, visited, said to Rye account not  
half bad enough, told House stood in way, re money, "an utterly unsuitable  
man at the head of and rooted in the asylum and there we have a corrupt and  
shameless government on the other, crowned by a powerless...governor, a man  
good at despatch writing, but utterly without influence in the colony."  
Disgraceful also in NZ

f183 Note in pencil in JS rough hand [archivist: to Lord Shaftesbury]

f190 Office Of Commissioners in Lunacy reply 9 December 1865 to her letter  
and newspaper clipping enclosure

f192 pencil note to Lord Shaftesbury in JS rough hand

I am glad you have taken an interest in the horrible Sidney Lunatic Asylum. Perhaps the best way now would be for me to send you the official documents on your return to town & you could then see whether you could find sufficient official grounds for a motion in the H of L

f194 Lunacy comm replies and f196 having considered (Tarban Creek Lunatic Asylum of New South Wales)

f197 22 Dec 1865 Rye to FN about Tarban, and clippings, lots more on

f218 letter to FN re HBC's report, Bowman from illeg

f222 to FN Inf Cardiff [so, a lot of letters responding to FN initiative]

f240 letter from J. Bullar, [1866], seems responding also to Lpool material

ff245-49 report by George Carr, system isn't better in general, but favourable report on Jones and scheme [this is good, get transcribed poss, or look at and use poss]

f248 [got returns to investigate whether] **[6:272]**

1st The improved system of nursing has diminished the percentage of deaths.

2nd Whether it has increased the percentage of cures.

3rd Whether it has checked the ingress and egress of Patients known as schemers.

These returns exhibit the state of the Hospitals Male and Female, for the past 10 Months as compared with its state the corresponding period of the past year, and it is a singular fact that the percentage of deaths, as well as the percentage of discharges are unfavorable to the new system.

These facts warrant the belief that the short space of 10 Months does not afford a fair trial to the project under consideration. That the sick have been cared for I can testify, yet, so far as figures lead one to conclude, the results would not seem

**f249**

to realize the expectations formed.

In conclusion I am bound in duty to bear testimony to the assiduity and zeal with which Miss Jones the Lady Superintendent, entered upon the duty of organising the new system, and the manner in which she continues to devote herself to the task.

The experience of the past year renders it certain that the Poor Law, as now existing offers no impediments to the successful working out of the most complete scheme for the efficient nursing of the sick, in the manner advocated by the best Friends Hospital Nursing.

(signed) George Carr

ff250-51 report by Robert Gee, MD, physician at Lvpool Workh, fav to experiment [much more favourable]

**f251** ..."The impression I have formed of the value **[6:272-73]** of paid nursing after no little experience of the character and results of pauper nursing may be inferred from my earnest desire to see the system introduced into all the Parochial Hospitals of the Kingdom.

I am convinced that my testimony to the order and cleanliness of the Hospital and the patients--to the improved conduct of the latter, to the regularity and precision with which the prescribed remedies have been administered and to the gentle and kind attention paid to the sick and the dying will afford no less gratification to the Workhouse Committee and the inhabitants of Liverpool, than to myself, who during the season [?] of probation have had the pleasure of daily witnessing such admirable results--I cannot close my report without referring to the Lady Superintendent Miss Jones, she has occupied a most difficult and arduous post, but by indefatigable exertion she has nobly fulfilled her mission and I may assert without fear of contradiction that her ability, devotion and self denial are beyond all praise.

.....Robert Gee MD MRCP, physician to the Lpool Workh Hosp to the chairman of the Workhouse Committee

ff252-55 report by J.H. Barnes, praises nurses in operations, pauper nurses in female side compared with trained in male

ends with: f 255

As far therefore as my experience extends of the system of trained nurses, whether regarding the saving of life, the restoration to health or the relief of suffering it has been an undoubted success a success not perhaps easily to be measured by so much coin of this world, but inscribed in the hearts and memories of grateful recipients, of the convalescent, the suffering the dying.  
March 21st 1866

f258 JS rough note re Angus Smith

f259 to FN R Angus Smith, Manchester, ref to Parkes' book, re chlorine and lime and quantities, preventing you from thinking that I am at work on the water at present, sends North Br Quart Rev with article on disinfection

f261 another letter by Angus Smith Manchester 2n June 1866, unwilling to allow any letter from FN to be long unanswered, but some difficulty in answering her last in. Shall I undertake to give precise instructions regarding the analysis of water, in clear, taking holiday; asked by social sc assoc to take up question of smoke and gases generally, re a bill more extended than the Alkali Act. with JS notes on letter

f263 JS note

f264 letter 26 June 1866 to FN from Wm. N. Edgill, clerk of Chorlton Union, responding to her letter to them of 3 May 1866, her enquiry re their new hospital. 5 pavilions have been built, 1 occupied some time, 2nd now ready, cost etc. hopes to show completed bldgs to her. "I trust some day to have the honor of shewing you the completed buildings and of assuring you how much the Guardians are indebted to you for being enabled to provide such efficient hospitals for the sick poor."

Add Mss 45800

149

Add Mss 45800, microfilm, 280 folios, 76 pages, Adam Matthew reel 31

note, f1, pencil,

**f1** in JS hand

{archivist: ca beg. July 1866}

Your object is an admirable one, but to it should include all the sick, wounded, bereaved of all parties during this most wicked war.

I can only give you my name & influence & pecuniary aid, but I can take no action part as ~~I am~~ my whole time is engaged in my own special work. I don't think you should put any apology in your circular; go right to the point and ask aid for the suffering.

Typed copy of letter, ff2-3

**f2**

35 South Street  
Park Lane  
London W.

Private & Confidential

July 3/66

Dear Madam,

I assure you I had not waited for your note - which I received on Saturday - to endeavour to take advantage of the proposed re-modelling of the Patriotic Fund for your sake. I communicated with the War Office on the subject when the discussion took place in the House of Lords. And again, when our Ministers resigned. And again, on Saturday, before the Meeting of the Patriotic Fund Commissioners at Westminster.

I find that it is quite final:-viz. the resolution (on the part of the War Office) not to do what it was my object to attain - as the quickest way - viz. that the Secretary of State for War should, on account of Surgeon Major Matthew's eminent services, recommend your case (as from himself) to the Patriotic Fund as a SPECIAL one. It is a long story - which I should have to tell you - and perhaps it is hardly worth while to tell you now. But I do not despair.

The Secretary of State for War (and I tell you

**f3**

[2]

this in the strictest confidence) has obtained the Queen's permission to remodel the Commission. An Act of Parlt. will be necessary for that & his successor must go on with the Act which is now drawn.

Under the Act, he says, you will become eligible.

I do hope & believe that you will receive, either for yourself, or thro' endowments for your children, what your case so entirely deserves.

The working members of the Patriotic Fund Commission are and always have been in your favour.

And you may depend upon it, if I live, that I shall be on the look-out for you.

At the same time, as my life is so very uncertain, it is quite as well that your other friends - Officers, Military & Medical, who were friends of your admirable husband - should watch to bring forward & urge your case when opportunity offers, under the new Act.

With my sincerest & kindest wishes always the same, pray believe me, dear Madam,

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

(Please

burn

Mrs. Matthew.

(this.

**f4** letter to FN from Mrs illeg re letter of Mrs M? From Breslau July 21

**f5** letter to FN from Oxygenated Water Co Sept 13 1866

**ff8-9** reproduction of signed letter, ff8-11, typewritten {archivist: ca Oct.1866} {in margin: Note Words missing owing to corner being torn off}

**f8**

PRIVATE

Dear Madam,

I lost no time after reading your sad note of Oct. 4, in enquiring of the Patriotic Fund Commissioners.

I learn that Mr. Myford's not was written during the absence of the Secretaries. But it is undoubtedly true that it "was founded upon a decision of the Committee that..... given them by ..... did ..... extend to the length supposed."

I received an answer & explanation at very great length - together with two books of their new Regulations - which we should interpret to give "almost unlimited latitude to the Committee". The whole question depends upon whether certain words are not intended "to include education without excluding maintenance".

We say they are. But the question is - what is to be done? I have been advised to memorialize the Commissioners. And this I feel inclined to do - not simply for an allowance for the maintenance of each child, "but also for the widows - after the widows distinctly recognized as those of the war - they standing next in legal claim in "virtue of the service" of their husbands in the Crimea."

I also feel inclined to write to Lord Grey.

**f9**

[2]

Lord Grey was in the chair when the resolution was discussed.

He understood the resolution to include "maintenance".

Capt. Fishbourne stated (at this meeting of Commissioners) that you would have the allowance first stated to you. And no objection was made in the Commission.

I am told that nothing will be done till there is a meeting of Commissioners - & that there will not be any, before November, if then.

I have therefore time to obtain advice about my Memorial.

You are quite sure that I shall do all I can. But I am never sanguine. Since Sidney Herbert's death five long years ago, we have not had one Secretary of State for War to be depended upon.

About this matter:-

an Act of Parliament was hurried through the Houses, without letting any one know, who could have given an opinion as to the value of words.

It does not make the necessary provisions. And I am told that a new Act must be obtained before any thing really is done.

I cannot help thanking you for the beautiful photograph of my dear friend, your lost noble husband. It is the very best I ever saw of any one. [I think photograph likenesses sometimes so painful.] Can you tell me whether

**f10**

[3]

it was done from himself or from a drawing of him?

Pray believe me

dear Madam

with great truth, ever

your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale.

**f11**

## Note

A corner of the letter, giving the date, is torn off but the envelope with the letter it shows it was written in 1866. The envelope is addressed to:

Mrs. Matthew  
Gothic Villa  
Marine Walk,  
Tunbridge Wells.

**f13** envelope address to FN with note of Lord Hardwicke's address on inside flap

signed letter with envelope, ff14-17, pen

**f14**

35 South Street  
Park Lane  
London W.  
November 1866

My Lord

I venture to write to you on behalf of the widow & children of the late Surgeon-Major Matthew, who served with great zeal & success throughout the Crimean War - & whose death was plainly attended, by numerous Medical certificates, to have been caused by his great excursions during that War. I was myself a witness of them. We the Nurses served in the same Hospital, the Castle Hospital above Balaclava, of which he had charge. I was thoroughly well acquainted with him. I know the many lives saved to us by his  
The Earl of Hardwicke  
&c. &c.

**f14v**

wise & unceasing labours, which were acknowledged by all.

This must be my excuse for now addressing you.

In August last to his widow was granted by the generosity of your Patriotic kind the sum of £ 14 a year (i.e. to Mrs. Matthew) for each or her three children, who are all under 7 years of age.

She herself, altho' engaged to her late husband during the Crimean War, was not married till after the time fixed by the Regulations of that Fund. And therefore she received no allowance.

For even this small assistance she expressed her gratitude in the most touching & earnest words - And I am myself aware how sadly it was needed.

**f15**

On October 3, she was apprised by an ex post facto decision that this assistance was withdrawn from her, & that no further payment would be made to her, until the children were old enough to receive the "educational allowance," which will not be till each is 7 years of age.

I can myself hear witness to their extreme hardship of this decision, depriving the mother of the aid she requires in rearing her young children at the very time such aid is necessary - the children may be dead before they come within the rule. Hence the object professed by the Commissioners in educating them may never be fulfilled, while in the mean time the mother is deprived of support.

I am satisfied that the case for them is one of urgency, & that it comes within the

**f15v**

intention of the Patriotic Fund.

I am afraid of making my letter too long. Otherwise I could give a telling account of the great public services of Surgeon-Major Matthew, by which he has established so strong a claim upon his country that his widow & children can scarcely be overlooked.

But I will now only ask, very humbly but very earnestly, for a re-consideration & a return to the first decision - urging that the disappointment & the real hardship, occasioned by reversing it, have been very great indeed.

Should it be called for, I should esteem it an honour to prepare for the Commissioners a recital of Surgeon-Major Matthew's services,

**f16**

through which he lost his life - no man ever more so - for the welfare of his country. And no man's services even told more successfully in saving life.

But, at present, & not to weary the Commissioners, I will limit myself to saying that, at a time when there is so much difficulty in obtaining superior men to enter the Army Medical Service, it would be a graceful act - and a welcome act - to the Department in which Mrs. Matthew's case has excited great interest & sympathy, if the Commissioners would kindly look upon these circumstances.

{2 lines in margin}

I say that you will not think of me as intruding on the proper sphere of the Commissioners, if I further venture to

**f16v**

urge on them the claims of Mrs. Matthew  
as a widow.

She was engaged to be married before her  
future husband went to the Crimea.

While there he received the seeds of the  
disease which eventually took away  
his life. He married, and his wife  
became a widow in consequence of her  
husband's service in the Crimea just  
as certainly as if she had been married  
to him before the Crimean War.

Surely to provide for cases of widowhood,  
such as this, cannot be considered as  
an undue application of the Fund  
at the disposal of the Commissioners.  
Cases such as this can only be considered  
as having claims second those of  
widows who were wives at the time  
their husbands died in the War.

**f17**

I beg to apologize once more for  
trespassing so long on your  
Lordship's time.

I have the honour to be  
my Lord

your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

**f18** envelope to Earl of Hardwicke not stamped

notes, ff19v-20v, pencil JS hand

**f19v**

The great difficulty in your case is the one you ask me to help in, viz, obtaining a suitable Lady Superintendent who will undertake your work simply for the Love of it. I am afraid that you will have to find her in your own district. Liverpool has superintending ladies who volunteer for the ~~illeg~~ work - but it is evident that you cannot apply for one of them. The true principle as it appears to me is that each district should ~~illeg~~ supply its own means, and if you could ~~get~~ find a Lady willing to devote herself to this special function of doing good and would send her to be trained in London you would no doubt get the work well done but otherwise I fear you could scarcely find extraneous  $\pm$  help.

**f20** JS hand {archivist: 1866}

{sketched house plan in left margin}

Mrs. Kenyon

Oswestry

I venture to lay before you the  
view which my experience  
(of the last ten years especially)  
has forced upon me - viz.  
districts must find their own  
Supts., able & willing to undertake  
the work. Otherwise it will be  
draining one district of the  
able & willing worker to supply  
the district which is not  
able or willing.

[13:715]

It must be made a part of the  
work of the Church - these  
women should be Deaconesses, in  
the sense of Fliedner's Deaconesses  
- the results of the work being  
always put before the work.  
Sisterhoods are good, provided  
the Sisterhood is not put  
before the nursing. Otherwise  
there will be some terrible  
breakdown in the discipline.  
If Supts= of districts cannot be  
found locally the work cannot  
go on successfully thro' the  
length & breadth of the land.

**f20v** FN hand

Were this not becoming more & more the rule, I should feel quite desperate (at the applications we receive & cannot satisfy.)

Among the thousands of unemployed single ladies in every large town or group of counties who abound in England more than in any other country, how happy it would be if their attention could be called to this work - so essentially a woman's work. **[end 13:715]**

**f21** letter to FN Jan 4 1867 from J Henry Wilson thanks for her reply to their enquiries [motto res non verba on stationery] re lady supt St John's House

**f24** letter to FN from Thomas Watson, 16 Henrietta St, Cavendish Sq Jan 5 1867, recalls meeting her in Harley St., re committee apptd by Pres of Poor Law Bd to consider and report upon some matters relating to workhouse infirmaries. He is chairman and is empowered to ask her "they would value any suggestions which you might be kind enough to make to them on the subject of providing, training and organizing nurses for the sick poor in those infirmaries." nice letter

**f26** letter to FN from illeg Robertson? 109 Victoria St, S.W. shd have answered her kind note earlier, but had to send to Pall Mall for War Office papers to get sums paid per bed to civil hospitals, London lock hosp etc.

draft, f30, pencil JS hand

**f30**

{archivist: Draft Reply to J.H. Wilson}

{archivist: 10 Jan, 1867}

It will certainly not be in our power to send you nurses. We are over whelmed with applications & promises.

Your best {illeg} will be to trust ~~your~~ ~~for~~ your superintendent to bring the nursing arrangements with the best possible interim position, getting the best nurses you can & letting her train those who may require training

**f31** letter of Francis Ed. Anstie to FN on Poor Law reform agitation to commence, Jan 11  
**[6:398-99]**

I venture to trouble you once more in order to put you au courant with a new phase of Poor Law reform agitation which is about to commence. This time it is intended to attack the whole question of the principles of the Poor Law, taking as a text the existing distress and misery in the East of London. I beg to enclose a circular explaining the principles of action which were provisionally agreed upon at a preliminary conference at Dr Stallard's the other day. I may mention that at that conference we were assisted by the rector of Bethnal Green and several other east end clergy. J.W. Hansard (Bethnal Green) is a most able and active man and is more likely to help us to force the question on government than anyone else occupying at all a similar position.

You will see that we call for a royal commission, or a House of Commons committee. Your powerful influence, linking simultaneously towards the same end, would do much to compel this. I am, dear Madam,

always your faithfully  
 Francis Ed. Anstie

**f34** letter to FN from Thomas Watson: the committee "charged me, at their first meeting since your paper upon workhouse nursing came before them, to endeavour to express to you their most sincere thanks for the great trouble you have been good enough to take in complying with their request, and for the very interesting and comprehensive paper with which your kindness has supplied the committee" and it would be presented in its integrity to the Poor Law Bd Feb 5 1867

**f35** letter to FN 5 Feb 1867 personal thanks from chair, Thos Watson

**ff37v** notes, and 38v, pencil on letter to FN from E [illeg] Hall 69 Wimpole St in JS hand

**f37v JS hand**

leaving the local paupers to local Boards of guardians.

My own view is that the Bill merely acknowledges a principle, & that in working it will give results ~~not~~ {illeg} scarcely worth the increased cost. The whole can be done almost as cheaply as at present & far more efficiently ~~think~~ than I should anticipate from

**[6:398]**

Add Mss 45800

161

the machinery in the Bill

Decline

I write this for your own information as to my convictions on the subject. Your subcommittee must be guided by its own convictions. I cannot put myself forwards publicly in the question.

**f38v** draft reply in JS hand  
I have read your letter & am sorry to find that I really differ very much indeed from you on the subject. I look at the future working of the Bill, you at the appearances.

There is only decent provision made for 1500 {~~illeg~~} 1 imbecile, who are chargeable in about equal proportion in the parishes, at present & 1000 fever cases. all the sick 6000 in in number & the infirm 10,000 in number are left at the mercy of consolidated Boards of guardians, {~~illeg~~} with a few ~~express~~ outside representatives. We only want one Board for the whole metropolis & one rating for all calamity, mental & bodily

**f39** letter to FN on Reform Club stationery from illeg Feb 14 1867 asks for her views on Hardy's bill J.C. Parkinson

**f43** letter to FN from Liverpool Workhouse 16 Feb 1867 from George Carr re desirability of "having the Hospital for Sick Paupers" at a distance from the workhouse, Rathbone asked him to write FN his opinions; his view is that it should be at a distance **[6:270-71]**

[printed address] Liverpool Workhouse  
16 February 1867

Dear Madam

I promised Mr Rathbone to write you my opinion as to the desirability or otherwise of having the Hospital for Sick Paupers placed at a distance from the workhouse. The death of a relative obliged me to leave town for over a fortnight or I should have had the pleasure of redeeming my promise before this.

I have for years entertained a very decided opinion that the Hospital for the Workhouse Poor should be a distinct building and should not be connected with the workhouse. First, because admissions to the sick wards of a workhouse are brought from town in the proportion of 9 out of every 10 cases and might without extra cost or inconvenience be taken at once to the detached hospital. Second, because the wards of a hospital in workhouses do not provide for the care of the sick as satisfactorily as if the building were designed as a hospital. Third, because the workhouse hospital is composed of sundry groups of wards placed in different parts of the building and therefore beyond the power of heads of department to supervise in as satisfactory a manner as could be wished.

Fourth, because an organized system of nursing could be much better worked out in a building exclusively devoted to the sick than otherwise. Fifth, because a separate hospital could at once destroy the numerous sources of abuse consequent on having healthy paupers in the same building with sick.

In fine, viewed in every possible light, the improvements which a separate hospital would effect appear to me to be so obvious that I should most wish to see the project successful, and I am very glad to hear from Mr R. that you entertain similar views.

The success of our efforts in nursing and training are now acknowledged and I trust that our next official report will be sent on to give you pleasure. I should have written to you frequently but I am aware that you hear all about us through sources equally reliable. Believe me, Madam

yours very respectfully

George Carr

**f45** letter to FN Feb 16 1867 from Earnest Hart asking her to sign re workhouse reform [hard to read]

copy of signed letter, ff46-47, pen, not FNs hand, {archivist, in margin: Original belongs to Mrs. C.E. Johnston} original owned by Dr Bill Bensen, Bensen Family Collection; original somewhat different

**f46** Copy of letter written to unknown person

35 South Street  
Park Lane  
London  
W.

Private Feb.16/67  
Madam

I regret that I am totally unable from ill-health, now much aggravated ~~by~~ from constant occupation, to receive visitors-  
But I regret it the less because I have it not in my power to do what you ask.  
We do not look out for situations for ladies.  
We train them for situations-  
With regard to the female Nursing Service for Military Hospitals, it is entirely under the Superintendent General:

Mrs. Shaw Stewart now at the Herbert Hospital. Woolwich  
She would give you every information you need, either by letters or otherwise.  
She is extremely anxious to find Superintendents - But then they must be trained.

The same thing I can say for ourselves.  
We desire to find ladies to be trained as Hospital Superintendents, for whom

**f47**

2v part

there is an ever increasing demand -  
with good salaries for Hospitals both at  
home, in the Colonies & in India -  
The demand is in fact, far beyond  
our power of supply.

The society of St. John's House  
experiences a similar difficulty.  
I enclose you some of our regulations.

Miss Jones,

Lady Supt. of St. John's House  
7 & 8 Norfolk Street. Strand W.C.

(?) Mrs. Wardroper

Matron

St. Thomas' Hospital  
Newington. S.

would either of them, by letter or by personal;  
interview give you information- I am very  
unfit to write, as I have been writing, as I do.  
Every day from 7:30 a.m. and I am suffering  
from a severe chest attack. But I thought  
you desired to hear from myself-

Pray believe me, Madam

Ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Name of lady to whom addressed  
has been scratched out.

**f48** letter to FN from M Edgill Sat [16 Feb 1867], had called yesterday, re  
Poor Law and they appointing a hosp matron, re her letter of the 9th  
(missing). In London because of Poor Law bill

signed letter, ff49-49v, pen, black-edged paper [6:271]

**f49**

Feb 18/67

{printed address:} 35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Sir

Allow me to thank  
you very sincerely for giving  
me your kind & most  
important opinion  
just received, as to  
the separation desirable  
between a Hospital for  
sick paupers and a  
Workhouse

I have not time  
at this moment to do  
George Carr Esq

**f49v**

more than to thank you  
for an opinion which,  
coming from you, is  
so valuable  
& to beg you to believe  
me  
ever your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

**f50** letter of J.C. Parkinson to FN from 17 Hanover Sq 18 Feb 1867 thanks  
for her letter, agrees with, has heard from Farnall

**f52** letter of W.G. Cowie to FN sorry troubled her to write, called on her,  
wants interview with Miss Jones 45800 f52

draft, ff54-57v, pencil [end Feb 1864] JS hand [6:414-15]

**f54 JS hand**

I have avoided writing to you although you requested me to do so  
about Mr. Hardys?}

Bill, until I feel that I can no longer refrain from doing so. I sent to Mr. Hardys committee on cubic space my views in regard to nursing but I purposely avoided any reference to the question of administration except that I pointed out the necessity for making a final separation between the government of the Workhouse & the Government of the Infirmary.

Since my paper was sent in I have read Hardys' speeches & studied his Bill. I have been greatly interested & have admired the excellency of his intention, but with the desire to hope the very best from the measure I must confess that without Mr. Hardy proceeds further in the right direction there is no hope for the introduction of a suitable sick organization for the Metropolis & ~~that~~ except what may arise from the prospective suffering & outcry which will follow from the operation of the measure sooner or later.

**f54v**

The most grievous part of the question as it appears to me is that there is ~~nobody~~ nobody to tell Mr. Hardy the truth about it. He has had a committee of medical men, but only on one or two specific questions, & although I don't of course know what advice they gave him, it is nevertheless a possibility that the very giving of advice by such a body of men on one side of a question may tend to obscure the truth on other sides of it. Again I have seen the published resolutions of the Poor Law Medical officers. These not to speak of the manifest contradiction in the principles which they have first & last promulgated, are nothing more than views of the Medical side.

Add Mss 45800

168

Now medicine like nursing depends

**f55 JS hand**

In its results neither on Doctors nor nurses, who are but the servants or agents of a system, but on the administration under which they are to act. Now I need scarcely tell you that I have had for many years ~~of~~ ample opportunities of becoming practically acquainted with sick administration & organization. The forwarding of such questions is indeed one of my daily occupations,, & I have to give assistance in the matter not only to committees of hospitals & other public institutions but to the War office in regard to Military hospitals. I have also been in correspondence with the government of India on the same matter. Of course with my knowledge of the subject, I cannot help asking myself the question, what will Mr. Hardys bill really do for the administration of sick? I have been most unwillingly compelled to reply. ~~{illeg}~~ as follows The question of the

**f55v**

metropolitan sick is purely an administrative question, and good administration (I mean executive work which is the only thing to be recognized in regard to sick) is not provided for in the Bill. What is contemplated is to continue under certain improved conditions the same sort of thing as has existed but under a better system of inspection, in the hope that in this way evil & neglect will be prevented. But this is the very principle of administration to be avoided. "Inspection" involves in it the idea of lax administration & failure, to be remedied by punishing somebody for neglect of duty.

This is fatal. The real principle should be to provide one uniform central management for the whole metropolis & all the hospitals should be managed only by paid & responsible officers, under conditions which could easily be framed to ensure success

Laxity or failure is a thing not to be contemplated when sick are to be dealt with unless to be condignly punished.

**f56 JS hand**

The head of the administration should be a first rate practical business man. One man is quite enough or at most one man & an assistant. No hospital committees of management are required. Each hospital should have its head also an able practical man. The only ~~{illeg}~~ committee required is a financial one to find the money, and to overhaul the accounts, and this only because the money must be raised by rate. If this were not the case there would be no need of a committee any more than there is in the Army or Navy. What is really wanted as you will see is ~~a~~ an entire reconsideration of the administrative part of the measure.

As it at present stands there will be endless squabbles in the committees - want of uniformity, increase of cost

**f56v**

~~and what is~~ plenty of work for poor law Inspectors & auditors. The same neglects happening under the very noses of the committees, & worse than all unnecessary suffering for the ~~{poor}~~ sick poor.

The part of the scheme for congregating fever cases in large hospitals I don't touch on, ~~full~~ further than to say that experience is wholly against such a measure, for the mortality of fever hospitals has always been ~~so~~ enormous & as to raise the gravest doubts whether so far as concerns the interests of the sick poor, it would not save life to abolish them & treat fever cases in small huts

**f57** JS hand {Archivist: [Feb-Mar 1867]}**[6:406]**

I have signed & enclosed the proxy you sent me. I cannot at the same time help ~~expressing~~ expressing my opinion as to extreme caution being exercised in dealing with Mr. Hardy's Bill which is a very different thing from Mr. Hardy's speech. ~~I do not like to say anything very conclusive about it unless I have had time to discuss it.~~ No doubt he has great difficulty to contend against from the very various interests at work, but I very much fear that the practical result of his measure will be otherwise than satisfactory. Having been {illeg} occupied with ~~ques~~ the question ever since the Holborn Union case, I have of course thought over the entire subject {illeg} very frequently & had many many communications of all kinds before me about it. None of these in any way justify or bear out the present

**f57v**

bill & I fear if it is ~~to be~~ capable of being amended this must be done in the direction of having one board of management, for all the sick, ~~lun~~ lunatic & infirm of the metropolis & one common rate for their {illeg} relief, leaving {the} the guardians {illeg} to deal only with pauper class. I fear that the costs of the ~~present~~ proposed system will be greater for the poorer parishes than they can bear, & the ~~v~~ numerous boards will add elements of discord & want of unity of action to those already existing.

**f58** letter to FN from J.C. Parkinson, 17 Hannover Sq 6 March 1867, has deferred answering her invaluable letter

typed copy of signed letter, ff59-60

**f59** original owned by Miss M.K. Temple  
Copy

March 18/67.  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Madam,

I trust you will not think that I would ever neglect a letter of yours, or the memory of your admirable husband, a single day -

But I fear I can do nothing - for your son.

The very day I received yours of March 6, I begin to make enquiries - & to apply, in your son's case, in the quarters in which I was most likely to obtain assistance -

But the result, under present circumstances, has not been favourable -

You are aware that none of Lord Herbert's friends or of my own are now in Office.

As regards the War Office I am told that there are not any prospects of vacancies at present - as they are endeavouring to introduce soldier Clerks wherever they can - They have also a Parliamentary enquiry into their own constitution pending, which will probably end in still more restricting the number of official appointments in the War Office.

I assure you I wish I could have served your son, for his excellent father's sake, almost as much as you wish it yourself -

I will not however lose sight of the object - & shall do, what I can, whenever I see my way - (but, alas! I fear that will be remote) to affording efficient help.

**f60**

[2]

I grieve to hear of your daughter's illness. But, I trust spring weather will restore her -

I must ask your pardon for writing in pencil - But I have been for years a prisoner to my room from illness. This last 7 weeks, owing, I suppose, to the unusually long winter, I have been much worse.

And I am always overwhelmed with business - which never gives me any chance of rest - Pray believe me

ever your faithful servant,  
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Mrs. Trench.

**f61** letter to FN from Jane Hare, Mrs John Hare 7 Linfield Pl, Clifton Bristol 20 March re N Fund 45800 f61

**f67** telegram to FN re regs for Crown Princess 7 April 1867

**f71** letter of Laura E. Richards 12 April 1867, long letter from Brighton Lodge, Clifton, Mrs Hare has allowed me the pleasure of using your most kind and interesting letter to her with regard to our nursing efforts at Bristol. She tells me that she is writing to thank you for it and I hope you will not think it a liberty if I beg to offer you my own grateful ackn also. I shd not have venture to intrude my very imperfect work upon your notice of my own accord, but Mrs Hare has requested me to let her send you a copy of the papers which led to our present work at the Bristol Infirmary as she think they may interest you, and she is so kindly ... aiding m work and our effort to secure funds for the purchase of a suitable home for our nurses ....

My little nurses inst was started with public money and for the purpose of trying provide better nurses for rich and poor without any sanction or aid from our two hospitals beyond the basic, ....to send our pupils to train, therefor it could not now be amalgamated thoroughly with either or become mainly a place of tr for hosp nurses...

I hope as our work becomes better known, which it is rapidly doing, we may venture on a larger number of pupils, but the expense of training has hitherto been so great and the demand for nurses is fluctuating that we have been obliged to grow very slowly.

**f80** stylized printed report of Bristol nurses, from Brighton Lodge, to Mr Wait, by Laura E. Edwards

**f88** Laura E. Edwards to FN April 26th 1867, indebted for kind and encouraging letter and papers

typed copy of unsigned letter, ff91-98 {archivist: April 1867}, ms is  
Boston 1/4/54

**f91** COPY

To the Editor **[12:170-74]**  
of Macmillan's Magazine.

Sir,

I crave permission to address you on the ground that in a recent Article of your valuable Magazine, "Miss Nightingale" is appealed to as a "Teacher of Nursing"-which Nursing is subsequently placed on a footing with "cooking & dusting."

Otherwise, as I do not think this subject is best treated by female ink-bottles, or by any receipt process, I certainly should not have troubled you as Female Inkbottle No. 2 or No. 10.

My experience as an old Nurse is now nearly that of a quarter of a century- And therefore without entering farther into discussion, controversy or contradiction with estimable ladies who were perhaps hardly born when I began my trade, I may perhaps be excused for rushing at once, (if at all,) in medias res, in order to tell you in what I think their theories fatal to any progress in my trade -

And 1. My life has been passed in the aim to make Nursing an art -

May I preach a few words on this text? - begging you to pardon the garrulity of an old woman -

Is the first question of importance in regard to any art, whether the painter, sculptor or poet is a "lady" or person working for her bread, a Volunteer or a person of the "lower middle class"?

**f92**

[2]

(I take the female gender, for the sake of the parallel)  
N.B. I have, with folio Johnson's Dictionaries, endeavoured to interpret the meaning of the words "lady," "Volunteer," &c &c., as used profusely by your contributor & similar writers on this subject - I have signally failed.

Some thirty years ago, Sir, I remember reading a book not unknown to fame, called "Rejected Addresses" - A gentleman, endeavouring to explain how a certain lady "became the mother of his Pantalowski," observes: "The fineness of the weather, the blueness of her riding-habit, all conspired to interest me"- (I quote from the memory of 30 years ago). We are pleased to hear that the weather was fine & that the riding-habit was blue-but we do not see what they have to do with it -

Neither Sir, do I see that all this galimatias about "ladies," "volunteers" &c &c has to do with it.

By dint of intense study, I have at last arrived at the meaning of the word "lady" - which I transcribe for your use. Lady-an ignorant person who serves without pay.

Now, Sir, is a lady less a lady because she has trained herself to such a point as that she can command the highest pay? - I protest against such a definition.

Is a lady less a lady because, placed by God in such a position as that not only her own maintenance but that perhaps of an infirm mother, or of orphan brothers & sisters, is laid upon her shoulders, she nobly braces herself to the heavy task - & says - I will serve God in His poor & in His sick, and I will serve God, for

**f93**

[3]

the charges He has laid upon me, as well & at the same time for pay.

Sir, I protest against the distinction which has been made in your pages between the "mercantile" & the "religious" "motive."

I protest against such a blasphemy - such a corruption of God's purpose in this His world of work -

I protest against such a perversion of the noble science of Political Economy, which, however, fortunately, as has lately been so well said "if it is true, can take care of itself."

The test of being allowed to serve God in many Religious Orders; has been:- to be able to serve God without pay.

Rather that we may be trained, so as to serve God so well as to be able to do it for pay:-should not this be the wiser test of our wiser generation? -

Sir, in my younger years I knew a great deal too much of the occupations & of the sufferings of the class called Governesses. I say, too much, because I was wholly unable to do anything to alleviate them at the root.

In the usual sense of the word certainly most of these would be called "ladies" by all. Many were daughters of clergyman, of professional men - (Many had relatives depending on them. Fifty pounds a year was (then at least) rather an above average salary. Few, if any, had embraced this profession from a love of education - but only because there was supposed to be no other which a lady could embrace. Many had not the accomplishments, many had nothing but the accomplishments, to cause them to embrace a governess; life. Many were of mature age, far more fitted for the sick than for children.

**f94****[4]**

Of all my governess acquaintance I have never known but one who had achieved a comfortable independence.

Now, Sir, I am told that I must learn:-

1. that a Salary of £50 (the salary of a Head Nurse - called "Sister" in Hospital language) is to be despised by a "lady" -
2. that nursing is on par with "cooking" or "dusting."

There is no more similarity (allow me to speak with an experience of five & twenty years) there is no more similarity than there is between Monmouth & Macedon (we know that each begins with a M - & there are Salmons in both.)

E.g. The situation of a Head Nurse in a Hospital is one quite peculiar, as far as I am aware, in the world. In a man's ward, she is the only woman in the world in real practical charge of grown-up men (Queens have been in official, fictitious charge - but) the Head Nurse of a man's ward in a Civil Hospital has the absolute charge of the actions of 30 or 40 men at every moment of the day & night - besides those of 3 or 4 women Nurses in a position peculiarly exposed to breaches of decorum & discipline.

The character which can really & effectually fulfil this charge is a rare one - It is by no means the exclusive apanage of the "lady" class, of the "lower middle" class or of any other class.

I am not anxious to unfold the secrets of the "prison-house"- I mean the Hospital-house-which I have studied in many a country of Europe. But I might tell things about the charge of a female ward which shew it to be nearly as onerous a charge.

Now, Sir, I ask you to say whether there is anything in domestic service which bears any more resemblance to this than

**f95**

[5]

Monmouth does to Macedon-or whether a "cook" or a "duster" could, undertake these duties-by virtue of the qualifications which make her a "cook" or a "housemaid."

And here, Sir I come to the key of the whole matter, which is the little word:- Training.

Sir, there is I think an "Open Sesame" in this word, which will unlock the caves & difficulties of many of my friends-of those who, on the one side, as I understand, say that the "Bishop's Commission" constitutes an "apple-woman" a "Deaconess"-& of those who, on the other, say that "ladies" should not be (Deaconesses or) Nurses at all - but should leave the field open to those who serve for the "mercantile" "motive"-& are of the "lower middle class" - as if there were the slightest danger that "unpaid ladies" would come crowding into Hospitals to thrust out of the market those who must earn their bread.

Sir, if there is any such danger, may I whisper into your ear a quite infallible specific? - and that is:- a year's Training.

And, Sir, where does your contributor find that a "lady", with very little training", "does Hospital Nursing in a first-rate way??

I stand upon my experience - And I emphatically deny this - And when I say, my experience, it is not upon my own puny, petty experience that I stand, altho' it reaches over five & twenty years, & nearly over the Christian world (by the relations which I have with Hospital orders.) I stand, Sir, upon the experience of the Christian world, which has fixed the period of training for "ladies" (I presume)

**f96**

[6]

that nuns are generally admitted to be ladies) at from 2 to 5 years.

I myself consider that the training of one who has to superintend others in Nursing should not be less than 2 years.

The wild way of speaking which calls ladies (who, without experience, interfere in Cholera & other emergencies, however useful that interference may be,) "first-rate Hospital Nurses", is, I presume a figure of speech - & as such need not be seriously answered - Any more than the calling a school-girl who makes a clever sketch of horses or dogs a Rosa Bonheur need seriously be criticized.

(The following are notes in pencil)

liberty of labour

What else than Trades' Union principle is it to say that Nurses shall come from the "lower middle class" & shall "not have more than £50"?

Average Governesses salaries consult the columns of newspaper

Governesses' Institutes from £20 to £50

Governess (superior) advertises for £50.

If Sir it be an exception that ladies undertake education without taste or talent for it, without any other "call" or qualification but that of poverty, my experience lies among the exceptions. If the £50 salary be an exceptionally low salary for a Governess, my experience lies among the exceptions -

Miss Garrett a Trades Union restricting wages, work, classes - That Nursing is an Art -

That training is necessary for this as for any other Art

**f97**

[7]

That there is no evidence that a "lady" acquires this art with less training than any other woman or than with less training than is needed for any other Art.

That to restrict the pay or the class of the labourers is to Act on the same arbitrary principle as a Trades Union.

That the true test of being able to serve God in this art is not to be able to serve Him in it without pay but to take the training which will command the highest pay -

That this training should be accessible to all women of any class, of any sect or church - without exception -

That the class from which Head Nurses as well as Superintendents are taken can no more be restricted than the class from which any other Artist is taken -

Will you say, all sculptors shall be taken from the "lower middle class" -

That the difficulty at present is, not in offering it as a profession to ladies, lest there should not be sufficient places for them-but in finding sufficient persons to fill the places. That India & the Colonies as well as Great Britain are crying out for them - & that an immense field for nursing the sick poor at home, as well as for Hospitals & Workhouse Infirmeries, is gradually opening, which it will be a work of scores of years to stock with competent trained persons volunteering to serve God in his poor & sick for pay - whether "ladies" or others

That, to serve according to mercantile principles from the religious motive (I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word) is the highest service, the service most according with the purpose of God

**f98**

[8]

of which we are capable.

[end 12:174]

Sick street

expression

poor Jew brother rich I

"Xtian offense" X [?]

**f99** letter to FN from Tresidder illeg, re a situation, has applied for many, ref to late matron of Bristol Inf re nursing position 9 May 1867

reproduction of signed letter, f101, typewritten

**f101** {archivist: original belongs to Miss Kate C. Field}

COPY

May 25/67

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Madam,

I cannot tell you how touched I was with grief at the loss of one whom I was proud to call my friend, Capt. Field, & at the knowledge of what your grief must be - Nor how touched I was at the thought that he had remembered me at the end.

A better & a braver man & a tenderer heart never lived - And when I think of all he did for me & mine & our poor soldiers in the Crimean War - how efficient his help - how unwearied his kindness - how he never shirked responsibility, but lavished life & energies in the cause of doing good - I think that there are few men whom our country could not better have spared -

To you & to us all the comfort must be that the loss is so great - it speaks to his great nobleness -

I regret to think how little has been my opportunity during the last 10 years of letting him know how keen was remembrance of his kindness & his goodness - none, in fact.

Who would have thought that he would have been taken - and I left - I who for the last 10 years have always been told that I could not live 6 months - & who, during all that time, have been under such a pressure of business that I could not acknowledge my gratitude even to such a friend as he.

With my earnest prayers that God will be with you in your great sorrow, believe me to be, dear Madam yours, with the deepest sympathy,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**f102** letter to FN from 29 Montpelier Villa Cheltenham from Norman Chevers re her letter of 25th, May 27/67, plans to return to Calcutta

**f104** part of letter to FN from Jane Hare, 7 Litfield Place, Clifton, Bristol replies to hers recd this morning re brother John, 7 Litfield Pl Clifton, address, nd, reply to her note of this morning also re nurses' home

**f106** letter to FN from Miss Henrietta Somerville re nursing 45800 f106

typed copy of letter, f108 presumably to Mrs Trench from other letter, original owned by Miss M.K. Temple

**f108** {archivist: original owned by Miss M.K. Temple}

COPY

June 7/67.

Private

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Madam,

I was informed on May 31 by one of the highest authorities in the Cabinet (to whom I had made a application for an appointment for your boy) that "his name was put on the list."

But I think it right to inform you that to inform you that to this was added that "vacancies are very few." It is right to tell you this because you may have other chances in view for your son.

If a Government vacancy occurs, I should consider that he has now a good prospect of occupying it. But "I fear this is all I can say." And with these very words the intimation conveyed to me is ended.

I have only just obtained your London address -

With the very best wishes for your son's success, & for health & prosperity to you & yours. I trust that your daughter is better.

believe me to be dear Madam

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**f109** letter to FN from Norman Chevers, 29 Montpellier Villas, Cheltenham thanks for her letter received yesterday 12 June 1867 and re her visiting FN before leaving for India

**f111** letter to FN from Anstie 13 June [1867] It is now some time since I troubled you with my remarks about Poor Law matters. This has been because

I felt that there was no opportunity to do anything on the large scale in the present session of Parliament. Such partial and limited efforts as were within my power I have made; such as writing frequently on the subject with Lancet and one or two other journals, and speaking to a good many members of Parliament. But men's minds have been far too full of the Irish Church to allow them to take any strong interest in Poor Law matters, and the only man who was willing to take up the question of a royal commission was just the person whom I did not wish to intrust it to, the amiable but not very discreet Marquis Townsend. As you will see by this day's Times he asked Lord Devon for a royal commission, but got a polite refusal, "not having made out a case" etc. I leave it to your judgment to decide whether there ought not to be one more attempt made by writing to the daily papers to get some more influential peer or member of the House of Commons to take the matter up. One idea has struck me, viz. that Sir Harry Verney might possibly be willing to bring the matter forward in the House and represent the desirability of having a commission appointed before Parliament adjourns.

I shall be much obliged if you would let me know, at your convenience, whether you think this feasible, or whether we had better let the whole thing wait till the new Parliament meets.

Meantime a certain amount of good has been effected. As you will have probably noticed, the select committee of the Lords, under pressure from the Workhouse Infirmary Association, have affirmed the principle that there ought not to be an increased number of medical inspectors, though Lord Devon opposed it, and as they were unanimous, with his lordship's exception, I conclude that this change will actually be made....

yours very faithfully

Francis Ed. Anstie

**f115** letter to FN from Francis Anstie 17 June [1867] much obliged for your letter (missing) and I must say I agree with you that there is small chance of anything being effected by a movement just now, for copies of Good Words what Una will be glad to keep.

**f116** letter to FN from Miss Henrietta Somerville with FN note re her applying to St T. 45800 f116

**f118** letter to FN on WO stationery from Proby Cautley July 1 1867

**f122** letter to FN from illeg Reigate Surrey 18 July 1867 re Madras san

f123 letter of W. Gawthorpe, 6 Northumberland St. Charing Cross July 20 67, with printed testimonial, wants copy of her paper drawn up by desire of the Poor Law Bd and which was recently sent to the Guardians of the Poor for the Chorlton Union, Manchester

**f125** letter to FN from J. Scott Robertson re patients and beds 22/7/67, recd her kind note on Saturday, beg to thank you for the enclosures you were good enough to send me. The equipment answering to our new scale costs per patient's bed (taking the average of 200 beds) about £30, but this includes the necessary provision for linen and illeg for exchanges, etc. I sent you a detailed list of what I fancy would be required in a civil hosp for 64 patient beds to begin with. This does not include any kitchen utensils or clothing nor anything to make? Bandages. If these are added, it wd materially increase the cost per bed, but as our equipment is now ample and as in a military hosp everything is found the patient (under clothing and outer garments) the expense of our ample equipment for a civil hosp would always be much more £20 per bed. The list I send does not reach £10 per patients bed. Will gladly give you any additional particulars

**f127** letter to FN from Joseph Allen, Tombland, Norwich, at Norwich Bd of Guardians, has apptd committee to enquire into nursing for outdoor sick poor, anxious that the enq shd prove of real service as at present the poor on outdoor relief shd happen to be ill ...leaving all to Province. I am desirous that such a state of things shd no longer exist, shd be deeply grateful to you if you wd kindly point out some systematic way of nursing our outdoor sick poor. 23 July 1867

**f129** letter to FN from Dadabhai Naoroji thanks for her letter recd this morning arranging for call of [FN's spelling here] Mr Nowrojee Furdoonjee with

notes, f132, pencil, pale blue paper

**f132**

Cursondass Mooljee

Hindoo Edition

1. Dadabhoy Nowrojee
2. Nowrojee Furdoonjee  
Parsee merchants  
latter returning in a month to Bombay  
(would like to see me & St. Thomas')

1. Dr. Atmaram Pandoorung
2. Dr. Bhow Dajee  
Hindoo Physicians - Bombay  
latter very clever  
would co-operate  
Grant Medical College at Bombay

Dr. Hunter? in England

**f133** letter to FN from Nat Assoc for Freedom of Worship re W. Gawthorpe,  
thanks for doc 3 Aug 1867

f134 incoming 15 Aug 1867 letter to FN from Laetitia Headlam, Wavertree,  
Tonbridge Wells re nursing inst, FN replied to her letter last Dec  
(missing) re est nurses' inst, FN sent Org of Nursing paper, about to build  
a small house for nurses, convalescents and non-infectious cases, not  
eligible for inf, have tried but in vain to connect with this inst, but not  
like Liverpool, old regime at inf resists innovation. Despite a felt rather  
than a spoken opp, our work has progressed steadily and medical men apply  
for nurses, leading doctors of inf will not oppose our plan of nursing  
domestic servants etc.; object in writing to know whether with such mt be  
allowed to avail ourselves of St T. training under N fund, and to ask if  
she wd look over our little plan and give us the benefit of advice

**f137** {archivist: ca 18 Aug. 1867} draft, f137, pencil JS hand

Capt. Tulloch

Thank him for his excellent report which has for the first time brought the question of drainage fairly before the Indian Authorities. ~~Th~~ He has shown once for all that drainage in India is simply the same problem with a little difference in application to drainage in England. He has disposed entirely of the fallacies of the Dry earth system as applied to towns. The report will do great good. Amongst other things if it induces Medical officers to keep out of questions of engineering & costs of works

signed letter, ff138-39v, pen

**f138**

August 19/67  
{printed address:} 35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Sir

I beg to thank you very  
much for your excellent  
Report on the drainage of  
Madras which you have  
so kindly sent me through  
Mr. Rawlinson.

[10:38]

You have for the  
first time brought the  
question of drainage  
fairly before the Indian  
authorities.

You have shown  
once for all, that drainage  
in India is simply the  
same problem with

**f138v**

difference in application -  
as drainage in England.  
You have disposed entirely  
of the fallacies of the Dry  
earth system as applied  
to towns.

Your report will do the  
greatest good.

It is the first Indian  
Report, as regards  
drainage, which has a  
just claim to the little  
of Sanitary Report. i.e.  
which really touches the  
evils & the means to

**f139**

remove them.

While greatly admiring  
the valuable qualities  
displayed in Reports  
made by Medical Officers  
in India one cannot  
but always feel the  
absence of the power of  
application of/ dealing with such  
practical questions as  
the removal of evils,  
costs of works, engineering  
questions, which are  
so powerfully & ably dealt with ~~with such~~  
~~eminent ability~~ in  
your Report. **[end 10:38]**

**f139v**

Pray believe me

Sir

with many thanks

ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

Capt. H. Tulloch R.E.

Draft of letter, ff140-41v, pen and pencil

**f140**

August 1867

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Sir

I received some months  
since your noble Volume  
of the History of the  
"United States Sanitary  
Commission" ~~& your kind~~  
~~note of Nov 19 1866~~

It is one of the most  
important contributions ever yet  
made to the great cause  
of suffering humanity -

It will become a fresh  
starting point in enterprises

of a like kind, should the  
necessity unhappily arise.

If I have been of  
the slightest use as you are pleased to say in that  
my "experience" has in the  
very least degree guided

**f140v**

the {gigantic} work ~~enterprise whi~~  
~~in favour of humanity~~  
 Which your Commission has  
~~so nobly~~ brought to a  
 successful result, I  
 can only say that I am  
 deeply & humbly thankful  
 - ~~& that~~ I venerate the  
 more the authors of this  
~~the~~ work, as great as  
 the calamity was great,  
~~which it was to remedy~~  
 in for that ~~they have been~~  
~~able to~~ in producing ~~such~~ so  
 a colossal a ~~tree~~/building ~~from so~~ they have been  
 able to remember so humble a ~~seed~~ foundation  
 You ~~will be~~ may have been surprised,  
 should you have thought of  
 it at all, that I have been

**f141**

so long in answering your  
 kind note of Nov 19 1866  
 & in acknowledging your  
 splendid Volume -  
 But the truth is  
 each day brings forth for me more work  
 than ~~the~~ my decreasing strength is able to do - & had  
 written this ~~acknowledgement~~  
 months ago - but I have  
 always wanted, hoping  
 to have had some  
 worthy acknowledgement  
 to send you. some record  
 of some work for mankind  
 worthy of you - But, overwhelmed with  
 business & illness as I  
 am, I am obliged at  
 best to send you but my  
 poor acknowledgements  
 & a few of my little  
 works which I sent to  
 your address last month  
 & of which I by your acceptance

**f141v**

May I ask you to present  
 these my poor words to the  
 "United States Sanitary Commission  
 -regretting that they are so late  
 & to believe me  
     Sir  
 ever your faithful servt.  
     Florence Nightingale  
 Charles I. Stillé Esq.

draft, ff142-43, pen

**f142** {archivist: To Charles I. Stillé Esq. Aug, 1867}

Sir

I have received your noble Volume  
 of the History of the "United States  
 Sanitary Commission".

It is one of the most if not the  
 most important contribution ever  
 yet made to the great cause of  
 "suffering, sad humanity"-

It will become a fresh starting =  
 point in enterprises of a like kind,  
 should, alas! the unhappy necessity ~~unhappily~~  
 arise. And in peace as well as in war  
 such necessities alas do arise.

It has the "true ring of the metal"  
 in it - the metal of which, thank  
 God, He has made us all of both  
 nations.

And, if as we say, alas! tomorrow  
 calls us forth again, tomorrow will  
 see again that you, having put your  
 hands to the plough, having counted

**f142v**

the cost, will never look back.

That God may bless & prosper  
You is ~~the~~ my unceasing earnest prayer-

~~If I have been of the slightest use,~~  
as you are pleased to say, my  
experience has ever been of the  
slightest use in the gigantic work  
which your Commission has brought  
to so successful a result, I can  
only say that I am deeply &  
humbly thankful.

The authors of this work, as  
great as the calamity was great,  
are the more to be venerated  
that they do not forget the  
humblest of their precursors.

I have long delayed in answering  
your most kind letter.

But the truth is, each day brings

**f143**

forth for me more work than I  
am able with decreasing strength  
to do- Months ago I had written  
~~to you~~. But I waited, hoping  
to have had some worthier  
acknowledgement to send -  
some record of some work for  
mankind - less unworthy of  
yours.

But overwhelmed with business &  
illness, I have nothing but my  
poor words to send - which  
may I ask you to present to  
those who have sent me  
your noble work?

Pray believe me

Sir

Last month I sent you a few of my  
little works of which may I beg  
your acceptance?

**f144** letter to FN from Laetitia Headlam, Tonbridge Wells Sept 5 1867,  
thanks for her kind reply (missing) to my letter of Aug 15, remained

longer, had to consult other parties upon it, re sending their plan for inspection, we felt the importance of the suggestion you bring before us and have wished to weigh them well. We see the difficulty of combining conv and sick patients and feel with you that "the very essence of a conv hosp is to be as unlike a hosp as poss." We did not mean you to infer that we proposed to open a regular hosp here rather a ward or 2 for cases of illness not admissible to inf, for instance no domestic servant will be taken in on any consideration unless such servant be dismissed from her place and put into lodgings to render him or her eligible. We do not contemplate that these conv or sick wards wd be as a tr for our nurses, this must be done for us in London or elsewhere, but rather we feel that while one or more trained nurses wd have to devote their time to such cases in the hosp that for other nurses who from time to time were at home and not employed at the moment among the poor this nursing wd be useful. Lady nurses have as yet found no part of our scheme but I am strongly in favour of a lady supt rather than a matron. At present our little home is managed by a housekeeper who has proved most conscientious in her mgt, but as our staff of nurses is increasing we fell the want of a more continuous supervision. So, a larger home mt be useful combined with some nursing wards and suggs in FN letter before us disposed to make it a home and conv hosp for those recovering from sickness or wanting change of air, infectious and cutaneous diseases wd necessarily be excluded. What do you think of this?...re training, some ladies think 3 months sufficient.

**f148** letter from on South St, W. Bowman

**f150** letter from Fanny Morgan, Vicarage, Conway re sister, Miss Nonnen, returns parcel FN sent, gives her address in Gothenburg, my grateful ack for the valuable aid and encouragement you have been so good as to give to my son, Dr (JE) Morgan in est a nurse tr inst in Manchester, a work which I trust may, with the blessing of God, prove very beneficial to the crowded pop there.

**f152** letter of Anstie to FN Oct 8 re kindness in responding to communic of WEN re Poor Law reform Oct 8, 16 Wimpole St.

8 October [1867] Dear Madam

Your kindness in responding to the communication with Mr Nightingale made to you of the views which I somewhat hurriedly expressed to him on the question of Poor Law reform induce me to hope that you will forgive my troubling with a word or two of clearer explanation than I could then give.

I think it very important that you should be aware that a large number of those who founded and worked the Workhouse Improvement Association from the first altogether distrusted the possibility of working the extremely cumbersome machinery of Mr Hardy's Act.

As regards the sick people, illeg, and probably as regards the whole administration of the Poor Law in London and other great towns, I am convinced and indeed have always believed that no good will be effected till there is a uniform rating and till the whole executive (as regards the sick) is left to a very small number of highly skilled persons who shall be so remunerated as to be able to give their whole time to the matter.

The ordinary (ratepayers') representatives on the committee ought, as you justly observe, to have nothing to do with anything but finances. They should in fact be in the position of the "committee" of an ordinary London hospital. It will need tremendous pressure on the government make them see the necessity of this. But something surely must be done in next Parliament. the attempts that are being made to put Mr Hardy's act in operation are nothing but helpless floundering. There is no plan, no uniformity of action, and there will be any amount of private jobbery and corruption and waste. At least that is my personal opinion from pretty close observation of what is going on. With many apologies for troubling you with this letter I am, dear Madam

yours faithfully

Francis Ed. Anstie

**ff154-57** letter of Emily Nonnen to FN from Gothenburg thanks for communication poss Oct 9 1867. Though I have still much difficulty in writing, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of expressing at least by a few line how grateful I am for your most kind and interesting communication (missing) which becomes, if poss, still more valuable when I think of the constant demands made on your time and strength by business of the greatest importance. It was truly kind of you to give such full extracts from Miss Rappe's letters and you may entirely depend on my absolute discretion as

regards the contents of your private letter which quite corroborated the opinion...on this matter. I must however observe that in attempting to ....re Baroness Ugglä (long letter)

**ff158-65** letter of Mary Hickson to FN [before 24 Oct 1867] addresses her re St T, wrote HBC

draft, f166, pencil JS hand with env f169 {arch: bef. 26 Oct 1867}

M. Hickson

I have made the requisite enquiries as to your case and the result is that the first thing to be ascertained is whether your health is so far improved as to enable you to become a nurse & you had better therefore present yourself again to Mrs. W. & Mr. W. and if they consider that you have a fair prospect of being strong enough, we shall be able no doubt to arrange the money part of the question. ± {illeg}

signed letter, ff167-68v, pen

**f167**

Oct. 26/67

[12:176-77]

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Madam

I received last week from my sister, Lady Verney, a letter from you ~~without date or address~~

I wrote twice to my sister for your address without success.

I then wrote to Mr. Bonham Carter & to Mrs. Wardroper (as both were mentioned in your note to me) for the same purpose, & received it from the latter.

I then made the Miss Hickson

**f167v**

requisite enquiries from both  
as to your wishes & what  
had passed previously to  
your writing to me.

It appears to me that the  
first thing to be ascertained  
is, whether your health  
is so far confirmed as to  
fit you for Hospital service -  
Unless Mr. Whitfield & Mrs.  
Wardroper feel convinced  
of this - and, without  
seeing you again, they could  
not be convinced that  
there was a fair prospect  
of your being strong enough

**f168**

for Hospital life, I do not  
see what I could do - As,  
of course, we can make  
no difference in this respect  
between paying & free-  
Probationers. No amount  
of payment would justify  
us in receiving a lady  
who was not (medically)  
considered in fit health  
for Hospital Nursing.  
Should all other qualifications  
be found suitable, there  
will be but little difficulty  
probably in arranging the  
money part of the question.  
Your own sound view of life  
will shew you that the  
Payment regulation is made

**f168v**

(not as an universal & rigid  
rule but) as a guarantee  
against entering without  
due consideration & then  
withdrawing altogether  
from the work. or  
withdrawing prematurely  
at a time when we should  
not consider the Probationer  
as sufficiently trained for  
the responsible work of  
Hospital Nursing.

[end 12:177]

Pray excuse my short reply -  
I am so overwhelmed with  
business that I know not  
what it is to have 10 minutes  
leisure. And I am an invalid  
entirely a prisoner to bed  
I beg to remain, Madam,  
ever your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

cancelled stamped envelope: London W Oc 30 67  
3 Portsea Pl, Connaught Sq. W

Miss Mary Hickson, 25 Richmond Road, Bayswater, W.  
London W 10 Oc 18 67  
back of envelope many comments & redirections  
draft, f176v, pencil

f175 printed notice of London Workhouse Infirmary Association, 69 Wimpole  
Street, Cavendish Square W. 5th Nov 1867 invites her to attend committee  
meeting, from Ernest Hart, Francis Anstie and Joseph Rogers, Hon Secs  
added in hand: I consider the propriety of extending the action of the  
Association to country workhouses

**f170** letter of F Anstie 4 Nov 1867. Well aware of the overwhelming number  
and importance of our engagements, re her health, hardly expected an answer  
to my letter, thanks for giving me one (missing). I wd beg you to  
understand that shd I from time to time think it advisable to send ou  
information of anything which it seems specially desirable that you shd  
know, I shall not expect any answer, unless I have put a direct question in  
the letter and you may be sure I will not do this w/o a particular and  
pressing reason. It happens, quite by an accident, that I was sent to  
Farnham by the Lancet people and had to write the report which has caused

such an uproar. I am not doing the inspection of the country workhouses generally, but was particularly asked to do the one at Farnham, as it was supposed (on respectable information received at the office) that some of the worst abuses wd require that illeg of knowledge for this experience, which can only be gained by some practice. I hesitated a good deal about publishing some of the most painful parts of that report, from reluctance to make what might seem personal attacks. But I came to the same conclusion that nothing but a series of the severest shocks will awaken the incredibly apathetic consciences of the English to the iniquity of the present Poor Law system. I assure you also that the facts which have come to my knowledge prove most thoroughly that the permanent staff of the Poor Law Board are worse than merely apathetic, they are unceasingly vigilant in smothering up abuses, and shifting complaints. It is no wonder the district inspectors don't do their duty. If, like your Mr Farnall, they make some poor little efforts in that way, a clique is instantly formed against them in the office, and they quickly find themselves out of favour. If a public movement for reform arises the permanent officials of the Poor Law Board set themselves in the most deliberate way to slander, privately, the motives of those who are active in it. This is no figure of speech, it is exactly what the permanent secretary, for instance, has been lately doing with regard to myself, although he long ago received, through a mutual acquaintance, information which must have made it apparent to him that I cannot possibly have any material interest to promote by agitation.

Pray forgive me for troubling you with these details, I shd not have mentioned them except for a distinct purpose, namely to convince you, if you are not yet aware of it, of the intense philistinism of the Poor law Board itself. So long as successive presidents continue to be guided by the permanent officials, instead of taking a bold and statesmanlike view of their own, we shall have no truly great and useful reform. It is very illeg to feel this, because one sees so plainly that nothing but a national rate for and a national govt of the whole run of sick, infirm, and infants can be of real use. As usual, I suppose, we miserable English shall go blundering away at every conceivable makeshift before we have the courage to do the really right thing. With many apologies for this long letter.

**f175** invitation of London Workhouse Infirmaries Assoc to FN  
with note on back in JS hand

**f176v**

I think that you ought to carry your association with the country, but the only way to do this is by trial branches for towns & districts. You will merely irritate the local people if you in London tell them what you think they should do

**f177** letter of F Anstie to FN 9 Nov [1867] shd have answered her kind letter (missing) earlier but for a rush of business, both medical and also with regard to the approaching inq at Farnham, which has left me scarcely a moment to myself. You were doubtless illeg to the meeting of the illeg com.... to give notice that that society is alive and active again. Your proposal about country branches of the assoc is most important, and if it can be carried out wd doubtless do much good. I shall introduce the idea (of course not mentioning you) at the earliest meeting. I thought Mr Sclater Booth's speech at the agric dinner the other day was very meek. He looked rather as if the Conservative govt were convinced that something effectual in the way of workhouse reform must now be attempted. With many thanks for your letters,

**f179** printed inv of Workhouse Infirmary Association, 69 Wimpole St., Cavendish Sq. to meeting, hon secs Hart, Anstie, Joseph Rogers

**f180** letter of F Anstie to FN Nov 30 [1867] May I venture to ask you whether a paragraph going the round of the papers is true--that you have offered to superintend the nursing at the new inf at Highgate? It wd be very desirable that the fact, one way or another shd be known, as the precedent wd be very important. I trust if there be any truth in this rumour that it signifies that the state of your health is considerably improved. A simple line in reply to my question wd greatly oblige.

notes, ff181-81v, pencil JS note

**f181**

took its own course with the new infirmary, The Secretary to the Committee called at the Poor Law Board & ~~of~~ stated that the nurses & Superintendent

[6:433-34]

Add Mss 45800

200

would be available for  
the new arrangement  
when required

**f181v JS hand, note**

The only ground of truth in the statement that I am going to superintend the nursing at St. Pancras new Infirmary is that Mr. Wyatt asked me to train nurses & a

Superintendent for them nearly a year ago. My Committee consented and the staff would have been completed by the time it was required had the Guardians gone on with the work. After the Poor Law board

**f182** letter of F Anstie to FN Dec 12, good letter, asks her to give public support for large measure of reform. Poor law matters have reached a crisis at which I hope you will pardon me if I venture to make an appeal to you. The opinion which you have been so good as to privately express to me, in favour of a large and comprehensive, instead of a trifling measure of reform wd be of enormous service to the cause, could it but be publicly known to be yours. From what I hear, Lord Devon even, though a very cautious man, feels comparatively little confidence now in half measures. But I don't think either that he will dare to initiate an adequate measure of reform, or that the editor of the Times wd back him in doing so, unless the mind of the House of Commons had been prepared by a fuller and more scientific investigation. Accordingly, I believe the all important thing to do at present wd be to demand a com of the House shall be appointed as early as poss in next session, and that to bring forward an immense mass of evidence to show, ot merely particular defects, but the hopelessness of the whole present system. Now at this crisis you, dear Madam cd help us to a degree which it is utterly imposs for anyone else to do. Half a dozen lines from you to the Times demanding that the subject of the Poor Law relief to the whole class of helpless paupers shall be made the subject of a Parl inq in the illeg that the defects of the present machinery are too great to allow us to hope that it can ever be made serviceable without large modifications. Six lines to this effect, with our name appended, wd do more to convince the great people at Gwydyr House that e matter is serious than anything else cd do. A least that is my opinion. I believe that affairs are very nicely balanced just now, and Lord Devon and Mr Booth are waiting to be pushed by the outside public. And I know from the best private authority, that the ed of the Times while he wd blame Lord Devon for rashness did he bring in at once a bill which proposed radical changes, wd in fact be very glad in the House of C wd appoint a com and give us the

chance of producing evidence to show the necessity of such change.

I can imagine all the objections which you may at first entertain to taking the decided step which I have been so bold as to ask you to take. I can only assure that I wd not ask it were I not strongly impressed with the importance of the crisis. Such an impression has just now been produced as the public by the Farnham inq as renders the present time very propitious to a bold move. And it must be remembered that if this illeg be allowed to fade away without the most being made of it such a feeling cannot easily be illeg again. For it is a tremendous risk for a journal to run in stating shortcomings of a board of guardians and if a Poor Law inspector in such very plain English as was used in the Farnham report. ...

ff188-92 letter of Francis Ed. Anstie, 16 Wimpole St. December 21. Thanks for your note of the 16th (missing)....I now hasten to say that I entirely agree with you as the advisability of considering the question of relief to the able-bodied at the same time that arrangements are made for the helpless poor. A House of Commons Committee, if it had sufficient energy and public spirit to look the whole question fairly in the face, could hardly fail to perceive that, by dealing in this enlarged manner with the questions, that improved classification would be greatly facilitated.

The fact is that, of the two, the question of able-bodied relief is even more pressing than that of sick relief. This business of pauperism in large distressed urban districts is becoming a frightful affair.

Some of the most sensible and reliable of the clergy assure me that the state of things is this: 1. The assistance which the parish can render, in a time of great temporary distress, is utterly insufficient as to gross amount, and from want of proper machinery is constantly distributed to the wrong people. 2. Multitudes of persons, with good hearts but weak heads, seeing the complete breakdown of the legal machinery of relief on the slightest extra pressure, rush forward on every occasion and deluge the suffering district with alms. Very few, however, of the clergy and lady visitors &c can be trusted to apply large sums like this on a moment's notice, with disaster [?]. As in the case of the parish relief, the noisy and shameless clamourers get the money, the labourers between industry and idleness are finally decided in favour of the latter mode of life, while the really decent & self respecting poor sit still in their homes & starve....It is urgently necessary that means should have been taken to provide machinery for extending legal instead of voluntary relief, to the able bodied in temporary distress, and for providing that this relief shall be given in the form of suitable labour paid with a fair wage. I say suitable labour, and I need hardly tell you that the present absurd and abominable system of confining nearly all the able-bodied paupers without discrimination to such work as oakum picking and stone breaking, so far from doing good does active mischief. And there is a refinement of cruelty in detaining artisans at this hopeless & miserable work during just the early morning hours when they should be seeking employment in their own

proper trade. I believe that this.....[results in] deciding great numbers of middle aged men and women, physically weak and sensitive, but perfectly able to do their proper work, to give up the wkhs fight and sink with apathy to the workhouse.

I can of course appreciate your reluctance to the publicity of a printed appeal to the country through the journals. I can only hope you will kindly do as much as you can for the cause by private influence with the members of government and the legislature.

I cannot think there is any [illeg] difficulty in getting the House of Commons to appoint a committee to deal with both the sick and able bodied paupers, if we put up some member to explaining clearly how essentially the two subjects are united. The inquiry ought decidedly to include a sharp inquisition into the past conduct of the permanent Secretary of the Poor Law Board, and the staff of inspectors. I am certain that all measures of reform will be useless till a number of these persons are dismissed. The permanent secretary, in particular, is not only passively, but actively, the opponent of every genuine reform.

With apologies for the length of this letter....Francis Ed. Anstie

letter, ff193-200v, pencil and pen,

[3:462-66]

**f193**

PRIVATE BURN

Dec 22/67

[not FN:] Returned only on your printed address:} 35 South Street  
own orders Park Lane,

[FN:]

London, W.

Dear Mr. Bowman

Without the faintest hope, but merely because I believe it would not be right to cease doing anything one could for reconciliation, I send you the enclosed.

Please read & return it.

[I shall myself tell Miss Jones that I have communicated with you upon it. For it seems to me that she intends it. But I shall not say that I have shewn you the letter.]

I think it is some little use making these explanations  
E.g. I myself thought Miss

**f193v**

Jones' conduct perfectly  
 unjustifiable (and  
 I told her so) in giving  
 notice of her resignation to the  
 two Hospitals. till I found  
 that Dr. Beale had himself  
 suggested it to her -  
 [not FN, written beside:]  
 [Dr B. is here at this  
 moment & says he  
 suggested nothing - She mentioned  
 her intention of doing so  
 & he gave no opinion  
 He does not know she  
 has stated this - I make  
 every allowance for  
 mistakes -]

FN: The fact is that some one  
 ought to have been chosen as  
 the authorized exponent of the  
 Council. Had that  
 been done I'd believe every  
 thing might have been yet  
 made straight- Had one  
 man been named - if possible  
 with full powers on both sides  
 - to re-examine the  
 Constitution & Rules - & see  
 whether such alterations could  
 not be made as would  
 reconcile the views of both sides,  
 - the Council & Sisterhood might yet be one.  
 [Miss Jones says she did not like the Coun. to  
 hear of it from any body but  
 {illeg} herself - & to me in a letter  
 that she did not wish to be placed  
 in the position of having the  
 resignation kept back as it  
 was last winter. By  
 writing to the Hospl. she  
 as it were passed the  
 Rubicon & forced the Council]

**f194**

[FN hand] Six months ago, Miss Jones would have been perfectly satisfied with a change of Chaplain - & with the embodiment (in the Rules) of a paper which she drew up & which I saw in your hand. [She & I had gone most thoroughly over that.]

I had the Revised Rules of 1867 in this house for a week by her desire - And I was obliged to tell her that they did not at all embody that paper - And she reminded me the last time I saw her of what I had then written to her.

**f194v**

To return to the enclosed  
(1)

I shall assert to her positively that I am quite sure that you did not [you may] say the things she complains of (to Mrs. L. or to anyone). [For you know, you said to me just the reverse] [I doubt if Miss L. has said these things they get so altered in transmission]

I shall also tell her, as I have told you, that such "Report" are inevitable.

But, do you know, I am entirely convinced that such "Reports" have been spread - [I sh' say not spread but have got about by themselves] And I

believe, but do not know, that Mrs. L. & also Mrs. L. [?] are quite capable of them Do you know that, even in my absolute retirement, such reports have reached me, &

**f195**

[2]

that one of the things which has  
 so completely worn me out  
 is the feeling myself  
 conscientiously called upon  
 to answer some such  
 "reports" about Miss Jones  
 (to more than one person)  
 which I knew to be positively  
 untrue.

When I think of the torrent of  
 calumny which will be let  
 loose upon her on Jan. 12,  
 all I wish is that the earth  
 might open & swallow me up -  
 I have been positively told by  
 a friend of Mr. Edward Coleridge  
 that I am "favouring a  
 "secret R.C." (sic) &c &c &c &c  
 [Of course I have not told Miss  
 Jones any of these things.]

**f195v**

(2.) I own I have myself  
 thought it very strange that  
 no "conference" has taken  
 place- For I was myself  
 told of the "Committee of  
 "three" by both sides - and  
 in writing -

I did not, it is true, see  
 much good in it-

I thought, as you know,  
 that an umpire - or a  
 short written statement  
 on either side - was the

**[end 3:464]**

only hopeful course -[no use as long as she absolutely declines to stay.]

Still, as neither of these  
 courses was taken, it is  
 scarcely fair to say what has  
 been said

**[3:464-66]**

It cannot be said that any  
 business = like course, promising  
 success, has been taken on  
 either side [See my letter]

**f196**

(3.) Do not suppose that  
after this, no 2 passage, she is alluding to  
any grievances, fancied or  
otherwise, against you -

"Outwitting" was my word.

"Informality" ditto -

I own that  $\mp$  it had been so  
dinned into my ears  
that Miss Jones had laid  
herself open to the charge of  
assuming a kind of spiritual  
supremacy that I am glad  
to have seen this clear  
refutation.

(4.) I am simply limiting  
myself to explanations -

I therefore make no  
farther recommendations

It is useless -

**f196v**

(5.) For the same reason viz  
that I am simply trying to  
make explanations, I will  
ask you to listen favourably  
while I allude once & for  
the last time - to what she  
says here - (5.) [But why  
make up such a bygone  
as this poor chaplain]

I don't think you can  
accuse me of being a  
partizan of Miss Jones:

You can't accuse me either  
of having "made too much" of  
that (doubly) unfortunate  
speech of Mr. Coleridge.

Miss Jones mentioned it to me  
once. I will frankly tell you  
that I did not believe her--  
I thought - she had misunderstood  
It was you who told  
me all I know about it -  
[Curiously enough a friend of

Add Mss 45800

208

[printed address upside down]

**f197**

Mr. Coleridge, (a man,) once said to me:- 'Oh! he's just that foolish kind of fellow who will talk about his "conscience" when he's nothing better to say to justify a foolish thing.']

May I tell you what I think the (very natural) effect of that unfortunate speech has been?-

And, in the first place, I must repeat that, of my own knowledge, I am convinced that Miss Jones (& Miss Jones only) prevented total disorganization of Nursehood & Sisterhood which would otherwise have been brought about by Mr. Giraud

But - the question was not whether the Council should

**f197v**

judge, acquit, or condemn Mr. Giraud - Miss Jones was not asking you to drag him before Sir P. Henry or the Bow St. Magistrates - Then it might fairly have been ~~said~~ answered; that he "did his best"-

The question was simply whether Mr. G. should leave - Miss Jones simply desired silence - She did not want "the Council" to bring any accusation against him.

~~The answer~~ Had Mr. G. been a proved Archangel, the question would have been still the same; "he must leave, because he is not adapted to the office - he plays matron"- or, If the Council don't think so,

Add Mss 45800

210

of course then Miss J. must  
leave & Mr. G. stay -

**f198**

The answer to Mr. Coleridge is so easy: - 'well, if you are putting "a stress" on your "conscience", don't do it - accept ~~Mr. Grand's~~ Miss Jones' resignation & run after Mr. Grand. I dare say there is time to catch him -

[I trust you will not think I am joking or 'nagging' about what is to me almost the greatest grief of my whole grievous life -]

But I think you must think yourself:- had Miss J. conducted her business as Mr. G. did his - where would have been the Nursing in your two Hospitals?

Of course it would have been utter ruin to St. John's House

**f198v**

Would Mr. Coleridge then have said:- that it put the "greatest possible stress on his conscience" for the person to leave who had done such mischief?

We know he would not -

Mr. C. is a Council=lor - Does this impress one much with his fitness to counsel?-

His utter want of sympathy - to say the least of it - with Miss Jones' anxieties - is very striking -

[How different from you when you helped her out of Miss Helps -]

This was all I was going to say when you stopped me (in conversation)

Add Mss 45800

212

I have not advised

Miss Jones in the sense of

**f199**

"resignation". Nor should I have done as she has done. Whatever influence I have had has been all exerted (& always exerted) on the other side. [When I said that you did not know what I had gone thro' from Chaplains in the Crimea,- & you stopped me, - I was only going to say, - & in answer to your question - that all this never made me resign- but that I knew what Chaplain could do in disorganizing women's societies]

I am pleading for Miss Jones - I have heard so often that she has used "threats" to the Council - that she "brings up these things" merely to be vexatious - that she is

**f199v**

making "grievances" in order to excuse her separation- (& I know that I shall hear such odious things after Jan 12 -)

that I am only trying to lay before you, - her & my dear & kind old friend - what I conceive her state of mind (not altogether unnatural) to be - [I make very great allowances for her - if she wd only hold on & let the points be discussed the while-!]

And, in saying this, it is only my idea,

She has never said these things to me -

Add Mss 45800

214

She never mentioned the speech  
in question, to me, but once -  
And then she mentioned no  
name -

Indeed you have no idea HOW  
little I know of here case

**f200**

except from yourself - from what you have told me.

She has sometimes declined to tell me things of which I had previously been fully informed by you -

e.g. What the Bishop had said & written -

For - we must never forget that she has been condemned as tho' she had been a criminal, for the proposition which your & her Bishop was himself the first person to originate -

And now, my dear kind friend, this is the last letter you will ever be troubled with from me on this most fatal subject -

**f200v**

I shut up shop to-morrow by 11 o'clock - After that, I receive no letters or the messages - for a time -

In addition to the medical reasons given me for this, I admit that I feel myself totally unable, as I know I can do no possible good, to be present (in mind) at the massacres of to-morrow & Jan 12 -

I look upon the crisis as one of far deeper importance than you do, or than even Miss Jones herself does - I look upon it that Sisterhoods are from henceforth impossible

God bless you                    **[end 3:466]**  
ever yours affectionately  
Florence Nightingale

**f201** initialed note

It would really be a  
comfort to me, if you  
would return me my  
own letter also -  
I am so afraid of mischief -  
FN

**f202** letter to FN from W Bowman I think**f203v** on back of a letter from Bowman, dated Dec 23

The Council are just like Fenians

draft, ff204-05, pencil [arch: c1867] black-edged paper **[6:434]**

**f204 JS hand**

If you will bear with me I should  
like to reply to your letter generally  
with reference to the principles which  
it contains.

Everyone if he or she will  
look about them has more sets  
of duties and opportunities than  
one. But generally there is one  
duty, or one class of duties that  
~~they~~ he either finds ready at hand, as  
which ~~they~~ he or she is more  
naturally fitted for the discharge  
of. Now this is my position.  
My life is spent in trying to  
introduce a great reform in the  
care & management of the sick  
and suffering. This is my work.  
I have proclaimed it, written  
about it, advertised about, printed  
about, in short I have done every  
thing I can to lend it my name  
& influence, and while I have done  
this, publicly, I have privately exhorted,  
advised & aided those who were  
willing to work in the same direction  
but did not happen to know the

**f204v**

way so well as I do. This is daily occupation for me & the people, poor law guardians, local workers & others have shown no indisposition to follow advice. It is generally known besides that I am asked & give the advice willingly.

I could scarcely write publicly about this, but every knows that I am an old nurse, and so every thing required by your postulate of women being publicly known as servers in works of this kind is ~~illeg~~ granted

But besides this there are many questions incidental to my own work, among others the prevention of disease in which I can help, not in discovering new principles for the principles - are common public property already, but by drawing the attention of government & its

**f205 JS hand**

officers to such subjects. This I have also done by printing & by my own influence, leaving the application to the sec of State for war & the Governor General of India. But you will see that it would not do for me to write in the Times that I advised Sir John Lawrence to do such & such things. It is here that as it appears to me Prudence steps in and tells me when to stop - I am satisfied that in using this influence I do very much more indeed than I could do by any number of complaints against Government in the Times

draft, f206, pencil JS hand

**f206**

X Such things as these coming before me day by day in the Newspapers indicate that we cannot go on as we are & that the whole subject of unemployed poor, in other words of working faculty without the will ~~of~~ or means of applying it productively, must be taken up by a Special Commission or committee which will go into the entire question without prejudice & tell us what is to be done

incomplete signed letter, ff207-08, pen FN hand again [8:198-99]

**f207** [arch: the split between St. John's House & Miss Jones, after 12 Jan 1868} [3]

and managed a Training School of mine for Midwifery Nurses - in consequence of a misunderstanding with the Council of St. John's House, due, first to the mismanagement, secondly, to the ill temper on the part of the Council in this unfortunate difference - & thirdly, to their imputing "views" to Miss Jones, which however she does not hold.

The Nursing in King's College Hospl. is now as bad as or worse than, {as I am informed by competent eye-witnesses,) any Hospital in the kingdom.

And the Bishop is

Add Mss 45800

219

consecrating the Nursing  
which leads to Church yards

**f207v**

with as much apparent  
zeal as Bishops are said  
to consecrated the Church yard  
itself.

No other remedy is possible  
except for the Hospital  
Committee to break their  
contract with St. John's  
Council on the ground of  
incompetency - & to renew  
it with Miss Jones & her  
Sisterhood -

I am waiting to re-open my  
Midwives' School till I  
can re-constitute it  
(elsewhere) under Miss  
Jones.

Pardon this long letter on a  
subject which I may be  
impertinent in writing about thus,  
as to a friend - and

**f208**

mistaken in supposing to be  
interesting to you -  
And pray believe me  
ever your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

**f209** letter to FN from 5 C S Jan 17 from W Bowman

**f211** letter to FN from Charles R. Francis, sends public of his, surgeon  
major Indian Army 45800 f211 and f212

f213 letter of Nathaniel Powell KCH to FN re lying-in 45800 f213 [important  
letter, gives details of circs leading to closing, from 1861 proposition to  
committee for a ward

draft, ff215-16, pencil JS hand

**f215** {archivist: To Nathaniel Powell} {archivist: ca 1 Feb 1868}

In reply to your letter of the - -  
informing me that you know about the  
Midwifery ward at Kings College hosp<sup>l</sup>  
and of death from Puerperal  
fever, but expressing ~~yo~~ the desire  
of the Committee & Medical board  
that some way might still be  
devised of training Midwifery nurses  
in connection with the hospital,  
I am desirous in the first place  
of expressing my grateful thanks  
to the Committee for their offer.

{illeg}

The unfortunate occurrences  
which have led to the closing of  
the ward with my entire  
concurrence came to my knowledge  
about a year ago, & I immediately  
asked for information on the subject -

The result was that I made  
up my mind that the midwifery  
training should be discontinued  
as soon as possible. I regretted  
this necessity all the more that

**f215v**

My first proposal for training  
nurses at Kings College was  
entirely connected with the  
great confidence I have in  
Miss Jones the then head of the  
nursing establishment. I need  
scarcely state that the class  
of women who usually act  
as midwifery nurses require  
very special training not only  
in the knowledge of their art  
but in character & conduct.

It was my knowledge of Miss  
Jones high capabilities which  
mainly induced me to select  
Kings College hospital as a

training school.

The ward {illeg}  
can no longer be used for the  
purpose & unfortunately Miss  
Jones is no longer in the hospital.

I am therefore in this position

**f216**

that the Midwifery training schooling  
is entirely broken up, and I  
regret that I do not see my  
way in its reorganization in  
connection with Kings College  
hospital

signed letter, ff217-18v, pen and pencil

[8:199-201]

**f217**

35 South Street W.

{archivist: ca 1} February 1868

Sir

~~Allow me to thank you first for  
your every kind & considerate letter~~ I beg to acknowledge the receipt of  
yours

January 29. informing me that you  
had closed the Midwifery ward at  
King's College Hospital on account of  
Deaths from Puerperal fever - and  
expressing the desire of the Committee  
& the Medical Board that some way  
might still be devised of training  
Midwifery Nurses in connection with  
your Hospital under the "Nightingale Fund".

I am most desirous in the first  
place of expressing how grateful  
I feel to the Committee for the  
kindness of their offer.

The unfortunate recurrences

**f217v**

which have necessarily led to the closing of the  
 lying = in Ward ~~with more than~~  
~~my entire consent~~ [illeg] came to my  
 knowledge early in June last ~~about 7 or 8 months~~  
~~ago since when have never~~ I immediately  
~~ceased in my endeavours.~~ applied myself not  
 only to obtain complete information  
 on the subject & but also to draw  
 up comparative Statistics with ~~all~~  
~~the~~ other lying = in Wards & Hospitals  
 in London, Paris & Dublin. ~~with~~  
~~which I am acquainted, but also,~~  
 at the same time  
 as you are aware, urgent applications was ~~to see if nothing~~  
 made to the community  
~~could be done~~ to remedy certain  
 glaring causes of offence which were pointed to in the  
 immediate vicinity of the lying = in  
 Ward itself

The result of all was - my own expressed  
 determination that the Midwifery  
 training should be continued merely

**f218**

during trial of those remedies - and,  
 on their failure, that it should  
 be discontinued as soon as possible.  
 [next section stroked through]

I regretted this necessity all the more  
 that the first proposal for training  
 Nurses at King's College Hospital  
 originated in the great confidence  
 inspired by the qualities of Miss  
 Jones, the then head of the Nursing  
 Establishment. This made me  
 doubly grateful for the kind  
 willingness of King's College Hospital  
 to give the essentials for carrying  
 out the scheme.

I need scarcely state that the class of  
 women who usually act as Midwifery  
 nurses require very special  
 training. not only in the knowledge

of their art but in character &  
conduct.

It was the knowledge of the high capabilities

**f218v** [this folio stroked through to signature]  
of Miss Jones which mainly induced  
the selection of Kings' College Hospital  
as a Training School.

The ward can no longer be used for  
the purpose.

And unfortunately Miss Jones is no  
longer in the Hospital.

I am therefore in this position that  
the Midwifery Training = School is  
entirely broken up. And I deeply  
regret that I do not see my way  
to its re=organization in connection  
with Kings' College Hospital.

Permit me again to repeat my thanks  
for all your great kindness to us &  
my regret for this termination of our  
Connection - & to beg that you will  
believe me, Sir,

ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

[in pencil JS: ] I cannot reply further  
to your proposal without laying  
the Subject before the Committee  
of the Nightingale Fund & I have therefore sent your letter to  
the Secretary who will communicate  
with you officially

Nath= Powell Esq.

&c &c

[end 8:200]

draft, f219, pencil black-edged paper JS hand {arch ca beg. Feb. 1868}

**f219**

The Governors of K.C.H. have  
in the public press made it  
appear that they were the  
parties who took alarm  
about the deaths in their  
midwifery ward & determined  
to close it notwithstanding  
that it was opened at the  
instance of the N.F. Committee

**[8:201]**

{illeg} Now, as soon as  
F.N. was informed that  
deaths had taken place  
in the ward, she on her part made enquiries &  
took steps for discontinuing  
the connection of the  
N.F. with the K.C.H.  
This should be stated

**f220** letter to FN from Liv Wkh re A Jones from E. Gilpin, lady visitor for  
15 years there

**f222** letter to FN from doctor illeg, 5 Abercromby Square, Liv treating A  
Jones illeg 45800 f222

**f224** letter of E. Gilpin, Liverpool

**f226** letter to FN from Liv Wkh from E. Gilpin Feb 12

signed letter, ff229-30, pen

**f229** {archivist: Dr. George Taylor's services in Crimea & F.N.'s experience with him.}

Feb 12/68

{printed address:} 35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

My dear Sir,

If anything can be done for Mrs. George Taylor's case, as enclosed, under the amended Act, I am sure that the Commissioners will take it under their favourable consideration.

I knew Dr. George Taylor very well. I shall never forget how he worked at the difficult task of organizing the

**229v**

Medical Service of the Land Transport Corps in the Crimea War.

After he had put it in order, I went up from Scutari by Order & took over the Female Nursing of the two Hospitals of the Land Transport Corps under him in the Crimea.

I knew much of his exertions & able willing conduct of a very severe task from

**f230**

beginning to end.

I should be much pleased  
if anything could be done  
for the family of so  
zealous & wise a Public  
servant as was Dr.  
George Taylor.

Pray believe me  
my dear Sir  
ever yours most faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Capt. E. Gardiner Fishbourne  
R.N. CB.

**f231** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 13

**f233** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 14

**f235** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 16

**f238** letter to FN from doctor John Gee or Ogle ? Feb 16

**f240** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 17

**f242** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 18

**f243** letter to FN from Gilpin re Jones's death Feb 19

**f246** letter to FN from Tho. M. Jackson Feb 19, a quack doctor note on

draft, f246v, pencil

**f246v** {text needs deciphering}

The man James you have asked me about I believe employed was in the Hospitals at Scutari ~~a-an assistant ward master,~~ {illeg} {illeg} in what he has stated {illeg} ~~I have known nothing of him~~ I know nothing of his proceedings since then except in connection what I have seen in the public papers with reference to legal proceedings against him. His use of my name for the purpose of {illeg} exciting interest in his present pursuits is I need scarcely say without entirely {illeg} unauthorized by me. ~~As to his having any authority from the W O to practice medicine you may I do but believe a word~~ {illeg} what he says {illeg} W.O.

draft, ff252-52v, pencil [upper right corner of folio damaged, words missing] JS hand black-edged

**f247** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 20

**f249** letter to FN from Gilpin Feb 24

**f252** {archivist: ca 25 Feb 1868}

Satchell

I need scarcely say how deeply have felt the great loss which not only you in Liverpool & I have here sustained by the removal of Miss A. Jones but which will afflict more or less the progress of the great Workhouse reform we have so much at heart

I shall do my very best to find you a fitting successor, and I indeed ~~I hav~~ am already in communication with a Lady who is coming to see me on the subject. I will write you again as soon as I have had further opportunity of enquiry

In the mean time I think the committee have taken the very best course open to them for supplying temporarily the vacancy which has occurred.

**f252v**

In reply to your letter of Feb 19th containing an overview of statements made by a man named James. There was a man of this name employed in the hospitals on the Bosphorus, ~~but this~~ & supposing the man you write about to be the same, this fact is the only atom of truth among the statements ~~contain~~ given in your letter as having been made by him

**f?? written by ??, FN comments in bold**  
which folio?

I think very much

**I had not written Miss Gilson- Mrs. H's Nurses**

with you in respect

**have told her this. F.N.**

to the memoir of our

dear departed Agnes-

& hope if a memoir

is written of her it

will be short and

most of the diary

left out. It does her no justice.

signed letter, ff253-53v, pen black-edged

**f253**

London February 25 1868

Sir

In reply to your letter  
of Feb. 19, only just received,  
I beg to state that the  
account, therein given, of  
the man James of himself,  
is an unmitigated falsehood,  
with the exception of this  
one fact, that there was  
a soldier of that name  
employed in the Hospital  
Service at Scutari.

I am sorry to say  
that this is not the

**f253v**

first time we/I have been  
called upon to deny his  
statements.

I beg to remain

Sir

your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

Mr. Thos. M. Jackson

**f254** prob dictated letter to FN from Rathbone re getting notices in papers,

Add Mss 45800

233

notice refused by the editors of all the newspapers mentioned by you except  
Daily News, 45800 f254

**f256** letter to FN from John Gee re care of Jones, her expression of appreciation of his services Feb 27 [1868]

**f258** letter of Josephine M. Higinbotham sister of Jones to FN 45800 f258 March 2 black-edged

**f261** letter of Bowman to FN re loss of Jones Mar 3/68

**f262** letter of Rathbone Bedf & Co to FN re death notices Mar 3

**f263** letter of H. Walker, Liverpool to FN Mar 19 black-edged

**f268** letter to FN from E. Gilpin Mar 20

**f272** letter to FN from J. Scott Robertson? re her letter of 16th Mar, delayed answering until got info from Netley, encloses letter of

f273 letter to Robertson from Wilbraham, commandant's office, Royal Victoria Hosp to answer FN question 19 March 1868. printed letterhead of Commanding Officer, Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley 10th March in answer to FN's question, impossible to judge from what have seen of Miss Margaret Crampe's mgt of small staff of nurses here, Wilbraham

**f275** letter to FN from F.A. Bedwell, vice ch of committee KCH 45800 20 March

draft f278, pencil JS hand, {arch: [To Bedwell] [After 20 Mar 1861?]}

**f278**

The only answer I can give you to your ~~req~~ question about retaining secretions of patients - in the wards is the principle I have already laid down in my nursing papers, namely that on no account whatever should any excretion or any part of it be retained in any ward after it is passed. ~~If~~ ~~All the requirements of~~ This is the only principle you can recognize. & in cases where it is considered advisable to ~~return~~ retain excretions for examination provision should be made for ~~returning~~ identifying & keeping them in some place out of the ward altogether.

FN hand:

Do you think Ld Devon

Add Mss 45800

235

is getting the department  
into very good order?  
You know that Mr. Rathbone  
is bringing up a Deputation  
to Ld Devon on his plans?

draft, ff279-80, pencil FN hand [wkh]

**f279**

My - - has told me that you were so good as to be thinking of our wants in respect to a L.S. for our Nurses of Lpool W.I. beds -

Altho' we have a Trained Asst. Matron (or Supt.) at ye Lpool W I, I do not believe it possible for any person, however able or accomplished, to undertake, without training or experience, the charge of L.S. of any Hospl= least of all of a W.H.

And this is the reason why I venture to write to you - I want to enlist you in our cause -

At the same time that all Engl. is ringing with the cry for "Women's Work," we can scarcely obtain any thing like sufficient living materials, fit to carry on our work at all, & highly paid work -

And it can scarcely be imagined the heartbreak of losing the best & dearest of all the workers from over work - She overworked because others underwork - And the world goes selfish idle ways, leaving such as her who was as p & r [?] as any, to die of over work.

For Trained Matrons & Supts as well as for Trained Nurses, we have no lack of situations - some more highly paid than this one of Lpool - some of course, lower

These situations rain upon us

The want is - for people to fill them

But then "ladies don't like to be trained"

It is wonderful, the want of thought which exists upon this point - as if a woman could undertake Hospl management in which, more than in anything else, thousands of lives are involved, without having learnt anything about it. any more than a man can undertake to be, e.g. Prof of Greek, without having learnt Greek

**f279v**

May I venture to enclose to you our Rules for L.P.  
and may I add that we are able at the present  
time to admit a few gentlewomen free of expence  
that we have applications from Institutions in want  
of Supts. (or Matrons) & Head Nurses,

provincial Hospls= in Engld

& for a lady asst in a large W.I.

And shd any Prob. after a month's or somewhat longer  
trial afford satisfactory evidence of prospective  
fitness for such appointments, our Comm. wd. be  
prepared to allow her a moderated salary  
during the year of training -

This is the dry business part of the affair

Could any one see the change which was worked  
in less than 3 years in the largest W.I- it wd need  
no pressing of mine to induce people "with idle &c  
"to enter on so blessed a work -

For all rose up & called her "blessed with one accord  
the dry old Vestry

the paupers (among whom are the worn-out old

Prostitutes, the worn-out old thieves, the worn-out old  
drunkards (she could make the very subject of  
D.T. wandering about in his shirt get into bed  
again 'for her sake')

But then there is nothing romantic in this in the practice

In the practice this kind of thing is very different  
from what it is in the novel -

But there is no field in the world so fruitful as the W.  
for a woman who will really learn her business

**f280**

These poor creatures seem put into your hand by  
God. There is no one to interfere between you  
& them -

And we have never said as R.C. Orders do  
the test of fitness for God's service is to be able to  
do all this without pay

On the contrary we say the best of fitness for God's  
service is whether you will be trained so as to  
command the ~~high~~ highest pay

Add Mss 45801, 230 folios, 67 pages, general correspondence 1868-69, Adam Matthew reel 32

**f1** letter to FN 6 April 1868 from F.A. Bedwell, vice-chair of committee, KCH, invites to a festival dinner 24 April, anxious to lay before guests an encouraging account, if FN will come a lady's gallery will be provided 6 April 1868. We have a work in hand requiring great energy, perseverance and watchfulness, its success after all depends on the benevolence of those give pecuniary aid

**f3** pencil draft in JS hand archivist 7 Apr 1868

Thank him for his invitation.  
It would afford me great pleasure to comply with his request & to forward the object in view. But as my connection with Kings College Hosp has altogether ceased since the unfortunate departure of Miss Jones & her nurses & as I really know so little that in substituting the new arrangements it would be out of my power to do what you ask

signed letter, ff4-5, pen

**f4**

April 7/68  
{printed address} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge your note of April 6 - and to thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the Festival dinner of Kings Coll: Hospital on April 24.

Unfortunately, I am & have been for years entirely a prisoner to my room from illness.

It would afford me great pleasure to comply  
F.A. Bedwell Esq

**f4v**

with your request and  
to forward the object in  
view.

~~But, as my connection with  
Kings Coll: Hospital has  
altogether ceased with~~

as ~~as~~ since the  
~~the fatal~~ departure of  
Miss Jones & her "Sisters"  
- ~~and, as~~ from St John's house I really know  
so little that is satisfactory  
of the new Nursing  
arrangements, it would  
be out of my power to  
do what you ask.

**f5**

I have the honor to be  
Sir  
your obed't serv't  
Florence Nightingale

note, f5v, pencil {upside down} [5:259]

**f5v**

Want of earnestness  
v. Lady Eastlake  
The Lady Philanthropists  
who do the odds & ends of charity  
especially in the country  
all wanting in earnestness  
all deteriorate on doing their charity  
as you would expect  
It is a kind of Conscience Quieter  
a Soothing Syrup  
they take no pains to do it (or any  
thing) as well as it can be done  
as a work -  
And; the consequence is: a degeneration  
of their quality of character  
under it

**f6** letter to Dear Florence from Elizabeth Eastlake 8 April 1868

ff8-11 Heathcote letter April 11 1868, Hersley Park, Winchester, hosp nearly completed, re new staff of nurses at end of current quarter, hoped to retire but pressed to stay, re rules, mag com, wants "clear and definite rules for governing the relations between medical men and nursing est, re Miss Freeman

**note, f12, pencil** draft in JS hand [ca. 12/13 April 1868 reply to W. Heathcote

Heathcote

Your first year has been a great success for apparently your death rate has been 23 per 1000 treated in the hospital which is just the death rate of the whole metropolis. Would it not be admirable to get out the death rate of the Lo [?] infirmary for a series of years. It will be your best justification for the outlay; Still I must say that the hospital has cost too much. The beautiful new Swansea infirmary has I am told cost £110 or £120 per bed.

**f13** letter of Mary L. Campbell, 14 Curzon St. Mayfair

Dear Madam, I must apologize for leaving your letter so long unanswered, but owing to the recent confinement of my sister I have been more than usually busy during the last week and could not give the time and attention to your interesting letter which it deserved.

Most gladly would I be enlisted in your cause which I think a noble one.

The first practical thing for me to do seems to be to induce Mrs Allston, who is so highly recommended, to fit herself for one of these vacant situations and for this object I have written to Mrs Pole Carew to tell her of the opening there is at present through the liberality of your committee.

I wish I knew many others whom I could urge to take the same course. But I fear it is not easy to find the proper persons. You must have good health, a good head and a good heart, and these three things do not very often go together. I have a strong suspicion that if the whole phalanx of female writers who most irritate you were to offer themselves to you as probationers you would reject the greater part of them. Still, I will not despair, whenever I meet with an eligible person I will most cordially send her to Mrs Wardroper. We shall certainly never see our workhouses and hospitals in a satisfactory state till gentlewomen take their proper share of the work and bring the influence of superior gentleness refinement and education to bear on it. But it is quite clear that the gentlewomen must be professionally trained, and I can't understand their objecting to it if they wish to be of

any use. Gratified she had a dim recollection of me.

I must apologize for leaving your letter so long unanswered, but owing to the recent confinement of my sister I have been more than usually busy during the last week and cd not give the time and attention to your most interesting letter which it deserved.

Most gladly would I be enlisted in your cause which I think a noble one.

The first practical thing for me to do seems to be to induce Mrs Allstone, who is so highly recommended, to fit herself for one of these vacant situations and for this object I have written to Mrs Pole Carew to tell her of the opening there is at present, through the liberality of your committee.

I wish I knew many others whom I could urge to take the same course. But I fear it is not easy to find the proper persons. You must have good health, a good head and a good heart and these three things do not very often go together. I have a strong suspicion that if the whole phalanx of female writers who now imitate you were to offer themselves to you as probs you wd reject the greater part of them. Still I will not despair and whenever I meet with an eligible person I will most cordially do my best to send her to Mrs Wardroper.

We shall certainly never see our workhouses and hospitals in a satisfactory state till gentlewomen take their proper share of the work and bring the influence of superior gentleness, refinement and education to bear on it. But it is quite clear that the gentlewomen must be professionally trained, and I can't understand their objecting to it if they wish to be of any use.

I feel much gratified that you shd have even a dim recollection of me, and that you shd have done me the honour to write to me yourself about the cause for which you have shown so noble an example of self sacrifice. Pray believe me, dear Miss Nightingale, yours very truly, Mary L. Campbell

**f17** 14 April letter of Louisa Freeman, Carlisle Memorial Refuge, 6 Queen Sq re letter from Rathbone, re Sir W. Crofton; seems a nurse but cnd't work there?

**f19** letter of Louisa Freeman 16 Apr 1868

Your most kind and considerate note has quite removed a blight from my spirit, for I began to feel if over pressed and tempted to grasp too much, I shd be unfit to enter on my duties. The com ere have been most obliging in meeting as far as possible Mr Rathbone's wishes, but it is no easy mater to leave the work of a "Convict Home" with in one to take the reins. I have but one desire in undertaking the charge of the Liverpool Wkh Inf and that is to "work while it is called today and to be instrumental in the good of others and trust I may be"wise as the serpent and harmless as the dove" seeking grace to follow in her footsteps who so closely resembled her Divine Master.

Again sincerely thanking you for the kind interest and sympathy so pressed an praying that if God's will your bodily strength may be restored to you

**f21** letter to FN from Wm Heathcote Ap 16 1868, do not hurry about nursing questions. Well to send for your perusal a letter from Paget

**f23** letter of Mary Vyner, Newby Hall, Ripon to FN thanks for her letter April 16 1868 re nursing, black-edged

[printed address] Newby Hall

Ripon

April 16th 68

Madam,

I thank you much for  
your most kind letter.  
The delay in answering  
it has proceeded from  
my time being fully  
occupied in nursing  
one of our srs in  
scarlatina, is I trust

v

you will excuse it.

I take the deepest  
interest in all your  
plans for giving good  
nurses. I think them  
admirable. read all  
I can, & hear all I  
can about them

But alas! for  
I can do but little

**f24**

to help you to get the  
right sort of woman  
to make good ones.

Common sense (which  
is indispensable) is a  
novel, rare [??] thing  
to find. Thus it ought  
to be added to  
strong minds, with strong  
bodies, which nurses

**f24v**

must have.

I live a quiet country  
life. My little house  
is for convalescent  
ladies & the poor  
things who seek us  
continue there. I can        [?]  
generally only patch  
up to recommence  
working as governesses  
etc.

## f25

Miss James [Jones?] is the first  
one I have had out  
of numbers that is at  
all fit for the post  
tho physically, fit  
unequal to illeg  
the hospital

There is I think  
something essentially  
wrong & foolish in

## v

the usual education  
given to ladies of  
the middle class. they  
are so helpless  
so useless. I think  
a little music a  
little crochet, very  
little cultivation of  
mind or useful  
household knowledge

## f26

comprises all they know,  
& though they are often  
good, amiable, religious  
people, they have no  
strength to struggle or  
to grapple with life's  
difficulties.

Add Mss 45801

245

If ever I come across  
the right stamp of  
lady I will most

v  
thankfully write to you  
& tell you about her.

It did not require  
a great knowledge of  
you to make us glad  
to hear from you. Yours  
is a world wide known  
reputation--for enormous  
is the good you have  
already done & what  
is more, laid the

f27  
first step for others  
to continue with  
Pray believe me  
Madam  
ever your faithful servt  
Mary Vyner

f28 letter to Miss Freeman April 17/68 by illeg, Winchester, re appointment  
at Liverpool and leaving here

f30 letter to FN Henrietta Mary Walker, April 21 1868 from Liverpool  
Workhouse

f35 letter to FN from Wm Heathcote, Hursley Park, Winchester, printed April  
22 1868, can't thank enough for the trouble taken for us, must thoroughly  
digest and take notes of your letter. I cannot thank you enough for all the  
trouble you have taken for us. I must thoroughly digest and take notes of  
your letters and then I will not fail to destroy those which contain remarks  
too private for the risk of meeting any other eye but mine. We go to London  
tomorrow.

f37-38 Helen Taylor to FN 22 April, embossed Blackheath Park Kent, asks FN to  
sign petition, upwards of 15,000 persons have, to be present to Parl

[embossed stationery] Blackheath Park  
Kent

22 April 1868

Dear Madam

A petition is now in course of signature which has already been signed by  
upwards of 15,000 persons, and which will be presented to Parliament by my  
step-father, Mr Stuart Mill, in the course of the present session. The first

signature to it is that of the first of living English women, Mrs Somerville, who consents that it shall appear as the petition of "Mary Somerville and others" and who has signed it for that purpose from a sick bed.

Having the deep gratification of knowing that you have consented to join the National Society for Women's Suffrage, I venture to beg that you will add your name to the honoured one of Mrs Somerville.

Apologizing for troubling you, and begging that you will kindly return me the enclosed copy of the petition (whether with or without your own signature), without troubling yourself to write in reply, I am, Madam,  
yours respectfully  
Helen Taylor

ff37-38 Signed original letter from Helen Taylor, on embossed **[5:404]** letterhead, pen

Blackheath Park  
Kent

Madam

A petition is now in course of signature which has already been signed by upwards of 15,000 persons, and which will be presented to parliament by my step-father, Mr Stuart

v  
Mill, in the course of the present session. The first signature to it is that of the first of living English women, Mrs Somerville, who consents that it shall appear as the petition of "Mary Somerville and others" and who has signed it for that purpose from

f38

a sick bed.

Having the deep gratification  
of knowing that you have  
consented to join the National  
Society for Women's Suffrage,  
I venture to beg that you  
will add your name to  
the honoured one of Mrs

Somerville.

Apologising for troubling  
you, and begging that you

f38v

will kindly return me the  
enclosed copy of the  
petition (whether with or  
without your signature)  
without troubling yourself  
to write in reply, I am  
madam

yours respectfully  
Helen Taylor

f39 H.M. Walker to FN 28 April 1868, Liverpool Workhouse, answers her kind  
and beautiful letter (missing), thanks for it, grateful for kind sympathy you  
feel for me; will not desert. God alone knows the struggles of my heart, but  
He has helped me hitherto and He will help me again, will not think about  
getting away any more, pray for help and strength, with own strength shd not  
be able to stay one week after dear Miss Smyths leave; will serve Miss  
Freeman as truly as wd my own beloved lady

f41 Helen Taylor to FN 25 April 1868, embossed thanks for signing

ff4-42 Signed letter from Helen Taylor on embossed stationery, pen Columbia  
025, same wording, different lines in Col **[5:405]**

Blackheath Park

Kent

25th April 1868

Dear Madam

Allow me to thank  
you earnestly for your kind  
and prompt answer to

my request. I know I may  
say that little worthy as  
Mr Mill thinks himself  
of the place with which  
you honour him in

f41v

your esteem, yet the  
rare power of feeling deep  
respect and enthusiasm is  
one of the strongest titles  
to reverence from him,  
as from all those who  
know how rare it is.

He thanks you warmly  
for the confidence you

f41

have placed in his judgement  
as to the best means of  
promoting our common  
principles, and he holds  
himself at your disposal  
either personally or by  
letter for any communications  
you may wish to make  
to him.

I am dear Madam  
yours respectfully  
Helen Taylor

lots of letter to FN, incl from Liverpool W. Inf, Leeds

f43 letter of Birm Br of Nat Soc for Women's Suffrage 30 April 1868 asks FN  
to attend public meeting in town hall

note, f44v, pencil

**f44v**

I am confined to  
my room &  
am quite unable  
to take part in  
any public  
proceedings.

[asked to attend/speak at a women's suffrage meeting]

f45 letter of Sophia Wilson to FN from Nottingham re rules for probationers  
to send May 1 1868

f46 from Henrietta Walker, May 6 1868 letter from Liverpool re Miss Smyth, forgive writing; Miss Smyth will be laid up, overwhelmed with grief and care, poor Mrs Kidd is sinking fast

f48 Louisa Freeman to FN 7 May 1868, duties now over and go to St T. Tuesday, but you mt like to see me first

f50 again Louisa Freeman to FN 9 May 1868, had no time to reply to her letter (missing)

I was on until a late hour last evening and had not time to reply before post to your kind letter. I shall hope to come and see you at 4 p.m. on Monday when we can enter more fully into details. I quite feel the force of what you mention as a difficulty in Mrs Wardroper's way as to deviating from rules & c & making exceptions in one case and another, and on this account I consulted with you because I wd not ask Mrs Wardroper to do anything which would unnecessarily bring a dissatisfied element into operation. I know from experience it is needful as far as possible not to make exceptions and I am quite willing and anxious to uphold Mrs W's authority and yield cheerful obedience to her wishes. In great haste. Yrs very truly Louisa Freeman

f52-54 from C.R. Jones New Inf Leeds, lady supt nursing, undated  
I feel sure you have frequently heard of me, altho never from me, until present time. year of residence at St T. longed ardently to see you. For I felt if I one had the opp of entering into conversation with you would understand me, and no one at St Thomas' did, hence my life three was far from happy, and if I had not possessed a strong inclination and liking for the work I shd have left it. Dec last appointed to organize the new and very handsome bldg. I send you one of the papers containing an account of it. I have been pleased to find...re East.

I shd esteem it a very great honour if you wd kindly favour me with a few lines of encouragement in this great work. England's daughters.

f55 from Lady Eastlake 24 May, 7 Fitzroy Sq, re a Miss Wright who wants to nurse

Dear Florence Nightingale

lady a Miss Wright whom I have mentioned before to Lady Verney if not to you has a great wish to join the small band who devote themselves to the sick. But having some experience (We live in the Norfolk and Bromwich Hosp) and having spent many weeks in the university hosp here the

signed letter, ff57-58, pen [6:289]

**f57**

To

Dr. Norman MacLeod

Sir

Many years ago, I had the privilege of seeing you in Scotland. I cannot hope that you will remember it. You then spoke to me most kindly & heartily about your wish to further my plans for introducing Trained Nurses who should, altho' paid, serve for a higher motive than pay - Altho' bread ~~they~~ we must eat, we need not live for bread alone - neither the poorest nor the richest of us. I have always remembered that ~~interview~~ conversation. I have always hoped that the time might come when I might claim your help. Now I believe that time has come. Years have passed over my head since then years marked by as many ship wrecks as St. Paul's - years during which I am ashamed to say, I have often been not only ~~east~~ "perplexed", ~~down~~ but "in despair" But these are things which are only personal. I write

**f57v**

to you, not about these,  
but to ask you to give  
your powerful help to the  
object you once spoke to me  
about with warm & kindly  
interest - viz. the introduction  
of Trained Nurses for the  
nursing of the sick poor.

The training is provided.  
The poor are always there.

But the labourers do  
not come ~~in anything like~~  
- That is, they do not come  
in anything like the  
proportion of the demand  
there is upon us.

- I do not say, in proportion  
to the number of sick poor  
to be nursed - that is as  
an ocean to a ~~pint pot~~ tea cup  
but not even in proportion  
to the number of well=  
paid places we have  
waiting & clamouring to  
be filled.

It is for this that I ask  
your help.

"Silver & gold" we do  
not want.

We want living material

**f58**

Pray, Sir, believe me  
ever your faithful serv't

Florence Nightingale  
London May 1868

**f59** letter to FN from Norman Macleod, hard to read

Tuesday [ca. May 1868]

Glasgow

My dear Miss Nightingale

I wonder illeg  
your remembering me. To  
forget you is impossible.

I need only say that I  
shall esteem it a  
privilege to make "Good  
Words" the medium of  
communication between  
the evils more than  
100,000 subscribers read  
the most of its illeg on

v

any subject, at any  
time you may be  
pleased to write.  
I rejoice that you are  
able to do any such  
active work as this  
although the illeg work  
to which you illeg given  
you [?] is often of late too  
and is the most difficult  
often the most blessed  
the silence of church  
for 30 years is nothing

f60

less illeg than this  
press of labour  
I have just returned from  
a tour of great labour  
in India and my illeg  
illeg illeg  
the month of illeg  
illeg in the country  
I hope by means of  
illeg to do a little  
good, & receive much  
with sincere regards

Add Mss 45801

255

illeg yours  
N. Macleod

f61 Eastlake 6 June 1868, you have blown a trumpet

f63 to FN from A.J. Lawrence, June 9 1868, re their nursing assoc, since last wrote, refers to Miss Jones had been removed before I got there; we have 8 probs at St Mary's Hosp, 1 in Middlesex and 1 at Royal Inf Liv, besides some who are training as district nurses for Mrs Ranyard at Guy's, the London etc, with this latter work we have nothing more to do that in having suggested the work to Mrs Ranyard, we have got her access to these hosp. Has occupied all the space at St Mary's, now seeking to est a home close to it, seeking a supt, asks if know. Miss Merryweather or a Miss Kingdon; to have conversation at Willis's Rooms on 30th to make the subject of nursing more known and to raise funds for our home, Ld Shaftesbury to advocate our cause. Had an appointment at RI Liv re Merryweather; unfortunately Miss Jones removed before got there.

initialed annotation, f67, pencil {at the bottom of a letter from A.J. Lawrence [one of the directors of British Nursing Assn.]

**f67**

What in the world does he mean

be "removed"? Is that

euphony for dead? FN

You know we think very little of

Miss Merryweather. She is so

superficial. FN

**f68** from Mr Bowman, 5 Up Brook St. 15 June 1868 re late painful business, re Miss Jones and the sisters, conflicting principles, sends report but don't trouble yourself, re Agnes Jones, her "touching notice of Agnes Jones" asks if to be separately printed, wd be golden words to frame and hang up in our sisters and nurses room at St John's, leader in the Mirror [so, Bowman wanted further printing of Una]

f70 Mr Stotherd illeg June 19 1868 presents comps to FN re Una, desirous of seeing greater moral adv in this nation, from residence of 1836, Mr S has announced his intention of giving a lecture on technical educ and asks for her patronage, Woodstock House, Highbury, New Park

note, f71v, pencil

**f71v**

Thank him for his evidence

but say that you are engaged on

special work and have are

~~obliged to keep it, or [illeg]~~

prevented taking part in any  
thing.

{diagonally}

I had not one day's

holiday

I have only been at Embley  
once.

f72 letter of Edmund J. Abbott, the High St, Bow, 25 June 1868 to FN re death  
of sister, Julia Abbott, prob at St T

f74 letter to FN from Emma M. Townsend June 25 [1868] 5 Chester Pl, thanks heartily for your letter (missing) Thank you heartily for your letter to me who has even a little to do with institutions can well understand that help from without is often of small use and in a medical point of view of course I never dreamt of it. It was moral and religious help I was thinking of chiefly. I am very glad you are making advances in the direction of our London workhouses by the suggestions thrown out in your paper. I will take care that Mr Wyatt our chairman shall see your letter and paper as a private individual who is better we find than addressing him in his official capacity. He is civil with us and is well known to Mr Burrows, my clergyman, whose church he attends. Most of the St Pancras visiting committee live in this neighd. And we take intense interest in the work. Our secy Miss illeg has now your letter and paper in her hands to peruse--Our work at present is chiefly to comfort and teach the inmates after seeing that the chief grievances affecting their physical condition are met, if possible. Many have been entirely destroyed, others are mitigated. In my wards 13 confined .we still want a labour ward and the matron has no inspecting window in her bedroom. The wards themselves are good, better than the Marylebone. Our midwife matron is subject to the general rules of the House but no one interferes with her but the medical man. She has everything in her own hands of clothing and bedding and enough apparatus for night cooking &c Beef tea and gruel and brandy are ready if required. Abundance of Linen. Our inmates there are chiefly fallen women and the lowest of the married tramps or those whose husbands have forsaken them; a division between married and single is greatly to be desired. Till lately we had only a pauper nurse up at night. I dwelt on this in writing to Mr G. Hardy and now we have a paid second nurse who sleeps in the confinement ward strictly so called for midwife was trained at Queen Charlotte's Hospital I believe, at all events she has 1 excellent certificate from Dr Louk? and others. The care has been most sad, years ago since coming here the dreadful disease and the hands are subject to it at times, of course she is unfit for the work to a degree but she goes on! as she best can and the doctors assist her. Her manners are gentle and pleasing and her influence good on the young people. She is illeg very clever in her special work. We lose very few. She is past 50.

I like your idea as to nurse schools being made available. The readiness with which our guardians now send girls to Miss Twining from the schools gives me hope they may come to terms with you. Dear Madam, yours respectfully, Emma M. Townsend

f78 Louisa Freeman to FN 25 June [1868] from St T, time of prob here coming to a close, if equal to seeing her?

f80 letter to FN from Charles Langton, Liverpool re Rathbone, 25 June 1868,  
hon sec Nurses' Inst re ladies compiling stats

letter, ff82-83, pencil to Charles Langton [ca. 26 June 1868] [JS hand]

[printed address] 35 South Street  
Park Lane  
London, W.

This is not quite what is meant.  
The object of the statistics is to  
ascertain the mortality of treatment  
of similar cases in Hospital.

[13:721-22]

~~This can only be done by~~

All the cases you receive  
for treatment under your nurses  
are perhaps not severe enough  
to be admitted into Hospital  
if they were to apply. But there  
will be a certain number of  
cases which the medical  
officer might judge to be of  
the usual severity of hospital

**f82v**

cases. All such cases should  
be marked by the letter H.  
For it is only in such cases  
that the death rate could  
be calculated.

Your Col 8 contains the  
results of your nursing &  
if you put the H there,  
it would signify that the  
case had been sent to  
Hospital. If you place  
the H in Col 7 under the  
disease it would signify  
that the case although treated  
at Home was judged fit for  
admission into Hospital ~~who~~  
and what we want to know  
are the cases judged fit

**f83**

for ~~hospital~~ admission to hospital  
at the time the nurse pays  
her first visit.

If all the cases are of such  
severity as to be confined  
to bed when first seen  
they might all possibly  
be ranked as cases fit  
for hospital. And if so, no  
official mark would be  
required & we should calculate  
the mortality as the total  
cases. If most of your  
cases are very slight &  
like outdoors dispensary cases, we  
should not of course include  
these in calculating the mortality.

**[end 13:722]**

ff84- Louisa Freeman to FN June 26 [1868] replies to FN  
f86 letter to FN from an old nurse re Una, asks her to add sequel re RC  
countries, corrects FN on salaries "a lover of truth and an old nurse"  
f88 to FN 2 July 1868 from Charles Langton, re returning forms, illeg  
signature  
f90 Gilpin to FN Jul 6 1868, re Una, from 22 Marine Sq Brighton, stirring of  
her Good Words  
f93 C Trevelyan to FN from 8 Grosvenor Cres re army 10 July 1868  
f95 to FN from Marion Empson, a stranger, Rawsdale, Grimsby re Una,  
f97 Trevelyan sends a 2nd ed of pamphlet 15 July 1868  
f99 lettter to FN from Catherine Gourly, Barton House, Barton on Humber,  
response to Una Aug 11/68

signed letter, ff102-03, pen

**f102**

35 South Street  
Park Lane W  
August 19/68

Sir

I have the honour to acknowledge  
your letter of Aug. 17 6998  
427

(which I have just received) in  
which you inform me that Secretary  
Sir John Pakington is desirous of  
obtaining, through the "Nightingale"  
Training School for Nurses, an  
efficient person to occupy the post,  
now vacant, of superintendent General  
- and also Nurses for Netley Hospital

I beg to say how glad I shall be  
to do every thing in my power for  
procuring & training an efficient  
Nursing Staff for Her Majesty's Hospitals  
according to the Secretary of State's  
desire.

I shall immediately put the matter

**f102v**

in train by laying the application which you have done me the honour to send me before my Committee - as in the case of any other Hospitals which apply to us. And I am sure that my Committee will be as anxious as myself to serve H.M.s Hospitals in the best way which lies within their power.

I am farther informed in your letter of Aug. 17 - that there are several candidates from among whom it is desired that we should select (at our Training=School) such as appear suitable for training - with a view of these being trained.

I beg to say that we shall if arrangements are agreed to between the War Office and my Committee, be happy to select, according to our best judgement, out of my candidates

**f103**

sent to us by the War Office

We always prefer to train Superintendent & Nurses together, where practicable.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary for me to add that we should be obliged to make the same enquiries & conditions as to competency for training in this case as we do for any other applicants who come to us to be trained.

I have the honour to be

Sir

your faithful serv't

Florence Nightingale

Major General the Right Hon:

Sir H.K. Storcks etc. etc. etc.

Comptroller General

War Office

signed letter, f104, pen

**f104**

35 South Street  
Park Lane W  
Aug. 19/68

Sir

I beg to acknowledge 6998  
427

asking me to find you Nurses.

Blow me if I do!

I am

your obed't serv't

F. Nightingale

Major Genl

Sir H.R. Storks

f105 LF to FN 26 Aug 1868

f109 printed form re candidates, probationers

letter, ff112-15, pencil [very difficult to read, some guess work here] JS  
hand re Langton letter, nursing service, re form, H cases

f109 Parish of Liverpool printed form, advert for nurses to train "The Select Vestry of this Parish, with the sanction of the Poor Law Board, and the aid of a Lady Superintendent and a staff of Training Nurses from the Nightingale School, have decided to take a number of respectable young women of intelligence, to train and fit for superior Head Nurses. All candidates must, of course, be able to read and write, be active and industrious, be thoroughly reliable, and of the most unexceptionable character." offers £20 per annum and upwards in pay when trained, 1 year, and £14 in training year

f110 C. Langton letter to FN, Barkhill Liv, 7 Sept 1868

**f112** archivist: draft of FN letter, JS hand to Mr Langton ca 8 Sept 1868

M. Langton

Your letter still does not explain the whole enigma of your death rate. No doubt if your nursing [service?] received any large proportion of incurable cases & if they were kept on hand long enough to die, this fact would account for your higher death rate. Again some diseases, & fevers among them, do not always benefit by removal to a hospital after the cases have lasted a certain time, & home treatment could give a lower death rate than hospital treatment. On the whole however I feel disposed to adopt Mr. Rathbone's opinion which is also my own & to defer deciding until we have further experience. Your head [?] [illeg] [~~statements~~] sheets with my additions will go far to settle the question.

**f113**

I send you another two Batches of returns In col 7 the letter H signifies that the case was of that degree of importance issued here justified it being sent to hospital-

This will require a separate table for this class of H cases in order that we may be able to estimate the mortality on them apart from those cases which are of a slighter nature

I also sent the filled up reduction forms to show how you did the last. Please return it to me with the other form you are now to be so good as fill up

**f114**

on looking over these returns I find that they contain much useful information but that the filling up of Coll. 7 with the letter H to indicate whether the case is of the severity usually received ~~with~~ into hospitals is not sufficiently attended to. It is obvious that many cases in the forms are hospital cases, & by writing the letter H we have not means of obtaining the comparative mortality of home treatment & hospital treatment Could not this be seen to better if a note were printed at the foot of the form such as I have written. I shall have the forms redirected & returned to you in a little time

**f115**

acknowledge receipt & say that you have had the results of the returns abstracted but that before you send them you would like to carry the enquiry further & ~~fill up~~ should feel obliged by their continuing to fill up & send the returns until you tell them to stop

-----

Write to Mr. Rathbone & ask him for an annual report or two of each of the Liverpool Medical Charities Dispensaries & Hospitals

f116 letter to FN from Wm Howell Reed, Roxbury, Mass, Sept 8 1868 sends book from Wm H. Channing Hospital Life in the Army of the Potomac, with photo of Helen Gilson, inspiration, who died

signed letter, ff117-18v, pen

**f117**

Sep 19/68

{printed address} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Sir

You must have thought me very ungrateful, if you thought about me at all, not to acknowledge sooner your kind note of Aug 2 & the valuable gift of a copy of the "Congrès International" - in which your paper interested me greatly -

And you must have thought me very unfeeling not to wish to know how you had recovered from your very serious accident.

But the truth is that I have only just learnt your address - And that I must

Dr. Shrimpton

&c &c.

**f117v**

make the same excuse for not having enquired for it before viz. that I am overwhelmed with business which never leaves me 10 minutes' leisure & with illness which gives me no reprieve.

I trust, however, that you are quite recovered - & that I shall soon hear from you that you are so.

Have you seen, or would you care to see the "Registrar-General's Report on the Cholera in London of 1866 by Dr. Farr? It is very able.

Add Mss 45801

267

May I send it you, if you  
have it not?

The "Army Sanitary Commission"

**[9:888]**

**f118**

(this is a Standing Commission for the War & India Offices.) is so justly dissatisfied with the state the whole Cholera question is in that they are going to carry out a special enquiry all over India simply to arrive at the facts, which have been so bedizened with professional theories that they are like actors in a masquerade. But it is only one manifestation of a mental disease or obliquity or want of philosophical thought, which seems to pervade all subjects of human interest at the present time.

You know that the Spaniards and Gibraltar have put "British ships" in quarantine

**f118v**

under observation for 3 days !! because we have Cholera in London!

The wisdom of the Quarantine world transcends belief!

[end 9:888]

Pray, Sir, believe me,

ever your faithful serv't

Florence Nightingale

May I venture to send you a copy of my little "Notes on Nursing", just reprinted?

FN

**ff119-22** letter to FN from E Townsend re St Pancras, St Pancras, Wyatt, re care of present matron of confinement wards, she is a widow and long resident in work skilful in work and gentle, pity not to avail yourself of her services, got news of FN in Gallignani's Messenger in St Moritz

notes, **ff123-v**, pencil archivist: to Charles Langton ca Sept 1868

f123 [JS hand]

[6:273]

with reference to the statistics I cannot help feeling that much injury has been done to the cause by putting forward figures at all as a test of nursing efficiency. Hospital Statistics represent 1st & primarily the effects of the Sanitary state of the hospital. After this is determined they represent next the severity of the cases after this is determined they represent the result of different operations & different modes of treatment and after all these constants are determined they may represent the dieting, nursing & general management, but in your Liverpool case they represent nothing, because they have never been kept with reference to any result.

I suppose you have even determined the value ~~of the fo~~ statistically of the Sanitary state of the building, the class of cases ages & the results of operations & treatment you could not even then use the figures o show the efficiency of the nursing, because you might have all the severe cases

**f123v**

on the trained nurses side of a Workhouse & all the simple cases on the pauper nurses side & by the nature of the cases alone you might have the mortality 3, 4 or 5 times greater on the trained than on the pauper nurses side. You will have to put this right in some way, for I cannot help feeling that the question of trained nursing has been damaged by the Liverpool statistics.

**f124** letter to FN from Trenton [?] Parsonage, Nottingham 2 Oct Anne Wyatt, at request of Dr Marsh, re opinion of her re est at Nottingham, re training in midwifery to see cases of emergency; "this institution is not intended to train nurses for midwifery, only to give them such knowledge as may enable them to act in cases of emergency and to qualify them to become efficient

nurses of the sick as well as perform everything required in our lying-in room. The want of competent persons is felt in every ...



But I trust that Mrs. Trench will also be supported by the thought that she has other children whom she must live for.

I venture to send her a short unworthy sketch of my darling, which may perhaps wile away a painful half hour -

May God comfort her is the earnest prayer of, dear Madam,  
your ever faithful, (Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE **[end 3:199]**

I will inform my niece, Emily Verney, of poor Mrs. Trench's second loss - she will feel for her -

ff131-32 typed copy 22 Oct 1868 re Mrs Trench's loss, two sweet girls.

f133 letter to FN ca 1 Nov 1868 Sec of State re hers of 17th Aug re candidates

ff135-38 to FN re her conclusion, Emma Townsend

ff139 Nov 15 letter to FN from Emma M. Townsend. This is a rejoinder and it would distress me if you wrote one unnecessary line--it is only to say that I was ignorant that your illness kept you in bed, or even in the house. I believed you still suffering but I trusted all was better and that time (with medical care) was restoring you to convalescence-- all was conjecture and I grieve that I was wrong. Ten years have lately have I been laid aside from overfatigue and nursing. I am raised up again and I shd like to think you would, but may you long be spared to do the good which you judge illeg effect!

There are plenty of 2nd and 3rd rate workers. We want heads as well as hearts and these are as you know very rare.

The union when it exists with the willingness to do good is very blessed. Hoping that God will abundantly bless all your labors of love....

Ff141-44 C. Trevelyan letter on purchase Nov 23 1868, from Grosvenor Cres, I ought before this to have thanked you for your letter of the 12th inst (Newcastle 35/5) at first disappointment on reading it, but on a second and more attentive perusal I saw that you admitted the indefensible character of the present army system and the necessity of modifying it, whatever the difficulties may be. There can be no doubt that those difficulties are great, but they are by no means insuperable. To answer our questions in detail wd require a volume to be written...1st you say that it has "been most effectually shown" re enormous amount of confusion, complication... jobbing. 2nd admit shown to be probably that these evils wd disappear if purchase were abolished, and you justly infer that the real question is whether "our army can exist w/o purchase." Goes up to point 7. "Earls wd not have to meet labourer's sons as fellow officers, if by labourers sons is meant persons of inferior education and coarse, vulgar manners, who are unfit for the society of gentlemen. What is proposed is that young men of superior educ who wish to follow the military profession shd be encouraged to enlist by establishing it as a rule that a fixed proportion of the vacant commissions in each regiment shd be given to non-commissioned officers provided candidates are forthcoming who are in every way qualified to bear Her Majesty' commission. I cannot admit that upper classes in this country show any indisposition to associate freely with the lower classes as such. On the contrary, it is the glory and strength of our aristocracy that they are constantly undergoing a process of renovation from below, and that they rise without reserve in Parliament, in private society, in the church, the law, the English and Indian civil

services, in associations for public and private objects of every sort, with persons of inferior ranks. No hard and fast line. Up to point 10. (This is a nice, systematic defence of his reforms.)

F145 [before 27 Nov 1868] letter to FN from Marion Brown, re one of Kulali nurses, liberty in writing, re gift re nursing

f147 HBC letter to 27 Nov 1868, to Madam for FN, re applic for position, see H1/ST/NC18/9/91

f148 Printed receipt No. 282, The London National Society for Women's Suffrage, Aubrey House, Notting Hill, W., one guinea from FN for her contribution 9 Dec 1868, signed Mentia Taylor, "Contribution to the above Society"

f149 9 Dec 1868 letter to FN from Kate Hobson, Netley, re woman sent from Herbert Hosp Is frightened at the work, certain she will fail unless trained by some person, out of the question here; for I am sorry to say all are untrained, in fact each one seems to have taken to nursing simply for a maintenance, but govt requires no preparation whatever on the part of any applicant for the nursing officers, of the 2 women ere none every had been out before but the one I write about Francis Higgs, she wishes to nurse if she can be sent to any hosp free of expense, age 34. Mis Jane Stewart is ever regretted by those who love order, I wish you could come only for a day unknown among us. You would see much very much to disappoint with, many thanks for former kindness and best wishes. No one knows I have written to you, for since Miss J. Steward was forced to leave all are sore on the question of the nurses.

f151 draft by JS cannot enter on subject

f152 before Dec 12 1868 letter of Josephine M. Higinbotham, Sea View, Bournemouth to FN I have long been anxious to write and tell you of the little memoir of dear Agnes I am trying to arrange from her papers and letters, and now I can no longer defer it because I want to thank you for the little M.S. book on Isaiah you kindly returned the other day- I wonder if you would like to have the first part; if so I will send it to you. How much I wish I could see you and ask your advice and thoughts about the memoir. I have finished in a sort of way as far as the going to St Thomas' Hosp and here my great difficulty begins. Neither there or at the Great Northern Hosp had she time to keep a journal and her letters with the exception of three or four from each place are unattainable as they are stored away in the north of Ireland somewhere among our possessions. I much regret this because there are many which could I know add much to the interest of the book but I cannot leave my mother to go and search for them and we cannot depute anyone else to

seek out particular letters among illeg secret treasures. In the chapter on Kaiserswerth there is the same want but there she kept for part of the time a sort of journal and while with Mrs Ranyard a note book which was some guide but 1862/63 and /64 will be comparatively blank years as far as incident goes and yet they were so full. From Liverpool I have plenty of material, nearly all her letters and some notes . Perhaps you may have some suggestions to give me and possibly some letters. I am almost glad there is so little about the Great Northern Hosp because I shd be puzzled how to write about it. She was certainly misunderstood there, but one does not care to reproach anyone now and the loss was their own if they cd not appreciate such a character. Will you forgive my troubling you but I so often think you cd give me some advice about the memoir. I feel I am very unworthy of the trust, but it. Re FN's illness (nice letter, nothing startling, untoward)

**note, f155, pencil** JS JS hand, rough

archivist: to Mrs Higinbotham 12 Dec 1868

I am afraid I can scarcely help you with the memoir. It is best done by one person, and it should be written by one hand. It would be most advisable [?] to get the letters in Ireland, & you should delay on purpose.

All the letters which passed between her & myself related to administrative & personal matters affecting many other people & I feel that I should scarcely be justified in allowing them to go out of my hands seeing that all the persons are alive. Any letters of mine to her were for the same reason written confidentially & if you should wish to see any of them I should like to see them first.

f156 letter to FN from John Angus embossed Gen Reg office, blue paper, thanks for present of game, re stat abstracts

ff157-58 letter before Dec 12 1868 from Frau v Schmidt Zabierow (Ida Mohl) intro Frau v Littrow. Villa Gardoryzki, Weinhaus, near Vienna. It is on my aunt Mme Mohl's responsibility that I venture to encroach on your time in addressing a few lines to you. Remembering the interest you took in former days in German books, I thought the enclosed mt not be unworthy of your

notice, as much of it is written in accordance with your views. Frau von Littrow, the author of the little book, a great admirer of yours and whose friendship I value much, wd not have taken upon herself to send her little work to you directly. I offered therefore to take charge of it. I hope that your great kindness, which made me so proud a long time ago alas! will excuse my intruding upon you today. I send the little parcel by our embassy and hope it may reach you in due time, may I add my best and most sincere wishes for your own self in the new year? Mme de Littrow is the wife of the professor of astronomy at the University of Vienna, besides being a clever woman in many ways. Her direction is: Frau Auguste von Littrow, Akademiegebäude, Universitätsplatz. Stadt Wien. Austria. Ida Schmidt=Zabierow (Mohl)

f159 letter Dec 28 [1868] from Josephine M. Higinbotham, Sea View Bournemouth re her letter of 12th (JS draft only). Your very kind letter of the 12 instant deserved an immediate answer, delay, life idle, useful occ little duties. Agnes took pleasure in Xmas tree dressing. I cannot think of her now as only resting or only praising. She cd not be perfectly happy unless allowed to minister to others, may there not be even now some blessed painless service. Shd be no delay in pub of the memoir. After a time people forget the name and the work, and a memoir published in 1870 wd be less read I think than in 1869. Her letters are in packing cases which I cd not identify at a distance. Does not expect an answer to this letter. Unless ou write to forbid it I shall send you them when illeg Where official bodies are alluded to one may do mischief by saying or omitting to say what in itself does not signify. Wd be sorry if my ignorance caused any mischief. Re Bishop of Derry. Present bishop was consecrated about 15 months ago, is only 45 and was the Rev W. Alexander. Wishes him to write the preface not for his eminence in literary circles, great as that is, but that he was rector of our parish at Fahan for 5 years and dear Agnes worked under him as the curate and loved him as a brother. To show her as she really was. Re Isaiah ms. Signed sincerely and affectionately

f163 letter from Upper Leeson Dublin 30 Dec [1868]. Note: niece of Miss Downing friend of Agnes Jones, wants to enter under Mrs Wardroper. Henrietta Docking

f165 letter to FN from Louisa Freeman, from Workh Inf niece of Miss Downing, friend of A Jones, two sisters want to get into military nursing

f167 Lady Augusta Stanley to FN with note by FN 30 12 1868, embossed Deanery Westminster stationery, Derry connection

note, f170v, pencil [5:153]

**f170v**

It is always cheaper to pay labour  
its full value - The other is  
the more expensive plan -  
~~Their~~ Labours should be made  
to pay better than thieving  
At present, it pays worse  
What is the cause of Pauperism  
in England? - -  
Unlimited liberty & the Poor Law

f171 Ommaney to FN 1 Jan 1869 embossed War Office, re Dr Sutherland's request forwards sketches and mema relating to lying-in hosps Lt Ommaney, asks to return

f172 Ommaney to FN 6 Jan 1869 thanks for note of this morn (missing) and valuable info contained  
ff174-75 handwritten draft or copy re lying-in, Lieut Ommaney, RE

initialed letter, ff174-75v, pen [8:207-08]

**f174**

PROVISIONAL ONLY

Private

35 South Street, Jan 8/69  
Park Lane, {printed address}  
W.

Sir

In reply to your queries concerning the proposed Lying-in Hospital project

I beg to say that:

1. the proportions you suggest for a single-bed ward (not to be used as a Delivery Ward): 15' x 13' x 11' high, giving 2145 c. ft & 195 sup. ft. are very good.
2. the suggestion I made for a Delivery Ward of 6000 c. ft presupposed the idea that it was to be for the whole Lying- Hospital, on one floor, & so arranged & connected under cover that the Delivery Ward would be pretty nearly equidistant from each Lying-in Ward. No Institution or Charity would, I believe,

go to the expence of more than one  
Delivery Ward - altho', if there are two  
floors, there must be two Delivery  
Wards.

[If there were a Delivery Ward to each  
floor of each Pavilion or Cottage,  
Lieut: Ommanney R.E.

**f174v**

there would then be no need of attaching a single-bed ward to each Delivery ward. Because the chances would then be infinitesimally small of all the Delivery Wards being occupied at once. And the single-bed ward attached is only to provide for the event of a poor woman being unable to be moved to her own ward for some hours after Delivery in which case she is usually watched & attended in the Delivery Ward till death or recovery from exhaustion but which, if a new Delivery case were to come in, would be dangerous - or even impossible.] The 6000 c. ft Delivery ward is intended to be large enough for two or even three Delivery cases & for all the Pupil- Midwives at once. And one single-bed ward attached to it would be enough, in the event above mentioned, to remove after Delivery a dangerously exhausted Patient into, for the temporary emergency.

3. The proportions you propose for the

**f175**

Delivery Ward: 22' x 20' x 14' high, giving 6140 c. ft. & 440 sup. ft. are very good.

4. About the No. of Nurses: -

No Charity or Institution, I believe, could possibly bear the expence of a single=bed ward Lying=in Hospital, for 32 Patients, unless there were a Training=School.

[Most Accoucheurs would, I believe, answer your question at once by saying: there must be a Nurse to every two wards. = 16 Nurses to 32 Patients!!] independently of Midwives!] Even with a Training-School, the first year would be one of immense difficulty. Because all well=managed Teaching-Schools "take in" at two periods of the year, so as never to have the whole of the pupils fresh hands at once. But the first batch must necessarily be all fresh hands. And you cannot turn in a raw girl to sit up with a Lying=in woman & new=born infant - And you can't spare the girl a whole Midwife to herself to teach her how to handle an infant.

**f175v** {vertical pencil line struck through entire page}

5. "Any case which requires overlooking" must "be attended" anyhow "day & night" by a woman in the room.

But it is often necessary, especially for inexperienced pupils, to summon help at a moment's notice.

I should be therefore unwilling to say that, in each Pavilion or cottage, there should not be one or even two Nurse's rooms - certainly a Scullery - [all these independent of the women who are necessarily sitting up in those Lying-in wards - which require sitting up -] remembering at the same time that it is neither possible nor desirable to organize a regular Night=Nurse Service, as you do in General Hospitals.

[One or two Patients with their infants are given to each Pupil to look=to entirely herself under supervision - after Delivery.]

= A very large & convenient Clean Linen Store must be assigned to the Matron - perhaps as large as would be required for a General Hospital of 100 Patients - and probably portions of Clean Linen would have to be kept in each

division - FN **[end 8:208]**

f176 letter to FN from E. Wilkie, new gov Liverpool Workhouse 45801

190 Southgate Road  
8 January 1869

Madam

I was favoured with your letter on my arrival at Dr Macpherson's this evening, and beg leave to offer you my sincere thanks for the information you have so kindly given me.

As you are aware, my aim in coming to London is to make myself acquainted as far as possible with the arrangements in operation in the hospitals, with the view of improving our hospital in Liverpool. Should anything come under your notice, the introduction of which would be beneficial to our hospital, it would be extremely gratifying to have your valuable suggestions.

I felt honoured by your kind communication and please permit me the liberty of respectfully expressing my deep regret at your being unable to stimulate by your occasional presence in the hospital the good work you have done so much to establish and the success of which you have so much at hear. I remain, Madam

yours with much respect

E. Wilkie

Miss Florence Nightingale  
35 South Street  
Park Lane

notes, ff177v-78, pencil draft in JS hand

**f177v**

You have asked me to do a very difficult thing. I can scarcely advise as to which You should introduce into the L'pool hospital unless I knew it personally. But one thing you can do. Study very carefully the method & system in St. Thomas & St. Bartholomew note down the point in which they differ from your own & if you will write to me & ask my advice or any number of points which come up in your hospital I shall be glad to do all I can to aid you

f178 pencil note re Netley and WO [JS hand] arch: bef. 10 Jan. 1869

I have made all the enquiry in my power about W.O. for the Misses Stewart. Mrs W is at present training a complete staff (superintendents & nurses) for Netley Hospital and as soon as they are placed it is probably that the W.O. will request another staff for Herbert Hospital indispensable that the sup. should know all the peculiarities of her nurses by being trained with them, & the only way to help your two would be that they should apply as candidates for the next batch. The W.O. has fixed the ages & other particulars & should you think it desirable I could get Mrs. W to send them the papers to be filled up & then we should see at once whether there was a chance. If not in this direction possibly the women might be placed in female hospitals of which there are several, but all the matrons are required to be midwives. The Nurse is of course under her If they would like to take their chance in this service I could send their names & certificates into the W.O.

f179 to FN from Louisa Freeman (L.B.) Jan 12 1869, many thanks for your reply (missing) with ref to Stewarts, their ages are 35 and 38, re midwifery a good practice here for anyone who likes to learn

f181 Ommaney to FN 19/1/69 embossed War Office, has recd your paper of the 16th and 8th (45801), many thanks for info, difficulties of arriving at a satisfactory result immensely increased

f183 Louisa Freeman to FN 29 Jan 1869 Workhouse Inf

f185 letter 29 Jan 1869 Ommaney embossed War Office, unable owing to press of work in last week to pay as much attention as I cd have wished to lying-in hosp project, have however roughly embodied the main requirements in a sketch plan, but before proceeding further shd feel obliged if FN wd give benefit of opinion on the form of ward block which I propose in the acc memorandum (no memo)

f186 pen, partial letter [to Miss Freeman [succeeded A. Jones at Liverpool], ca. Jan 1869] [contract with also in vol], pale blue paper, black-edged

2

to start upon, when he started the nursing, and because London Workhouses, the most backward of all, are now proceeding on the same course, exactly in proportion as they are making any progress -

1. You say that the Workhouse **[6:312-13]** Hospital must be so different in its organization from the General Hospital. And you appear to base this principally on the supposed necessity of its being almost a dependency of the Workhouse & on the Workhouse Officers doing half the work.

Now the whole foundation of Mr. Rathbone's reform was

this:- that the Workhouse Hospital was to be raised to the level of the principles of the best Civil Hospitals

f186v

Every new Workhouse Infirmary is ~~and~~ to have a special organization of its own - and an independence of the Workhouse & to adopt the best methods of Civil Hospitals. It is on this principle that the London Workhouses which are making any progress at all are re-organizing their Hospitals.

But I feel how cautious one must be, from the excellence of your present Governor, in working from this principle, for fear of making practical mistakes.

But I should not in the least mind his seeing this letter.

For indeed I believe that he would be the man of all others to work it out.

I will return to this.

2. Your plan appears to be to send our Probationers, when their training is completed,

**f187**

one here one there to other  
Workhouses- as you have  
been the means, thanks to God,  
of sending out so many  
reformed convicts to proper  
situations.

Now to send ou or to hire  
one or two or three paid  
Nurses without a head or  
government of their own to  
support and guide them is  
simply to waste them & to  
guarantee their inefficiency  
in Workhouses. And even in London Workhouses the  
ideas of doing this is gradually  
exploding.. How is it  
possible to fearlessly recommend  
these women to the most  
difficult places in the world  
& without a head - when  
such an one as dear  
Agnes Jones could only  
keep her staff together by the

**187v**

most incessant vigilance.

And it killed her.

[I thank God however you  
have not to contend with  
what she had.]

A Workhouse Hospital must  
not lapse into a branch of  
even the best ordered Workhouse  
--though we certainly should  
never find such another  
Governor as Mr Wilkie-  
though, (if I were not writing  
to you, I should say) we  
shall never find such another  
Supt. as Miss Freeman.

ff188-89 hand copy or draft of letter arch. said to Gladstone, but more  
likely Cardwell re WO reform 1 Feb 1869, rough draft 45753 ff182-93

**f188**

Private &

Confidential 35 South Street, Feb 1/69

Park Lane, {printed address}

W.

Sir

I have heard of certain projected  
changes in the War Office which will  
so completely reverse the work initiated  
by Sidney Herbert, & bring back the  
sanitary state of the Army, even in India,  
to the bad old times, that I cannot  
refrain from asking to be allowed to write  
to you a few words about it.

**[9:653-55]**

It is said that, among the reductions  
about to be made in the War Office  
estimates, the Army Sanitary Comm:, which  
is a Public Health Committee for troops in  
India as well as for troops in other parts  
of H.M.'s Dominions, is to be brought to  
an end by cutting out of the Estimates  
the salary of the paid member Dr. Sutherland  
(all the other members being already in  
receipt of Government or Indian pay.)

Dr. Sutherland has been the responsible

**f188v**

worker & adviser of the Army Sanitary Comm:  
since he was specially requested by  
Sidney Herbert, by Lord Palmerston, &  
subsequently by Sir George Lewis to  
undertake this work.

I would not be supported even to wish to  
stand in the way of real economy. Whatever  
cannot prove its necessity as well as its  
usefulness ought to cease to be a charge  
on the public. But if it can be shewn  
that the charge to be abolished can justify  
its own continuance & its own economy -  
& that the persons who deal with it are  
competent to judge - may we not plead  
for it then? -

The agency which it is not proposed to  
cripple & destroy was set on foot by a  
Royal Commission presided over by  
Sidney Herbert - for the express purpose  
of remedying defects which all admitted  
to exist.

**f189**

Its necessity moreover was subsequently confirmed by the recommendation of the R. Commission on the sanitary state of the Army in India.

The question is: - is this Committee answering or not answering its purposes? - Are the purposes so completely fulfilled that the agency may cease? -

This is the question suggested by a real economy.

X [May I venture to say not indeed for vain glory but to justify me for speaking at all - that I have been cognizant of every step & every procedure - & have seen these procedures result in the reduction of Army Mortality to one half & in some cases to less than one half that mine has been the private correspondence with Sir John Lawrence & other high officials in India by which they have been so very good as to keep me informed of every step taken in applying the principles of improvement in Stations and Barracks

**f189v**

in India, involving an ultimate outlay of ten millions.†

{next 4 lines struck out in pencil}

To proceed ruthlessly to destroy the progress of this work - & this by persons who know little or nothing about it - can hardly be intended. ~~And~~ just at the time ~~when~~ we are laying the ground of an entire reform in the sanitary arrangements of India - for the people as well as for the troops.]

{vertical line through next 7 lines}

May I hope not to be thought presumptuous in asking simply that these things shall be considered, before striking off the member of the Standing Committee who has done ~~all~~ its work - as can be testified by many Ministers & Officials.

**[end 9:634]**

With many apologies for this writing  
believe me to be Sir

your faithful serv't  
Florence Nightingale

f190 E Cardwell to FN, acks receipt of her letter and re ests, printed War Office crest. I have the pleasure to ack the receipt of your letter and to assure you that I have no intention of omitting from the estimates now in preparation the amount of Dr Sutherland's salary, Edward Cardwell

f191 Unsigned draft, pen, black-edged stationery to Froude [1:147]

[printed address] 35, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Feb 8/69

Sir

Although unable to claim  
the honour of your acquaintance,  
I venture to send you a  
very unpretending M.S. paper  
on Pauperism - wholly  
without any claims to  
authoritative doctrine &  
ask you whether you can do anything with it.

I am afraid of being  
like the authors who write  
a Preface full of excuses  
& reasons why they should  
not publish - otherwise I  
would say that my paper

v  
was "written in the intervals  
of "overwhelming "business" -  
that it is not strictly my  
subject - but taken up  
at the instance of others -  
& that I am an incurable  
invalid, entirely a prisoner  
to my room.

But you will justly retort  
upon me, 'then why did you  
write it?' - as we do upon  
the Preface=writers.  
Such is not my motive however  
but merely to explain to  
any kindness that you may  
possibly feel for me  
that I shall not be

f192

mortified if you say that  
you can do nothing with my  
poor little article.

f193 letter to FN from Froude 8 February [1869]

[printed address] 5 Onslow Gardens, S.W.  
8 February [1869]

Dear Madam. I thank you heartily for sending me your most useful and interesting paper. Most thinking people are beginning to see at least that political economy does but show us [illeg] problems. It cannot act logically it means that we must let people die. My own ardent wish [illeg] ...has been to see Canada made part of England, an extension ...we can ...hard to read....

f195 Clode letter to FN, Brockett House, near Surbiton Hill, Surrey S.W.  
thanks for brace of wild ducks 17 Feb 1869

f196 Husson to FN re Lees 24 fev 1869 Administration générale. L'assistance publique à Paris. Cabinet du Directeur, re her letter of 13 Feb

f198 from Monckton Milnes to FN, signed Houghton; 3 March 1869  
on embossed Melchet Court, Romsey

My dear Friend

I went over to  
Embley on Monday but  
your mother was too poorly  
to see me & your father  
was riding out, so I only  
walked through the garden  
with my Florence who saw  
your ghost more than once  
behind the rhododendrons.

Your old play fellow

v  
is rather desolate at present  
in this vast house, but she  
will make more friends as  
the sweet little girl grows  
up. goes out on ponies  
with my boy.

I have a question in the  
H. of Lords in about a fort  
night on the relief of pau  
perism by emigration &  
should be glad of your counsel.

v199

Is an Emigration rate possible  
without a law?

There is relief, something more  
to be done than is done by  
the Colonial Office in  
directing the returns of Emig  
ration to the localities  
where it is really wanted.

I don't want to illeg illeg  
there are "millions of" acres  
hungering for the labours of  
men." but there it is the

f199

immediate interests of illeg so  
& so to the care of John &

Harry, illeg

illeg

I saw Gladstone

illeg yesterday quite rejoicing  
in his illeg I told [leisure?]

him I wrote illeg him in  
my diary 20 years ago that  
he would be the destroyer  
the Irish church which  
pleased him

I am sorry to see

f200

that there is an antagonism  
between your trained nurses  
& the sisterhoods at other  
the hospitals. I don't the  
least see why there need be.

Are you maturing any projects  
for the utilisation of the  
hospital of Jone illeg? I  
am often asked this question  
& announce that there is no  
hurry, which it illeg  
illeg will do so some  
day.

My wife says her affectionate remembrance; she has been in 10 health for the last three years; we illeg illeg & she came back no letter; illeg illeg illeg under Sir J. Simpson at Edinburgh & she is better for the time; he calls the malady a combination of gout & malaria [?].

I am yrs affly  
Houghton

f201 Ommaney to FN embossed War Office 4 March 1869, re lying in, delays in plans 4 March 1869, re cleaning and disinfecting wards. I have to apologize in the first place for having left you so long in ignorance as to the progress of the plan for the lying-in hosp but I have lately been much pressed...difficult question. I trust that I may be able to contribute somewhat towards the furtherance of so good a work and that if ever the plans which I now have in hand assume a really practical form they may be the means of at all events lessening the many evils to which lying in hosps are at present subject.

As to your first question about Portsmouth Hosp, I think it may safely be assumed that a constant succession of 8 lying-in women is very unlikely to occur, or rather to continue for any length of time so that there will prob be frequent opps of cleansing and disinfecting the wards.

There is to be no delivery ward; each ward is to have over 2000 cubic and about 195 superficial feet and the deliveries are to take place in the wards themselves.

There is also to be a roomy scullery conveniently situated in which infants can be washed and dressed. The question f the staff is indeed a difficult one and the case appears to me to resolve itself into this: supposing we must work with such a limited staff, can we safely put the 8 women into single rooms or wd the evils thereby engendered outweigh those which wd certainly arise from aggregating the women in one ward?

f205 Longmans pays FN 6.5.0 for contribution to 471st number of Fraser's Mag

f206 John Ed. Morgan Manchester to FN March 8 [1869], thanks for her kind note with I will take care to let my aunt know what any having written to him Your own note however is sure to reach her as the address is quite correct.

F207 letter to FN from Henrietta Walker at Brownlow Hill March 15 1869, please excuse writing her, our lady supt has kindly promised to convey to you that lady has told me she expects Mr Rathbone in about a fortnight when he will speak to the nurses and I suppose it will be on the subject of leaving or staying. As the lady supt hopes to be in London for a short time no doubt at Mr Rathbone is sure and you also that there will be consultations and expecting this work and its workers and things may be partly settled before he sees us, this is my reason for writing to you, go in to write to Miss Smyth the same tonight. I know that you heard of Miss Smyth having given me a hint that one day I might to and live with dear Mrs Jones. I know it was only a hint, as dear Miss Smyth said, I was not at all to depend upon it, neither have I, yet if Mr Rathbone ...I do not intend to decide for myself I entirely leave it with all you ladies. I shall not even say which I prefer, to a creature. All I will say about the work is that I quite to with a lady asst coming and the sooner the better. I trust she may be the right one. I have no fear for the work it may fluctuate and be very low at times for a time but it will prosper at least. I pray that God may bless and prosper it. I will not

f209 LBF to FN 24 Mar 1869 enclosed is summary copied from the case book in lying-in division, cannot obtain info of former years as a similar register was not kept; there are the different kinds of presentations entered, breech, foot, etc. Dr Barnes very much interested in the success of this branch of our hosp; I found all going on well on my arrival and shall be glad to get settled with a suitable assist supt

ff210 typed copy of letter to Dr Barnes, re lying in stats at Liverpool W Inf, Miss [Louisa] Freeman gave stats for 1868, original from 2005 at Liverpool Record Office

f211 embossed War Office 29 March 1969 Ommaney to FN returns with many thanks your notes on the design of lying-in hospitals. I hoped to have been able at the same time to transmit the results of my labours but I am obliged to defer my work upon the design until rather later in the season.

letter, f210, typed copy, arch: original owned by Dr Barnes [8:213-14]

**f210**

COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

March 25/69.

Sir,

The Lying-Department at Liverpool Workhouse has achieved under your auspices a very enviable notoriety from its absence of Puerperal Diseases.

Miss Freeman has been so kind as to send me its Statistics for 1868.

She will ask you if it would be possible for you to give me - not detailed statistics but merely

1. the total Number of Deliveries for 1867.

2. the total Deaths among Puerperal women and the causes for the same year.

It would be most important if you could give me the same data for a few years farther back as e.g. for 1863

1864

1865

1866.

But I scarcely need say that if you could give them me for the last ten years, for which 10 years I have procured them from many places, (most disastrous in their Statistics, unlike yours) that this would be more important still.

I beg to remain Sir

Your faithful serv't

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

- Barnes Esq.

note, f212v, pencil {upside down}

**f212v**

There they worked me to death  
in January to ~~do~~ write this  
on April Fool's Day  
Catch me doing their work  
again.

f213 LBF to FN 2 April 1869, re visiting surgeon Dr Barnes absent, FN's note  
only given to him this morning, have decided on engaging on trial the lady  
mentioned in royal Inf, made good impression on Miss Gilpin, (FN spelt  
Hannan, shd be Hannen]

signed letter, ff215-16, pen

**f215**

{printed address} 35 South Street, {pen} April 8/69  
Park Lane,  
W.

Dear Miss Freeman

I return the letters about  
Miss Hannan.

[Hannen] [13:611]

I do most earnestly hope  
that, for the work's sake &  
for all our sakes, she will  
succeed - & that your  
opinion concerning her  
fitness will not vary.

~~Indeed~~ your information  
about ~~that unfortunate~~ Mrs.  
Kidd is the most painful  
I almost ever heard in the  
course of a very painful life  
But Your statement that  
Mrs. Kidd was recommended

**f215v**

in spite of your warnings &  
those of Miss Smyth & Miss  
Gilpin has occasioned  
me so much surprise &  
~~appears to be so very~~  
~~important~~ that I  
shall lay it before the  
~~together with the case itself~~  
"N. Committee", as soon  
~~as~~ the Secretary, who is  
abroad as soon as he returns home when  
the case itself will come before him  
[~~As you are aware,~~ I never  
received the slightest hint of this  
from ~~you~~ anyone altho' in constant  
& familiar communication  
first with Miss Smyth &  
then with yourself, &  
indirectly with Miss Gilpin,

**f216**

during the whole year of  
~~that poor wretched woman's~~  
 stay at Liverpool Workh.]-  
 But you are doubtless referring  
 to other communications of  
 which I am ignorant, as  
 you use the words "testimony"  
 & "very faithfully expressed  
 opinions". as having emanated  
 from yourself, Miss Smyth &  
 Miss Gilpin.

[end 13:611]

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

f217 typed copy re lying in stats, J.H. Barnes; archivist: original owned by  
 Dr Barnes

letter, ff217-20, printed copy [8:215-16]

**f217**

COPY

35 South Street,  
 Park Lane,  
 W.  
 April 15/69.

Dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for so kindly forwarding to me  
 such details as can now be obtained as to the Death-rate among the  
 Lying-in women in your workhouse for the 3 last years.

It is so remarkable a fact that, out of 1590 Deliveries in  
 the 3 years, there should have been only 4 Deaths - & only 2 slight  
 outbreaks of Puerperal Fever without any fatal results that, for  
 the benefit of humanity, one wishes to have the most ample informa-  
 tion on a Death-rate which, even with the untoward Sanitary ar-  
 rangement you have so justly denounced, is actually lower than  
 the Death rate among Lying-in women in healthy districts.

Shall you think that I am taxing your kindness too severely  
 if I ask you to give me (roughly) any answers to the following  
 question which you may be so very good as to feel disposed to  
 give? -

viz. 1. information as to your lying-in ward or wards - dis-  
 tinguishing between

Delivery Ward

Lying-in Ward or (or perhaps these

"Convalescent" Ward (two are the

Add Mss 45801

300

(same

the points are:

**f218 [fix number outline]**

-2-

- a. length  
breadth  
height
- b. number & size of windows & if on opposite sides? -
- c. number of fire-places
- d. means of ventilation
- e. number of beds
- f. number of beds usually occupied at one time  
(I take for granted that all the Deliveries are conducted in the Delivery Ward.)

2.

Do you ever change the ward used as a Delivery Ward? -

- a. or the Ward or Wards used for the women after Delivery? -

3.

What average number of days do women remain in the Wards after Delivery? -

4.

What proportion of these Lying-in women then leave the Workhouse to return home?

- a. or remain more or less permanently as Workhouse inmates? -
- b. and what proportion, if any, are Workhouse inmates before lying-in? -
- c. are any admitted except when Labour is imminent? -

5.

In what state are the women when admitted? -

- a. that is, are they of the usual weakly class of the town? -
- b. or is any selection of cases made? -
- c.

d.

**f219**

-3-

6. Might I ask some account of your general plan of management? -  
a. do you attend Lying-in cases solely whether in  
or out of the Workhouse? -  
b. or do you attend other cases also? -  
(I take for granted that the Nurses & Midwives employed about  
the Lying-in women are exclusively limited to the Lying-in  
Department.)  
7. Is the Lying-in Division entirely isolated or at what  
distance from the General Female Wards or the Infectious Wards?  
8. What have been the precautions for averting Puerperal Fever? -  
a. how often are the wards limewashed? -  
b. what have been the rigid measures of cleanliness? -  
9. Is the exposure of the ward such as to secure good outside  
ventilation?

I really feel uneasy at so presuming upon your kindness as to  
trouble you with so many questions.

But at least, any information that you are so good as to give will  
not be wasted.

The subject of the miserably high Death-rate from puerperal  
diseases among Lying-in women in Institutions is now receiving so

**f220**

-4-

much attention that so very remarkable an exception as yours ought  
to attract the fullest notice.

I will not waste your time with any more apologies - but only  
beg you to believe me, dear Sir,

ever your faithful & obliged serv't

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

J.H. Barnes Esq.

notes, ff221-24v, pencil extremely faded] [5:483-85]

**f221** Ld Houghton's Debate

The cause is not won.

We shall not get the R. Comm:

But a great step has been made & attention raised  
to the principle of training & employment of pauper  
labour acknowledged & Emigration, tho' not by  
Govt agency, forwarded - people made alive

Lord Overstone simply did not touch the subject  
at all.

a man said to have made 7 millions by paperkite flying

But paperkite flying is not a divine institution  
- a capital of 7 millions is not a divine institution  
And man is.

Ld Overstone's speech only says-  
this is the best of all possible worlds, (for the people  
who can make £7000000)

The paperkite is supreme-

7 millions are a fact- which cannot be  
quarreled with

Mr Carlyle told us a long while ago that if all  
the positive electricity goes into one ball, & all the  
negative electricity into another there will  
be a collision some day & storms of thunder  
& lightning & earth quakes -

Lord Overstone's speech is just the sort of speech that  
might have been made in France before 1789 -  
when those who had money, the stronger race which

**f221v** {vertical lines drawn through most of page}

oppressed the weaker, said.

this is the best of all possible worlds  
And those who had no money, the weaker who  
were being oppressed, said: -

this is the worst of all possible worlds  
But in France it was the effect of bad laws  
With us it is the effect of quite a different  
state (almost as bad in its results perhaps  
but much more easily remedied)

With us, the higher capacity raises itself - but  
recognizes no claim (at least in Political Economy)  
to raise the lower capacity to its own level  
We don't want (at least not as present) to  
damage the position of the higher capacity & its  
7 millions

But we want the principle to be recognized  
that part of their position is: to raise & train  
the lower capacity to produce (not 7 million  
but) enough to live.

If they say: it can't be done we say that is  
begging the whole question - & we have certainly  
not illustrations wanting to shew that it  
can be done.

If we are come to the American state of the  
'Almighty dollar', there is no more to be said

**f222** {diagonal line through page}

But a most telling reply might have been  
made to Ld Overstone by anyone who  
understood the subject only such a reply  
can't be made in the House of Lords

The principle of the P. Law has been to drive  
the helpless to help themselves  
And signal has been the failure.

They have helped themselves indeed but  
it has been out of others' earnings.

The principle of a true Pol: Eco: is to help  
the helpless to help themselves.  
Not that I would not drive, if it answered.  
But it doesn't.

Make them keep on at the subject -  
Now's the time

**f222v** {diagonal line through page}

Pol: Eco:

transition stage in the education of the world

1st state - men to be taught to beg - beg to live

charity - to enable them to live on others' earnings

then came Pol. Eco: &

2nd men must be made to work to live -

if they can't must be left to die - Pol: Eco: lets them die

helpless must be driven to help themselves

then will come on

3rd men must be helped to work to live

helpless must be helped to help themselves

faculty trained to work - then Pol. Eco. lets them live

**f223** {vertical line through first half of page}

Political Economy

wants to be taught to think correctly -

her want of knowledge of human motives

v. Poor Law

more need of Moral Science than of Political Science

that those who do not produce ought not to eat

up the earnings of those who do produce is a truism

in these days (tho' not in St. Teresa's days)

But - the P.L. goes on to say

not - we will teach them how to produce

but - we will offer them the Workh Test or let

them starve - That will teach them how to produce

Surely no greater error in understanding human

nature could have been committed than this -

since the Workhouse (& still less starvation) is no

teacher of production - no teacher of physical, still

less of moral or of intellectual energy.

What a want of power of applying Pol: Eco:

to education this is!

Perhaps there has scarcely been a greater religious

genius than Ign. Loyola. his object was to

reduce Religious training to a method - to Rules

Just as we say that Moral Science is as much

subject to laws as Physical Science (we have

scarcely made the first step even in describing

a method to discover these laws) so Ign. Loyola

thought that he would reduce Practical Religion

**f223v**

the method of becoming religious or spiritual -  
to Rules -

[And much of his Spiritual Exercises is the right  
method]

But, just because of that very want of knowledge  
of human nature, of Moral Science, which  
you see reigning in the Poor Law, Ign: Loyola  
did not see (& St. Teresa did not see) that  
a great proportion of their Rules & of their  
Method actually led human nature directly  
down to its lowest depths just as the  
Poor Law form of Political Economy does -  
by bringing up, or rather by bringing down,  
men & women to be either lazy beggars or to be  
slaves without a will, without independence,  
without freedom of thought, without a  
wish of their own to enquire after the truth.  
Ign: Loyola & St. Teresa, just like the Workhouses,  
destroyed in man & woman the power of  
production - because they did not see,  
just as Political Economy does not see,  
that you supply no one motive for production  
to man (his chief end) you teach him in no  
sense to produce by these methods.

**f224** {vertical line through page} archivist: ca 17 April 1869 [in JS hand] prob cont'd f230

Ld Houghton

I liked your statement very much. The fact is that any discussion does good by stirring up the dead weight of prejudice in favour of things as they are. The mere avowal of the Govt that they were considering what to do with paupers was worth the whole discussion. Now as to Political economy. I entirely agree with you that Pol Econ & the laws of Nature are identical. What is at issue is an application of the law to a populous island with a growing population & no growth of land possible. My proposal is that the proper function of a poor law is to enable the poor to provide for themselves to the extent to which their age & health permit: that this is to be done not by feeding them at the cost of other people which is contrary to the very foundation of political economy, but to bring labour & the means of labour already existing together & considering that we are in a small island I note that part of the duty is to plan Those who cannot find the means of work here, in contrast with the means of work [illeg] so that all may produce to the extent of

**£224v** {vertical line through page}

their ability: And that moreover as the past incapacity of the Poor Law to do this has pauperized a large part of the nation without materially or at all diminishing the necessity for relief & as the charitable public have done the best they can't increase the evil because they feel the inefficiency of the poor law that the time has come for the Government to systematize the whole matter & to solve the problem If in doing this the poor law disappears is so much the better.

ff221- pencil note [ca. 17 Apr 1869]

Ld Houghton's Debate

The cause is not won.

We shall not get the R. Comm.

But a great step has been made & attention raised - the principle of training & employment of pauper labour acknowledged & Emigration, tho' not by Govt. agency, forwarded- people made alive Ld Overstone simply did not touch the subject at all

a man said to have made 7 millions by paper kite flying

But paper kite flying is not a Divine Institution

--a capital of 7 Millions is not a Divine Institution

And man is-

Ld Overstone's speech only says

this is the best of all possible worlds, (for people who can make £7000 000)

the paper kite is supreme -

7 millions are a fact -which cannot be quarrelled with

Mr Carlyle told us a long while ago that if all the positive electricity goes into one ball, & all the negative electricity into another, there will be a collision some day & storms of thunder & lightning & earth quakes -

Lord Overstone's speech is just the sort of speech that might have been made in France before 1789- when those who had money, the stronger race which

f221v

oppressed the weaker, said -  
this is the best of all possible worlds-  
And those who had no money, the weaker who  
were being oppressed, said: -  
this is the worst of all possible worlds.  
But in France it was the effect of bad laws.  
With us it is the effect of quite a different  
state (almost as bad in its results perhaps  
but much more easily remedied)  
With us, the higher capacity raises itself -but  
recognizes no claim (at least in Political Economy)  
to raise the lower capacity to its own level.

We don't want (at least not at present) to  
damage the position of the higher capacity & its  
7 millions.

But we want the principle to be recognized  
that part of their position is: to raise & train  
the lower capacity to produce (not 7 millions  
but) enough to live.

If they say: it can't be done -0 we say, that is  
begging the whole question & we have certainly  
not illustrations wanting to shew that it  
can be done.

If we are come to the American state of the  
'Almighty dollar', there is no more to be said.

f222

But a most telling reply might have been  
made to Lord Overstone by any one who  
understood the subject. Only such a reply  
can't be made in the Ho. of Lords.

The principle of the P. Law has been, to drive  
the helpless to help themselves.

And signal has been the failure

The have helped themselves indeed, but

it has been out of others' earnings

The principle of a true Pol. Ec.: is to help  
the helpless to help themselves.

Not that I would not drive, if it answer,

But it doesn't.

Make them keep on at the subject-

Now's the time

ff223- pencil note

Political Economy

wants to be taught to think correctly=  
her want of knowledge of human motives

v. Poor Law

more need of Moral Science than of Political Science

that those who do not produce ought not to eat  
up the earnings of those who do produce is a truism  
in these days (tho' not in St Teresa's days)

But the P. L. goes on to say

not = we will teach them how to produced

but - we will offer them the Workh. Test or let  
them starve - That will teach them how to produce

Surely no greater error in understanding human  
nature could have been committed than this--

since the workhouse (& still less starvation) is no  
teacher of production - no teacher of physical, still  
less of moral or of intellectual energy -

What a want of power of applying Po: Ec:  
to education this is!

Perhaps there has scarcely been a great religious  
genius than Ign. Loyal - his object was to

reduce Religious training to a method - to Rules

Just as we say that Moral Science is as much  
subject to Laws as Physical Science (we have  
scarcely made the first step even in discovering  
a method to discover these Laws) so Ign: Loyal  
thought that he would reduce Practical Religion -

v

the method of becoming religious or spiritual-  
to Rules- [And much of his Spiritual Exercises is the right  
method]

But, just because of that very want of knowledge  
of human nature, of Moral Science, what

you see reigning in the Poor Law, Ign: Loyal  
did not see (& St. Teresa did not see) that

a great proportion of their Rules & of their  
Method actually led human nature directly

down to its lowest depths - just as the  
Poor Law form of Political Economy does-

by bringing up, or rather by bringing down,  
men & women to be either lazy beggars or to be  
slaves without a will, without independence,

without freedom of thought, without a wish of their own to enquire after the truth.

Ign: Loyal & St. Teresa, just like the Workhouses, destroyed in man & woman the power of production -because they did not see, just as Political Economy does not see, that you supply no one motive for production to man (his chief end) you teach him in no sense to produce by these methods.

f224 pencil note [ca. 17 Apr 1869]

Ld Houghton

I liked your statement very much. The fact is that any discussion does good by stirring up the dead weigh of prejudice in favour of things as they are. The mere avowal of the Govt that they were considering what to do with paupers was worth the whole discussion. Now as to Political economy. I entirely agree with you that Pol. Econ & the Law of Nature are identical. This question is not at issue in the discussion. What is at issue is an application of the Law to a populous island with a growing population & no growth of land possible. My proposal is that the proper function of a Poor Law is to enable the poor to provide for themselves to the extent to which their age & health permit: That this is to be done not by feeding them at the cost of other people which is contrary to the very foundation of political economy, but to bring labour & the means of labour already existing together & considering that we are a small island I hold that part of the duty is to place those who cannot find the means of work here, in contact with the means of work elsewhere so that all may produce to the extent of

f224v

their ability. And that moreover as the hard [?] incapacity of the Poor Law to do this has pauperized a large part of the nation so that materially or at all diminishing the necessity of relief or as the charitable public had done the best they] can to increase the evil because they ]feel the insufficiency of the Poor Law that the time has come for the Government to systematize the whole matter & to solve the problem. If in doing this the Poor Law disappears so much the better.

f225 LBF to FN 19 Apr 1869 I had hardly contrived that I had expressed myself so strongly on the subject of Mrs Kidd's appt, tho I am conscious I felt strongly. I find I am mistaken in saying that Miss Smyths had written their opinion of Mrs Kidd when they left but from a sentence in

one of their letters I had recd the impression that such was the case. The fact is all who came in contact with poor Mrs Kidd in her normal work hours saw how unfitted she was, for it not because of known intemperance but a general inefficiency, total absence of interest or diligence in her duties. I had three ladies to visit me at different times and each formed but one opinion of Mrs Kidd. I naturally felt aggrieved not to have been referred to when she was leaving as I was told she was under me for training for the position of supt. FN red pencil What can she mean? F.N. I had eight months worry and discomfort and every effort to get things into proper working order frustrated and then she left w/o even saying "good bye." and gave the keys to Mrs Butler the housekeeper. I cannot now bear in mind FN red pencil I can. what I may have said or written about her but I did think both yourself and Mrs Wardroper knew I was anything but satisfied with her. However I regret that I have wrongly judged in this matter and must ask you to accept my apology. I duly have to learn lessons of my need of the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.

ff227-28 Houghton to FN re Ho of Lords speech to "My dear friend" signed Houghton

April 28/69

My dear friend

little came of my talk in the H. of Lds. & I don't know that it deserved anything better.

My statements were so lacking & so qualified that they could not get much sympathy. I was put heartily in the matter

f  
feeling much force in the counter arguments of the plenteousness of employments in this country if it will only be got at.

I find among my economical friends a growing dislike to the Poor Law at all, and certainly foreign countries get on gaily without it.

f228

I don't quite apprehend  
your feelings about political  
economy. I am in the  
habit of looking on its  
laws as part of the laws  
of nature, which are neither  
to be liked or disliked,  
but to be discovered and  
submitted to, and the violations  
of which for certain disagree  
able effects, which we meta  
[phorically?] call punishments.

v

What I wrote about an  
 apparent antagonism between  
 the trained nurses & the  
 sisterhoods came from a dinner  
 where the question was  
 illeg ospital to be  
 illeg & each system was illeg  
 illeg & recommended.  
 & I am incling to illeg  
 & St James [?  
 to the other. This  
 was all I referred to.

I am  
 yr aff  
 Houghton

f229 Wm Clode embossed War Office 23 April 1869, Will you favor me with  
 your opinion as to whether the enclosed slip relates to 9 persons or the  
 remarks in col. 9

f230 JS hand, archivist: ca April 1869 prob contd from f224

Lord Houghton

It is very difficult to treat the pauper  
 question from one side - & emigration  
 as you propose. Emigration is one of  
 the elements only. But as at present  
 carried out it takes away our strong  
 natures into other lands & leaves the  
 weak natures of the same class of people  
 at home. An emigration rate  
 would by itself only reach part of the  
 evil. What we really want is an  
 enquiry into the whole subject both  
 here & abroad. We want to know all  
 the sources of pauperism in order that  
 we may devise remedies. In a limited  
 island like ours with a rapidly increasing  
 population ~~we want some~~ and an  
 unprecedented tendency ~~to sink~~ of so  
 large a part of it to sink into dependency  
 on the remainder we want some constant  
 machinery in operation to deal with  
 the evil in its various aspects by  
 remedies applicable to each. In this

Add Mss 45801

316

work I would enlist & systematize  
private effort as well as state mechanisms

A Royal Commission well selected will  
possible be the best method. **[end 5:485]**

230v [in FN hand]

back-bone can do for itself anywhere-

back-bone will do well in emigration

" " " " at home

So will short service talk in Army

the good men will do well in Army (in India)

& the good ones will do well when they come out

& vice versa-

Article N British Quarterly [red]

**[5:157-59]**

old Pol. Eco: puts on its boxing gloves & fights

then when the writer comes to apply his own theories

experience puts on its boxing gloves & knocks

down poor old Pol: Eco: entirely

Fault not Pol. Eco's but ours, who have

never asked whether the Poor Law & the Workhouse Test

(which shuts people up where they can't produce)

is Pol: Eco: after all.

whether the true doctrines of Pol: Eco. are applied in our

present national polity & Poor Law.

Add Mss 45802, microfilm, 279 folios, 107 pages, general correspondence 1869-71, Adam Matthew reel 32

ff1-10 NOTES AND LETTERS to FN

**f1** letter to FN 1 May 1869 from W. Clode re returns, aggregated, re Liverpool. Herewith I send the slips and abstract sheets. All the returns are now embodied in an aggregated sheet, of which a duplicate is sent in case you may desire to forward it to Liverpool.

**f2** letter to FN May 4 1869 from Sarah Myles re nursing 45802 f2, 14 Maryland St, Liverpool. Miss Smyth kindly sent the enclosed to me--it was very good of you to remember us. I have written to Greenock and will let you know if a reply comes--perhaps you wd kindly allow us to pass a little time at St Thomas' Hosp previous to our undertaking any fresh work. Pastor Fliedner told us he had a very good opinion of our abilities. Our work for seven years in Dublin was beautiful, we brought every plan we noticed abroad and in London into the best possible way and trained 300 young women. Dr Neale of East Grinstead visited our inst and said it was a model one, my linen closet was so nice, pray do not think I praise our work, we are humble enough to do anything that our duty brings before us. Yr obliged, Sarah Myles

**f4** letter to FN from Liverpool, Henrietta Walker May 5/69, re the kind letter she wrote to them, not made up my mind to write, yet it can only be so to thank you for your very kind sympathy which I know you have for me. I feel grateful for it dear lady. I am hoping to have a week or two in London about July, when I will go and see dear Mrs Wardroper. I can tell what I want to her and as you are the head and Mrs Wardroper the next she will be sure to tell you what I say, but if I do not have a holiday, then I will wrote all my mind to you. I do not write to Mrs Wardroper now, as for some wise reason she did not answer my letters; I have endeavoured to do my duty to Miss Freeman as I said I wold before she came; Miss Hannon came on Monday. I have only caught a glimpse of her voice we stood very much in need of a lady here. I believe she will have authority and no savage inst can possibly get on unless someone has authority and understands and takes interest in the work and nurses, the nurses of course being subordinates themselves do not expect to control nor dictate to others, and neither would it be liked, but we told everything to Miss Freeman that would help her. My very dear lady, I told Miss Smyths what you & they were of the same opinion I believe I shall not go to our beloved lady's ? I know hey wd like..I don't think I possibly cold I will stay on for a time, the Lord sparing me, but I shall speak of this when I come to London, dearest lady, I remain your grateful servant, Henrietta Walker

**f6** letter to FN from Sarah Myles May 17/69 from Liverpool. Encloses reply [faint]

f8 letter to FN 22 May 1869 from T. Macmillan on embossed Greenock Hosp, I recd your note of the 4th, waited to see what directors wd decide and they met last night; directors in terms with a lady who has been some years in the Glasgow Hosp and she has been appointed

**f9** letter to FN from Louisa Freeman, Liv Wk re photos of nurses May 22 [1869]. Would you kindly let me know where any of your photographs are sold as several of my nurses on leaving are so very desirous to obtain one. Three have recently completed their time here, and are doing so much credit in the spheres appointed them. I have a great desire to get an opening for trained nurses in our Female Convict Prisons and purpose writing to my friend Mr Walter Crofton about it. I think I shall get one in at Walton near here as Dr Archer seems most desirous to get the magistrates consent to nominate one.

You will be glad to hear things are going on very satisfactorily so far with Miss Hanan and I do hope in a few months we shall have a really good Training School.

I hope you are better than when I last heard and will forgive my troubling you about the photos but I get no peace from those who want to look at you on paper.

**f11** LETTER REGARDING LEEDS INFIRMARY, SUPERINTENDENT OF NURSES, PEN; NOT IN FN'S HANDWRITING; DATED MAY 22, 1868 [draft by HBC] [1869?]

{Printed, in script} Guardian Fire & Life Insurance Office  
11 Lombard Street, London  
E.C.  
186

Private

Sir,

My attention has been called **[13:278]**  
to an article in the Leeds Mercury  
of the 11 May on the Leeds New  
Infirmary in which it is stated that  
the Lady Superintendent of Nurses "is a  
pupil of Florence Nightingale." As  
this ~~it~~ is not the fact & ~~the statement~~  
~~is likely to~~ {illeg} {illeg} ~~cause me~~ {illeg}  
I should be glad for many reasons  
that the error should be corrected--  
& should feel obliged if without  
referring to me you could have  
the goodness to do so. ~~in~~ {illeg anything?}

~~such a way~~ I may observe that  
I have never ~~in my life~~ had Pupils

**f11v**

& I have no personal acquaintance  
with the Lady Superintendent of Nurses  
of the Leeds Infirmary.

FN

{written sideways, in another hand} 1868  
Leeds Infirmary

**f12-30** NOTES ON "HIGHER MOTIVES" IN NURSING, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN for  
Caroline Stephen **[8:41-50]**

Private

{printed letterhead} 35 South Street  
Park Lane  
W. [May 1869]

{in writing} Dear Madam,

I thank you for your kind  
note.

You put a question to me  
when you were leaving me  
which I felt I did not  
adequately answer, viz. whether  
it were possible, so I understood,  
successfully to follow out the  
profession of Nursing except  
from "higher motives".

I wished to have added  
some answer to this to the  
pencil scrawl I sent you.  
But I really had not time.

[If you knew more of me,  
you would find that I was  
one of those tiresome persons  
with a scrupulous conscience.

**f12v**

And so I am going to try to  
answer your question now.

But, if it should prove a  
long answer, you need not  
read it; most people are far  
from wishing for lengthy  
answers to their enquiries.

**[end]**

What are the "higher motives"?  
That is just what I want to  
know.

Nearly all the Christian Orders  
will tell you: the first is, to  
save your soul, or perhaps  
they will put it: to please  
God in saving your soul.

Even those who put it  
in this way: -- to serve God

Add Mss 45804

322

in serving your fellow=creatures;

**f13**

do not at all infer from this  
that you are to strain mind  
& soul & strength & body  
in finding out what are the  
laws of health, the laws of  
Political Economy, the best  
methods of Education, without  
which all your serving of your  
fellow=creatures is a farce,  
without which you really  
kill, ruin or pauperize them,  
while you are serving them.  
No: if you are to strain your  
body, it is by observing  
certain practices of fasting,  
poverty etc. etc. according to them  
If you ask the R. Catholic  
religious orders: What are  
the "higher motives"? [and  
the Ritualist Anglican Orders  
will tell you the same thing  
now] they will answer: --  
to serve God's Church by entering  
into a Society to promote His

**f13v**

glory (or even Her glory, they may say), which can only be done, or best be done, by certain vows.

And should you ask them, (which I never did, because I lived with them), whether, if you performed exactly the same works without the vows, it would not do as well, they would answer: Certainly not.

And they would explain that the "vows" made these works more "meritorious" -- that is the word.

that the "vows" were, in fact, the "higher motives".

[To this R. Catholics would add a good deal about the "merit" of "gaining indulgences" But into this it is probably not necessary to go.] Into the

**f14**

2

"merit" however of the "higher motives", these "higher motives" being: the fulfilling of poverty, obedience & celibacy, the Anglican & now the German Protestant Orders appear to enter quite as strenuously as the R. Catholic. In other words, poverty, obedience & celibacy are not considered as means to an end, but as the end themselves.

In this there has been a sensible progress backwards in the last 10 or 20 years. The great R. Cath. Orders are undoubtedly becoming more ultramontane. But, it is not only this: the Protestant Orders used to consider that "obedience" was only the necessary ~~bond~~ machinery to carry out a great work together, that "poverty" was only the self=

**f14v**

denial essential to any doing good that "celibacy" was only because you can't have the Nurses' (or the School Mistresses', or the Matrons') husbands & children in your Hospitals, Penitentiaries, Asylums, Schools etc. etc. etc. Now, on the other hand, "obedience", "celibacy", "poverty" are the "higher motives" presented not skill in the care of the sick, (which must include devotion & self=denial) not skill in educating children etc. etc. etc., in raising not pauperizing those under your care. In short, the "Order", not the Patient, -- the "Church", not the child are becoming the

Add Mss 45804

326

"higher motives", even in  
Protestant, even in Evangelical  
~~Protestant~~ English life. (or, in this last

**f15**

it may be the setting down  
 not the glorifying  
 the "Order", -- which is only the  
 same thing in another guise,  
 since they invent no  
 organization for training the  
 real "higher motive", which  
 is: the care of the sick, the  
 de=pauperizing of the pauper,  
 the education of the child  
 & the reclaiming of the Prostitutes. [end ?)?)  
 And certainly, some knowledge  
 of Political Economy as regards  
 the causes of pauperism is necessary for  
 this. But, for the matter of  
 that, Governments & Poor Laws  
 make just as great mistakes  
 as the worst & most fanatical  
 "Religious" Orders as regards  
 how to de=pauperize.

**f15v**

However, to return: --  
 I can't, for the life of me especially  
 when I hear all about the nursing by these  
 "Knights of S. John," & that of the  
 Campaign of Sadowa, & the  
 "Société de Secours" & the  
 "Bailiwick of Brandenburg", &  
 the Grand Mastership etc. etc. etc.  
 help thinking of our immortal  
 Classic, the Anti=Jacobin  
 which I have not read these  
 30 years: --

"Marked you the Waiter?"  
 [Beefington] "The Waiter?"  
 [Cas: in a confidential tone]  
 "No Waiter, but a Knight Templar  
 Poor "Beefington" & "Puddingfield"  
 do make themselves so very  
 ridiculous when they "dissemble  
 their" "Order" & "embrace the  
 profession of a Hospital Waiter," (without  
 knowing anything about it.)

**f16**

3

"habited as Knight Templars,  
with the Cross on their breast"  
and the "Troubadour" and the  
"attendant Female Minstrel".  
(alias, the Deaconess or nun, who are made female  
members of the order, of the Knights.)

"Here doom'd to starve on water gruel  
(that's the Patient  
& very bad the water gruel is  
wh: the Knight Templar, alias  
Hospital Waiter, makes.

[Editor's Note.]

"el, never shall I see the U.  
-niversity of Gottingen  
-niversity of Gottingen."

However, quite seriously, and in  
good faith: -- the Knight=ship,  
or the vow=ship, or the  
"lettres d'obédience", or the  
insignia, or the Ecclesiastical  
petticoats, are an accessory  
(often rather ridiculous &  
never the "higher motive")  
but quite unobjectionable,

**f16v**

provided these Knights, these  
Deaconesses, these Nuns, these  
'soeurs', these 'frères', these  
'waiters' know what they  
are about, can "pass an  
examination" in Sanitary things,  
in Sanitary construction, Nursing  
-- things which regard the  
Health of Hospitals & the  
Public Health.  
But this is just what they can't  
do. They look upon these  
things, which constitute the  
"higher motives", as the accessories.  
They look upon the "Order",  
the historic pedantry, the  
Ultramontane or Evangelical

Add Mss 45804

329

sectarianism, the "No Waiter  
but a Knight Templar", as  
the essential, the "higher  
motive".

**f17**

Joseph II of Austria said that he would keep the monks, provided the monks would go through the Government examination (& open normal schools.)

Joseph II resumed the whole question of the "higher motive" in these words.

[This is just what the present Emperor of France is too weak to do. even with the Soeurs de Charité.

And this is just what religious Orders, both Protestant & R. Catholic, with some noble exceptions, have too little of the "higher motive" to do.]

The "higher motive" is to `pass the examination' not to do without it.

**f17v**

to take care of the sick, to educate the child, to de=pauperize the pauper, as well as it is possible to do it. & to strain body, soul, nerve & mind & strength to find out the best possible methods of doing it.

And every other is not the `higher motive' but the lower. And, whether they dare to say it or not, the Patients always feel this.

Joseph II was a sincere Catholic. And, I think I am a sincere `nun' in what I now say -- -- far more so than any `Mother Superior' of this or `Mère Générale' of that Order tho' I dearly love them both, (at

**f18**

4

least, some of them).

But it is being a sincere  
`religious' to shew the fatal  
mistake, fatal indeed, in its  
consequences, when so-called  
Religion comes in, in any Order  
whatsoever or under any  
guise of `higher motives'  
whatsoever -- whether in  
the ordinary monasteries &  
nunneries, whether in the  
new-fangled `Societies,'  
& tries or pretends to  
exempt the members from  
the universal laws of business  
& success.

In all time it has been  
fatal to Ecclesiastical Government  
-- most especially in Education  
or in Nursing.

I have seen nuns & Deaconesses  
do, in carelessness, dirt &  
neglect, what no ordinary

**f18v**

secular Hospital Nurse or  
school-teacher would dare  
to do. Because she would  
lose her place. Still  
more I have seen men, in  
religious order, or `Knights  
Templars', guilty of this kind  
of thing.

On the other hand, experience  
has led me to believe that,  
(as human nature is now,)  
religious Orders or Societies, --  
if they do carefully observe  
secular laws of success, -- if  
they do cordially unite with  
ye Civil powers, submit  
to Civil Conditions, if they  
pass their "examinations",  
in fact, if they do all these

Add Mss 45804

332

things, they find a great  
help to the "higher motive"  
among the weaker vessels

**f19**

in the bond of the `Society'  
to maintain a higher standard  
of administration, of Nursing,  
of education, than purely  
secular Nurses, School=  
teachers etc. have who are  
scattered abroad without  
any particular bond of  
association.

But, if they exempt themselves  
from all but ecclesiastical  
jurisdiction or opinion as  
~~for~~ regards the `higher motive', all  
experience tells us that  
this is capable of becoming  
incalculably the lowest  
`motive' of all.

And this is even more  
remarkable in the  
Protestant than in the  
R. Catholic Orders.  
But it is difficult, without

**f19v**

betraying confidence, to give  
illustrations which can only  
be known by those who  
have lived among them,  
(but not of them).

Take therefore the historic  
fight between the Church &  
the Civil powers as to the  
validity of ~~the~~ Marriage.  
Every sincere R. Catholic will  
tell you that it is the Church  
Sacrament -- every sincere  
Ritualist the Church ceremony  
-- which constitutes the `higher  
motive', the essence, the  
morality of Marriage.

~~If you once give up the point~~  
~~that~~ But the `higher motive' is:  
the intention of one man & one  
woman to belong to one another  
for all time. & ~~that~~ it

Add Mss 45804

334

signifies nothing, as far as  
the 'higher motive' is concerned,

**f20**

5

whether this intention is declared or not before a gentleman in a white tie, in Ecclesiastical petticoats etc. Every thing, short of this, is the lower 'motive', not the higher. So, the 'higher motive' in Nursing is: to nurse under all the conditions which restore the sick to health, to secure as far as possible the administration & construction which the most careful study of the laws of health renders imperative. This is the 'higher motive'. But to belong to something called an Ecclesiastical Order or Society, which prescribes other conditions than the essential ones -- this is surely the 'lower motive', not the 'higher'.

But, in justice to my friends, the Paris Hospitals, to my friends the

**f20v**

Deaconesses, & even to the dirty Knight Templar=Waiters, I must repeat that, if an Order does strictly subordinate itself as a means to an end, to fulfill these practical laws, like everybody else, I think an order a great preservative of the "higher motive". If not, not. But Orders are always mistaking the accident for the essence, the essence for the accident, the 'higher motive' for the lower, the lower for the higher. But Patients don't mistake them. Children don't mistake.

"Comme je me serais ennuyé, si je n'avais été là!" It is astonishing

Add Mss 45804

336

how this principle applies every  
where. If there is a first=  
rate Superintendent, she does  
not see these things, because  
they are not there.

**f21**

And to this must be attributed so much of the aberration, the degeneracy of Orders & Societies.

The founder could not possibly foresee or prevent it, because, while he (or she) was there, it did not exist.

For my part, I think that people should always be founders. And this is the main argument against Endowments. Let each founder train as many in his or her spirit as he or she can. Then the pupils will, in their turn, be, so to speak, founders. While the founder is there, his or her work will be done, not afterwards. The founder cannot foresee the evils which will arise when he is no longer there. Therefore let him not try to establish an Order. This has been most astonishingly true with the Order of the Jesuits as founded by (I must take a historical illustration)

**f21v**

S. Ignatius Loyola, with S. Vincent de Paul's "Soeurs de la Charité". It is quite immeasurable the breadth & length which now separates the spirit of these Orders from the spirit of their Founders. But it is no less true with far less ambitious Societies

This fundamental experience Anglican Orders are so far from perceiving, that their main object is: to perpetuate themselves -- their main complaint, that there is not a constant succession & extension, as, they say, there exists in the R.C. Orders.

**f22** ¶

To return to, what is the higher motive? \_ \_ \_ \_

In the perfect religious nurse or teacher, there ought to be what may be called 1. the physical (or natural) motive. 2. the intellectual (or professional) motive. 3. the religious motive, -- all three.

The natural motive which is the love of children, the love of nursing the sick, & which may entirely conquer, (as I know by personal experience,) a physical loathing & fainting at the sight of operations, of Post Mortem examinations, etc. this cannot be dispensed with in the good Nurse, the good teacher. [I do not believe it possible for the "higher motive", as it is called, so to disguise a natural disinclination to children, or sick in the nun as to make her acceptable to the Patients or the children.

**f22v**

And I have seen very serious  
& painful examples of this  
among Hospital "Sisters" &  
Educational Orders. while,  
on the other hand, the good  
Nurse is a creature much the  
same all over the world,  
whether in her coif & cloister,  
or taking her £20 or £50 a year.)  
Then there is 2. the professional  
motive. the desire &  
perpetual effort to do the  
thing as well as it can be done  
-- to nurse or teach up to the  
ideal. to train oneself to the  
means of reaching perfection  
-- to discover & perfect new  
methods. which exists just as much,  
every bit as much, in the Nurse as in the  
Astronomer in search of a  
new star, or in the Artist  
completing a picture or statue  
which is to live forever.

**f23**

These may be thought fine words. I can only say that, in the course of a very eventful life, I have seen this professional ambition in the nurse who could hardly read or write, but who aimed just as much at perfection in her care & dressing of the difficult amputation case, as the Surgeon did in performing the operation -- and that there is no first rate Nursing without it just as there is no first rate Surgery without it.

And I have seen it in the nun  
& the Deaconess.

But, I have never seen it in any English or Irish "Sister", Whether Anglican or R. Catholic or Evangelical, which I attribute to their obstinate resistance to anything secular, which fortunately forms so [see] large a portion of the "Religious"

**f23v**

life abroad, & to its consequence  
that they absolutely do not know  
even what the word "training"  
means.

But it would be merely an  
"odious caparison" to mention  
individual Orders if this did  
not lead me to an answer to  
your question about the "higher  
motive".

I call it the "higher motive"  
to do the very best you can  
for your sick & the children  
under your care, to leave no  
means untried to know (&  
to be able to practice) how  
to do the very best you can

The "professional" who does  
this has the "higher motive".

The "religious" who thinks she  
can serve God anyhow has  
not the "higher motive".

And can there be anything  
more contemptible, more mean,

**f24**

§ 7

or farther from the "higher motive"  
than a "Religious" who will not  
take the trouble to learn &  
use the best means to serve  
God & man, not even the  
trouble which a "Professional"  
will take to fit herself for a  
lucrative place, let alone  
the higher "professional" ambition  
& should call the "Religious" the  
lower motive, & the "professional"  
the higher in this case.

[The founder of a "Religious order"  
in London, with whom dear  
Agnes Jones once was, told me  
with his own lips that he  
did not think his "~~Deaconesses~~ Sisters"  
required much training, for,  
(he said to them,) `you are at all  
events better than Mrs. Gamps  
I would gladly go & see this  
man (who yet is a good man),  
prosecuted for `Cruelty to animals'.

**f24v**

or for 'Ecclesiastical misdemeanour'.  
 O if the Court of Arches would  
 but call this an Ecclesiastical  
 Misdemeanour! If you know  
 Sir R. Phillimore, could you  
 not ask him?  
 And this man told me exactly  
 what you did, viz. that Pastor  
 Fliedner told him he must,  
 always look for the 'higher motive'.  
 And he calls it the 'higher motive'  
 that these ladies give themselves  
 up to the service of God, in  
 order to be, & to serve Him,  
 - - - a little better than  
 Sairey Gamp, or rather not  
 quite so badly as, Sairey Gamp!!!  
 The consequence in his Hospital  
 & in these ladies' good works  
 is - - - just what you would  
 expect!

**f25**

In short, they won't do for God  
 what we do for any trade, any  
 profession, any occupation in  
 which we are heartily engaged .

And they call that the  
 "higher motive"!

But we come to 3. The religious  
 motive.

And I do entirely & constantly  
 believe that this is essential  
 for the highest kind of  
 Nurse or Teacher, especially  
 for the highest kind of a Founder.

There are such disappointments,  
 such sickenings of the heart,  
 such "contradictions", not of  
 "sinners" only, those are easily  
 borne but of good men,  
 such falling short of the ideal  
 in one's own work & in that of  
 the best disciples, that I do

Add Mss 45804

344

not believe any founder was  
ever carried through them all

**f25v**

except by feeling that she or she was called to the work by God, that it is a part of His work, that he or she is a fellow=worker with God "I do not ask for success", said dear Agnes Jones, even while she was taking every human means to ensure success, "but that the will of God may be done in me & by me".

This is the "higher" religious motive But the care of one's own soul is not. Poverty, obedience & celibacy, whether with or without "vows" are not.

I do not believe it possible for a founder to go on year after year through what always seem, to him or her, want of success (even tho' it may be really success.) because it falls so far short of the Ideal which

**f26**

§

which every Founder has in imagination. I do not believe it possible for any Founder to go on without this "higher" religious motive. I think one would strike work. I am sure I should.

But if you ask me which will do best, the "professional" motive of doing the best one can for those under one's charge without the ordinary so-called religious motive, to "make one's salvation" - or the ordinary so-called religious motive, "faire son salut", without the professional exertion, I answer that the professional is the "higher motive" - the so-called religious motive the lower, & that the latter will not only not do best - it will do nothing.

Not to give particular illustrations, I look upon some of the teaching "Sisters"

**f26v**

& "Brothers" I have seen as  
some of the lowest creatures  
on the face of the earth.  
[And yet, I contend, they are  
never what is usually called  
'immoral'.]

But, undoubtedly, the standard  
of nursing of the Paris Hospitals  
was, and is, I am afraid  
still, higher than the  
standard of the London  
Hospitals.

The standard of the German  
Hospitals was, all over  
Germany, North & South,  
lower, 10-15 years ago, not  
only than those of Paris  
but even than the unreformed  
Hospitals of London.

And this year you must take into  
account in the unprecedented  
success of Kaiserswerth.

**f27**

But, tho' I say it with the greatest regret, the standard of Nursing of the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses even when in the secular Hospitals of Germany is not only far below that of the Paris Augustinians & Soeurs de Ste Marthe x at Paris -but it is lower than that of an ordinarily good London Hospital. It is absolutely bad, compared with that of a Hospital, like St. Thomas'.

It is the Normal School, the Penitentiary, the Infant School at Kaiserswerth which is so good, not the Hospital. Above all, it is the spirit which Pastor Fliedner & his wife infused into the Deaconesses, 'Parish' Deaconesses included.

---

x The Soeurs de Ste Marthe are, as I dare say you know, the last surviving

**f27v**

representatives of Port Royal in France, of Jansenism, the successors of the Mere Angelique. You, the daughter of Sir Jas Stephen ought to admire them with something more than a sentimental admiration. And I think it was *his* Review of the Port Royalists which fired me, as a youth, with a zeal to see whether the truth & the duty which was in them could not be made one with the truth & the duty which is in the Moral & Political Philosophy of the present day, (as I firmly believe from experience it can.)

**f28**

9

I have but 2 or 3 words more to say.

It is so difficult to guard one's meaning sufficiently in such a moral Dissertation as you have launched me in (for I am but a poor Moralist) that I must fain return to something about the "higher motive". All "Societies" & "Orders", if they tell the truth, (which I have an unfortunate way of doing, much to my own expence through life,) will tell you that they have often their greatest scourges & their greatest troubles from skilled, efficient Nurses, Sup'ts, or "Sisters", who yet, from want of a feeling of honour in what they say, from an undisciplined temper, from a love of show in what they do,

**f28v**

from habits of pride or of self indulgence etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. are always destroying all the good they are doing. And here you may truly say it is because the "higher motive" is wanting. And Madame Fliedner is quite right in saying that these faults, if they exist in the Doctor, do not harm his Surgery, at least not much. But they destroy the Nurse & the Teacher. [The Nurse you have always with you, the Doctor not.] But then I contend that the "higher motive" is: the serving of God & man by the very best means which human wisdom & industry have discovered in Political Economy, in Education, in the Health of Hospitals etc. etc. - not what is usually called the "religious motive".

**f29**

These scourges are serving  
*themselves*, not God or man.

And I say that they are just  
like those who go into "Orders"  
for the good of their souls.  
Both are seeking *themselves*  
- serving themselves - not  
God or the poor.

One more thing, which I am  
rather loath to say: -  
a man of immense experience  
not only in the Western but  
in the Eastern religions,  
whose home is now in Paris,  
told me that he had never  
seen & did not believe  
that there was any Fetishism  
equal to that of some of the  
female religious orders of  
France. not even in any Eastern  
religion.  
I agree, but I go farther & say

**f29v**

the grossest heathenism in  
Christianity is often mistaken  
for the "higher motive".

And you need not go farther  
than London to see this,  
to ~~You~~ see the deepest self=  
devotion - worshipping an  
idol, a barbarous  
heathenism, without a  
spark of Christianity,  
cruelty, fanaticism.

And these people are  
called the highest type of  
Christians. And this is  
called the "higher motive".

But, if you want to see it  
in its perfection, you must  
see it as I have, by having  
Irish "Orders" under your  
own charge.

**f30** VERY LIGHT PENCIL AND FADED

±θ

P.S.

I entirely agree with what Mr. Rathbone says p. 102 in his capital little address to the Nurses p. 101 of the little Pamphlet I enclose (which is by Mr. Rathbone).

That *is* the higher motive. And without it we Nurses can do nothing i.e. not for a continuance - not thro' life.

**ff31-v** Letter to FN, from J.W. Waldron, 22 June, 1869

[printed address] King's College Hospital  
Lincoln's Inn Fields  
22nd June 1869

Madam,

I have the honor to forward the enclosed return, which I trust will afford all the particulars referred to in your letter of yesterday's date.

I agree that I have not been able to

Miss Florence Nightingale

**f31v**

to learn the title of Dr Lefort's work on Lying-in Hospitals, but I hope to be more successful shortly and to have the honor of forwarding to you the title of the work in question.

I have the honor to be  
Madam

you most obedt. servant  
J.W. Waldron  
Secretary

ff32-v NOTES REGARDING TALLY OF LYING-IN MORTALITY, LIGHT PENCIL; IN FN'S HANDWRITING, SIDEWAYS ACROSS THE PAGE

**f32**

	13.8
9	
	124.2

**f32v** [faint notes]

**ff33-v** Letter to FN, from R.V. CLARK, 23 JUNE, [1869] re Bible class of young ladies the "Florence Nightingale Circle" and contribute means to send the gospel to the poor destitute, gave money to let FN become a life member of their missionary society. I wrote you a short note last fall I think by Rev Newman hall which I do not know as you recd. I have a Bible class of young ladies in our sabbath school who designate them "the Florence Nightingale Circle" and we contribute our means to send the Gospel to the poor and destitute. The young ladies hearing that I am to visit England donated amt to make you a life member of our missionary society and wished me to present you with the certificate wh they had prepared. If you can find time to write to the class in the title, and send it to my address Box C 46 Manchester Eng...

**f34v** NOTES FROM FN LIGHT PENCIL VERY FADED IN FN'S HANDWRITING, on a letter saying a sum raised to give her a life membership in a missionary society!

O dear, Respected Enemy  
 What can I do with  
 him  
 Well then *will* you inquire?

**ff35-38v** Letter to FN; in German, 29 JUNE 1869 from Auguste Littrow Bischoff, Wien Universitätsplatz 2 Akademie der Wissenschaften [this is fairly easy to read] on women's consciousness! worth having a look at

**ff39-42** Letter to FN, from Emily Anderson 5 JULY 1869 re her letter (missing), note on bottom in FN hand from Miss Emily Anderson in Lincolnshire; *Many* thanks for your kind letter and your opinion of women as medicals. I think with such training as you mention, in Paris they might be a most valuable class in that branch. It seems the fault of all our training to be too great a hurry and so to turn out half trained people. But I must not take up your time. I do not know if you are at present applied to by women wanting employment. I am in want of the following--a respectable steady woman to take charge of an old woman, a cripple and getting very childish. I have her now in my home and with me she is not much trouble, but with anyone else she is inclined to be very exigent and not very good tempered. I have only one spare room. So cannot very well keep her ...and I look to her being more helpless. She wd live in a little alms cottage and the nurse with her. I should make the nurse my servant, pay her wages U feed her from my own table and probably give her a couple of illeg. I should like a woman who has had some training as a nurse. So as to ensure the keeping the old woman from bedsores and perfectly clean. She gets up every day now. I would give the nurse sewing to do and expect her to help me in my way in difficult nursing. Do you know of such and what wages? I am obliged to do it as cheaply as I can as I shall have the old woman also to keep, at least it will chiefly fall on me. If I do not hear I shall judge you now of no one. If you do and have not time to write at length *one* line to say "I can help yo" and then I wd wait our leisure for particulars. Do not think me quite the 11th Plague of Egypt, yrs most truly E.A.  
 FN pencil note: from Miss Emily Anderson  
 in Lincolnshire

**ff43-44** Letter from King's College Hospital, 7 JULY 1869 giving Le fort's title. The secretary presents his compliments to Miss Nightingale and begs to forward the particulars relating to Mr Le Fort's large work on lying-in hospitals. Wednesday 7th July 1869  
 "Des Maternités- Etude sur les maternités charitables d'accouchement à domicile dans les principaux etats de l'Europe 4th 1866"  
 FN pencil note: by Mr Le Fort

**ff45-46v** Letter to FN, from Anne J. Clough. 21 Campden Hill Road, Kennington 8 JULY [1869] Mrs George [Josephine] Butler has asked me to forward you the enclosed letter. I feel it is almost coming to be the means of getting one more letter to you who are so busy and overdone with letters. Mrs Butler is interested in many educational schemes and some of them have led to good results. We have worked together about the lectures and the Cambridge Examination for Women which is now going on. I was very sorry to hear an indifferent account of you when I called last week. Blanche and the children are all well.

We have been doing the British Museum and the Tower this time for the benefit of the children who were greatly charmed and engaged besides a short voyage on the river from Westminster to London Bridge. Believe me  
 yours very affectionately  
 Anne J. Clough

**ff47-v** Letter to FN, from Josephine E. Butler 6 JULY [1869]

**f47**

280 South Hill  
Park Road  
Liverpool

July 6

My dear Madam

You were so kind as  
to give me your signature  
to the Petition to the  
House of Commons for the  
reform of the law covering the  
property of married women.  
The Bill, as you probably  
know, has lately passed  
through a committee of the  
whole House without opposition.  
But we are told that it  
is likely to meet with little

**f47v**

favour in the House of Lords, and  
Mr. Russell Gurney and others are  
hastening our Petitions to the  
Lords. If you have not  
already signed at the request  
of some other person will  
you be so good as to sign the  
enclosed, posting to my  
address.

I remain

dear Madam

yours truly

Josephine Butler

**f48** NOTES ON TEACHING AND NURSING AS AN ART; DATED ca. 8 JULY 1869,  
PENCIL; IN FN'S HANDWRITING [8:783]

Miss Clough

Mr. Chadwick says very truly: -  
Teaching is an Art, But it is not  
treated as such.

Just what I feel in my business  
Nursing is an Art. And till it is  
considered as such, little or no  
progress will be made in it.  
Prof. Pillans came up to London to  
offer to found a Professorship of  
Pedagogy, provided the Gov't  
would take it up.

Mr. Lowe's answer was that  
Teaching was not an Art &  
could not be taught as such  
& Mr. Pillans was an Ass -  
and so the thing fell through.

**f49** Letter to FN from W. Murrell, 21 July 1869; NOTES IN FN'S HANDWRITING  
IN PENCIL, AT BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN, unrelated

*But I must close. my hand is weary*

The history of her liberties has been a sort of passion  
with me tho' a dusty, driving 'agonizing' life,  
in which 'Leisure & I have long since parted  
company' - & which now, from illness, is as  
solitary a life, except for business, as can well  
be imagined.

**ff50-53v** Letter to FN from Beatrice S.S., Imperial Hotel Torquay 29  
August 1869

Dearest Flo, I think you may like a little to see Arty's note about he  
boatrace; don't please trouble yourself to return the document, as  
grandpapa receives constant epistles from all 3 children.

They were immensely eager about the race. Flossie was Oxford, Arthur  
wore Oxford colours, but wished both sides to be equal. Thena was an  
American, which was so far lucky that the red ribbon wd be singularly  
becoming to her.

We have done very much here, that is, we have enjoyed the peace and  
the daily long drives extremely, but I cannot say Papa has been at all  
better; if anything he has had more pain, & we must I fear give up the  
hope I had when first we came, that they might take a little root here, &  
come again when they need change. The way is long, but life here is f51  
cosy, quarters as good as bad & climate delicious. It is, I believe,  
cooler than other places, in the best parts high up & turned to the East.

Tomorrow we go to Moreton Hampstead, thence to Chagford, Lusttleigh &  
Bovey Tracey, all these places are close to or actually on the Moor.

Would you some time let Papa know if you have had your Banker's book,  
or have in any other way ascertained if the whole or part of your July  
quarter has been paid to your account, and whether you sent Papa's letter

to your bankers (I mean the letter he wrote for you to sign) desiring them regularly to announce to you any payment made to your account. Do not please trouble yourself to write at once about this. We have no fixed address up till Thursday. The Union Hotel, Bovey Tracy, Devonshire. There we hope to stay till Monday. Then the parents go home, & I with Godfrey in London to go to f52 Yorkshire & Hester Russell's.

Do you know that Uncle Night has most kindly asked us all, Papa & Mama, Godfrey & me, together to spend some time at the Hurst after he leaves. It would be a delightful plan for us all, & the best plan in the world for them. The pleasanter for us & I hope, though it is not yet settled, it may be. Mama postpones writing to Aunt Fanny about it till she can say whether or no. There are repairs doing at Combe, which Papa thinks he ought to stay to look ater, but we hope all the more he will go to L.H.

Dear Flo I hope you are not too hot, to enjoy our beautiful Embley & I hope Aunt Fanny is as well as when you wrote.

Yours always affectionately

Beatrice S.L.

F53 Ld Houghton & his eldest girl Amicia & 'Bobby' are here, staying with his aunt, the miss Milneses who have built themselves here a little Fryston, unlike the real Fryston in everything but the name. Poor Ld Houghton, with Florence in at Hornburg, Amicia is a very handsome fair girl of 17, very good, I should think. Floreence, I hear, is still the person of genius, her music is excellent & she is "very ambitious." Bobby seems a capital boy - frank & bright & gentlemanable.

**ff54-55v** Letter to FN from Broad Street, Penryn, Cornwall, thanks for your kind note and Nursing, withdraws applic, had no idea wd have to remain *four* years, having an aged parent (84) partly dependent on me, must get another appt as matron, so very difficult C.J. Tresidder 1 Oct 1869

**ff56-65** Letter to FN from John Strachey 10 October 1869, Financial Dept Dear Miss Nightingale, I ought to have written long ago to thank you for your letter. The only excuse that I can offer - and I am afraid that this is not really a very good one - is that for the last six months I have had little or nothing to do with the Home Office work of this govt and my knowledge of what has ben going on in regard to those matters in which you are especially interested has consequently not been very great.

I have lately had charge of the Financial Dept, during the absence from India of Sir Richard Temple, and my temporary confection with financial f57 issues has been - I will not say unfortunately - coincident with the discovery that the state of our finances is worse to a most serious extent, than had hitherto been supposed.

You will no doubt have seen I the newspaper accounts of what has happened, and will have learned how we are compelled to cut our expenditure and illeg upon past practice in a summary manner. For several years past we have been baring regularly every year a deficit of nearly 2 millions, and I am afraid that in spite of all that is being done we shall not find ourselves at the close of the present year in a very satisfactory position. One of the immediate results of our efforts to avoid insolvency or what is almost as bad, borrowing money to cover our

ordinary expenditure in time of peace, is unfortunately a f58 serious interference with the progress of every kind of useful work. The new barracks for the soldiers will come in for a large share of curtailment, but the governor general is fully determined that no work shall be stopped which is really necessary for the health and comfort of the troops and in this case the harm done will, I hope, be more apparent than real. There is not the smallest idea of giving up anything which the sanitary commission at home & the authorities here declared to be essential, that it is believed, and I think with truth, that the existing standard plans of military buildings may in these respects be modified without any disadvantage. Indeed, the rejection of anything that is superfluous will lead to the finishing of the new barracks sooner than would otherwise have been practicable and f59 I think that there is good reason for hoping that the final result of our present financial difficulties may be rather to hasten than to delay the provision of completely satisfactory accommodation for the soldiers. In one important respect the Govt of India went far beyond the recommendations made by the Commission to inquire into the Sanitary State of the Army in India and of the Barrack & Hospital Commss in their "Suggestions." Both of those commissions said that in unhealthy parts of India all the barracks should be in smaller storied buildings and that all the soldiers should keep to the upper floors, but that in dry and healthy stations, it would be sufficient to build single storied barracks, with raised basements. This conclusion was, I believe a strangely proper one, and it was in complete accordance with the experience of all classes of Englishmen in India. f60 of England for instance in Calcutta and in places with an English climate know that it is dangerous to keep on the ground floor, and all Englishmen who can afford to do so, sleep for the greater part of the year in upper stories. In northern India, on the other hand, there are many stations where double storied houses are altogether unknown, and where the experience of many years has proved that single storied buildings are perfectly healthy. This is especially true of parts of the Punjab and illeg. The difference in climate between places like Barrackpore and Rawal Pindi is, I suppose, in regard to all the conditions which influence health every bit as great as the difference in climate between London and Rome - This was recognized by the sanitary authorities at home, but not by the Govt of India, which in its anxiety to do the utmost possible for the f61 health of the troops determined to building barracks of the same style of construction all over the country. The consequence of insisting upon placing every soldier in a double storied barrack has been enormous delay in completing really necessary works and an expenditure of money which has led more than almost anything else to our present financial collapse. I suppose that if we had struck other recommendations of the English Sanitary Commission in regard to double-storied buildings, we should have spent a million of money less than we shall have to spend if we adhere strictly to the present practice and or should have saved "a very great deal of precious time." Another great cause of extravagance has been this, that in obedience to certain theories of military pedantry which exist in every company being treated as if it were a separate independently military body, we have been building our barracks f62 4) to hold many more men than can ever by any possibility be put into them. The waste of money thus caused has been

very great.

You will no doubt have recd from Dr Cuninghame his Report for last year - 1868 - the Returns were very favourable. The death rate for the whole Bengal presidency was about 20 per 1000, and the rate for many parts of healthier India quite reached a European standard of healthiness. Unhappily there has been again this year a serious epidemic of cholera - Although not as compared with previous years, it has been terribly fatal in some places, and in particular at Peshawar.

I hope that our Indian enquiry with the facts regarding cholera will go on well, but here, as everywhere else, those impracticable medical theories of which f63 you write come in to ruin everything. I am afraid that Indian doctors are no better in this respect than their brethren in Europe and unhappily nine tenths of the *facts* which we want them to pass before we get them through a medical illeg. But I hope that with perseverance we shall at last learn something.

You ask me for information regarding the *executive* which is to administer sanitary rules. I am afraid that I cannot say very much, for really of late I have heard little of the proceedings of the local govts in these matters. Here also financial difficulties are in the way of important, but I think that progress is being really made. An India fort is a different looking place in most parts of this presidency to what it was 10 years f64 ago. There is one step which we are taking which I hope confidently will have a very beneficial effect on the public health. We are looking seriously into the state of things connected with irrigation & drainage and I hope that it the law will before long be put on a satisfactory footing. At present, owing to the healthier theories of land in Lower Bengal - a province worse off in this respect than illeg and any owing to the alliance of all illeg the condition of things in regard to drainage of the country is most unsatisfactory. A bad landlord and all Bengali landlords are bad, can often poison with malaria 20 square miles of f65 country.

I must apologize for this long letter, ... John Strachey

**f66** Letter to FN from William Clode, General Register Office, 14 October [1869] embossed Gen Reg Office

I had the pleasure of receiving this morning a very kind present of game from you & for which I must ask you to accpet my earnes thanks.

**ff67-68** Letter to FN from James T. Hammick, Somerset House, 14 October 1869

**f67 embossed Gen Reg Office**

Somerset House  
14 October 1869  
Dear Madam

I have had the pleasure to receive this morning your kind and handsome present of game, for which please to accept my best thanks.

At the Hague meeting of the Statistical Congress, which Dr. Farr

**f67v**

and I attended last month, inquiries concerning your health were made by Quetelet, Visschers, & others of the statistical brotherhood who have still a lively sense of your kindness to them when in London & of your interest in their work. The Dutch gave us a most hospitable welcome, from the Queen who was particularly gracious

**f68**

down to the smallest employé. The English mustered in good force, Lord Houghton, Mr James Heywood, Mr E. Chadwick being of the party. Through Mr Heywood the ice was broken by Mr Chadwick for the subject of Army Economics at the next meeting to be held at St Petersburg in 1871-rather an uncongenial soil for his ideas, I fear. Believe me I remain your truly most obliged  
James T. Hammick  
Miss Nightingale

**f69** TYPED COPY OF LETTER to J.H. BARNES REGARDING LIVERPOOL WORKHOUSE,  
DATED 3 NOVEMBER 1869 [8:223]

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Nov. 3/69

Dear Sir,

In answer to yours of Nov. 1, I can assure you that it was not "flattering" at all but the literal & honest truth which I wrote to you concerning your management of the Liverpool Workhouse Lying-in Wards.

And I am sure that your removal would be a very great loss to that Institution - tho' I should be sorry that your wishes if they point in another direction should not be satisfied.

But I am afraid that I must not break through a rule which, for obvious reasons, I have been compelled to make, viz. never to influence or interfere in appointments & that I am therefore compelled, however unwillingly to adhere to my principle of not giving my opinions as Testimonials.

I shall be extremely obliged to you for the summary you are so kind as to propose giving me of your Lying-in cases at the end of the year.

Pray believe me  
ever your faithful serv't  
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

J.H. Barnes Esq.

**ff70-v** Letter to FN from Mary Clark, St. Thomas's Hosp. 10 Nov. 1869. That I have "seen Miss Nightingale" will be one of the "white milestones" on my road, to which I shall often look back with feelings of gratitude and pleasure. I trust that I shall never forget some of the things you said to me: and that "looking up" I may be able to shew by my future life that your great kindness has not been thrown away. May you be spared many years to carry on the good work to which you have given your life - and to guide and encourage by your words of counsel and good cheer those who humbly desire to follow your steps.

I am, with feelings of the deepest respect and gratitude,  
your humble & devoted servant

Mary Clark

**ff72-v** Letter from J. Kennedy, St. Thomas's Hospital thanks for books 20 Nov. 1869 I cannot adequately convey to you the impression which your kindness has had upon me, but beg to thank you very much indeed for your handsome gift of books- they will give great pleasure to my friends as well as myself. The Scotch have deep feelings and their admiration of the noble and good is but slightly and imperfectly expressed by one of them who will ever remain your faithful and loving follower, J. Kennedy

**ff73-74** Letter from Rebecca Strong, St. Thomas's Hosp. 20 Nov. 1869. Dear Madam, I feel greatly indebted to you for the kindness you have shown in presenting me with the two books, the "Heir of Redclyffe" and "Scott's Poetical works" I am looking forward to the enjoyment of them and shall value them very much indeed. I hope to profit by the kind advice and instruction your interview afforded me and sincerely hope you will have no cause for disappointment in the confidence you have placed in me by giving me this fresh appointment which I am about to enter. I shall endeavour to throw all my energy into the work and to carry out your wishes in every way, hoping it will be successful. I am your obedient servant, Rebecca Strong (nice clear hand)

**ff75-v** Letter from Elizabeth Wheldon, St. Thomas's Hosp. 20 Nov. 1869. I can never sufficiently thank you for your great kindness. It brought to me today such an assurance of my Heavenly Father's love and care. I had been troubled for in the morning I received a letter to say a little money I hoped to recover for my parents was lost to me entirely. It took me back to my first great loss and grieved me sadly as I had no money and knew my dear parents required help on the 23rd. I cannot tell you how much your kind letter and gifts warmed my heart, and believe me it will be my earnest endeavour with God's blessing to do all I can for the success of the undertaking I am about to enter upon. Yours very sincerely Elizth Wheldon

**ff76-77** Letter from Lucy Emm, St. Thomas's Hosp. 22 Nov. 1869. gratitude. thanks for kind instructions and for the much valued presents. Hoping God will bless me with health and strength to carry out your desire and wishes.

Add Mss 45804

362

**f78** LETTER TO MRS. DICEY, REGARDING THE MOHLS IN ROME, typed COPY, written in pencil Original belongs to C. Burton, 13 Westbourne, Terrace Road Paddington W.) **[8:572]**

{printed:} COPY

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Nov. 24/69.

Dear Madam,

I have only just heard from Madame Mohl that it was to your kindness I was indebted for the bringing of two lovely little Persian kittens from her house to mine.

Now, tho' these little animals are perfect, whether in intelligence, feeling or natural grace, I know, by experience, that they are not agreeable travelling companions. And therefore I am the more obliged.

M. & Mme Mohl had returned from Rome when I heard - & were both will & vigorous.

They did not stay over the Oecumenical Council, as at first they had intended; because M. Mohl had seen what he wanted to see. And I suppose Persian business (not cats) & the finishing of the great book (the Schah-Nameh) recalled him.

With renewed thanks

pray believe me dear Madam

ever your faithful serv't

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Mrs. Dicey.

**ff79-80v** 26 Nov. 1869, embossed crest, from Scott Robertson to FN re Netley, Control Office, thanks for kind note and enclosure

**ff81-82v** Letter from Richard Wilbraham, Netley Cliff, Southampton, 28 Nov. 1869

I have some scruples in trespassing upon your time, but I think that you will be pleased to hear from me, what Mrs Deeble would not want to tell you, viz. the great satisfaction that the resumption of the nursing service has given not only to myself but to all the medical staff of this hospital. In the few days that they have been in the wards, the nurses had made a most formidable impression upon the medical officers in charge of both the medical and surgical divisions, not only by their thorough knowledge of their work, but by their illeg everyone with whom they are brought into contact. They have, I think, taken very kindly to their new mode of life and Mrs Deeble seems to be judicious & at the same time so consideration her management of them that I confidently trust that all will continue to work harmoniously. I hope also that Mrs Deeble will find her position here comfortable, nor do I doubt it is, for she evidently has thrown her f82 heart into her work, and she is sure to receive from those medical officers with whom she will be brought with official intercourse, not only support but kindness.

It is satisfactory to me to feel that although the nursing service under the late supt general failed to work smoothly, and indeed gave me so much angry personal controversy, that circumstance has not cost any unfavorable impression on the minds even of those of the medical officers who were the most opposed to her, still less any amount of female nursing being the greatest blessing to the sick soldier.

As it was under my very command that the first reorganizawtion of the nursing service failed, it will be a personal satisfaction to me to see it established on a permanent footing before my connection with Netley ceases, and on this point I feel very hopeful.

**ff83-84** Letter from Napier of Magdala, 13 December 1869?

If you will permit me to have the privilege of waiting on you at four o'clock tomorrow afternoon I shall feel entirely gratified at having the opportunity of saying how much I have felt indebted to you for the assistance that your precepts and example gave to all who have been commanding with the case of soldiers and their families.

Permit me to remain, dear Miss Nightingale  
yours very faithfully  
Napier of Magdala

**ff85-88** Letter from Henrietta Walker, Merivale Hall, Bournemouth, Hants 17 Dec. 1869, pan to explain, cd have spoken to you, knew a good bit about the work at Lpool, will be a long long time before I get over some of its effects on me, the disappointment has been immense and I know it has to you, yet I can't help having some hope that God will again raise up some noble creature to do good, I must believe ALL has been for a good and wise purpose, perhaps God intends to one day take *all* the suffering and helpless, and the *aged sufferers* and the *LITTLE ones sufferers* also, and put them in a better place, *OUTSIDE WORKHOUSE* walls. I have heard that walls have ears. I don't expect they included the walls of a workhouse. I often think what a real Godsend it wd be, a woman upright and just, not caring about man's favor, but far seeing and only anxious to do away with wrong and so establish right she to be *the head* and with one or 2 more of her sort of principles to help her I know that a noble work could be done, she wd have to be in power and influential with powers outside, or the powers inside wd put her down. Govrs and masters however good they are cannot understand hospital work, and no doubt are very anxious that the establishment shd bear a good name, are anxious to conciliate all parties and I expect often cry peace, when *there is no peace*, and we can't expect anything but mistakes. to be a worker and to feel that it is *more than useless* to appeal to a head, that she has no more power than the one under her, if as much, wrong remains wrong, I was devoted to the work, but it was killing me. I know you wd have put me in something else and I shd have been delighted to go but Mrs Jones offered, and I accepted. I don't wish to

excuse myself for accepting it so quickly. I know I ought to have written and told you or Mrs Wardroper first, but I did not.

Now dearest lady all I am going to ask of you is that you won't think too badly of me. I still and shall ever love the work and be proud of the name. I have only been disgusted with wrong, there cannot be . . . . re seeing Sister Emm at Netley

**f89** Calling card, 66 Mount Street, 28 December 1869. Mr. Goschen asks to see FN at 4:30 PM

**ff90-91** Letter from William Clode 29 Dec. 1869

**f92** Letter from James Hammuck, Somerset House 29 Dec. 1869

**ff93-v** Letter to FN from George Goschen 31 Dec. [1869], on report on Highgate Infirmary

I have sent a report on the Highgate Infirmary and I am told that the administrative building is dry. Miss Torrens [Torrance] the matron is of that opinion too and is anxious for the patients to be returned to the Infirmary at once.

To Miss Torrens the lady whom you named to me as having told you that the administration block was not yet dry, or did that proceed from a different matron?

I am reluctant to ask you this as I thought the statement you made to me was one which ought to render as illeg as to certifying to the dryness of the building.

Believe me, yours very faithfully George Goshchen

**ff94-95** NOTES, HANDWRITTEN in JS hand, VERY LIGHT PENCIL; DEC. 1869

**f94v**

Mr Goschen

I have read with great interest the discussion at Sion College about pauperism & especially your own most able statement of the case between Public Charity & Poor law. Will you permit me just to make a remark as to the bearing of the Statutes of Pauperism you addressed on the question as it appears to me.

You state that the present pauper class in London are 60,000 children 60,000 women & 30,000 men, of whom altogether about 30,000 are able bodied.

Now it is clear that we must in some way support all these unless they can support themselves. The assumption is that all except 3,000 must be supported. This no doubt is the view justified by the Poor Law. But what I and a multitude of others are disposed to ask is ~~this~~ whether there is no possible improvement in the New law which would enable a different answer to be given?

**f94v**

I believe there is: but I also believe that the time has not yet come when the answer if acted on ~~unto~~ will take its full effect, & this only from the nature of the problem. The Christian answer ought to be at least as Christian as the Jewish answer if Mr. Alex is Christian. In short Mr. Alex has given the answer & it is this.

1<sup>st</sup> as to the 3000 able bodied Relieve their necessity & ~~+~~ bring them in contact with the means of profitable work either in London, in the Provinces Or in the Colonies as speedily as possible.

2 As to the 60000 women. Help them & then help them to help themselves either at home or in the Colonies Every case might require separate

**f95**

treatment but still every case should be dealt with.

3 as to the 60,000 children. Now is the greatest question of all. You have in them the coming pauper Army. Educate them in useful employment either here or in the Colonies & provide for them in this way. ~~The sick~~

4<sup>th</sup> The sick, imbeciles, aged & lunatics must be provided for.

In short the object of my continued effort between the Poor Law and Charity should be to convert unproductive consumers into productive workers & if we do not see to this most assuredly we shall have a day of reckoning

**f96** Note [to Miss Freeman] [JS hand] pencil

[ca. 1869]

The facts stated in your letter are by no means satisfactory to the future progress of good nursing in Liverpool. The matter is so fully under the committee than that I could not interfere unless my opinion was asked as to any proposed change of system. At the same time it is right to say that those women Pattison & Pratte whom you mention are not our nurses at all. We did not send them M Nat & indeed I never heard their names before.

**ff97-100** Letter from Mayo, Gov't House, Calcutta, 11 Jan. 1870  
fair hand, signed

My dear Miss Nightingale, I have to offer my apologies for not having answered your letter written a long time ago.

I hope you will not think that for that reason we are in any way neglecting those great objects in which you take so much interest.

My principal reason, however, in writing this letter is to ask you to see Dr Cunningham -Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India, who has just left for England and will be in London for a few days. He is full of information on every point connected with Indian sanitation and I am very desirous that you should converse with him on the subject of the new barracks and on their partial failure which I am sorry to say is now almost generally admitted. We have spent enormous sums on these palaces and though & by no means say that some good results have not been attained, I believe more complete success could have been realized at a very much lesser cost.

With the opportunity that you will have of talking to Dr Cunningham on the subject, I need hardly now take up your time. I will content myself with saying that I agree almost entirely in the general views that he takes and that it was to elucidate these views that I dispatched him to the principal seats of disease during the f98 past most unhealthy season. I am sorry to say that we have passed through time of great and general sickness, such as has rarely been known in India. Some of our regiments are in a most lamentable state from weakness and exhaustion. Almost the worst is the 58th which has for six months now occupying the new barracks at Alllahabad. As sanitary knowledge becomes more accurate, we shall have better and more certain data to go on. This will, I hope, serve to get rid of theories and of the theorists who have killed more people and have wasted more money than any other class of Her Majesty's subjects.

I can only say, with regard to the barracks, that if they turn out to be failures, which I hope will not be the case, we have bought our experience at a very high figure.

You who are happily gifted in the highest degree with that rare

quality - common sense - will be surprised when I give you one instance out of many. Proposals were made the other day sanctioned by high authority to build what is called a Sanitarium on the Sea Coast in the Bombay presidency. The place is hot, flat and sandy, the sanitary qualifications really never have been firmly tested, and 150 soldiers were to be accommodated at a cost of £600 a man. For half the money you could do what is well known to be a perfect specific for many Indian diseases f99 namely, give the men a short cruise at sea.

Our financial difficulties have stopped much good work. But I am not without hope that good will come of it eventually, for believe me that until the localities in India can be made to take an interest in, and pay for sanitary measures, a centralized govt sitting in Calcutta, Madras or Bombay can never provide for the cleanliness and health of 180 millions of people I hope we are working up to this gradually and if the present financial embarrassment forces people to do more for themselves than they have hitherto done, the cause of cleanliness and health will be thereby very much promoted.

If you had time I should be much obliged by your telling me what you think of Dr Cunningham's ideas and opinions.

I have a very high opinion both of his energy and honesty.

Our late Sanitary commissioner Colonel Malleon is now engaged in the much more (to him) genial duty of acting as Guardian and instructor to the Maharaja of Mysore, where his success has been as conspicuous f10 as his distaste and consequent unsuitableness for the labor of the other position, is well known...

I hope your own health has improved since I had the pleasure of seeing you.

**f101-v** Envelope Addressed to FN Mayo

**ff102-05** Letter from Caroline E. Stephen, 12 Jan. 1870, sister of Fitzjames Stephen

Letter from Caroline Stephen, ff102-05, pen

**f102**

I Petersham Terrace W.

12th Jan 4 1870.

Dear Madam

I really do not know how to thank you sufficiently for all the trouble you have taken for me. I had a sort of scruple after the fact! at having applied to you, thinking I might perhaps have got the information I wanted from others who had fewer demands upon them, but now though I find I have given you far more trouble than I thought I feel in a measure justified by

**102v**

finding how true my instinct was that you would be better able to help me than anybody, & by the conviction that you will not grudge the trouble when you know to how much purpose it has been taken - What you tell me is exactly what I wanted to know - the extract from the Deaconess Marie Bürger's letter of course I mean *only* for my own satisfaction. most valuable to me - And all you say about the injustice of the impression which may be given by extracts I feel to be most true - I told the Pastor that for

**f103**

that very reason I should much prefer giving the Hausordnung at length, but perhaps it was scarcely to be expected that he should consent to that. Nevertheless I must still think his decision unwise, & his letters to me unsatisfactory. But I am most anxious to say nothing which could look like an accusation or even a reflection upon him - I think the Deaconess whose letter you quote must ~~be mis~~ have forgotten one thing - unless there is a new Consecration service - In the copy of the one ~~written published~~ & used by Pastor Fliedner wh. was given me

**f103v**

at Kaiserswerth, there is no mention of the Hausordnung - only the promise of obedience to the Director which she mentions - I have been struck by the *almost* total absence of any mention of it in any of their publications - though this I suppose is accidental - I saw Miss Ferard the other day, who at once said in answer to my question "Yes, I think it *is* a secret" - & told me she had spent 8 months at Kaiserswerth & only heard it mentioned quite accidentally just before leaving - but she went on to say this was because she considered it a matter of no interest, & had never enquired, &

**f104**

that she was sure there was no mystery about it. She said however that in "religious houses" the rules never were shown - that I should probably find it impossible to get a sight of the rules of the English sisterhoods - & that she thought this quite natural, & (apparently) right. She was at Kaiserswerth I think towards the end of Pastor Fliedner's life, at a time "when he was much away."

You have done so much more for me in this matter than I could for myself. I can only thank you again most heartily. My mother

**f104v**

& my sister-in-law have both been ill ( but are nearly well again) & I have had my hands more than full with nursing, and conducting my nephews' & nieces' Christmas festivities - a rather distracting combination, & very hindering to my work. Indeed it has been quite laid aside for some weeks; but I hope now soon to be at work again - You help people in a way which must often bring a fresh crop of appeals for help upon you, but I have a conviction that you do not wish it otherwise; &

**f105**

indeed I am very grateful.

Believe me most truly yours

Caroline E Stephen.

P.S.

You asked so kindly after my brother Fitzjames the other day, that I must allow myself the pleasure of telling you that we have had most cheering letters from him from Calcutta. He says the interest of his work quite surpasses anything he had expected.

**f106** Letter from W.H. Ashurst, London Post Office, 13 Jan. 1870: in response to FN letter of 11 Jan 1870, sends copy of "Principal Rules of the Government Insurance and Annuity Office" containing also Principal Rules of the Post Office Savings Bank. "If, after perusing this pamphlet there are any further points upon which you desire information, I shall be happy to furnish you with it, and to render you every assistance in carrying out your views." W.H. Ashurst

**ff107-08** Letter in French, refs to Virgil, from Michel Lévy, Paris 15 Jan. 1870, in return for her useful packets to offer you a replacement of the manual for male nurses de visite (panseurs) re Florence Lees, sends manual for infirmiers de visite; news, her health, you forget so dear to all true friends of humanity. Happily Mlle F Lees supplied in your silence, re army of the East Anglo-fr and its maintien, fraternal nations, hommage de mon profond respect and de mon inaltérable dévouement I was greatly touched by the gracious memory which Mlle Fl Lees gave me. I read with great interest all that comes from your pen, that is of your judicious experience w/o hiding the part which my

vanity because I transmit to my children the document which comes uses the language of Virgil and a testimony of our common collaboration in the comforting of the sick of our armies in the East.

Permit me in return for your useful parcels to offer you a copy of the manual of the inf de visite (panseurs) whom we are training at Val de Grace for all our hosps and which was written by Mr Dr Maurs mon asst in charge specially of their instruction. This inst has taken root and has simplified the illeg doctors getting rid of writing and small duties who ..profession and the orderlies [so, spares doctors for their profession, these better trained orderlies] you will have combler de vos courtoisies always so exquisite by giving me some news of your health but as usual you forget your person so dear to all the true friends of humanity. Happily Mlle Fl Lees filled in your silence on the occasion of the new year. like every other the prayer to our Father who is in heaven ..army of the East English-French and the maintenance of sentiment.. brotherly of [so, a letter very useful for filling in on their training of orderlies]

**f109** Letter from William Lethbridge 186 Strand, 18 Jan. 1870 for W.H. Smith, who is not in England

**f110** LETTER TO J.H. BARNES REGARDING LYING-IN STATISTICS PRINTED COPY [typed?], DATED 19 JANUARY 1870 Original owned by Dr Barnes  
**[8:223]**

{printed:} COPY

35 South Street,  
 Park Lane,  
 W.  
 Jan. 19/70

Dear Sir,

You must have thought me very ungrateful not to have thanked you sooner for your kindness in sending me your Lying-in Statistics. They are very remarkable, very satisfactory. Your Death-rate in the Workhouse for the last 3 years appears to be scarcely higher than that of Lying-in women at home in the Healthy Districts.

My reason for delaying to thank you was: that I have been so much worse than usual that I was not able to look out the papers you asked for among an immense mass of Statistics I had collected on the Lying-in Hospital subject.

I now enclose those you asked for (2), & shall be much obliged to you if you will return them to me, as they are - as soon as you have done with them.

I hope to shew you that your trouble has not been in vain. And indeed it is only pressure of business & of illness which has prevented my winding up 'ere this a Statement of Comparative Lying-in Statistics.

Pray believe me

dear Sir

ever your faithful serv't

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

J.H. Barnes Esq.

**ff111-12v** Letter from William H. Smith, 25 Jan. 1870 re Highgate Infirmary, from embossed 1 Hyde Park St. W. I was absent from London when your note reached my office and I have been unable to take part in any of the preliminary arrangements with regard to the new Highgate Infirmary, but I lose no time in order to assure you of my earnest sympathy with an object you have in view in seeking to improve the nursing of all hospitals.

I have some slight acquaintance with the subject as I was for some years an active member of the committee of King's College Hospital and moved the committee which with the aid of the late Dr Todd and Sir Thomas Phillips resulted in the introduction of the Sisters of St John's House to that inst. There are no doubt difficulties to be overcome in England in carrying out an unproved system of nursing, and it would be wrong for any person or one of the managers of a public charity to pledge himself to details in advance but I shall be glad to do everything in my power to support a system which will give the poor in their houses in their houses intelligent and responsible nurses, and provide for the training of others to succeed them. I went to Highgate on Monday with my friend Wyatt in the hope of meeting with Miss Torrance,

but she was unfortunately absent from the building while we were there.

Sincerely regretting the illness from which you are suffering,  
I bet to remain

yours very faithfully  
William H. Smith

**ff113-14v** Letter from Martin Oxley, 119 Rodney St. 1 Feb. 1870, physician to the Liverpool Inf for Children, chair of Medical Board, asks how long a night nurse shd be on duty,

**f115** Letter from Martin Oxley, 5 Feb. 1870, thanks for her letter of yesterday's date (4th) and her kind attention, reply to above

**ff116-18v** Letter from A. Baster, Eye & Ear Hosp. Bradford 11 Feb. 1870, I hope you will not think I am taking a liberty in coming to you for advice. I know you give your sympathy to all your people in their work and though mine has been so humble that ..intruded on your time. I am emboldened to do it know from the desire faithfully to carry out the principles in our small undertaking that shd be followed in a larger one.

When I came her first I was told by our president that they earnestly desired a "high moral tone" in this hosp and hoped I shd be able to raise the character of the place and though I found it very low indeed and that great evils had been permitted, I did not quite despair. I made a few changes gradually and ere long had many expressions of satisfaction from the com for the improvement in the general arrs, the orderly regularity and cleanliness of the household and conduct of the servants. The patients were chiefly working people here for operations and staying as long as care and good nourishment were needed to help their recovery. I had been several months when our principal med officer Dr Brommer sent in a bad case of syphilis for active mercurial treatment. I felt greatly surprised but the..that work had been extensively carried on here previous to my arrival, one or two others followed before the end of the year, each bringing a bad influence in the house so that I spoke to a member of the com about it and he brought it before a general meeting who all then felt convinced of the evil of admitting such cases here thinking we are not in a position to deal properly with them and that the moral and physical taint was too great for a small hosp.

Dr Brommer however has worked gratuitously for them from the first, making a great point of having these cases he has carried it so that now his scruples are removed the character of the work is changing completely; my servants have been insulted and other patients corrupted and the only redress I have is a promise that any patients who misconduct themselves shall be expelled. I certainly shd not have undertaken such a work and the question now very seriously presses itself on my mind, if I ought to remain in it, I have no wish for change but I see an other course before me. One doctor and several of the members of the com assume that it is a feeling of squeamishness on my part towards the unfortunate

creatures and have made it far more a question of my comfort than of the welfare of the hosp; they had no reason to do so as I have the greatest pity for the poor women and wd make sacrifices to help them, but the immoral young girls who are mixed with them at present are far more likely to get contaminated than the others illeg. I shd much like to know what you wd wish me to do. I hope I am not wrong in writing directly to you instead of to Mr Carter or the com. I do not of course feel myself at liberty to act independently while I belong to you and I am anxious only to do what right principle wd dictate rather than to be carried away by feeling which I am often in danger of. I am dear Madam with every sentiment of respect and gratitude, your obedient servant A Baster

**ff119-v** NOTES ON LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN JS hand [8:475]

**f119**

I have not the slightest hesitation in giving you my opinion as to the probable results of introducing cases of syphilis into a small Eye & Ear Hospital ~~you~~  
In doing so I could not in the slightest degree wish to insinuate that every care should not be taken of these important cases. But this is not the question. It is whether you should take these women into such a hospital as you are responsible for the discipline of I say at once no. I should advise your remonstrating again with the committee and if you fail

**f119v**

[illeg] it will be for you to consider whether you will continue & if not you should state the circumstances to the committee before tendering your resignation

**ff120-21v** Letter from Napier of Magdala, March 5

I am very much obliged by your kind note. I have been in some uncertainty regarding my movements which has prevented me from writing to ask permission from you to pay my respects to you. That uncertainty will be terminated today and I will, with your permission, write to you on Monday morning to find a time next week when I might have the pleasure of waiting on you if convenient to you.

I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of my minutes and notes on matters of administration in Bombay some of which may interest you, I must ask you to be so kind as to return it. The outside is not very clean but it is London dust.

**ff122-23v** Letter from Baster, Eye and Ear Hosp. 9 March 1870. The day I received your last letter I was summoned by telegram to the deathbed of a beloved sister. You will therefore pardon my delay in thanking you for the advice you so kindly gave me. I have been unable to give any thought and attention to my questions here or to come to any decision as to my future course of action. I think it will be better to leave things for a time, at present both thought and feeling are depressed by my sorrow. I fear I cannot have given you a wrong impression as to my own objection to receiving immoral patients; it was in this place which is both small and homelike in its arrangements and where men and women take their meals together I felt it difficult to be so great, however I believe the doctor sent in a larger number of specific cases than he would have done at any other time and I have had an intimation from one of the medical men that none but secondary cases shall be admitted in future. I have been very happy and comfortable here but I do not think I am doing the work for which I was trained or to which I felt especially called and perhaps was seeking my own too much in leaving St T. Hosp. I do not doubt illeg will be made plain by One who has promised to direct my path. I thank you for accepting my assurance it is no capricious desire for change had made me unsettled and remain dear Madam your grateful & obedient servant

**ff124-25** Letter from Napier of Magdala, March 18

**ff126-27v** draft or letter TO LORD MAYO, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;  
1870 [stexts India]

**f126**

Private

& *Confidential*

London March 1870

Dear Lord Mayo [10:113]

I cannot thank you enough  
for your letter of Jan 11  
& its true kindness in  
wishing to bring us into  
direct communication with  
Dr. Cunningham's work.

[Cunningham]

You ask me to tell you  
what I think of Dr. C's  
"ideas & opinions".

I think him a most  
intelligent man, a very  
"full" man, ready to receive  
any amount of experience,  
immensely interested in his

**f126v**

work, excellent as an  
~~advising~~, a reporting, and  
inspecting Officer, not  
perhaps so good as an  
Executive Officer. ~~not~~  
but not having any very special  
~~perhaps with much~~  
ideas or opinions on sanitary matters  
~~practical insight or~~  
~~ability~~.

To illustrate the difference, of the talents in this office,  
Dr. Hewlett, the Bombay  
Officer of Health, has  
cleansed Bombay almost  
by his own personal  
exertions. His practical  
energy in this special dirty  
work is something extraordinary.  
~~And~~ Dr. Lumsdaine}, whom  
I do not know, who has

**f127**

succeeded Dr. Hewlett, is, I am told, a still better man.

Either would save *immediately* more lives than Dr. Cunningham

[written in pencil at top]

and the practical result of their work has been that Bombay is now a comparatively healthy city.

[written in pencil between lines]

Either would make shorter work of your dirty native towns at Allahabad & elsewhere than Dr Cunningham

But so far no one can judge by the work done by all of them

But they both are men of one idea.

And neither would do so well as Commissioner with the Gov't of India as Dr.

Cunningham who has far more generalizing power.

more power of sifting & abstracting reports & tracing causes of disease.

But this kind of talent, tho' indispensable, is not all you

want. Dr. Cunningham very properly keeps clear of Engineering questions (of which he knows nothing).

**f127v**

but Sanitary Engineering questions  
are amongst the most important  
and frequent with which you have to deal  
~~must nevertheless be dealt~~  
with

Nevertheless, if you were to  
put the best Sanitary  
Engineer in his, Dr. C.'s place,  
the Engineer would be  
lacking in Dr. Cunningham's  
special knowledge, talent  
& experience of disease causes  
So comes round to the  
original point that no one  
man & no number of men  
"of one class" can improve  
India. You must have able &  
experienced engineering work as  
well as medical opinion.  
Pardon me this long sentence.  
I was anxious to answer **[end 10:113]**

**ff128-29** Letter from Caroline E. Stephen, 21 April 1870, Petersham  
Terrace, W.

You gave me leave to ask for another interview with you this  
spring. I have now grown bold enough to ask whether you would some  
day let me have *an hour's* conversation with you, for this time I  
want to consult you upon a plan which I think might perhaps be  
useful & which if you thought it practicable, (& no one could  
judge so well) I should like to mention in my book, which I hope  
to finish now some time this summer.

I write without delay, though the interview would be equally  
useful to me anytime in the next two months, or even more, because  
I know an hour of leisure is not an easy thing for you to catch. I  
shall not apologize for troubling you, because you have convinced  
me that you are glad to take such trouble

**f130** Letter from Mentia Taylor, "The London National Society for Women's Suffrage" April 26 **[5:406]**

**f130**

[printed stationery]

The London National Society for Women's Suffrage  
Aubrey House  
Notting Hill, W.  
26 April [1870]

Dear Madam

I enclose a cheque  
for your subscription  
of 1.1.0, with thanks.  
Allow me at the same time  
to thank you most cordially  
for your admirable letters in  
the Pall Mall signed Justina  
I remain  
yours truly  
Mentia Taylor

**ff132-33v** Letter from Lucy Kerr, Hampton Court Palace, 3 May 1870  
re getting a nurse

**ff134-37** 2 Letters from Alfred Birken 2 Highbury Terrace, after 9  
May 1870, to "My dear Madam and Sister in Christ" and signed  
"brother in Christ" also prays for Miss Sellon

**ff138-39v** Letter from Laura Wardroper 27 May 1870, with thanks for  
"your great kindness to my dear mother" and for "your last  
generous gift," and thoughtful remembrances of her during her  
illness

**ff140-43** LETTER AND LYING-IN HOSPITAL PLANS TO OMMANNEY, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 8 JUNE 1870 [Lt Ommanney RE] [8:227]

**f140**

{printed address:} 35 South Street  
Park Lane  
W  
June 8/70

Sir,

I beg to return you all your plans  
& Memoranda, according to your kind  
desire.

I have gone carefully into every hole  
& corner of Plan & Mem'o 3A with  
my friend, Miss Jones, whom I have  
mentioned to you before, as having  
successful & recent experience in these  
things.

And we can find nothing to say but  
admiration for these thoughtfully contrived  
plans.

I have written our Notes & answers to your  
queries upon another sheet.

I have now only to accept your kind  
offer to have plan 3A drawn upon the idea  
of the

**f140v**

*three sides of a square* sketch shown in  
Mem'o ( 3B

Might I ask you to give me a rough idea  
of the estimated cost of the building, 3 B  
very expensive, I should imagine?

[Dr. Sutherland now proposes *huts* as  
being much cheaper.

A Lying-in Hospital to be useful for  
a large town should be so near as  
to be fairly accessible within a short  
time. A site for huts could, I  
suppose, scarcely be found in such a  
situation?]

I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude  
for the great skill & patience with which  
you have contrived these difficult plans  
Perhaps you will kindly let me have an

**f141**

addition to the *three sides of a square* plan

10. a wood-cut page plan of the  
4 bed ward & its sculleries &  
appurtenances 2B
11. a wood-cut page plan of the  
group of 4 single bed wards  
with its scullery & appurtenances B

I have to apologize this time for keeping you waiting, since you were so good as to say that I might write to you from Monday last. But I have had to wait till I could have a consultation with Miss Jones and both my friend and I are much pressed by business.

Pray believe me, Sir  
ever your faithful serv't  
Florence Nightingale

Lt. Ommanney R.E.  
etc. etc.

**f141v** {in pencil}

P.S.

Would you kindly let me have the whole of these plans & Mem'da back to look at when you are so good as to send 3A X 3B Plans

*Enclosed*

4 plans

2 Mem'da (1 by Mr. Ommanney 1 by F.N.)

**ff142-43** Plan of a Lying-in Hospital for 40 (32-34 Occupied) Beds with a Training School for 30 Pupil Nurses. Faint.

F43 has plan for Lying-in Ward - 4 Beds. 26/3/70. JHO

**ff144-45v** Letter from Caroline E. Stephen, 1 Petersham Terrace W. 17 June 1870 requesting interview of less than an hour to go over a proposal of hers. I hope you do not think me so undiscerning as to have had any other feeling about your silence than compunction as I reflected for how long a time my request must have been a burden (though I hope not a heavy one) upon your memory. I feel now almost as if I ought to ask you to think no more of it, and yet I shd care too much for even a few minutes' conversation with you to like to lose any chance. Therefore I only say, please do not think of looking for *an hour* or of hurrying in the least. Any time before the 20th July wd be quite equally convenient to and useful to me, and after that time though we shall be a little way out of town, I wd gladly come to see you if at any time you found you had so much as 10 minutes to spare. But please do *anything* rather than let me add to your burdens.

I quite believe what you say about schemes on paper, and had no thought of going at all into detail in writing, but before making

some very general suggestions I shd be glad to have my own ideas as clear and definite as possible. Ad I have a hope of perhaps trying to do something myself when I have done writing, when it wd be still more important to me to have your advice. Therefore, if you cannot easily see me this summer, I will not be discouraged from asking for help again shd the time ever come when I can try to put some of my thoughts into practice.

**f146-47** LETTER TO OMMANNEY, REGARDING LYING-IN HOSPITAL PLANS  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 21 JUNE 1870 [8:229]

**f146**

{printed:} 35 South Street  
Park Lane  
W  
June 21/70

*Lying-in Hospital plan*

Dear Sir,

I return your plan with a great  
many thanks And, in answer to yours of  
June 18, I would proceed with the plan as it is  
For

1. the slight modification in position of  
Scullery to Delivery Ward is of no  
consequence.

[My friend, Miss Jones, suggests that  
there may be some objection to  
position of 3rd bed in Delivery Ward  
between two windows & door as to  
Do you think so draughts  
And could the arrangement be  
improved?]

2. the alteration of position of fire place  
in Pupil Nurses' rooms is an improvement
3. fire places in Corridor very good  
viz recesses a' a'

f146v

- (1). Segregation Ward may be left as it is
- (2). Linen Store & Bolster & Mattress=rack  
as proposed. very good & sufficient

I shall gratefully accept *all* your kind  
propositions about finishing the plans.

Do you not think it would be desirable  
to ~~leave out~~ omit the scale of this general plan  
leaving that to architects, while  
marking the dimensions, course, on  
the two page=plans (which you are so  
good as to do), these being the units  
of construction? [pencil] You give the Architects the principle,  
[in pencil] leaving them to work it out.

{pen} in great haste {pencil:} of hand tho' not of thought

pray believe me

ever your faithful & obliged serv't

W.F. Ommanney Esq R.E. Florence Nightingale

**f147**

I have re enclosed your two plans  
 3A & Mem'a and 2 A  
 but should like to see them all again  
 FN

**ff148-v** Letter from [archivist: Sir W.R. [presumably] Mansfield,  
 18 G. Garden 6 July 1870

**f149** LETTER TO Dr C.J.B. Williams LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
 [printed address] 35, South Street [8:230-31]  
 Park Lane, W.  
 July 21/70

My dear Sir

I have been most anxious to hunt up anything  
 for you from Sir James Simpson which, as I  
 understood you, was to be later than January /69  
 & to express whether he approved of any form  
 of Lying-in Hospital.

Will the enclosed of *June* 1869 be of any  
 use to you? - vide second sheet.

It is the only one I can lay my hands upon  
 I was most desirous to send it you before  
 last Tuesday - But you know what it is  
 to look over vast heaps of papers -and I  
 with no powers of locomotion or even of sitting  
 up.

I do not even know whether what I send  
 will be of any use to you.

Mr Saunders & Mr Clover with Nitrous  
 oxyd - according to your kind advice, are  
 just coming to extract my Peccant members of  
 teeth.

ever yours sincerely  
 F. Nightingale

**f150** Letter from C.J.B. Williams, 49 Upper Brook St. 22 July 1870  
 letter from poor Simpson just what I want to show that his mind  
 was intent on a new hosp as well as against old ones. Sorry you  
 had such trouble in the ? Wd like to know got thro operation well

**ff151-54** Letter from J.Y. Simpson, ff151-54v, green pen. can be dated from BMJ article; FN has highlighted in red pencil "Effects of Hospitalism upon the Mortality of Limb-Amputations, etc." *British Medical Journal* (30 January 1869)1869:93-94; and "Sir James Simpson and the New Hospital, Edinburgh" *British Medical Journal* (16 January 1869):53-54.

"On the Relative Danger to Life from Limb-Amputations, in St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and in Country Practice." (1 May 1869):393-96

**f151**

Edinburg  
June 1869

Madam,

It was very kind in you to write to me so long & interesting a letter on hospital mortality. Along with the post which carries this note I have taken the liberty of sending you two papers on Hospitalism. - the last newly published & containing the statistics of the major amputations in the chief London hospitals.

I write this note -away from home - & watching a tedious obstetric case. Hence I have not your letter

**f151v**

with me. But I think most of your suggestions about age [~~illeg~~], as affecting relatively the amputation mortality in hospitals, & in the country -- are dealt with in the last of the two papers.

You allude, however, to one circumstance which I have not adverted to - viz - the possibility of the state of health of the patients at the time of operation possibly influencing the results in city hospitals & in country practice. In cases of disease demanding operation - the state of health in the two classes must be much the same - & not in any degree capable of being given in words. Perhaps on the

**f152**

whole the patients in the country are not so early operated upon as in hospitals - & the results should thus be in favour of the hospital returns. But the state of the patients at the time of operating will not account for the vast difference between the results of city hospital practice & private rural practice is shewn in one circumstance. Above 1000 of the city hospital amputations & above 1300 of the private rural amputations were necessitated by injuries. These traumatic or primary amputations were  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times more fatal in the hospital than in the country amputations. But in both sets

**f152v**

of cases the state of health immediately before the accident necessitating the amputations was presumably the same - viz normal & unaffected by previous disease.

In the British Medical Journal of last week I have answered some objections &c; but I have not yet got a copy of the Journal. In this Journal I have suggested the free opening of the stair-cases in the London Hospitals as possibly a salutary measure. When visiting King's College Hospital I could not help looking upon the magnificent stair-case there as a great magazine of deteriorated & malific

**[8:219-20]****f153**

air collected from the wards, & ready to be sent back into the wards. Why should not half or all its windows be taken out & the stair case be converted from a magazine of foul to a magazine of fresh air to feed the wards with. Was not the insalubrity in your ward here not in part attributable to this source.

The construction of a proper obstetric hospital is still a problem. 1. Deteriorated air from the wards of other medical & surgical patients is always perillous - Thence so is the position of an obstetric ward among

**153v**

among the wards of a general hospital  
2. Crowding is more fatal in an obstetric  
than in another ward. You can manufacture  
thus puerperal fever & death at will. But  
3. the spreading of puerperal fever by the  
medical attendant or nurse from those  
attacked to those that are in  
labour is another element of mortality.  
Against the 2 first of these dangers,  
we can guard by isolated buildings,  
& by isolating a lying-in woman in  
wards containing one or two patients  
only, but it is more difficult always  
to guard against the 3rd. - In constructing  
a new-lying-in hospital in con=  
nection with the hospital here

**154**

I hope to see 1. an isolated cottage  
or village hospital 2. rooms containing  
one or two patients only with a *pupil*  
nurse tending on each room & sleeping  
therein & 3. its constructing material  
of iron or something which could be  
easily taken down & built up again

Mr. Newton of Liverpool the great  
builder of iron churches, houses, &c  
is working at present at the problem  
of making out strong iron hospitals;  
& he hopes to construct them greatly  
cheaper than when made of stone  
& lime. I have a great fancy to line  
them internally with a length of vege=  
table charcoal which is quite cheap

**154v**

& burns off all effete animal matter  
It could be placed between that  
outside iron wall & a wire grating internally  
& the grating could be painted &c

I am told that an obstetric  
hospital in Melbourne made of  
separate small rooms had succeeded  
very well. There is said to be one at  
Copenhagen; but I have learned no  
particulars of it. Have you seen M  
Lefort's large work, on the subject?

But I have encroached too  
much on your patience. Excuse  
me & believe me, with the deepest  
respects -

Your faithful Sert,

J.Y. Simpson [end 8:220]

Miss Nightingale

ff155-56 letter from C. Bessington, 15 Chesham St. [Belgravia]  
July 22/70. The writer of the enclosed was wrongly informed. Liz  
left England in a time of profound peace the 11th July and reached  
St Moritz on the 5th in happy ignorance of the event proclaimed on  
that day. [Liz is EH, Mary her daughter; home of Col Edwin  
Wodehouse, R.A., husband of Margaret a Court-Repington]

I called on Capt Burgess to send you this letter merely that  
you may know (if indeed you do not know it) of his intention to  
send some nurses to Berlin. He says that Miss Pearson who was at  
Mentana and 3 others are going at once and that there is to be a  
meeting shortly to obtain public support.

Liz left England suffering again from her leg, which was so bad  
at Paris that she had to pass a day (Tuesday the 12th) in bed  
there, but next day she and Mary reached Stark, Thursday Corre and  
Friday St Moritz in the Engadine where I hope they are out of  
harm's way.

Her leg was better when she wrote on Saturday, and Mary found  
already improved by the air. They have found grand scenery,  
bracing air, beautiful weather, the country carpeted with flowers  
and even good food hitherto supposed to have been unknown at St  
Moritz.

Liz talked of coming home again for the boys' holidays but then  
she expected to have left Mary at St Moritz with some people whom  
the war has stopped so what she will do I know not, probably  
tomorrow stay with Mary and return home with her. ..I have since  
read Col Loyd Lindsay's letter in today's *Times*.

**ff157-58** Letter from Chas. Burgess 19 July 1870 to Lady Herbert,  
re sending out nurses to seat of war, re Roman Catholics.

You may have seen in the papers esp in the *Times* that a  
movement has been started for sending out nurses and other helps  
forthwith to the seat of war. The com have accidentally heard that

you have some such object in view, and the com hope that they may look forward to your cooperation.

The lady who though an Anglican is a very great friend of Mons Capel and well known to many Roman Catholics, and who has great experience in hospitals and has seen a battlefield is about to leave on Saturday, with several ladies and some gentlemen to place herself at the disposal of the authorities and she will gladly welcome the aid of some R.C. sisters of mercy or secular ladies.

It seems undesirable that such efforts shd be desultory and independent of each other, and it is hoped that any persons whom you may wish to send out will place themselves in communication with this com....Burgess, hon sec.

P.S. The lady mentioned in this letter is in no way anxious to take to herself the first place, and is quite willing to work under others who may be better qualified by position or experience.

**ff159-62v** Letter from Caroline Stephen 23 July 1870, Bramley, Guilford, includes about getting nurses out to India. I hope the sight of my handwriting is not becoming formidable to you. This is only to thank you for your kindness in replying so fully to my note when you are already so overladen. I am grieved to hear of your being so ill and overworked. As I do not want to ask any questions, until October, I hope it will not tire you if I just say one or two things in reply to yr letter.

Your drawersfull do not discourage me, and what you say seems to me rather to confirm my idea of the right thing to be done, than otherwise. My thoughts abt volunteer nurses for war or epidemics had no special reference to the present war. They date from the last cholera time in 1866, when I used to hear accounts of want of nurses on the one hand, and embarrassments caused by unpremeditated and untested volunteers flocking in on the other, and when I myself was painfully divided between the longing to volunteer and the doubt whether I was really capable and really sufficiently wanted to justify me in leaving home. I have since thought that if in quiet times some women wd try a little to prepare for emergencies by going through a training (or rather *testing*) of some weeks or months at a hospital, the names of those who had thus proved their seriousness, purpose and their possession of some degree of nerve and handiness mt be registered as "volunteer nurses," and that the keeper of the register mt undertake to be in communication with the proper authorities and to judge of the proper moment for calling upon the volunteers for their services, wh wd of course only be rendered under the direction of fully trained professional nurses. All that seems to me to be wanted is that somebody (I wd try it if no better person turned up) shd get some good hospitals to consent to admit women wishing to receive such preliminary training and shd look up the right kind of women, and undertake the necessary corr and negotiations. If only one hosp wd receive such woman and only one woman volunteered, it wd still be something and I do not see that any harm cd come of trying the experiment. One friend to whom

mentioned the plan said to me at once "If ever you do it, let me know, and I will offer myself--it is the very thing I have been wishing for"- I cannot help thinking others must have felt the same.

About India, it was for the mil hosps that some friends of mine have been interesting themselves. A lady writes to me to ask whether I can suggest any means of getting nurses sent out. It seemed to me that the natural thing wd have ben to ask you, and when I come home I hope I shall have the opp of asking you how one ought to proceed. But I cannot see that there can be any great difficulty in the matter, except the regular standing difficulty of finding the right women and the money. I have told my friend that by the autumn I shall prob be *out of work* and looking for another employment and that if they can send me info and can see their way to any funds I will gladly do anything I can in the way of enquiring for the right women or any other kind of *agent's* work in England. I am not a good hand at begging but money seems always to be forthcoming in some degree, tho never sufficiently to satisfy the managers of charities. There must be some work to be done in the way of arranging for any nurses to be sent out, and I think it is the sort of work I mt be able to do, tho perhaps at any rate at first, a better known name mt be wanted "to be believed in" as you say. If I were alone I shd like to try going out like Miss Rye, to take the women to the spot myself, but w/o leaving my mother (wh I cannot do) I think I mt be of some use. I have a natural aversion to systems but I cannot help making plans. And, as you see, in any plans about organizing nursing, I cannot help writing to you and wishing for your approbation. I know I have your sympathy and that when you see any opp of setting me right you will use it. Meanwhile I hope I may feel some...

**ff163-64** Letter from Williams, 49 Upper Brook St. 24 July 1870 with prescription

**f164**

R Salicius Zp  
 Acid, Phosphoricous zp  
 soda Hypophosphytis zp  
 Tinct. Currantii  
 Glycerine puritan Zi  
 Aqua(e) ad zviii  
 Rx [?] Setto 8va parl  
 bisetre  
 C.B.W.

[z- = 1 fld ounce; z = a dram; 8 fld drams = 1 ounce]

**ff165-68** Letter from Caroline Stephen 28 July 1870

**ff169-78** Memo on a Design for a Lying-in Hospital 9 August 1870  
PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN, WITH FN ANNOTATION [lying-in] by  
Ommaney

[in pencil] N.B.  
Some calculation  
of cubic & superficial  
space to each bed  
should be given  
in both plans - viz  
so bed wards & in  
4 single bed wards-  
FN  
23/3/71

**ff179-80** Handwritten copy of Nightingale letter, noted "original  
sent to Miss Eleanor Martin 21 August 1870 PEN

**f179**

Lea Hurst            Aug. 21            **[15:675-66]**

Matlock            1870

The numbers and necessities  
of our poor Wounded increase  
week by week, the three  
dreadful battles before Metz  
doubled and more than doubled  
the numbers in Hospital last  
week.

We send out nearly every day  
now from our Central Committee  
surgeons, who also carry some  
hundred pounds' worth of the  
articles asked for, to the  
Hospitals on both sides. But we  
could send ten times the quantity

**f179v**

and a hundred times will  
be wanted. The War  
Hospitals say that the things  
sent out by the English cannot  
be had for money. Money is  
also sent....

no one knows how long this  
dreadful work may be  
going on.

I have had a most pathetic  
little book sent me by a  
Society of Russian ladies,  
also connected with the Relief  
of the Sick and Wounded,  
who asked me to be their  
Vice-President, a book of

**f180**

Prayers with Passages from  
Scripture in all languages of  
nations engaged (or who can  
possibly be engaged) in the War.  
So far as I can judge, they are  
extremely well selected.

The English prayers are taken  
from our Church Commission  
Service (and one or two others  
in the Prayer-book,) with  
the Lord's Prayer and the  
Apostles' Creed. The 1st  
Epistle of St. John is given  
entire, with several chapters  
of St. John's Gospel, etc. etc.  
When one thinks of how many

**f180v**

tens of thousands there are  
at this moment of sick  
and dying men to use  
those prayers, one can  
scarcely look at it without  
tears.

{in pencil, not in FN's hand:}

Extract of letter -

Written by F.N. to

Mrs. Frewen Turner

f181 Letter from Caroline E. Stephen 7 Sept. 1870

Caroline Stephen wanted to set up a system of training volunteer ladies as nurses who would be on call for emergencies such as war or epidemics such as the cholera in 1866 She thought that if ladies spent some weeks or months in a hospital it would test them for their seriousness of purpose and nerve and hardiness. She thought this system could also be used for nurses to be sent to India.

FN obviously replied that 1-3 months training in a hospital was utterly inadequate. Stephen said she would defer to her judgement but that she intended these volunteers to serve under a fully trained nurse. But she fully saw the difficulties of trying to classify amateurs.

**ff182-85** Letter from Caroline E. Stephen 29 Sept. 1870

**ff186-87** Letter from Caroline E. Stephen 11 Oct. 1870

**ff188-201v** LETTER TO EMILY, REGARDING Dr. SIMS' LETTER, PEN;  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN, OCTOBER 1870

**f188**

Dearest Emily,

[15:72-21]

I have to thank you for your letter about Dr. Sims which enlightened me very much & which I was only sorry that you had written when you ought to have been resting. for Dr. Sims' printed letter & the other printed letters, of which I should *like to see more*, for Circulars & all favours.

also for the M.S. copy of the ~~places~~ Stations where our Agents are. [Part of that appeared in a letter in Times, signed by Capt Brackenbury. You know I think that it is just what ought to appear *all* (in the newspapers) & that the public have a right to expect it.] And truth to tell the public are very indignant at the want of it  
xxx

But, at all events, I feel sure that, in your Monthly Circular you ought to publish not only the "Correspondence published in the daily Journals" - but a great deal  
xxx About this which has become very serious, I will write separately

**f188v**

more of your Correspondence.  
It is of vital importance now that we should be collecting & learning from all the experience we can get. Solferino abolished in part or greatly modified the experience of the Crimea. Sadowa did the same by Solferino. And now Metz & Sedan have done the same by Sadowa. And Paris threatens to be the most tremendous crisis of all. All this ought to be woven up in a tradition of experience by us. I never see a letter that I don't learn something from. altho' the experience has been most conflicting, the conclusions most contradictory, & some of the evidence, it must be confessed, some of our Agents' letters quite wonderful for their want of insight & of practical power. Still we *must* be gathering up our experience. And I do *not* think that our Committee have done much to help us in this.

**f189**

For instance, there are four practical questions, the very first which present themselves to the naked=est eye, upon which we ought by this time to have some sort of experience. But nothing can be more unsatisfactory than our gleanings. tho' we come across them at every turn.

e.g.

- a. should each nation have its own complete ambulances or help the Ambulances of Belligerents with material & personnel?
- b. should women be sent as Nurses?  
And if so *how* to ensure their services being used whether with their own special ambulance or to be attached, one here one there, to others'
- c. same question as to Infirmiers or Orderlies
- d. if complete Ambulances are to be sent by each Nation, what are their best sizes?

**[end 15:721]**

**f189v** [added by LM]

These questions which are of the very simplest & which leave out all the great questions of the organization of Red Cross societies--their relations to Local Committees & Agents--their relations to Governments can only be decided by practical working.

We receive the most contradictory evidence from Belgians, French, Dutch, Prussians, Bavarians, even Dr Sims & Frank differ in some particulars- And we are left to work our way as we can, making some very grave errors & many mistakes-but I hope determined to gather every experience, however differing from foregone conclusions, to guide us in future.

[It is most singular, but the person who really seems to have acted with most knowledge & insight is: a Crown Princess.]

**f202** NOTES ON "STORE ACCOUNT" n.d. PEN; PERHAPS HANDWRITTEN BY FN [should add, is FN I think; is in printout, evidently 2 versions]

**ff203-06v** LETTER TO EMILY VERNEY REGARDING LIVES SAVED, OCTOBER 1870? PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

October/70

Dearest Emily

To finish an already too long letter:  
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 battlefield of Gravelotte, (where  
the Johanniter are proved to have been  
all but absolutely inefficient, alas!)  
was invaded by all the peasant girls  
who could reach it, bringing with them  
wine, water, sometimes bread, means of  
binding up wounds somehow or other,  
and the like.

**f203v**

All the hospitals around Sedan, I may  
say, have had similar invasions &  
undoubtedly useful help has been given.

An old decrepit woman & three German  
students had 40 bad wounded cases to  
deal with in the Chateau at Balan  
after Sedan. No doubt when "Mother"  
Brownlow and her "Sister" dropped into  
this awful place things were vastly  
improved at once. But except  
the old woman there was no help for  
14 days.

A charming Madame de Girardin +  
some village girls kept the Wounded  
alive in the Church and cottages of Givone  
after Sedan who would otherwise have  
died.

An in other villages every wounded  
man in the private houses had his  
own special old "Mademoiselle" - an old woman  
devoted to him & he to her.

**f204**

This is what Mesdames Garrett, Blackwell, Stephen, mean by Nursing.

We don't.

But so far from despising this kind of help, it most certainly saved hundreds of lives, & would have saved hundreds more, if our Agents had had the common sense (which some others did have) to get together any kind of portable kitchen, fuel, pots & pans, to pour in portable soup, Liebig, chocolate, wine & to put the stores under the charge of one of these -ah we may well call them "good ladies." to pay the volunteer peasant cooks and Nurses to stay a little longer &c &c

But see the curious confusion of mind! Because this can be done, and *is* done, & successfully done, by the country women on the spot, & ought to be done a great deal more by our pouring in facilities

**f204v**

for *them* to do it. Therefore the talk-talk ladies want us to import "100 untrained English poor women" and "50 kitchen maids" into Sedan!! We can hardly fancy a battle of Sedan at York. But if we had it (God forbid!) our peasant "untrained" help on the spot would be of the greatest use. But only imagine importing "50 kitchen maids or drudges" from Metz or Hanau to York!!

**f205**

*Most Private*

That something ought to be written with authority to make "the Public" comprehend the damage they do if they so suddenly withdraw their contributions - the need of them still existing -

placing those who are *acting for them* in a wrong and false position and leading to confusion and misery among the sufferers of the war that scribblers who want money for their local charities take advantage of John Bull's love of fault-finding & deal unfairly by the Aid Society - not to say

treacherously.

setting Editors, Hospital Doctors etc. against it

*verbatim* instances could be given of this & very numerous [sic]

e.g. that as the Aid Socy receives loads & loads of linen useless to them -that the surplus ought to be given to our own poor -especially the Westminster poor & Hospitals.

that this is not allowed & even, when done, been called dishonest - it is therefore intended to put a stop to people sending anything more to St. Martins's Place.

that people who do not wish to open their own purses inconveniently ~~go about~~ for their local Charities go about creating a prejudice against the Society talking of the

"frightful prospects of London poverty & London poor-rates.

The result is that the Central Committee have their supplies suddenly withdrawn just when demands are increasing & these demands too for articles very different in cost from old linen, charpie &c.

There is a certain exultation at having "broken the back" of the inflowing contributions to St. M's Place.

It is earnestly advised to write & publish a few distinct, definite words, stating the still urgent needs of the Sick and Wounded- of their ruined families- of saving the Refugees from the Workhouse especially British refugees.

## **f206**

It is urged that this be inserted in Times, Daily News, Standard, Morning Post etc. pointing out 1. that the need still exists 2. that it need not injure our home charities 3. that the Society's funds are forestalled and that they require fresh supplies in money & warm clothing Standard, Daily News & Globe have offered to admit such a letter - but have asked that it should be from F.N.

(Many London poor unable to give money & material, have given their gratuitous labour, material being furnished them. Schools, Homes & Y

Hospitals have been employed.

All this is now stopped. *Supplies have suddenly ceased*  
*Sub-Committees* (for the Sick and Wounded)  
*Nor funds either*

(Local Charities have not really suffered from  
the Contributions to the War. Many proofs  
could be given of this & that they have  
even largely benefited, directly & indirectly.)

**f206v**

It should be explained in public Journals that the Aid Society cannot give even the smallest grant (to these Sub-Committees) - their Ambulances alone costing over £100,000 & so on.

F.N. is asked

1. to give a few private words of advice to such Sub-Committees
2. to publish a letter of her own
3. to write something to be quoted in a published letter
4. to allow her own name to be used

A few facts such as about the cost of the Ambulance - the 100 Surgeons etc. Statistics of which *nothing* has yet been said by the Aid Socy should be published.

**ff224-27** FN to Frederick Young, Chairman of Executive Committee of National Emigration League

**f224**

[printed address] 35 South Street  
Park Lane  
W.  
June 1/71

Sir,

I beg to thank you for your kind note & to wish you all success & God speed in your wise efforts to promote one of the greatest causes of the ~~day~~ world in this day.

I have thought, ever since I have been able to think of these subjects at all -- and wiser heads than mine ~~think~~ abroad have thought ~~the same~~ that Emigration it is which by allowing the enterprise and energies of England's working men to find ~~its~~ their proper ~~vent~~ outlet & exercise in colonizing new Lands saves England from these tremendous convulsions which now by rending & destroying Paris agonize all France & disturb all Europe.

**f224v**

If France would or could emigrate  
she might be saved too.

Such is the opinion ~~even~~ among  
some wise even in France, French statesmen.

The cleverness & vigorous life energy which  
exists so pre-eminently in Frenchmen  
finds no use in spreading  
population and "civilization" (the  
Frenchman's favorite dream  
except in ideas of conquest.

The inborn longing to possess land,  
which may appear seems natural enough  
when one considers that all food  
must first be got out of the land,  
- that as Populations increases  
all the Free Trade in the world  
will not feed them in abundance  
& prosperity, and vigour of mind and body if more land is not  
put under cultivation, & habitation.  
[In France there is no more land  
to be put under cultivation-  
in England very little not much *nothing* in  
comparison with our enormous  
increase of population

**f225**

but England has colonial lands  
which may be called immense,  
immeasurable. France has none but  
'play' Colonies.]

This inborn Land longing, this natural Land instinct  
implanted in us for our very preservation  
drives the enterprising Englishman to  
the Colonies. The enterprising French  
man can only have/get land ~~where it is  
no longer to be got had viz~~ in France &  
he is taught from babyhood ~~his mother's mil~~  
I was going to say - but French baby-  
~~men don't so often have their  
mother's milk as English baby men~~  
he is taught from babyhood infancy that  
everything *out of* France is ~~an~~ exile  
unless indeed ~~he can~~ it be conquered in war.  
The very best of wisest motives in  
our common human nature are then  
diverted & distorted in the Frenchman  
to enquire of distinction to the wildest, maddest theories  
which mean nothing but ~~this~~: a denial of theories - that  
the first elementary principles (known

to every child above Pauperism  
in Protestant countries,) ~~viz~~ that capital

**f226**

is & can only be the ~~fruit, the~~ result of work  
honest toil & ~~work~~ and hard  
saving is denied, theories ~~whose consequence is~~ & that capital  
the fruits of the frugal industrious  
population (none more so than  
that of France) - is to be divided  
among the idle with arms in their hands  
We see the end of ~~this~~ all this in the last week  
at Paris. ~~The~~ most dreadful  
week of our life-time of this  
century - perhaps of this world's  
life-time. [The first Revolution  
of 1793 was to my mind a  
mild & straight-forward affair  
compared to this one of May 1871.]  
~~These~~ is French Communistsne the origin  
of some whose ideas is  
perfectly sound takes to ~~themselves~~ itself  
literally 7 devils worse than itself  
~~themselves~~ in Poles, Italians,  
Belgians, Americans, Fenians,  
& 3 other nations. and it is curious to (for mark,  
as a foreign Administrator said to  
me, how all these 'birds of ill omen'  
come from R. Catholic countries-  
some causes have been at work in Franc  
countries where the vigorous ~~Protestant~~ working  
principles of toil & enterprise & manly independence  
~~warped by other ideas~~) burns it

**f226**

down with its own hands.

[printed address] 35 South Street,  
Park Lane  
W.

And thus our most natural  
instincts become the remote

causes which drive Frenchmen  
to the terrible excesses to which even  
the history of barbarism affords  
no parallel - to this most  
barbarous of disasters in that  
most 'civilized' of worlds. and all  
~~it really was reserved for the~~  
~~Devil of France of 1871 to~~  
~~operate~~ in the name of Liberty,

prosperity, Public right &  
 Civilization & in that name  
 to burn down Paris. But who can tell  
 what England might do did she not ~~emigrate~~

At one time of my life I saw some  
 of the working -classes of France  
 in a way that scarcely an but  
 their own people can do.  
 I look upon them as one of the  
 finest races of Europe.  
 And my personal & profound  
 conviction is: that, if they  
 had that outlet for their  
 pour her multitudes over the Atlantic & over the  
 Pacific & found fresh nations as the Parisians dream of?

**f226**

England really is or might be the  
 'civilizer' of the Earth, as the Frenchman pretends  
 to be, did all here understand  
 Emigration as you do. And may this  
 grand energies which Emigration  
 is, *or might be*,  
 to the Anglo=  
 Saxon, we should hear of  
 no more Revolutions - but the  
 Frenchman would really, as he  
 pretends to do 'civilize' the Earth  
 frightful example of Paris open their eyes!  
 Excuse my long delay in  
~~acknowledging your note &~~  
~~pamphlets~~ and excuse still  
 more this rambling ~~note in~~  
 answer. I am so overwhelmed  
 with pressing occupations &  
 increasing illness that any  
 general correspondence is  
 almost impossible to me.

Pray believe me

Sir

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

[end 15:876]

**f227**

working men the first principle that  
 it is dearer to burn down buildings  
 & destroy capital than to work for it.

**f242** not FN

**f207** LETTER TO EMILY [VERNEY] 23 OCTOBER 1870 PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN pencil

*Private*

Dearest Emily

I am afraid that I have been,  
instead of something "not worth sending"  
something very important & very  
disagreeable to tell you

The enclosed is 'my Résumé' or Extract  
of a ream of such information  
you can judge better than I how far  
it is true. & what is to be done

[I think the Aid Socy has immensely  
injured itself by not publishing  
anything like Accounts or Statistics]  
The question is: what is to be done?

Please shew this to Sir Harry & to  
no one else.

My statement enclosed is a literal  
Abstract

N.B. I should dislike extremely writing to the  
newspapers myself - as there suggested F.N.

**f208-09** "Men of the Time", Routledge & Sons. Printed form. present  
their compliments to FN, 12 December 1870, encloses their bit on  
her

**ff210-14v** Letter from printed Red Cross symbol Société Nationale  
Anglaise, Succursale d'Amiens, 25 Jan. 1871 Calais Wednesday [FN  
red und]

Close attendance on Colonel Cox for some days (thank God he is  
now comparatively better) prevented me writing to you, then my  
illeg was able to go out, I had to give in! ....

I have remonstrated with any authority in the place - each one  
says "cela ne me regarde pas Madame"! It is always those others  
... mayor...

**ff215-15v** embossed Alexander Strahan. Publisher. Letter from 28  
March 1871, apologizes for use of FN name on "memorials of Agnes  
Elizabeth Jones,"

**ff216-19v** Letters from Mr Strahan 1 & 3 April 1871

**ff220-21** Copy of Letter from Mr Strahan to the Editor of the Times  
3 April 1871 [two more letters re A Jones memorial, Times]

**ff222-23v** Letter from Elizabeth Blackwell May 3 [8:478-49]

Confidential

May 3d  
6 Burwood Place,  
W.

Dear Miss Nightingale,

I have consented to testify before the Commission on the C.D. Acts to the cruelty of *compulsory*, physical examinations, such as the Acts demand. It is a small point but it is true, and therefore I am willing to give it-- but, as the opportunity may thus occur of making any suggestion of importance I write, to ask if you have any such suggestion, which I would gladly make. If not, will you kindly tell me, whether you think it would be well to suggest (if opportunity occur) either of the

[up side]

P.S. I shall probably be called next week, on Friday or Saturday.

**f225v**

following measures, which seem to me to promise good results  
1st a commission to enquire into the causes & remedy of Prostitution.  
2nd to make the voluntary communication of contagious disease, a penal offense.

3rd the establishment of lock-up houses managed by women, under the superintendence of a lady who is a govt. officer & responsible for her subordinates.

Do not think me presumptuous in thus planning to offer suggestions. I have tried in vain to make our society take up the consideration of radical measures; they will only unit on destruction, i.e. opposition to the law. I find also, that in the evidence suggestions are offered

**f223**

by some witnesses, and the Govt. is sorely perplexed what to do. If we could get a Commission on Prostitution appointed, it would give time to unite men & women who will consider this subject carefully, & mature suggestions.

If that be hopeless, then it does seem to me extremely important to get the assistance of intelligent women, invested with authority to deal with the vicious & criminal classes of women; and my 3rd point, may be worth considering, viz. getting in the small end of the wedge. If the police had directions to clear the streets of prostitutes, at night, they might do so to a great extent by locking up numbers of them; but such  
[line cut off]

**f223v**

by women carefully selected, where a certain kindness should be exercised over the wretched women and if such a lady as Miss Carpenter, Miss Twining, or others who could be mentioned, became responsible for the judicious management of these stations, it might lead to external order, and moral reform; female police might after a while be formed. I see much & increasing good that might arise from the entrance of good women into police work.

There is no need of enlarging on these points to you-you will understand them at a glance, and yes or no will suffice to advise me, whether to confine myself to my direct point of evidence or add any suggestions. I remain

very truly yrs  
Elizabeth Blackwell

**ff224-27** LETTER TO ? REGARDING EMIGRATION and COLONIZING PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 1 JUNE 1871 [to add]

**ff228-29v** Letter from Robert Clark, 38 Cornwall Gardens, 3 July 1871 re Miss Barclay, candidate for training

**ff231-34v** LETTER TO EMILY Verney VERY LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN; JULY 1871 [6:461-63]

Mr Yeatman's (& other similar  
proposals *whose name is legion*  
July 13/71  
6 a.m.

Dearest Emily

(1) To "find" a "Lady Supt" "fitted" for the purpose  
under a year's notice is, except by accident,  
impossible.

And why not give a year's notice?

[Institutions are not taken ill suddenly, like Private  
Patients]

N.B. For 100 women fitted to guide & educate children  
I think that, in the course of a long life I find scarcely  
one fitted to guide a& carry on *grown-up women* to  
perfection. It is even easier to find a person to  
manage *Patients* well than to manage *Nurses* well.

Add to this, there are Govern't Training Schools  
*all sorts of* Training Schools for *school mistresses*.

Where are these for *Supts. of Nurses & Nurses*?

I know of but two *serious* ones, after all. And we are  
always engaged years beforehand.

(2) Is this the proposal: to have "4 Trained Nurses"  
*and* a Supt from the same School? - It *ought* to be.  
But then, most unquestionably: there *must* be a  
year's notice. It would be mere imposture

**f231v**

in any Institution to pretend to have such at hand,  
like bottles on a shelf.

(3) St. Thomas' as a general rule does not undertake  
(because of its being incapable of meeting *all*  
engagements)

to train & provide Nursing Staffs except for  
*Hospital & Workhouses--these to train others--*

[Nurses can only be trained in a *Hospital* & can only be  
properly trained, if their own Supt. is the Matron of the  
Hospital.]

(4) I do not see any provision of this sort in Mr. Y's  
plan-

He says: "nurses *learning under them*"-  
learning- *where?--*

does he mean in Salisbury Hospital?

-then the "4 trained Nurses" must be nursing in the Hospital  
He cannot mean "learning under them" by the bedsides of  
the poor - for how can any training be given there?  
And I need not add that the rich Patients would not  
admit pupil-Nurses to "learn" by *their* bed-sides  
How then are these "trained Nurses" to teach others?  
upon what?

**f232**

55. I conceive "Missionary Nursing to be the highest & best of all - Hospitals are an intermediate stage of civilization - And all Nursing of the poor will ultimately, it is to be hoped, be at home But I see no kind of element in Mr Y's plan to begin, lead to or go on to this.

(6) St. Thomas,' as I have observed, does not as a rule furnish Nurses to any Institution which nurses the *rich* & the poor-- for this reason:-

we *can* train but a limited number- (the largest hospital, overcrowded with pupils, wd. be but a bad training=school)- these can as a rule (as said above) be much more profitably employed in undertaking Hospitals & Workhouse Hospitals & training in these.

[We have sent Nurses as e.g. to Winchester Hospital- where all 3 objects are combined-

2. to nurse in Hospital

2. " the rich at home

3. " the poor at home

But our Trained Nurses, being the best, were actually taken away from their Hospital Wards & sent to nurse the *rich* -

Now it is very obvious that we cannot devote any part of our funds (public money)

to training Nurses for the *rich* -

And it is breaking engagements with us]

to put our nurses to this.

7. but- any application of this kind, viz. to give Nurses for an Institution, like Mr. Y.'s,

must be made to the Secretary

Hy Bonham Carter Esq

91 Gloucester Terrace

Hyde Park

W.

London

The Committee secretary alone decides on such matters.

Secretary

**f233**

2

As a parenthesis, to

7. It is as well to add that Mr Y will never get a woman "*like Agnes Jones*" to have anything to do with an Institution for nursing the *rich* -

-not that we any of us deprecate such Institutions. -they are necessary for helping to support the "home" But Agnes Jones would have nothing to do with such. Miss Torrance the same. Miss Jones, late of King's Coll: Hospl, considered it her greatest cross having the nursing of the *rich* among the objects of St John's House.

While Workhouses & Hospitals are what they are, we must "do" *them* first--we all say--

As you are aware, *in none of our Training Institutions*, have we anything to do with training nurses for the *rich* - or sending out women to nurse at home. [Let this be understood "without prejudice."]

8. I must also call attention to the excessive *difficulties*

-The Nurses who attend the poor *ought* to be of a far higher standard than those who attend the rich.

This is a truism. But, *practically*, a Supt. is *compelled* to give her best Nurses to the rich.

[Within the last few days I have seen a quasi-official

**f233v**

letter from an active, rich & benevolent gentleman, the Chairman of one of these Committees stating (as a matter of course) that they had no difficulty in disposing of their "*inferior*" nurses-- 'they will always do to nurse the poor at home.' Nothing that I cd say could put the matter in so strong a light as he here, *unconsciously*, puts it.] (9) To have "one or two persons" to "propose to the "Committee as Lady Supt." is what (I will not 'only say I would never advise- but) I would strongly dissuade any friend of mind from thinking of for a moment.

How can you expect any *fit* person to submit to such a thing?

You will find thousands of *unfit* persons to do it -

As for ourselves, we never *compete*- we never *offer* one, much less "two" persons -

If we undertake to send a Staff, (~~after~~ with a year's notice,) we do our best to select, train & send.

But to do what is here proposed is just to degrade people to the level of competitors for ordinary advertisements by ordinary Boards, Vestries or Committees.

(10) If we undertake to train a Staff, we make the best conditions we can for them.

One of these, tho' a small one, is that they should "wear a distinctive dress"--far more necessary in nursing the poor at home than ever in Hospitals -

[Most necessary of all at Salisbury where the "Sisters," R.C., of St. Vincent de Paule have been introduced.] But this is a small matter.

(11) I feel inclined to say--like the gentleman who was asked to find a Governess, with a list of perfect qualities: "No, Sir; for, if I found her, "I should make her my *wife*"--

When I have the person Mr. Yeatman describes, I make her one of our Training Matrons - & she is always engaged years beforehand.

[I say nothing of the comical mixture ' He "does not wish" them "to have a

"dress" - "BUT" "to have "religion" --]

(12) About the "house, it ought to be close to the Hospital & the Nurses ought to be trained there under the charge of their own Supt. (as before said)

**f234v**

--Lastly:--

never *begin* a Training-School till after your Institution has worked some years--

never begin a Training-Sch: under an untried & inexperienced, ~~person~~ (tho' trained) Supt.

The necessity of maintaining a high state of moral & religious discipline is, if anything, more important, as it certainly is more difficult to attain, in a Training-School, *especially* of Nurses to nurse *at home*, than in an y Hospital or Institution--

The superior staff of the School must be themselves thoroughly trained--add to this, they must have acquired the power of management, which an effective organization *in existence for a considerable time* can alone give.

These conditions were to be found in Mrs Wardroper of St Thomas'--in Miss Jones, of King's Coll: Hosp: -Agnes Jones wd. not hear of training till she had been in the Workh: some time -  
-same with Miss Torrance at Highgate-  
(we are only now beginning a *small* Training Sch: under her)  
- same *passim*.

**ff235** letter from printed Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires Paris, red cross in centre. Mademoiselle 18 juillet 1871 hard to read

f236 envelope from Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires, Paris, red cross in centre

**ff237-v** letter from Elizabeth Blackwell July 25 [8:30]

July 25th.

6 Burwood Place

Dear Miss Nightingale,

I have begun, what will be to me, a serious life work: and I want to know whether you will approve, and be on our General Council.

I hope to draw in the Ladies' Sanitary, and enlarge their operations by bringing in men, and a better organization.

This, of course is only a proof with suggested names, that I send you, but many have

v

promised, and the "crosses" are pledged to a weekly meeting, and conscientious work.

The type will stand for some time, to admit of alterations; any suggestion will be thankfully received.

Dear friend, the never=ceasing effort, to make Gods Laws, the rule of life, seems to me the only thing worth living for: and I do long to render good service to my dear native land.

I remain  
Very truly yrs.  
E. Blackwell

**ff238-39v** Letter from Thomas Peacock 20 August 1871, black-edged

I duly received your book & have been remiss in not before replying to it. My delay was not however grounded from my want of appreciation of your kindness in writing to me for I very much value the expression of your thanks on behalf of the probationers, as being from one, who though personally unknown to me, I have long regarded with the highest respect illeg.

By far the largest part of my life - and it is not now a short one - has been passed in connexion with hospitals, either as the Resident or visiting & medical officer.

f239 I could not but feel that the great defect in our hospital management was the nursing. I therefore from the first thoroughly sympathised with your efforts to improve the character of hospital nurses. I have seen with vast pleasure, the success which has attended your efforts.

The probationers were not favourably placed at Surrey Gardens. I hope at the new hospital they will suffer less, but under any circumstances, coming as they do in many cases from healthy country homes illeg hospital atmosphere , , ,

I can only say that [cross writing]

**ff240-41v** Letter from Jasette H. Smith 4 Sept. 1871, FN undl

[embossed stationery] Morden College  
Blackheath

September 4/71

Dear Madam

I feel deeply obliged  
by your most kind compliance  
with the request in my note  
for Home Hints for the  
cholera. I ventured  
to name them to my  
friend Mrs. Runyard  
who would of all things  
like to put them into

**f240v**

the hands of her admirable  
staff of Biblewomen & Nurses  
in connection with the missing  
Link.

Should you be hindered  
in yr proposal to prepare  
something for general  
circulation--would  
you object to the Eight Hints  
you kindly sent me  
being printed as a handbill

**f241**

for these parish nurses.  
 Your name carries a charm  
 & authority to women even  
 the most sluggish.  
 Independent of the forcible  
 good sense of the hints-  
 so simple--we might say  
 to the objectors--If the  
 prophet had bid thee  
 do some great things.

Dear Madam I feel  
 as though I should like  
 to tell you that it was  
 my beloved sister

**f241v**

Mrs. Bowen Thompson who  
 originated that great social  
 & sanitary reform among the  
 women of Spain. She had  
 lost her husband in the Crimea  
 & therefore felt called on to  
 hasten to the succor of the  
 Widows & Orphans of the Syrian  
 Massacres in 1860  
 and now I have two of her  
 Sisters there caring for these  
 schools--for the Blind  
 & the Cripples--

We are just returning to  
 our home at *Blackheath*

Yours in sincere devotion  
 Jasette H. Smith

**ff242-v** NOTES ON PREPARING FOR CHOLERA n.d. PEN; not FN hand,  
 embossed Morden College, Blackheath.

1. Not to expect Cholera but to  
 prepare for it, by visiting all  
 the places where Fevers and  
 other Epidemics, usually exist.  
 The Poor Law Medical Officer  
 can point them out.
2. To tell, & help the people to clean  
 & air all their houses;  
*lime-washing* when needful
3. And to wash all old clothes &  
 foul linen, taking care that  
 nothing accumulates in dark  
 holes, or closets

4. To see that the water is good-boiling it for drinking where not

**f242v**

5. To attend to bowel complaints at once.  
 6. To observe the strictest cleanliness in beds, clothing, & rooms, where there is bowel complaint, or choleraic diarrhaea  
 7. To steep all soiled linen in *plenty of water*, & repeatedly (This is the best disinfectant.)  
 8. And to get the local Authorities to keep the whole place clean. These are the real anti-Cholera specifics.

**ff243-45** Letter from the German Chargé d'Affaires, 20 Sept. 1871, in English embossed. re enclosed letter

f244 stylized letter signed von Bonin. 30 August 1870

f245 envelope Zu  
 Miss Florence Nightingale

**ff246-47** first, rough draft LETTER TO THE COMMISSION-GENERAL OF ORDERS IN BERLIN, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN, pale blue

**f246**

[printed address] 35 South Street  
 Park Lane  
 W. Sept 25/71

Gentlemen

I have the honour/beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of ~~Sept 2~~ August 30 - together with the decoration of the Cross of Merit so graciously bestowed by His Majesty the Emperor and King which has just reached me ~~With the~~ Of my deepest gratitude which I know not how to express for the manner in which His Majesty has

**f246v**

thought of my very humble/poor

services, I bet you to  
 be the interpreter in  
 laying at the feet of His  
 Majesty the Kind & also  
 of Her Majesty the Empress  
 and Queen my most  
 devoted duty & thanks.  
 I have filled up the Formular  
 & beg to enclose it, according  
 to your desire.

**f247**

I have the honour to be  
 Gentlemen  
 your faithful servant  
 Florence Nightingale  
 To the  
 Commission-General of Orders  
 in Berlin

**ff248-v** LETTER TO THE COMMISSION-GENERAL OF ORDERS IN BERLIN PEN;  
 HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 25 SEPTEMBER 1871  
 [printed address] 35 South Street  
 Park Lane  
 W. Sept 25/71

To the Commission General of Orders  
 in Berlin  
 Gentlemen

I hasten to acknowledge your letter of  
 August 30 just received together with the  
 decoration of the "Cross of Merit." &c  
 so graciously bestowed by His Majesty the  
 Emperor and King.

Of my deepest gratitude to His Majesty  
 & also to Her Majesty the Empress & Queen  
 I cannot speak for the manner in  
 which Their Majesties have been pleased  
 to think of my poor services.

But may I beg your Excellencies who  
 have the power to be the most fitting  
 interpreters to lay at the feet of His  
 Majesty the Kind & also of Her Majesty  
 my most devoted duty & humble thanks?

I have filled up the "Formular" & have

**f248v**

the honour to enclose it, according to the  
 desire of the royal Commission.

I ought to have written this in German  
 Pardon my omission. I am a poor Invalid,  
 overwhelmed with business & illness.

And unwillingly I do the thing which is easiest to me -knowing that your Excellencies are powerful to overlook unwitting irregularities.

I have the honour to be  
Gentlemen  
your faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

**ff249-50v** LETTER TO THE COMMISSION-GENERAL OF ORDERS IN BERLIN  
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN, blue paper, pen (another)  
ff251-52 same printed address

Sept 26/71

To the German Chargé d'Affaires &c &c &c  
Sir

I have the honour gratefully to acknowledge your letter of September 20 received yesterday, owing to my being out of London.

The letter which you were good enough to enclose from the Commission General of Orders in Berlin, and the "Cross of Merit" also enclosed have reached me safely.

May I trouble you, Sir, to have the kindness to express what I cannot express, how

**f251v**

very deeply I am touched by the gracious remembrance of me shewn by Her Imperial & Royal Highness the Crown Princess. For her the reverence & humble affection which I have always felt have ever commanded such poor service as I could give. May I request that you will forward to the proper quarter the enclosed acknowledgment & 'Formular' filled up according to desire-  
And if I might venture so

**f252**

far as to trouble you to  
 read it & remedy any  
 faults which may have  
 unknowingly crept into it?  
 I beg that you will believe me  
     sir  
 your most obedt servt  
 Florence Nightingale

**ff251-52** LETTER TO THE COMMISSION-GENERAL OF ORDERS IN BERLIN  
 PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 26 SEPTEMBER 1871

**f253** INSCRIPTION IN *LYING-IN INSTITUTIONS* typed copy, 10 OCTOBER  
 1871

To Mr Barnes

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 made - and that, having contributed  
 so much valuable information, he will afford still more with his  
 great kindness - for a future and (it *is* to be hoped) better  
 edition

    to his obliged & grateful servant  
     Florence Nightingale

**ff254-55** rough draft letter, IN FRENCH PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 29  
 OCTOBER 1871

**f254**

    Londres le 29 Octobre 1871

Monsieur le Comte

    Veuillez agréer, et veuillez  
 faire agréer à Messieurs vos  
 honorables collègues l'expression  
 de ma très profonde reconnaissance  
 de ~~votre~~ la médaille en bronze de  
 votre société

**ff256-v** **Unsigned draft or copy**, LETTER TO COMTE, IN FRENCH PEN;  
 HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 29 OCTOBER 1871

    Londres 29 Octobre 1871

    Veuillez bien, Monsieur, agréer  
 et veuillez bien être l'interprète  
 auprès de Messieurs vos  
 collègues de l'expression  
 de ma très profonde reconnaissance  
 pour la Croix de bronze que

votre Société a bien voulu me  
faire l'honneur de m'envoyer.  
Bien que je regarde le peu que  
j'ai pu faire comme un simple  
devoir rendu aux hommes qui  
souffrent, j'accept cet envoi  
avec joie, au nom de ma patrie  
dont des efforts dont elle a fait preuve, depuis  
le plus pauvre jusqu'au plus

**f256v**

rich, depuis l'enfant jusqu'au  
vieillard--tous, tous ont donné  
non de leur superflu mais de  
leur nécessité, et bien au delà  
de leurs moyens et sans  
arrière-pensée--par le seul  
dévouement pour ceux qui  
souffrent--ils ont fait ce qu'ils  
ont pu et les pauvres bien au  
delà de ce qu'il pouvaient  
souffrez, Monsieur, que je vous  
renouvelle ici de la part  
de mes compatriotes l'expression  
de leur dévouement.

**ff257-58** Letter from Mme Werckner, The Limes, Linden Road,  
Guildford, Dec 1/71, Saturday will suit me very well indeed,  
please expect me at 4 that day. I note your qualification "if I am  
able". Pray do not hesitate for a moment to refuse an admittance  
if you feel at all unequal to seeing me, for altho engaged in a  
little of Indian? business, I am pretty well master of my time  
just now and can easily manage to call any other day

f258v NOTES PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN for Rogers Bible

Proverbs  
omit IV.3 his mother  
add 20 to end  
23 out of the heart  
    are the issues of life  
VII add v. 5 above the strange  
    woman - very  
    necessary - I think  
    if you put in Bathsheba  
XIX all v. 11  
XV.1 a soft answer  
XXIV 33,34= given twice  
    VI 10,11  
Political Economy of X.15 rather hard  
Add XV 16,17,18,19  
Add XVI 1,2,3  
Add XX 22  
Add XXII 26 sureties for debts  
Add XXIV 29  
XXVI 3 is in  
XXXI omit exhortation to make the poor  
    man drunk 7  
    & against Women's Rights. 3

**ff259-65v** LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MEDICAL TIMES" REGARDING  
TRAINING OF MIDWIVES AND OTHER SUBJECTS, PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
[8:339-40]

*To the Editor of the "Medical Times."*

Sir

Dr Braxton Hicks was himself kind enough to point out to me his letter in your No. of Nov 25, in which he has with the careful & conscientious wisdom for which he is so remarkable found fault with a proposal ~~I had~~ made ~~for teaching~~ for the Education of Women in Midwifery ~~to women~~ in a little book on Lying-in Institutions by me.

As far as my proposal was concerned it was intended to provide against that ~~very~~ "imperfect education" to which Dr. Hicks so very properly takes exception--and in the concluding passages of the Appendix I ~~had~~ tried to shew clearly what ~~this~~ my view was.

It is impossible for any one to agree more entirely than I do with Dr. Hicks, since we hold the same, viz. that the knowledge necessary for the practice of Midwifery comprehends many things besides the attendance.

My real object was to point out Midwifery

**f259v**

(including under this term every thing  
required to make women proficient in  
the Department of practice)

as the real key to the dead lock to which  
women & men together seem to be bringing  
the whole problem of medicine as a career  
for women--a problem which certainly will  
not allow itself to be shelved, which will  
if not by means of  
solve itself in spite of^ the authorities, ~~if not~~  
now seems drifting

~~by their means but & which is fast degenerating~~  
into a rather unseemly & unworthy controversy  
or personal struggle, a Batrachyomachia of 1870-1889.

In writing as I ~~have done~~ did, I for one  
had not the most remote idea of recommending  
another "specialty" to which we † have an equal ~~great~~  
objection, ~~as~~ Dr Hicks & I, if he will allow  
me thus to use the brotherly pronoun "we."

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your obedt. servt.  
Florence Nightingale  
London Dec 6/71

Questionnaire on training of midwives; see LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/72/4  
Compare with letter of Blackwell 30 December 1871, LMA  
H1/ST/NC2/V30/71 30 December 1871:

I have set down my answers on separate sheets, as I was compelled  
to make them longer than your space allowed. I have tried to give  
what may prove suggestive to those who will help you in your  
excellent work....

Your questions are comprehensive and will draw forth full  
accounts from those willing to communicate. I would, however,  
suggest two additional questions, viz: "Has the course of  
instruction been enlarged, or curtailed, within the last twenty  
years? In what directions?" "What has been the relative proportion  
of midwifery cases attended by men and women, each year during the  
last ten years?"

I know in a general way that both in Paris and Berlin the  
midwives have lost ground immensely in the present generation.  
Fifteen years ago a very clever old Parisian midwife described to  
me the opportunities for instruction I her youth and showed the  
superior estimation in which they were held formerly by profession  
and public. My former colleague Dr M.E. Zackczewoke [?] whose  
mother was an excellent Berlin midwife, has given me similar  
testimony respecting that city. It is very important to know  
clearly the cause of this. I consider it a national misfortune  
that midwifery, and above all *female diseases*, are passing into  
the hands of men.

Your book is most valuable. It will be a right noble thing if a woman should conquer that male opprobrium, puerperal fever!  
Believe me,

Undated note, Add Mss 45802 ff260-64

**f260**

Would you be so very good  
as to furnish me with  
a general account of the  
Midwifery instruction  
at the Maternité, Paris,  
including as full  
information as you may  
be pleased to give on  
the following points: -

1. Duration of training  
before certificates of  
competency are granted?
2. [If, e.g. there were a  
two years' course for  
1st class Midwives,  
a one year's course for  
2nd class Midwives,  
please state differences  
by Examinations or otherwise  
& texts of ye courses]
3. Whether during training  
instruction was given  
in Anatomy?  
If so, how?  
By models?  
By drawings?  
By Dissections?  
By Lectures?

**f260v**

4. Also, if this instruction was given, by whom?  
by male professor?  
or Assistant " ?  
by Lady professor?
5. Were there Oral examinations?  
Or written Reports  
or Exercises?
6. By what method was efficiency in this anatomical knowledge ~~tested~~ estimated?  
by marks?  
or otherwise?
7. What instruction in the elements of Midwifery was given before Pupil Midwife was allowed (herself) to deliver a case?  
by the bed-side?  
by Lectures?  
by Models?  
by drawings?

**f261**

8. By whom was this instruction given?  
by a Head Midwife?  
by an Assistant " ?  
by 2nd year's Pupil Midwives?  
by a Lady Professor?  
by a man Professor?  
or " Assistant?
9. How long did this instruction continue before Pupil admitted to deliver case herself?
10. What instruction was given respecting accidents of labour?  
- & how to deal with them?  
- respecting unnatural or unusual presentations, including performance of operations?  
- also on diseases of childbed & of infants?  
- state, please, what, if any, were the other branches of study?  
- did these embrace Post Mortem examinations & Dissections?  
if so, were these practised at a different time & place from Midwifery practice?

**f261v**

11. In what manner &  
where was the pupil  
first allowed to practise?  
& under whose direction?  
whether allowed at once  
to take charge of a case -  
or only partially & under  
superintendence?
12. Suppose a case of  
difficulty to arise in the  
pupil's hands,  
how  
by whom  
was she instructed to  
deal with it?
13. How was the use of  
instruments in such cases  
taught at the bed-side?  
& by whom?

**f262**

14. During the practical  
training of pupils, how  
was oral instruction  
by lectures given on  
the cases?
15. What was the practical  
instruction at the bed-side  
given
  - a. in Midwifery wards
  - b. at lying-in women's own  
homes?

**f262v**

16. In what manner was  
an estimate formed of  
fitness of Pupil to  
undertake Midwifery  
practice?  
including: length of course?  
nature of oral & written  
examinations?  
number of examinations?  
by whom conducted?
17. Likewise, what  
personal attendance?  
on *what* number of labours?  
was required?  
- And what number  
of these labours  
must have been difficult  
or complicated in character?  
- what was the number of  
labours a. normal  
b. abnormal  
a Pupil-Midwife must conduct  
to obtain a. a first class  
b. a second class  
certificate?

**f263**

18. Please state the nature & extent of general education in Medical science & practice required of candidates for Midwifery certificates? with the kinds & number of Lectures & Instructions which have to be followed?
19. Please append a copy of the Rules for training Midwives. & also, if possible, of the Diploma or Certificate.

**f263v**

20. Where did Pupil Midwives reside
- a. in the Institution
  - b. in private lodgings?
- what disciplinary rules were in use?  
& by whom administered?  
what fees paid etc.?
21. Please describe what the whole teaching staff consisted of
- Head Midwives  
Assistant "  
Lady Professors - a. men  
~~Men~~ b. women  
or Lecturers
- was the Head Midwife also a lecturer?

**f264**

22. If possible, please  
give an idea (approximately)  
of the number of  
*abnormal* Deliveries  
e.g. wrong Presentations  
& versions  
Forceps  
Craniotomy  
& other Instrumental cases  
Haemorrhage  
etc. etc.  
per cent of Total Deliveries?

23. If you would be  
kind enough to state  
any improvements which  
it is considered might  
be effected in the  
Training=course,  
any points in which  
it is supposed to fail,  
you would be adding  
greatly to the obligation,  
if you are so good as to  
answer these questions.

**f265***Training of Midwives*

{there are small x's in front of each number, except 1}

1. Of how many years was the course?
2. if there were, e.g. a two years' course for first class;  
a one year's for second class  
Midwives, please state the differences tested by  
Examinations, No's of Labours conducted & the like
3. What was the no. of labours a Midwife must  
conduct, a. normal, b. abnormal,  
to obtain a first-class, a second class certificate?
4. Please state, if possible, ~~about~~ the number per  
cent. Deliveries of abnormal Deliveries,  
including Wrong Presentations, Forceps, Craniotomy  
& other instrumental cases - Haemorrhage etc.  
such as would require calling in consultative  
professional assistance in England, whether  
male or female, at your institution
5. How many branches of study, conducted by Lectures,  
- besides what is called Midwifery proper?
6. How many Professors - a. men b. women?
7. Did the studies embrace Dissections & Post Mortem  
examinations?  
If so, were these practised at a different time  
& place from the practice in Deliveries?
8. Did the Head Midwife *lecture* also on Midwifery?
9. If the second year's Pupil Midwives gave  
instruction to the first year's, how was  
this conducted?
10. What proportion of Assistant=Midwives to Pupils?

**f265v**

11. Was there any out-door practise for Pupils  
or attendance on Lying-in women at their  
own homes?
12. Please describe the *theoretical* teaching -  
and what was its proportion & relation  
to the Midwifery *practice* at the bed-side.
13. Please describe the bed side teaching  
in the sense of who gave it  
- who supervised it  
- when a pupil was (advanced enough to be) allowed  
herself to deliver a case  
&c &c.

**ff266-67v** Letter from Williams, 49 Upper Brook St. 7 Dec. 1871 re  
her copy of lying-in book, her compliment of asking for criticism,  
but subject hardly in his line

**ff268-69v** Letter from Williams, 49 Upper Brook St. 16 Dec. 1871

Add Mss 45804

436

indebted for her supplying info

**f270** COPY OF INSCRIPTION TO MRS. TRUELOVE IN *LYING-IN INSTITUTIONS*, typed; 21 DECEMBER 1871

... offered to Mrs Truelove  
this little book on Lying-In Institutions  
by her old friend  
(sgd) Florence Nightingale  
London Dec 21/71

**ff271-v** NOTES, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN, 1871

**f271** blue pencil, with regular pencil corrections [ca. 1871]  
[5:158-59]

*whom you compel*

Those who are reduced to find work by  
offering them the Workhouse instead of out-door  
Relief & who do *not* accept the Workhouse  
are just the persons to whom out-door Relief  
should *not* be given.

But, suppose it, the 'House' accepted, as e.g.

*who can do some work*

by a poor widow^ with children, neither woman  
nor children will ever come out again; they  
are made paupers for life-And these are  
just the persons, (struggling to keep out of the  
'House' ( to whom out-door Relief *should* be given.

It should never be offered as a Test, to a whim [end 5:159]  
& who should be helped to do productive work. Everybody [5:159]  
can *produce* to some extent, i.e. everybody out of the 'House  
Only *in* the W.H. can no (productive) work be done. That is why  
the W.H. is so pauperizing. [Young reformers should understand  
that over [see f271v below]

Bad generals give the blame to their troops/men

Good generals give the praise to their men

("I had the honour to command these men  
but they really commanded themselves.")

Had the Hos of C. been better generalled, would  
the Generals have so found fault with it?

Was it ~~not~~ bad generalship or was it not bad troops?

**f271v**

The Unproductive Labour Test is absolutely  
demoralizing.

To help everybody in his measure to  
*productive* work is the only real help-[this para move up]

**ff272-75** NOTES PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; 1871

**f272**

P.S. It cannot be denied that [15:809-10]  
 England has been deeply hurt  
 at the conduct of Germany  
 towards her. While, even to the  
 very poorest, the English have  
 been straining every nerve to  
 help & "all for love & nothing  
 for reward" --not even the reward  
 of gratitude. Germany has  
 requited her by bringing these  
 accusations of supplying the  
 French with arms against  
 England & none against  
 America who have supplied  
 more than 3 times the quantity.  
 The facts are these: - when the  
 German soldiery find arms in  
 the hands of the French prisoners  
 or wounded or dead with such  
 letters as "N.Y. U.S.A." on them-  
 or the names "Remington," "Colt," &c

**f272v**

they triumphantly alledge that  
 these are *English* arms, supplied  
 to France ["N.Y.U.S.A.", as I  
 need hardly say, means "New  
 York, United States America"  
 & "Remington" & "Colt" are  
 the names of American makers.]  
 The German leaders take no  
 pains to inform the soldiers  
*but the reverse.*

I am one of those many who  
 greatly regretted that our  
 Parliament did not pass a (new)  
 Act making it part of the  
 Neutrality Laws for a Neutral  
 Power *not* to sell arms or  
 ammunition to a Belligerent.  
 For what we have supplied  
~~indeed~~ has been small indeed  
 compared to what America has  
 supplied. The *German*  
 workmen

**f273** [ignore, use f274 instead]

in *America* themselves contributing their work to supplying  
the *enemies of Germany* with  
arms.

The injustice of the Germans to  
us has been flagrant indeed!

**f274** black-edged

4

in *America* themselves working to  
furnish the *enemies of Germany*  
with arms.

I cannot help referring to this  
unhappy feeling of Germany  
against us about the 'Arms'  
question which appears to have  
arisen from not taking into account  
that Arms manufacturers in  
America have necessarily English  
names. There has been some  
export from this country which  
we all regret--just as we should  
have regretted it, had the Arms  
been sent to Germany. But it is  
perfectly well known that the  
Arms taken on the late battle-fields  
came from America, with whom  
an immense trade in arms &  
ammunition is now going on to  
France--the workmen, as above said,  
being sometimes Germans themselves. **[end 15:810]**  
F.N.

**f275** Note [ca. 1871] [ continuation of above] black-edged

Indeed, in the mornings, I dread  
the evening mail. And in the evening,  
I dread the morning--unlike  
the plaint in the Scriptures  
but I think it is worse. I used  
to wish so for the winter days to  
pass. But now I dread each  
coming day, as worse than the  
last. more full of frantic  
passion, misery & blood.

**ff276-77** Letter from Sophie Rabich, Cologne, Germany; ref Charles Rabich. Prisonnier de guerre, Fort Nieulay St Pierre les Calais

f276v FN note pen Madame Sophie Rabich, Cologne, Badstrasse 14, Prusse, Rhénane,

f277 black-edged paper, pen

30 or 40 lbs English lint  
by Ostend to Mr Hoffmann  
in Cologne  
wanted quickly  
Hülfsverein Barracken

**f278-79v** Notes on letterhead of National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War, n.d., amounts of £ [not FN hand]

Add Mss 45803, microfilm, 254 folios, 29 pages, general correspondence 1872-74, Adam Matthew reel 33

ff1-2 Jan 23 1872, C.J.B. Williams, 49 Upper Brook St., sending FN I send you the journals containing the parts of my lecture in wh I have profited by your kind and altho' less freely than I cd have wished. Illeg will not be angry with me for yielding to what I thought an impulse of duty as well as inclination in paying any feeble tribute of testimony to the inestimable value of your "success" in sanitary medicine.

Pray do not trouble yourself to reply unless you think I deserve a scolding

with much esteem ...CJM Williams

ff3-6v March 20 1872, H.B. Stowe, Mandarin deeply affected by reading *Una*. It has "moral genius". God opening a wide field for women at this time. Asks FN to let her hear of the progress of "the movement" in England to show American women what it is possible to achieve. FN's letter in "the Christian union or the Independent addressed to some girls in Dr. Stowe's Church made her feel "of one heart with you". Describes March at her home (birds & flowers). signed: "Yours in the dear Name that is above every other"

ff7-8v April 4 1872, Henry Hawkins, Colney Hatch, N., thanks for reply to his. Hoping bright young women can be steered into asylum nursing. Mentions an assoc. & Mrs Caldwell of Clarges St. Mayfair who trains nurses in this field.

ff9-10v April 5 1872, Mary Stevens, 5 North Parade, Frome, asking for help re support/placement of orphans of one of FN's nurses in the Crimea: Mrs Tuffil

**ff3-6** H. Beecher Stowe to FN March 20 1872

Mandarin, Fla 20 March 1872

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have been deeply touched and affected by reading your *Una*. The book is reissued in America with an introduction by my brother Henry and we are anxious to give it a wide circulation.

In these days the providence of God seems to be opening a wider field for women. The very first announcement of primitive Christianity has twice repeated the words "on my sons and on my daughters, I will pour my spirit and they shall prophecy." In this time when all womanhood seems to be arousing to a new life there are many false dangerous and even fatal appeals, and it is a matter of satisfaction when any one presents to the rising aspiration and enthusiasm of women "a more excellent way." Your *Una* has what I should call *moral genius*, a genius of the spiritual faculties and why should we not recognize this gift--the most godlike perhaps that can be given to a mortal.

My brother speaks of your book as one of the few which render piety attractive--I shall try and send you his notice entire.

I was surprised in the end when you described the opportunities and openings you are preparing to teach women in this field that you seemed to speak as if there were a deficiency of applicants for these advantages.

I had the idea that so many women in England were pining for some opening that I can't not imagine how you should not once be flooded and overwhelmed with applications.

If the state of your health will permit you to reply to this will you tell me just how the enterprise now stands. Any particulars which you think might be of use for us to know, for there is just at present such an universal arousing of the female element in America that almost any good thing that has been demonstrated as possible would be sure to be laid hold of and repeated.

I should like to be able to give some particulars in the *Christian Union*, my brother's paper. It is our object in this paper to unite all Christian believers of every name on the simple ground of love and work, to appose nobody that means well and to furnish in the medium that which all that Christ's own are doing shall be brought to the knowledge of others of like mind. We should be most happy to record the progress of this movement in England in hopes that it may be of use to us here in organizing similar ones.

A little circumstance gives me a pleasant feeling of acquaintance with you. I have a drawing of your residence in which the very mirror of your room is marked. I think it is through Mrs Gaskell that this came into my possession, in a rather extraordinary way, but it is a great pleasure to me and makes me feel as if I know you. I saw, too, I think either in the *Christian Union* or the *Independent* a letter you addressed to some young girls in Dr Stowe's church which made me feel of one heart with you

I am spending the winter in our place in Florida, a lovely land of flowers and sunshine, so fair, so sunny, so blossomy, that it seems in its best days as if it might be an image of the land of pure delights to which we trust to come hereafter. It is the only place in the world that I know of where the month of March is charming.

The orange trees about our house are blossoming and filling the air with fragrance, the red birds and mocking birds and a thousand other kind are making the air ring and there is that blissful sunny calm over their blue waters of the St Johns which here is five miles wide and seems like a lake. There is no winter here or at least scarce a day when open air life is not delightful.

Yesterday my sister came and saw in a gentleman's grounds what is called a bittersweet oranges of wonderful beauty. It had white buds, open blossoms and every size and variety of fruit from the little green vale to the clusters of perfect golden fruit. I can't but think "Hispanic fables true." The exuberance of the blossoms

and of the fruit in its different strengths all growing together was wonderful. I have s[t]umbled into a long note which I trust you will excuse and believe me,

yours in the dear name that is above every other  
H.B. Stowe

ff7-8 Henry Hawkins Colney Hatch 4 April 1872 to FN I cannot sufficiently thank you for replying so fully to the communication which I took the liberty of addressing to you. I esteem your valuable letter as an honour, and great encouragement. It did occur to me, when I wrote, to mention that I wd not ask for an answer--knowing how exacting must be the claims on your time--and having heard of the delicacy of your health. Yet I was selfish enough not to diminish my chance of some response from yourself. But I do so very far from expecting that a detailed notice of the little paper &c wd be returned.

One way in which I thought ladies might occasionally assist in supplying asylums, to some extent, with nurses, of rather above the average stamp--wd be to direct the attention of young women who mt appear to have aptitude for the work--to asylum nursing as a profession.

Opportunity of doing this might occur, illeg of referring to the duty of undertaking service in a conscientious spirit.

In default of trained nurses, young women of a more promising kind, mt thus find their way into our rank from time to time.

Mrs Caldwell, of Clarges St, Mayfair, who is engaged in training nurses for the mentally afflicted, has kindly interested herself in the suggested association. I have had the honour of an introduction to Miss Jones who visited the Grove [?] Asylum when I was chaplain there. Though your envelope is marked "Private," I hope I may mention your name as favourable to the general idea of the paper?

With great respect, I am, dear Madam, yr obedt servant Henry Hawkins

f9 Mary Stevens, Frome, to FN April 6 1872, answed HBC

f11 letter to FN from Henry Greenway, Plymouth 14 June 1872

Madam

Since I had the honour of submitting to your consideration my proposed plan of hospital construction I have endeavoured to remedy what were considered defects. I now do myself the pleasure of enclosing a copy of the paper I read at the last annual meeting of the Brit Med Assocn. A portion of my argument is extracted from my reply to your kind communication of 4th Sept/70. With complete isolation, there still remain the chances of a patient, not considered seriously ill (& therefore not specially watched), but taken suddenly worse, being unable to summon the nurse by bell, or of the emergency being unnoticed by his neighbour or by the nurse when casting her eye through the range of compartments, or even

when acting as patrol. Against these *chances*, I place the *certainty* of patients, congregated in an open ward, occasionally proving hurtful to one another.

I am happy to say my improved plan has, so far, been favourably received by the profession. Certain members, however, would limit the adoption of my plan for infectious cases only. A letter from Inspector-General Smart appears in the Brit. Med. Journal of the 25th ult., advocating my plan as an adjunct to any naval military hospital, especially to those in tropical climates, & to every Poor-law union infirmary."

Trusting my improved plan my meet with your approval, I have the honour to remain, Madam

yours very faithfully

Henry Greenway

Miss Nightingale

ff13v-14 "On a New Mode of Hospital Construction." *BMJ* 1 May 1872, with FN comments

FN comments on article by Henry Greenway, "On a New Mode of Hospital Construction," *British Medical Journal* 11 May 1872.

"Among those outside the profession who have favour me with their comments, I have the honour to include Miss Nightingale, who has bestowed much time and thought on the subject of hospital construction/

FN marginal note: and who disapproved the plan.

Greenway: "The block is divided longitudinally by a central glass partition, thus forming two rows of compartments, placed back to back...."

FN marginal note: The back to back construction, whether the "partition" be of "glass" or not, is condemned by all experience.

Greenway: In the main wall there is a large sash-window opposite each compartment, which gives light to the corridor and compartment.

FN marginal note: Then give the best window light and air to the patient *and not to the corridor!*

Greenway: "The patient, although plentifully supplied with air, is not exposed to a draught, as the under surface of the bed acts as a screen.

FN comment: Good luck.

Greenway: As the patient lies in his bed, he sees not only the transparencies, but can look through his glass door and across the corridor at the little garden outside the window.

FN comment: The intolerable grievance to the patient, of having the best light behind him, of having a patient *behind* him, instead of at his feet, must be known to be believed. It would send a fever patient delirious. It is like being at [cant read]

Greenway: "The compartment itself becoming a kind of flue."

FN marginal note: So much the worse....

Greenway: As regards the oversight of the patients by the nurses, I should say that I propose, in addition to the means already

mentioned, employing patrols, who would keep watch in the corridors during a stated period and then be relieved by others.

FN marginal note: !!! ...

FN marginal note: The plan appears to me to combine all the disadvantages of the hospital with all the disadvantages of the home, without securing one of the advantages of the hospital, without securing one of the advantages of a home.

F15 Sydney Waterlow to FN June 17 1872. I regret that you were unable to see me when I called upon you on the 12th inst., as I think that a few moments personal explanation wd have enabled me to reply to your letter of the 11th better than I can do in writing.

As chairman of the London Lunatic Asylum District, I freely confess that I am very much indebted to Miss Torrance for the continued earnest and conscientious labour which she has given to the work of the infirmary at Highgate, and the great talent and experience which she has brought to bear in the performance of her duties as matron.

I think that all the managers are with me in feeling that the success of the asylum is largely owing to her great administrative ability and zealous attention to her duties, and that in contending with our preliminary difficulties in 1870-71 her help was invaluable.

Holding this opinion of Mss Torrance you can readily understand that I heard with much regret that she contemplated leaving Highgate, at the same time I thoroughly respect and appreciate her motive in desiring to do so, and to a large extent I acknowledge that the position wh you desire to undertake is one *for* which she is suited and *in* which her peculiar talent and ability will ultimately have a larger beneficial influence in alleviating the sufferings of the sick poor of the country at large.

Under these circumstances I don't feel that I ought to do or say anything to induce her to stay beyond the date? she names viz Sept 30 1872.

I am most anxious to secure a competent and efficient successor & shall feel much obliged if you wd assist me in obtaining some person who may safely be trusted with the duties which Miss Torrance has hitherto so efficiently filled.

I had another object in seeking an interview with you. Knowing the great interest wh you have always taken in hosp work, and in all the arrangements which tend to make that charity perfect, I wished to ask you to look over a convalescent home which I have just fitted and completed her (see accompanying paper).

The Mansion has about 3 acres of very quaint? Old grounds protected by large trees and shrubs, therefore well suited for a promenade for invalids. The building has I think many peculiar advantages for the purpose intended, which must be seen to be understood. It is now *quite ready* to be opened, but before conveying up the patients from Smithfield we would have liked very much to have your opinion on the arrs, about three quarters of an

hour's illeg from your residence. I cd meet you on the premises at 4 p.m. either Tuesday 19th or Saty 22nd. Wed. would suit best if convenient to you.

ff15-16v June 17 1872, Sydney H. Waterlow, Fairseat House, Highgate N., replacing the valued Miss Torrance as matron of Asylum Infirmary

ff17-18v July 26 1872, Robert Hamilton, 1 Prince's Road, Liverpool asking FN to recommend a superintendent for the new Royal Southern Hospital. Some time ago I wrote asking your opinion on some matters connected with the building of the Royal Southern Hospital to which you kindly replied giving me full information. This must plead my apology for again troubling you. The hospital is now finished and was formally opened by Prince Arthur in May, but we have not yet gone into it. We wish to re-organize our staff first, and amongst other things , we wish to adopt a different system of nursing. (Hospital 200 beds)

We propose having for every two wards (a 26 bed and a 12 bed ward on the same landing) one sister, two nurses, a scourer, and a night nurse. We shall have in all about 5 sisters & 14 nurses. Over all these we propose to have a lady supt who shall have sole charge of the nursing dept. Our present matron, a most estimable lady, will continue as head, but her duties will include only the domestic arrs.

Do you know of any lady you can recommend as supt of nurses, competent to organize a staff and to afterwards take the mgt.

The com have not finally settled their plans about the nursing and in explaining the above to you it is with the hope of receiving some valuable suggestions from you--how you will think it will work, or further cd we adopt a different plan. I have mentioned to the com the plan in vogue at King's College where as you are no doubt aware the St John's sisterhood take charge of the nursing. One of our com has had two or three interviews with Mrs Wardroper to elicit all the info they cd to help the. Wd you recommend the King's College plan?

I hope your health has improved. I wd not wish you for a moment to think of answering this not if it has not.

ff19-22v Aug 2 1872, Robert Hamilton, more perfect nursing arrangements and superintendent for Royal Southern Hosp. The com of the Royal Southern Hosp anxious to adopt the most efficient system of nursing wd be prepared to work temporarily with the staff they have, if by doing so they can finally introduce a complete and satisfactory plan. Of course it is a pity that we shd enter our new hosp with so lame a staff, seeing that everything in it Is arranged and perfected acc to the present views of hosp constr, but if there is a "needs be" we must do so.

I freely admit that from your point of view we are open to the implied censure conveyed in the first part of your letter, when we expect in a short notice to secure so rare an article as an

entirely efficient lady supt of nurses, and I can only now regret that the com did not direct their attention to the consideration of the nursing dept months ago.

Three members of te com did however go up to London two months ago and had interviews with Sir Francis Hicks and Mrs W and since then Mr Lawrence one of the three has had several conversations with Mrs W about the nursing. This lady partly promised to come down and to see the hosp and advise with the com, but her many engagements we presume have prevented her so far.

We cannot unfortunately postpone our transfer to the new bldgs, beyond a month, the inconveniences attending the working of the old bldg have become so great.

Now to answer your question as you have kindly invited me to try you again.

Your first question is how long can you give us before sending you a supt. Of course we shd have to wait your time and carry on in the new bldg the same nursing in the meanwhile, which is in force at the old, without you cd send some lady down to consult with the com and advise how the nursing shd be conducted in the interim.

It is not merely the lady supt that we require, but the sisters and nurses under her wd have to be procured as there are very few of the present ones who cd be moulded into shape.

The old hosp has had an average of 90 inpatients, the matron has been with us about 9 years and has had the mgt of the nurses as well as the housekeeping. She is an admirable Christian woman, conscientious, trustworthy and devoted to her duties, in whom the com have great confidence. Her health has not been good lately and we feel it wd not be poss for her to undertake unaided the increased calls of a larger hosp. We therefore propose dividing the duties and whilst she still remains the matron and nominally te head, her duties will be 'limited' to the housekeeping and admin depts, analogous I presume toe duties of the steward in a ... [more]

ff23-24v Aug 19 1872, Sydney H. Waterlow, have decided on Miss Hill for the Asylum Infirmary matron. I delayed replying to your letter until I had seen Mr Hy BC and until after the board meeting this aft.

I first saw Miss Hill about a fortnight since a day or two after she came to Highgate. I had a long conversation with her yesterday and came to the conc that under all the circs and balancing the advantages and disadvantages in each case, Miss Hill wd be better suited for the post of matron of our inf to succeed Miss Torrance than Miss Barclay. I think I may say that both Mr HBC and Miss Torrance concur with me in this opinion.

At the board meeting today I made a formal app for Miss Hill to be apptd and having fully explained the advantages of having a matron who had been prepared in the tr sch and who wd continue the same system of nursing that Miss T. had so successfully inaugurated, all the managers present expressed a wish that Miss

Hill shd be appointed on the 2nd Sept, the day named for the election .

I am going abroad on Sat and shall not be present at the ext meeting of the managers, but I have every reason to believe that the bd will appoint Miss Hill.

Thanking you for the great interest you have taken in helping me to secure an efficient successor to Miss Torrance.

ff25-26v Aug 30, E. Norris to Lady Verney, looking for infirmary supt. (£70, board, laundress, furnished apt.!) does not need to be a nurse, Abbey House embossed, Mrs E.G. Norris, Stoke Bishop

ff27-28v Sat [1865-72], Edith [Norris] to Beatrice, please thank Lady Verney, had not meant a Nightingale supt.

ff29-30 Sept. 7, B.S.L. [Lushington] Oakham Park, Woking Station, Surrey re Emma Halford who had been at Koulali now applying for Bristol matronship

ff31-32 Sept 19 1872, Robert Hamilton have arranged with Misses Myles who head the Deaconess Inst'n in town. They had experience at Kaiserswerth and elsewhere

ff33-33v Jan 10 1873, Quetelet, (in French) new years greetings, pleased she's received the books he sent & sending more--also greetings to Farr

initialed note, f34, pencil, black-edged paper

### **f34**

Jan 26/73

[13:396]

A wise man says that true knowledge of anything whether in heaven or on earth can only be gained by a true love of the Ideal in it - that is, *of the best that we can do now*  
 Forgive me, dear Miss Beresford. Do you, think that you have the true love of the *best* in Nursing?

[This is a question I ask of myself daily in all I do. Do not think me governess=ing]-

It is a question wh: each one of us can only ask of & answer to herself. F.N. **[end]**

f35 Jan 30 1873 ? Summary of cases attended in the Liverpool Workhouse Lying-in for yr. ending 31 Dec 1872 by J.H. Barnes

ff36-37v Jan 31 1873, Frances de Bunsen, 18 Waldhorn Strasse, Carlsruhe, Baden re further training for Miss Machin of Quebec, gives her background. My dear Florence, I have for some time wished to write to you, but have refrained as judging it unfair to

give you the trouble of reading an extra letter, which had no other object than to assure you that your image continued vivid in the mind of an old friend, whose thoughts and prayers cease not to float around you. But I have now a plea for addressing you, in the cause of person to whom your counsel and sanction or encouragement would be of essential service.

Miss Machin of Quebec was brought to the attention of myself and daughters by having made (in October last) through German friends an appeal to the committee of the *FrauenVerein* for care of the sick and wounded (to which my daughter Emilie belongs) for admission to the theoretical course of instruction arranged for such as desire to become qualified as sick nurses. She has in consequence followed the course with approbation of the surgeons and physicians who gave instruction and has resided for the last three months in a small hospital in this place, taking a share in the nursing of the patients, but her wish would be to go through the far more complete course of training with a residence in St Thomas' Hospital in London would furnish: the reply, however, to an application to Mrs W was that no vacancy would offer until the autumn.

It is self-evident that Miss Machin's having been directed to Germany for her training and final establishment as lady superintendent of a hospital has been a mistake, and that though her time here has not been lost, it is not and cannot be improved to the best advantage anywhere but in England. Thus I am induced to ask for a kind suggestion *from you* whether she should direct her course, so as to make a step in progress and thus seek to interest you in her favour, as being strongly impressed with her personal qualities and the seriousness and reality of her devotedness to the calling which she wishes to follow through life. The questions addressed to you would be twofold: first, where Miss Machin could go for her further training *now* or *as soon as possible* (not to lose the greater part of a year in waiting for the chance of admission at St Thomas hospital) secondly, whether after receiving such English training, she might hope for a situation as lady superintendent in England. To her native city of Quebec she would not be without a good chance of such an appointment, but the number of opportunities is small compared to those offered in England. (For such a situation in Germany, she is not fitted, as being a mere beginner in the use of the language).

She is a daughter of a clergyman of the Church of England and was for 2 years at the head of a school for young ladies at Ottawa, but has preferred to devote herself to the care of the sick, with the wish, if possible, to introduce skilled nurses into the Canadian hospitals.

She is known to Lady Macdonald, the wife of the English governor of Canada, and could from her and other ladies obtain letters of introduction or references if desired.

In conclusion, my dear friend, I take much interest in Miss Machin, and fully expect that she will do credit to the record, having had opportunity of forming an opinion of her in the first instance seeing her ten days residence as an inmate in my house into which I invited her while some preparation was being made in the wretched receptacle

she accepted in the hosp, on the strength of the respect infused by her countenance and manners. Her age *I suppose* to be verging on 30.

Many wd be the questions I shd like to make about not your health, but your capability of bearing up under the weight of life and the high and varied interest for which you have ever laboured, but I cannot ask an account and must be satisfied to know that with your life the power of beneficent action has been hitherto mercifully continued to you. You will like to be told that a wonderful degree of health has been continued to my extreme old age, that I am cared for by 2 incomparable daughters a habitual inmates, and cheered by the presence of 5 Sternburg grand ch growing up and flourishing around me to say nothing of the more distant and numerous treasures.

Every our affectionate old friend Frances de Bunsen

ff38-39v Henry Wilson, Whitley Hill, Reading?, embossed asking for advice re training nurses for private & parochial nursing

ff40-41v Feb 22 1873, Annie Pappe, Royal Infirmary, telling FN how she's getting on, so thankful for her training

f42-48 Feb 26 [1873], Miss Elizabeth Hobson, 6 East 17th St, New York, telling FN of progress towards setting up nurse training at Bellevue hospital & asking if she can recommend a supt. The one they had in mind had her salary raised to \$1000 to keep her! Want an angel in human form, "extremely tolerant" in matters of religion, also in Johns Hopkins cat Box 84

ff49-50 Feb 28 1873, Rebecca Miller, Highgate Infirmary, Upper Holloway, thanks for offer of holiday at Embley

ff51-51v March 3, Mrs Hicks, Toddington, Dunstable, Bedfordshire, looking for work

ff52-52v no date, Mrs Hicks, thanks FN for sending rules for training school, thanks for kind letter, does not think she is sufficiently strong to undertake the duties of a nurse. Toddington, Dunstable, Beds

ff53-54v Mar 28 1873 Frances de Bunsen, might her daughter visit FN & maybe present Miss Machin while staying in London? {MG: includes a lovely description of FN's work: "to carry on the life which seems a thread but which draws with it a mighty cable of force to remove masses of misery"} Could I but compress into one word strong enough to utter the "paventoso speme" with which I crave for you the degree of comparative strength of comparative ease with which for the sake of suffering humanity you are content to carry on the life which seems a thread, but which draws with it a mighty cable, of force to remove masses of misery! May g God speed all your efforts for good, by His especial blessing! Prays

ever...

ff55-57 incoming, pencil from Nightingale Home Wed April Miss Constance Stapleton [1873] April 2

initialed note, f57, pen

**f57**

{archivist:} [Ap. 8? 1873]

**[13:319]**

My dear Miss Lemon

I have a note from  
Mr. Croft. about Miss Barclay

He is very anxious to  
See you -

He asks: *could* you come  
to him (61 Brook St.)  
*before 2 o'clock* tomorrow -

If you will kindly name  
your own hour, I will  
write him a note -

F.N.

f58 pencil note by A. Lemon [?Ap 8 1873]

ff59-62v April 21 [1873], Henry Wilson, Tiverton great need for nurses; scarcely any district/parish nurses at all embossed. I am exceedingly obliged for your kind and valuable letter --only regret that ..illness shd have been a cause for its delay in addition to the great press of work wh I am ... Miss Baster has been with us some 18 months or more. She was a pupil of yours and she is our lady supt with a kind of superior nurse under her to take charge of linen and ...We very much like Miss Baster altho at first she was over;;

ff63-66 typed copy of signed letter

**f63** {archivist:} Original belongs to Mrs. Boulton, published in *Celebrate the Century 1898-1998* 101-02 **[9:976-77]**

COPY

35 S. St. May 2/73.

My dear Miss Leighton,

I am sure that you well know the interest I feel in the  
career & prospects of success or failure, in the highest as well  
as

the ordinary sense, of every one of our flock- & will not doubt  
that my delay in answering yours has only risen from the always almost  
over-

whelming pressure of business & illness upon me - & also - must I  
say it? - from the great difficulty of saying anything which will

be at once true to experience and to God - and not what will seem cold to you - & the almost impossibility of giving you advice personally, as you ask, because, while these Indian Missions are almost one of the highest interests I have - I cannot think but that the Female Medical Missions will prove a failure, if undertaken as they are now proposed - {illeg a typo - Female shd be Female} 1.

Let me say at once, as you seem to wish it, that I do not think you break any engagement to us. I quite understand that on Dr. Peacock's Report we not only considered you free to but wished you to seek other employment better suited to your health.

As far as we are concerned therefore you are under no obligation.

Any obligation you are under to the Hospital must depend solely on the terms of your engagement. It would seem that you ought either to have declined the place of Sister on March 25, or to have declined entertaining any other offer of employment.

**f64**

[-2-]

But I can see no use in (& feel very averse to) discussing this now -

And you will be sure 2. how sincerely I pray that your proposed employment in India may be good for both body & soul - & also that I am very glad things are so arranged that you may leave St. Thomas' immediately, as the time will be all too short for you to prepare yourself, by even the most elementary training, for India "by October." - Indeed I was most anxious that you should be set free immediately.

3.

I will say nothing about the absolute self-abnegation, the severe mental training, the acquiring the languages of Hindostan

(I have been now working for India for 14 years & know something of these things - tho' my work has been principally in Sanitary administration.)

that are required for the work you propose -

But I will limit myself to the learning & qualifying yourself in

Midwifery

Diseases of Women & Children

Dispensing

which, I understand from your note, you expect to do "by October." I should think two years all too short for a training in these things.

We had, as you are perhaps aware, a Training-School for women

**f65**

[-3-]

in Midwifery for some years.

We gave a 6 months' training, - much more complete both in length of time under instruction, in scientific & practical training than any Midwifery instruction which could then be had in London. Yet we would not allow our women to be certified as Midwives or as other Midwifery Nurses - i.e. qualified to conduct normal Lyings-in & to detect when any thing abnormal was going on, so as to call in a Doctor.

I have known a much shorter & more incomplete training in London obtain a woman the certificate of "Midwife", "Accoucheuse" & even of "Physician Accoucheuse"-

Over & over again we have been asked to admit ladies going out as you are to India (to practise as "Physician Accoucheuses") - for 1 month, 3 months, 6 months' training, & have always steadily declined.

If we would not do this for England, where a Midwife can always have a Doctor at hand or within reach, how could we do this for India where this is so far from being the case that the very circumstance that it is not is made the reason for having Lady Doctors - & a very good reason too.

But I will not detain you, my dear Miss Leighton, with these considerations which probably will not commend themselves to you now, if they have not already - I will only commend you to our Father who will work out all thing for good - if only we go to Him

**f66**

[-4-]

humbly, sincerely & lovingly - as I am sure you do.

And praying for His blessing on your goings out & your comings in,

will you believe me

ever yours most sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

May I send a copy of a little book of mine on "Lying-in Institutions" for your kind acceptance?

You will find some remarks in the Appendix on "Physician Accoucheuses" - F.N. **[end 9:977]**

ff69-69v May 10 1873, Sir Galbraith Logan, {no address} would be much obliged if she would (her health permitting) kindly give him her opinion in a general way on the plans herewith forwarded to her and in such a form (as with her consent) cd be made use of. Sir G.L. is anxious to assist as far as with him lies the local authorities in securing a hospital worthy of

so distinguished a medical school as that of Edinburgh.

f70 May 21, 1873, director general, Army Medical Dept, thanks for looking at plans for Edinburgh Infirmary. The dir gen presents his complements to Miss Nightingale and returns his sincere thanks for her very carefully prepared notes on te new Edinburgh Inf.

Sir GL has ventured to forward Miss Nightingale's valuable notes to Edinburgh, as he considers the authorities there ought not to be deprived of the benefit of perusing them.

The dir gen fears that the study of these plans must have entailed much labour and fatigue on Miss Nightingale, but hopes that the energy she has displayed warrants him in congratulating her on an improved state of health. [so, detailed plans]

ff71-72v June 9, 1873, Maria Firth, {President Of Obstetrical Assoc. of Midwives, 37 Davies St., Berkeley Sq. W. proper training for midwives & institution in which that could be delivered, encloses a copy of her letter to the Royal College of Surgeons. Because of the most kind letter appended to your Notes on Lying-in Insts I venture to address you.

For 11 years I have been in practice as a midwife and have always been striving to assist midwives to a better training. For more than a year I have been pres of the Obst Assoc instituted for the promotion of knowledge in all that relates to obs and for the improvement of midwives."Some months ago the members of the assoc applied to the council of the

ff73-74v Dec 20, 1872 [1873?], Maria Firth, copy of letter to Royal College of Surgeons re: results/implications of the registration of births bill to liability of midwives; requesting certification by the College for properly trained midwives; asks them to establish a hospital where appropriate training could be carried out

f75 envelope to FN

ff76-77v [June 1873] Clara Manning, 2 Effingham Cres., [Dover], asking advice on where to go to be trained as a nurse to care for London poor

ff78-79v no date, Clara Manning, Effington, Crescent, Dover thanks for reply to previous letter. Shall be 18 next August, has given up idea of going to Kai

ff80-81v no date, Clara Manning, Did not expect to hear again. thanks for advice to contact Mrs Pennefather but will not do so for a couple of months because father wishes her to wait. He fancies she will tire of the idea of nursing when she gets back into the usual round of her life at home

**ff82-83** signed letter, pen [3:47-48]

**f82**

35 South St. July 12/73

Park Lane W.

"Another Sub-Note of Interrogation" - {old  
{M.S.

My dear Sir

It is with sincere gratitude  
that I thank you for your  
note & for returning me my  
unfortunate M.S.

And it is with sincere  
humility that I present it &  
myself before you again.  
[I did not understand from  
your note whether you  
meant me to do so or not.  
If you did not, then please  
read no further. And, to save  
you trouble, I will send for  
the M.S. on Monday.]  
J.A. Froude Eq

**f82v**

What you say of its want  
of 'focus', want of form, of  
its 'bleating' properties, is  
of course felt by me more  
than any one -

But it is impossible for  
me to re-write it. If you  
were to see my state of business  
& of illness, you would see  
this to be true. I would re-write  
every word of it, if I could.

In order to shew you that  
I have tried to profit by  
your kind suggestions, I have  
written ~~an~~ this 'Argument' enclosed  
(7 pages; to come at the beginning.)

This is all that is new, except  
a small addition at p.3,  
& some quoted Verses at p.61.  
of the paper.

**f83**

[I mention this: not to waste  
 your time in looking the  
 paper over again.]  
 You will see that I offer  
 this note not as an  
 excuse for the paper  
 but as a reason for  
 your rejecting it  
 & am ever your faithful servt=  
 Florence Nightingale

ff84-85v July 13 [1873], Clara Manning, Thanks for book. She wishes to  
 devote her whole life to the poor.

F86 initialed note, pen & pencil

**f86**

Please ask at what hours  
 & on what days  
 Dr. Liebreich, the Ophthalmic  
 Surgeon sees his  
 Out= Patients -  
 F.N.

22/7/73

{reply surrounding FN initials & date:}  
 every day except Saturday  
 from 3 to 5 pm

ff87-87v July 29 1873, Sir? Francis Hicks, Treasurer's Office, St. Thomas'  
 Hospital, S.E., has sent the report of the building committee by book post

ff88-89v Clara Manning, 35 Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill, now that she's  
 home papa can't bear the thought of her going away so she's dropped the  
 subject & hopes he'll be more amenable in a couple of months.

ff90-93 Sept. 26 1873, C.H. Fasson, Esq Surgeon General, Superintendent,  
 Royal Inf'y Edinburgh, re Miss Barclay's health, just returned from  
 interview with Dr John Brown; Pringle informed him that reports recd from  
 Cornwall were anything but satisfactory and he thinking of writing Miss  
 Barclay "begging her not to think of resuming her labours here until her  
 health should be fully re-established" but Brown advises, and so he asks  
 for FN's advice; "continued rest" considered "essential to her restoration  
 of health"

ff94-94v Nov 4 1873, Miss Cooper, 2 Cannon Place, Hampstead, N.W. a letter of introduction for Miss Helmsdörfer presenting a letter of the Princess Louis of Hesse & asking for an appointment. She can be reached at Miss Cooper's or Mr Bonham Carter's.

ff95-96 Nov 8 1873, Charlotte Helmsdörfer, thanks for agreeing to visit here is the Princess's letter that was inadvertently not sent previously

ff97-97v Nov 8 1873, C.H. Fasson, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh about how to manage while Miss Barclay regains her health

ff98-98v Nov 11 1873, C.H. Fasson, enclosing minute of plan for Miss Pringle to carry on in Miss Barclay's absence & thanks FN for enabling them to carry on much needed reform to nursing there

ff99-103 Nov 11, 1873, Charlotte Helmsdörfer, 2 Cannon Place, Hampstead, {in German}, planned itinerary for English visit, nursing sites & people - Liverpool & London for sure. Additional note also in German.

ff104-07 Nov 16 1873, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, The Nurses Training School, Dover St., arch: [Liverpool], {in German}

ff107v-08v Nov 16 1873, Mary Lyons, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, She is very sad to see how bravely Miss Barclay is bearing having to leave.

Ff109-10v initialed letter, pen **[13:331]**

### **f109**

{text added to top of letter:} {archivist:(1873)}

The true real present that you can make  
to her, that for which she will thank you in  
another world, if not in this is: to stay & finish  
her work: to repair the evils she has done: to  
fortify the good she has left) - O how she will  
{vert.L.marg:} bless you for this some day! This - & not running away-  
is the true sacrifice to her: the real respect for her  
memory: in her name, if we can: the {cont. at end of letter}

My dear Nurse Lyons

I have wished to write  
to you many a time  
& thank you as well  
for your good brave  
year's work, good all  
through, as for  
keeping your promise

to me: & also for your  
letter -

I shall be always glad  
to hear from you -

But the last 5 months  
have been too terribly

**f109v**

painful in the way you  
know of for me to  
be able to write about  
it yet.

We must love her & pray  
for her more than ever.

The Almighty Shepherd goes  
after the lost sheep -

Shall we not try to repair  
the mischief She has done  
even for her own sake who

has done so much good too -  
- so that we may be able  
to take it to her in the  
next world where all

**f110**

crooked ways are made  
straight as the  
best offering we can make  
to God, the best present  
we can make to her:

here is her good work  
begun: we have finished  
it for her -

This is what Miss Pringle  
is doing: you will, I  
know, help her: you are,  
I know, helping her with  
all your might -

When I see you, I will  
tell you more - This is  
all I can say now to you

**f110v**

dear Nurse Lyons  
from your ever affecte

F.N.

**[end]**

{text cont. vert. on page, from the top of the letter}

[and she will acknowledge this some day:

God acknowledges it now] the truest, hardest,  
greatest offering of your love to her.

And if I give up the hope of seeing  
you back at St. T.'s, it will be the  
hardest offering of my love to her work.

-----

I seem to think that she would like you  
to know the truth. We are sure she will  
in another world. Perhaps she may  
even in this.

ff111-12v Nov 21 1873, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, The Nurses Home, arch:  
[Liverpool], {in German}

ff113-15 Nov 20 1873, C.H. Fasson, about Miss Barclay

ff116-17 Dec 2 1873, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, {in German}

ff118-19v Dec 4 1873, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, {in German}

ff120-22v Dec 16 1873, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, Glasgow, {in German}

ff123-25 arch: [Dec 1873], C.H. Fasson, rumours about Miss Barclay, unhappy  
craving for narcotics?

ff126-26v Dec 22 1873, C.H. Fasson, Miss Barclay's official resignation  
conveyed by Bonham Carter

ff127-28 n.d., Charlotte Helmsdorfer, thanks for flowers, she's been  
accepted at Highgate, in English

ff129-33 Dec 24 1873, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, {in German} & 2 other letters  
undated

**ff134-35v** signed letter, pencil

**f134**

{archivist: (1873)} **[13:331]**

Dear Nurse Monk

I do most cordially thank  
you from the bottom of my  
heart for your good year's

work, your ever-ready help  
at a pinch -

I know how trusty & orderly  
your Ward Management is:  
how clever & careful your  
nursing of the Patients -

But may I say a word  
to you? You would not  
think me faithful if I  
did not -

If we have not self=denial

**f134v**

- and what a terrible example  
of this we have had before  
us in one very dear to us all!
- if we cannot resist the  
temptations of eating & drinking
- how can our work be  
acceptable to God or man?
- how can we work for Good  
for those we are in charge  
of?

Indeed, we may say that  
the better our work in  
other things, the worse  
our influence upon others -  
is it not so?

**f135**

Go thou & do likewise:  
is more than any thing else:  
~~the influence~~ what a  
Head Nurse's work says:

Shall it be: Go thou  
& do likewise for mischief  
or for good: like me  
in my self-indulgence &  
yielding to miserable  
flesh: temptations: or like  
me in nobly carrying on  
my charge, without guile  
in the eyes of God or man?

Dear Nurse Monk: think  
of this before it is too late:

will not you? - you cannot

**f135v**

think how my heart bleeds  
while I write this that  
I cannot praise you all  
through: because I  
admire your work so  
much -

Shall we not pray together  
that this time next year  
God may be able to  
thank you altogether?

Believe me  
your anxious affectionate  
Florence Nightingale

incomplete letter to FN 11 Jan 1874, f136, pen

ff136-37 Jan 11 1874, Annie Papps, thanks for Xmas gifts and for sympathy  
re death of Miss Leighton at sea, sends sympathy for FN in her own loss

ff138-40v Jan 21 1874, Charlotte Helmsdorfer, Highgate, {in German}  
typed copy of signed letter, f147

ff141-46 Minnie Otway, Hon. Secretary, Belfast Nurses Home & Training  
School, Green View, Dunmurry, Co. Antrim, sending last report re Home &  
Training School for nurses for FN's advice

**f147**

COPY                   35 South St.  
                          Park Lane, W.  
                          Jan. 28/74

Dear Madam,

I have sent down to Norwood to-day to enquire after our dear  
Mrs. Bracebridge in consequence of your kind note: but cannot  
help thanking you for it, & begging for further news - sad tho' it is.

She was more than mother to me: and oh that I cannot be  
daughter to her - now -

in great dorow {a typo in mf version, shd be sorrow}

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

**ff151-53** Feb 1 1874, Miss Otway, thanks for letter of advice re Belfast  
Nurses Home & Training School promising to let FN know how they get on

**Ff154-55** typed copy of signed letter

**f154**

COPY

Embley

Romsey

Feb. 2/74

My dear Madam

How can I thank you for your letters about dear Mrs. Bracebridge?

I do not wish to trouble any one more with me yet. But perhaps some day some one will be so kind as to write me fuller particulars of her last months -

Or perhaps when I return to London. I might see Mrs. Dee. (I have come down here to be with my poor mother)

I suppose that Mrs. Bracebridge will be buried by her husband. What should I have been without her? And what would many have been without her? -

To one living with her as I did once, she was totally unlike any one else that I have ever known: as unlike as a picture of a sunny scene is to sunshine with its light & warmth: or as this February lamp we call our sun is to her own Sun of the East in Palestine -

It is to me like the parting with my past: but for her it is nothing but joy: hers was faith: real sympathy with God. And her resurrection: but she would not like me to say it: so I can only think that Saturday morning as of the first time I saw - with her - but this is but a pale likeness of her rising again - the Sun spring out of Eastern seas - not with the chill of an English dawn - rejoicing to run his course in the glory of God. Hers was "another dawn than ours" -

**f155**

[-2-]

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

Such Christian humility! excepting my dear Father: I think I never knew any one so really humble. And with her: the most active mind & heart, & buoyant nature that almost could be conceived, it was the more remarkable.

May God be with us

Yours ever faithfully

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Mrs. Compton

signed letter, ff156-59v, pencil, black-edged paper, red underling

**f156**

Wellow School Embley

Feb 2/74

Dear Mr. Empson

I have received the enclosed from Beatrice  
this morning.

And I can only re-echo what she says  
that we must ask you first to decide  
whether we are to accept the change of site  
& make the needful alterations in the plans  
to have the best building possible

**f156v**

upon the new site  
or whether you see any desirableness or  
possibility in persuading the Board  
to go back to the former site  
the considerations being which site  
together with the building it will allow of  
will give on the whole the best  
School-building.

**f157**

I will therefore postpone troubling you &  
ourselves as to what can be done  
with the new site,  
till I know whether it is altogether incumbent  
upon us to take it  
& will only say that I feel Beatrice's  
objections almost more strongly than  
she has put them -  
the new site seems to me so very cramped.  
-- But that I think there are alternatives

**f157v**

which if we must accept it can be  
entertained in the disposition of the  
Buildings & Play= grounds  
[I take for granted that the "Acre" is  
drawn by Mr. Eggar [Eygar] same scale as building]  
e.g.  
(~~lak~~)

**f158**

E.g. [2] [Green Acre first]

1. could not Infants' Play-ground be in the additional  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre dotted line beyond building?
- 2 A bow-window to Infants' ~~room~~ E. windows - (tho' expensive) would give additional sun. W. windows would get no sun at all.
3. Master's kitchen would have to be turned round W. window to Kitchen so objectionable -

**f158v**

E.g. [Pink Acre-]

If we are obliged to accept this:

would it not be possible to have the building as in Mr. Eggar's [Eygar?] loose slip?

The building would not be more ~~11~~ "askew"

"to the road" than in the original

Brook Lodge plan -

Would it be possible to have the ~~Boys'~~ School Offices at the W. Corner of the acre or where I

**f159**

have marked them? off the road?

to have the Infants' Playground beyond or to the S.W. of the building?

and to have the Entrance from the Road at the N.E. corner of the acre

(instead of where marked in the green)  
part )

wh: would have much the same relation to the building as was proposed in the Brook Lodge site?

**f159v**

But I will not trouble you more now:

please return me all the enclosures (including these my own two sheets)

when you are so good as to write

& believe me dear Mr. Empson

yours ever sincerely

Florence Nightingale

decision to build a home for nurses, asks if FN can recommend 2 hospital sisters

**f160**

Please return

To FN -

ff164-65 Feb 10 1874, Ada Bourne, East Bond St., Leicester, letter of condolence re Mrs. Bracebridge's death, calls herself FN's troublesome but devoted child

ff166-66v Feb 12 1874, Ada Bourne, will accept FN's offer of a sistership in Belfast

ff167-70 Feb 18 1874, Miss Otway, further particulars re requested hospital sisters, one surgical & one medical, can't set salary yet, must be able to work under & with their lady supt who was trained under Miss Merryweather

ff171-74v Feb 22 1874, Mary Merryweather, describing Miss Persse (lady supt at Belfast), any well trained, healthy sister not fastidious would be able to work with her. Asking what FN thinks of Mrs Rhodes who is coming to Miss Merryweather at Rathbone's desire to be made matron under her at the infirmary; Miss Merryweather is looking for a successor for herself after retirement

ff175-76 Feb 23 1874, Mary Merryweather, more re Miss Persse, word to her from Miss Merryweather is law so FN can use this medium

ff177-78v Feb 28 1874, Miss Otway particulars about ward sizes, salary to be £45, "we are having the King's College affair over here in a small way"

ff179-80v Mar 7 1874, Miss Otway, {same one now at} Sheepscombe Vicarage, Stroud, Gloucestershire, asks FN to set an appt so she can check out the suggested hospital sisters

ff181-82v Mar 9 1874, Miss Merryweather, thanks for letter re Mrs. Rhodes; she has always supervised all of the nurses & probationers; it was not from her that nurses were sent to America

ff183-88v Mar 16 1874, Miss Otway, can't meet with Miss Bourne in London as planned, now Liverpool; description of authority structure & power struggles at Belfast & asking for FN's advice

ff189- March 17 1874, M. Cameron, telling FN she has accepted offer at Soho Sq Hospital as her first duty is to her mother

ff195-202v Mar 22 1874, embossed Portsmouth Royal Hosp, M. Cameron, about her struggle to decide what was best to do & how she relies on God keeping his promises

ff203-04v Apr 12 1874, Emily M. Gregory, British Hospital, Endell St., condolence {seems like re WEN}, off to nurse in Madagascar in a private missionary hospital, "it has always been from the earliest times that wherever the Gospel of Christ has been preached the healing of disease & care for the body has accompanied it"

I was very sorry indeed to hear of the loss you had sustained, though it be "a gathering to his father's" still the pain must be as acute as or almost as when the young are called away.

Miss Hill told me when I was lately at Highgate that you were away, but perhaps by this time you have returned. I do not know if she told you that my lot seems likely to be cast in a far off land, far away from civilization. A lady recently widowed has offered to commence a small hosp in Madagascar, if I will go and help her. Her missionary enthusiasm has long been very strong, mine is very weak, but it has been put before me that I shall in this way be of use, my brother has been engaged for some time to go and everything seems to beckon on towards- Have you a corner in your large heart for this nursing? If so I shall draw upon it, for large help moral and material. I feel keenly how probable it will be that I shall have a far larger share of resp than I shd have in an Engl hosp and how much more I shall need a steady head and strong heart, but I feel that workers and far abler workers than I abound in England, and perhaps this is the corner destined for me to fill when the Nightingale com cd find me nothing at home. I have till January (I think) in which to acquire more knowledge--A hospital is the thing they want in antananarivo I suppose it has always been from the earliest times that wherever the gospel of Christ has been preached the healing of disease and care for the body has accompanied it. I fear there are specific reasons that make blacks trying patients but may be the discouragements I have met with will pave the way for a higher endurance. I hope some day I may be able to see you. I have been much interested here and have learnt a great deal. Very sincerely yours, Emily M. Gregory

f205 copy of a letter to Mrs Compton 10 Mansfield St, original in pencil, FN Museum 0872

ff207-10v Apr 20 1874, Elizabeth Hobson, 6 East 17th Street New York letter of introduction for Miss Schuyler, President of the State Charities Aid Assoc & founder of training school. I have had much pleasure in seeing Miss Florence Lees who presented me with a letter of introduction from you and I feel very much your debtor for the opportunity you have given me of making Miss Lees' acquaintance. Her past career and her profession wd have alone a



It was brought to me giving me as few minutes to 'approve it as I have asked for hours.

**f215v**

Dr. Sutherland's emendation (?) appears to me still worse - Neither do I understand it

If *S.W.* becomes *S.*, then the *Infants'* Room has only an *E.* and a *W.* window: & its long *S.* side is of course blocked up entirely by the Large School- room between it & the Sun.

Also: I do not know what he means by moving the *Porch* to the *W.* unless he means *E.*  
Excuse me for troubling you -

ever yours affly= F.N. [end]

ff216-16v May 13 1874, Margaret Bothwell, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, asking FN's advice about applying for a position in Aberdeen

ff217-20v June 22 1874, M Cameron, 2 Grove Place, illeg, she hopes FN will not mind her sending Ld Cholmondeley's letters and asking her opinion of the number of nurses needed for the Soho Sq Hospital

ff221 envelope to Messrs Graves, 6 Pall Mall, S.W., black-edged  
3/7/74

ff222-26v July 5 1874, G. Campbell, 9 Chester St., re India, sure she is in the main right in what she says about relative interests of zemindars and ryots in land

ff227-28 July 11 1874, M. Rose Greenfield, Valencia Villa, just accepted as an agent of the Society for promoting Female Education in India & the East, will be posted to Calcutta. Wants to see how hospitals at home do nursing in case it should be of use - does not want to be a nurse herself

ff229-30 July 20 1874, J.R. Martin, re India, offering FN a humble "installment" from his younger of 9 sons, a Lt. Engineer. He'll be having a visit from his old friend Gen. Young of the Bengal Engineers & he'll see what he can do for her cause

233-34v July 23 1874, J.R. Martin, He's so sorry he's been unable to find a sketch of Chinnery's Bengalee Hut, though everyone including General Young remembers them perfectly

ff235-36 July 1874, Mary Merryweather, Liverpool, advises that Mrs. Wardroper thinks Miss Notcutt unfit and Miss Merryweather has been loath to get in touch and tell Miss Notcutt so. Re her own position & when she will take it up. Thanks for sympathy

ff11-12 June 14 1872, Henry Greenway, Plymouth, hospital construction, with proof of printed article "Henry Greenway," "On a New Mode of Hospital Construction." *BMJ* (11 May 1872)" ff13-14. with FN's pencil comments on. Article begins with ref to Galton's address "On the Construction of Hospitals" at annual meeting at Leeds 1869, led to devise a plan where hope to secure the advantages of a large hosp w/o its dangers and the safety of the hut system, w/o its inconveniences. Short description of his plan in *Med Times and Gazette* Sept 24 1870. Since changed. "I have the honour to include Miss Nightingale, who has bestowed much time and thought on the subject of hospital construction, and to whom I wd here beg to express my indebtedness.

FN: And who disapproved this plan.

HG: "the block is divided longitudinally by a central glass partition, thus forming two rows of compartments, placed back to back...."

FN: the back to back construction, whether the "partition" be of "glass" or not, is condemned by all experience

HG: In the main wall there is a large sash=window opposite each compartment, which gives light to the corridor and compartment.

FN: June 1872. Then give the best window light & air to the patient & *not to the Corridor!*

HG: As the patient lies in his bed, he sees not only the transparencies, but can look through his glass door and across the corridor at the little garden outside his window

HG: On each side of the door of the compartment is fixed a pleasing transparency such as a landscape.

FN: Is the man wandering in mind? "a pleasing transparency" for a fever case!!

FN: (The intolerable nuisance to the Patient of having his best light at the *foot* of his bed, instead of behind him- of having a Patient *behind* him instead of at his *fee*, must be known to be believed. It would send a fever Patient delirious. It is like being in a tunnel.

HG: The patient, although plentifully supplied with air, is not exposed to a draught, as the under surface of the bed acts as a screen.

FN: Good. [the only compliment!]

HG: [re the compartment becoming a type of flue]

FN: So much the  
worse!  
Then the Patient  
is not to be  
in a ward  
but in a "flue"!

HG: the entire floor to be perforated

FN: !!!

HG: As regards the oversight of the patients by the nurses, I should say that I propose, in addition to the means already mentioned, employing patrols, who would keep watch in the corridors during a state period, and then be relieved by others.

FN: !!!

HG: The patients would also to a certain extent watch each other when awake

FN: !!! !!! !!! Then am I to train  
not Nurses  
but Patrols?  
A Patrol=  
Training School!

HG: Not only would ventilation be thus insured, but infection be destroyed by heat.

FN: Yes & the  
Patients

FN [at end]: This plan appears to me to combine all the disadvantages of the Hospital with all the disadvantages of the home, without securing one of the advantages of the Hospital, without securing one of the advantages of a home.

ff148-50 letter to Otway re training nurses, apparently from FN but written in a fine copper-plate hand, stylized handwritten pen  
**[13:388-91]**

**f148**

London Jany 29<sup>th</sup> 1874

My dear Madam,  
I have so very deep an interest in your Belfast Nurses

Home and Training School that, unwilling as I should feel at any time & at this time doubly so; bowed down as I am with sorrow and illness and overwork.

I cannot but, as you desire it, do as you wish and put down a few words in answer to your questions altho really all that I have to say are truisms: just as much as: Put your hats on your heads & your shoes on your feet."

1. A good nurse must be a good woman: a sick woman cannot be a healthy nurse.

To induce good and respectable good women to come to your Institution-

- to induce them to stay -

- to keep them in health and above deterioration either of mind soul or body you must give them respectable and healthy accommodation - Good food; and the moral and physical help necessary to keep women up in Hospital life which, after all is said & done that man can say & do for the best remains and always will remain a good drain upon woman's life bodily & moral.

Otherwise women "will keep themselves up" - as within the remembrance of us all they have 'kept themselves up' by drink, by pilfering among the patients, and by the excitement of immoral behaviour

To draw a class into the Nursing career who are above these things-

to keep them above the very temptation to these things must be the very first object of all who wish to improve Hospitals & Nursing generally. For no doubt, can exist -either that Woman in Hospital life require more helps to keep them straight than in family life or domestic service or, that they receive fewer.

2. From my own experience of Nurses Training Schools in reformed Hospitals

I should say that quite as many Candidates present themselves from the highest motives out of the uneducated as out of the educated Classes

### **f148v**

To come for the sake of earning a livelihood is not only compatible with but may be one of the highest motives - For to support destitute relations to be honourably independent is a high motive in itself]

But the highest motives wear off & life becomes only a hardening routine - if we give no food, or not proper food to the best qualities of these women: and this of course happens more quickly

among the uneducated than the educated - and more surely in  
Hospital

life than in any other

[I appeal to all who have any experience whether this is not a  
truism

And I appeal to all who used to say "we did very well before":  
whether they have not now begun to say: they need not say it out  
loud

"we did very badly before]

3. One of the very first essentials for Nurse and for Night Nurses  
if possible  
even more than for day is that each should have a sleeping com-  
partment or room with window & partition up to Ceiling each to  
herself.

And as it is most inconvenient and expensive (if not impossible)  
to

contrive these out of an ordinary dwelling house, it is found to  
be necessary (& cheaper in the aid) to build at once. something  
after

the construction of the Liverpool Nurses Home Miss Merryweather's  
or after that of the "Nightingale Home" St Thomas' Hospital London  
[Where I may say by the way, the less ornament there is, the  
better

would it look]

I have the best drainage & Sanitary arrangements in these  
Nurses Homes is of course of first rate importance: and if not  
well

provided for at first can never be provided afterwards, except at  
inordinate  
expense.

There must be through means of giving fresh air to every corner  
of the

Home "- good warming arrangements -- convenient Bath room & sink  
and W.C accommodation on each floor -- a roomy Diningroom and  
good Kitchen arrangements, unless these, already exist in the  
Hospital-

if possible a Classroom: [as this building is meant for a Training  
School - & may ultimately supply all Ulster with Nurses] - a  
Sick room, and hot and cold water laid on each floor

### **f149**

These things are either absolutely necessary to preserve the  
Nurses  
health. or they save, if properly provided, such an amount of  
labour  
as only persons of experience can estimate.

Shall it be said that thriving, prosperous Belfast, justly  
celebrated  
for progress - in Ireland quietly celebrated for its Medical  
Schools  
& science shall be behind Liverpool & London in securing the

essentials

of a good Nursing School?

4 Would you wish a woman to come to you who does not care for decent privacy?

Would your Committee wish a Woman to nurse their own wives or Sons or daughters who had us care for this? Could she be a good Nurse?

Yet private Nursing is an acknowledged part of your Institution. Or do you expect a woman to stay to remain a good woman or to become a better woman if she wishes for decent privacy and has it not

It is possible for a woman in' the unavoidable drive of Hospital life, if she has no corner where she can be alone and read a verse to herself for one little moment morning to night - not to become quite other than you would wish to have about the sick & the dying?

[These are no high flown theories they are actual experience with poor

hard working moral women and do you wish to have those who are not? by no means distinguished either in education or in anything else from their fellows.- who say to me that they "cant sleep unless

they have a place to themselves, however small to sit down in & read

if it be only a line or two- before getting into bed" If I can do that

I sleep like a top."

"And surely were it merely a matter of health we ought to give them that.

5 Then, most reformed Hospitals I wish to attract the gentler sort of woman - gentlewomen in fact- as an important leaven among the Nurses in a Training School.

And I am far from saying that the advantage is all on the side of the Nurses, tho Nurse Probationers have said: "we don't do when we have ladies among us what they think coarse"-

### **f149v**

This is certainly *not* the highest motive.

But the forming of any good habit is good And this too is a truism.

The decent habits formed in a decent home in childhood and girlhood are walls of good conduct which many a woman tempted to evil in after life, finds it impossible to over step: and so is saved

And what are we if we do not do what we can to build up these walls of good habits to keep women from ruin.

And no one will say - Although you cannot expect gentlewomen to come & be trained if you do not give them a proper "Home" that

they  
need it more than, or so much as, the uneducated.

Quite the reverse.

The uneducated the common run of Hospital Nurses need it more than the Gentlewoman to keep them from falling into the drinking light

charactered, light fingered altogether untrustworthy untrained floating population of Hospital Nurses of 20 years ago. Women wo took Hospital service because they could get no other

And does anyone really suppose that such Women as these will carry our medical Orders if at all as well as the trained respectable

sober solid woman?

6. To sum up

A good nurse must be a good woman and also a healthy woman

And as a general rule you can't have a good woman unless you place

her in the circumstances (among which good accommodation, good food,

good ~~accommodation~~ companionship good supervision are of primary importance) which keep a Woman good & keep her healthy for the hospital life is as the best a great drag on body & mind.

And I ought to apologize & do this for these truisms

7<sup>th</sup> And lastly.

As to patching repairing adding to & re-laying out old buildings

I know but one experience on this subject: til is also my own.

Don't throw good money after bad: build new.

If you build\_ build wisely of course you have a new building build

### **f150**

to suit its purpose: at moderate outlay:

If you add repair on old buildings not even originally constructed,

to suit their purpose: & certain to be deficient in the most essential

requisites of health & comfort you have at the end of all your a additions & re constructions, a bad building at immoderate outlay.

Finally I wish the Belfast Nursing Institution God speed with all my heart & soul and would like to see it outstrip all it's a contemporaries that they may in they turn outstrip the Belfast: & so a healthy race be kept up for a thousand years and a day: to the great good of all sick people & all active women all over the world

And pray believe me

My dear Madam

Ever your faithful Servant

Miss Otway

Hony Secy

to the Belfast Nurses Home & Training School

**[end 13:391]**

ff239-48 July 27 1874, J.R. Martin, enclosing sketches by his son. Another attempt has been made on Gen. Young, but he's overworked. List and written descriptions (sketches?) follow.

ff249-54 29 July 1874, M. Merryweather, Nurses' Training School, Dover St. Thanks FN for any proof of friendship which she can give. Insists that the nurses have not written anything threatening. Miss M didn't want to urge anyone she had trained on the gentlemen in L'pool as they clearly preferred someone trained in London. FN is mistaken if she thinks there's been no one trained in L'pool who could take direction. Goes through the rest of FN's unkind remarks and responds to them saying she forgives FN as she only knows Miss M. slightly  
re her not staying on.

Now dear Miss Nightingale this is a frank and true letter whatever you can make of it--it is written very hastily and with difficulty not being well and I leave it to your large heart to deal with *my mistake* as your charity sees fit, but in any case I am ever yours truly M. Merryweather.  
end of vol

Add Mss 45804, microfilm, general correspondence 1874-77, 281 folios, 52 pages, Adam Matthew reel 33

f1 letter to FN 2 Aug 1874 from J.R. Martin printed 37 Upper Brook St, W. re India, his son Mastin Martin. Yesterday morning as he was starting for Worthing in charge of his mother and sisters, I presented my son your much prized acknowledgment of your interest in his career, and of your appreciation of his humble services in the cause of sanitary improvement in India.

I should not be sorry that, after passing through the college, he were to return to the great field of India, but his own desire seems to incline to the military branch of his profession, with a hope for service in Europe.

We *must* have two things--the Bengalee hut and the Bengalle boat, with the Mahajur's (illeg boat) specially for travel on the canal. He shd be a comfortable looking personage something like the privileged usurer, the Bengal whom I suggest to our engineer. I am spreading my nets but the waters are shallow. Nevertheless, I am not without hopes in his cause... My son will himself express to you how much he feels the honour of your kindness.

f3 letter of Mastin Martin, Worthing, to FN 2 Aug 1874 thanks for handsome gift and expressions, glad sketches useful

f4 M. Merryweather letter 4 Aug 1874, Dover St Nurses Training School, Liverpool, to FN re not staying in Liverpool. I learnt on Sat before your letter (missing) arrived that my unfortunate communication from the nurses had *not* passed out of Mrs [Mr?] Gibbon's possession and will not. The lady (Miss A Baker) is now apptd and so the fermenting state of the nursing mind seems in a degree stayed and I am very glad that it is so, and shall be most happy to do all I can to transfer my duties and resps as well ast he affection these have brought to me, from the nurses, to her, believing her to be a most worthy and devoted woman, and knowing how much she will have to endure and to conquer under the most sanguine view of what can be the circs of her position. I am sure dear Miss Nightingale that however annoyed I mt be at your mistaken view of my conduct or motives --and I am sure you are still mistaken on some points--still--I shall remember nothing of your letters but their *real* interest in the work at Liverpool, which for thirteen years has been the object of my life for it was in 1861 I first took it up.

The point you do *not* understand is, that our chairman was told last Christmas twelvemonth most positively that I was not going to remain and that was long before I had any notion of the work now arranged for me at Westminster. But because the chairman and committee here did not *wish* me to go, and because I did not *formally* resign until last March naming the coming Sept as the latest time I cd remain, you and they consider me "in haste" about it. I assure you the whole situation has cost me *much more* than

the seven months of thought and feeling. In fact, very few women wd have stayed *so long* with the distress I had three years ago. My com knew it all. If they complain as you say that I had engaged myself elsewhere before telling them, they mislead you. They gave me the direction of the inf *after* the chairman of *that* inst and the treasurer of *this* knew positively that I left here this autumn for Westminster. I tell you this in fairness to myself, and can only account for the misapprehension some of the com must have communicated to you by the very much less perceptive state of their minds when their difficulty did not seem *near at hand* or their hope that after all *something* mt turn up, to keep me in a situation of more creaturely comfort than will ever perhaps be offered me again. I never again expect quite the same range of work or equally good business men to keep the work going.

I want very much to get a quiet hour or two to write out more carefully your answers about district work, but this is difficult for me to get now.

Miss Baker comes to me next Sat. With kindest regards and many thanks for your last letter I am, dear Miss Nightingale, yours sincerely, M Merryweather

f8 letter to FN 5 Aug 1874, from Meadowhead, Dolphinton, N.B., from E.J.M. Mackenzie, re asst matronship at Highgate, now nearly a month since saw her, thinking over asst matronship at Highgate, cd undertake all but the classes, stumbling block, no aptitude for teaching. It is now nearly a month since I had the pleasure of seeing you, and I have been thinking over what you said about the assistant matronship at Highgate Inf. It seems to me that I cd undertake all but the classes. These are stumbling block. Perhaps you may remember that when I first went to Highgate in Miss Torrance's time, I took classes for the probationers and neither I nor the probs liked it. I have no aptitude for teaching and have had no experience in it. I have thought it over carefully and cannot help feeling that it wd not be fair, either to me or to the probs, if I undertook what I do not feel thoroughly capable of doing. The other duties such as the clothing, stock taking, filling up gaps as night supt, etc. I cd do. I must leave it to you and to Miss Hill to decide whether under these circs you wd still wish me to take it. Hoping that you are feeling better

**f9** FN note on Mackenzie letter

My talk with Miss Mackenzie was: not so much as to whether she could give Classes: tho' these are important: as whether she could give *herself* under Miss Hill, to help with the Ps. & Ward Assistants.

Perhaps, because she does not feel she can, she is a little riding off upon the Classes. F.N.

10/8/74

**f10** letter to FN Aug 12 1874 from Ann Clark, Dorking Cottage Hosp, was Nurse Clark at Highgate, has taken charge of the Cottage Hosp at Dorking for 2 years now, has given great satisfaction, will send a report; re Arthur Cotton, Lady and Miss Cotton have been kind to her since here; does entire mgt, dispensing, hosp for 17. I have taken the liberty of writing to you. It is hat I have wanted to do for some time but have feared to take the liberty of doing so, hoping you will forgive me and favour me with just a line. I am Nurse Clark that was at Highgate. I have taken charge of the Cottage Hosp at Dorking for two years now and am thankful to say given great satisfaction. I will send you one of our reports. I have heard of you several times from Sir Arthur Cotton. Lady and Miss Cotton and the Miss Peels have all been so kind to me since I came here and in fact all the ladies round. I take the entire mgt and do al the dispensing for in and outpatients. 8 is my proper number to have in but I often have over that. The hosp is built to hold 17. I shall be glad when the funds will enable us to take in the full number.

Miss Barclay was seeing me last year. She says that it is a little model of a hosp. I am so happy in it and love my work so much. ...your obed nurse Ann Clark

**f12** letter 10 Aug 1874 to FN from J.R. Martin 37 Upper Brook St re canals. but for the hope of at once securing something like "a native boat carrying grain on the new canals--the boat owner being also the petty merchant not merely the carrier" I shd ere now have offered the expression of my best thanks for your noble address on "Irrigation and Means of Transit in India."

I waited until my son shd have the boat in some readiness, and I waited also in obedience of illegs of the Bengalees, une which illeg |down" as they call it for the East these days. And now I can hardly hold the pen as I ought to do when addressing you, but I will nevertheless thank you as best I can most gratefully for the perusal of the commanding statement of an imperial truth of necessity. Its success is already assured and you will ere long have raised many recruits who can fairly claim the Victoria Cross for "saving not taking life." this will be but one out of many honors awaiting you, and all I personally desire is that I could be made young again so as to offer myself as one of your most humble servants.

I remain always dear Miss Nightingale, most faithfully and gratefully years, J.R. Martin

**f14** letter Aug 21 1874 from EM Gregory, Convalescent Hospital for Children, Cromwell House, Highgate, N. Dr Rauchfusz is most anxious to see you & as I know you are so much interested in foreign hospitals and he tells me he wants to consult you about the hospital at Moscow I think perhaps if you are well enough you may like to see him. If not pray excuse this introduction. I am



**f17**

Hy B C. I have kept an accurate account of  
"Days" of the respective "Values:" & could make  
it up in 3 minutes. But here comes this  
letter of Sir H.V. This is not what I  
understood (£75 a month") from you at all.

Pray enlighten me. [I see Sir H.V. to-day  
Hy B.C. tomorrow.]

Miss Irby comes here to day for a week. I cannot  
describe the obligations we have to her. I do not  
believe that my Mother would be in her right  
mind or there at all, were it not for Brig  
Irby. [N.B. I did not speak to her about that  
'Parish' Cock's egg: had not intended to do so at  
all: the night before the 'Parish' left, a few  
words did pass about her between us. Otherwise  
Miss Irby heard nothing but from Aunt Julia  
herself who in her incomprehensible way had  
taken up this Cock's egg: driving my poor Mother  
wild. It was from Aunt Julia stating her own case  
about 100 times that Miss Irby drew her unassisted conclusions.

She  
took her part at once like a man: & carried  
it out as only the best women can do. And I  
feel that I owe her any remains of life *to work*  
that I have.

O my dear Friend. What it is to have *manly*  
qualities. Whether we be man or woman. Life had

**f17v**

better not be at all: we had better not be at all:  
to consume life in such endless and aimless discussions  
as we have seen.

What an admirable mode of treatment is that of  
Baker Pacha! When his men were ill, he had  
a magnetic battery on one side, & a hippopotamus  
on the other, punching holes in the iron plate  
of his keel: And the men recovered directly.

What I ought to have done was to have had a  
Hippopotamus on their one side (of Aunt Julia, the  
V's & the Cock's egg) & a Magnetic battery on their  
other: & we should have been 'all right'  
directly.

But it was just the other way: *I* had this Magnetic

2

**f18**

battery of poor Aunt Julia on my one side, & two, a  
male & a female hippopotamus, on my her other: punching  
holes in my sides:

& it did not answer for my recovery at all.

However, poor Mother is as safe - as she can be on  
this side the grave- With Miss Petherick landed by Miss Irby at  
Claydon. But nothing but the absolute  
certainty I had at last (against the Cock's egg)  
enabled me to fight such a battle For  
poor Mother.

I had intended to reserve all this & some more (about my Mother)  
which appears necessary to be said [the V.s knew  
themselves\_ *before they left me at Claydon* about the  
'Parish' What makes it inconceivable how

**f19**

they could have left her there alone with Mother & me!!!]  
 till I saw you as you kindly propose.  
 I hope to do so next week. But there is always  
 a great press of business When one first arrives.  
 And I feel now on my return to it More than  
 I did at the time How much has been taken  
 out of me by the not having had one single day  
 free from acute anxiety & charge during my (so-called)  
 absence and rest. I never returned to London so  
 dilapidated. I only mention this, because  
 you are always so kindly interested about my  
 work. Your kindness I can never forget.  
 I thought both Shore & Louisa in a  
 satisfactory state of interest about the place  
 at Lea Hurst. And Shore was an immense  
 help to me But of them more when  
 I see you.

Ever yrs affly  
 FN

**f20** letter to FN 25 Nov 1874 from Ada Bourne, Nurses Home and Training School, Belfast, Frederick St. sent report, 32 beds, private nursing increasing, matron in the home a great help, signed lovingly yours. [hard to read] I use my last report to you...I am anticipating a change in the surgical wing, placing it under the charge of one nurse. There are at present two, it is accident and surgical male and female 32 beds. I have weighed the question, also the ability of the nurse to take charge. There is one thing to bear in mind, the surgical nurse here is of a less active character than ours at S.J.H. illeg...medical wards are going on as far as I can judge well. The one nurse in charge is giving satisfaction to her physicians. She has 25 male and 28 female med patients, she has 4 probs, 2 on each illeg, one with nurse to each. The small wards I find difficult. There are 4 beds in each. We have now an extra night nurse, she is a great comfort, she attends a bad case or is at hand if an accident comes in or an op. I see more than ever the illeg of raising my staff nurses, giving them more resp and also paying them better for their work. I want to have 6 staff day nurses, 7 night nurses (including the extra). The probs 2 depend upon state of our private nursing. The hosp pays the house for 14 nurses and allows the probs to train, so the change in the nursing staff must be named to the com. The linen is not yet in the wards, great delay has occurred. And the order for the new stamp not having been given, the wretched straw beds are nearly all gone, new mattresses having been granted. I do trust shortly the wards will be reduced to some order, the long waiting is enough to weary one. I don't see how the nursing can ever be what I feel it shd be, it is almost too hard to come here from S.J.H if you wd only know how little I have done since I came and now much there is to do, I think you wd doubt my fitness for this post, often do I judge myself from this point and wonder if I am hindering the work, or if you have anyone more suitable for this.

I do not dear Miss Nightingale wish for you to think I am working

half-heartedly, while here. I will do all I can, but there is no real foundation for our work The med staff are outwardly all good friends to me. but I just know there are 2 or 3 of them who wd be happy if the slightest thing wd go wrong and be a subject of report to com. I am on my guard, but it does not add to our comfort.

I hope if I am here long enough the time may come when we may either understand each other better or grace be given to us to be more sincere.

The foundation stone of the new house is shortly to be laid. Miss Otway is in France. She is away from us for the winter. One question I shd be glad to know your mind upon. I.e. the probs now have to scrub the dormitories in the house. The house is old and requires much attention to keep it clean. The probs are working hard in the hosp and I find to scrub these rooms more than they have strength to do, yet the ladies of com consider it the probs' duty. The probs get off duty from the hosp only 3 days illeg each day ..Monday and Thursday ..class, Tues scrubbing days, on Sunday our service, some change must be made I find, it is too trying for them. We have a nice illeg of nurses, 33 in all, nurses and probs.

The private nursing is increasing. We have now 10 nurses out attending cases. This is an unusual number, all are giving satisfaction. Miss Kennedy from Londonderry is coming to me for one day and night this week I hope her work will be a success there, she is working under great difficulties there.

Will you kindly let Mrs Wardroper have this that she may know of our state. My letter writing time is very brief. I shd tell you our matron in the home is a great help to me, it wd be well if I cd say the same for the hosp. In conclusion I must ask after your health, trusting you are well and I anticipate if poss a visit to England ere long, when if you are in London we can talk over the future. I am thinking I cannot stay away long from S.J.H. With love, dear Miss Nightingale, believe me lovingly yours, Ada Bourne [mentoring]

f26 letter to FN from E.E. Smith, Dec 7 [1874] University Museum Oxford thanks re district nursing in Oxford, thanks for cheque, saw when returned from London, and condition she imposed, will be a real help to the ladies, visits of nurse and re a cat

f28 letter to FN Dec 7 1874 from G. Campbell, embossed IO re her letter re san arrs

f30 letter to FN Dec 8 1874 on embossed IO from G. Campbell

f34 letter to FN Dec 11 1874 from Joseph Guyton, National Assoc for Providing nurses for Sick Poor re nurses in London, map of London

f38 letter to FN Dec 15 1874 from G. Campbell on embossed IO re Bengal Census, trust she has recd Bengal census sent to you and another letter f40 same date

f42 letter to FN Dec 16 1874 from Nat Assoc for Prov Tr Nurses for Sick Poor, Joseph Guyton Thanks for letter, re dissenting clergy

f43 letter to FN Dec 21 1874 from Mary Lyons, Shininggrove Hosp, Salburn by the Sea, Yorkshire thanks for her message, came when she was heartbroken with thought of being separate from dear ones in Edinburgh, her mother blessed her on leaving to do the Lord's work, lonely at first

f47 letter to FN from G. Campbell 60 St George's Square, SW Dec 20 1874, re his reports and obliged, her notes recd yesterday on return from Clifton where boy at school, full and accurate tables of contents which will find you anything you want, always a rent league of ryots against the zemindars, certainly in eastern Bengal; re zeal of Mahommedans of some districts

f51 letter to FN from G. Campbell Dec 23 1874, since wrote yesterday has been thinking of the qu, not to use his name

f53-60 doc India,

f61 letter to FN from G. Campbell Dec 31 1874 re her kind and flattering expressions, will always be glad to aid in facts

f65 unsigned note, pen

What are the Laws in England against Usury? [10:547]

Is interest *recoverable* in Courts of Law *above* a certain rate?

Above 5 per cent? Or 7 per cent? Sir G Campbell

Mont de

Piete {written on angle at

Law against Right side of page}  
Remedies Usury

In Oude when we take over insolvent Talookdars' Estates, we do not pay interest to *their* creditors above 7 percent. But we extend no such protection to poor debtors who are daily sold up for rates of interest *guaranteed* by one Court of 50, 100, 200 percent.

Pray, have you been making 'prophets' among your Hindoo undergraduates, as I enjoined? I have made one. [end 10:547]

**f67** note for FN Feb 6 1875 from M.A. Jackson re books read during December and January, Huxley, Elementary Lessons in Physiology, Quain Anatomy, Rosens, Elementary Lessons in chemistry.

f68 M.R. Greenfield, books read Dec and Jan: Watson's Principles of Medicine vol. I, Tanner's Clinical Medicine parts only, Druitt's chapters on Inflammation and ulcers, Notes of Lectures by Croft for Croft's

lectures

f69 letter to FN from Jessie Gardiner June 12 1875, Kent and Canterbury Hosp, thanks for books recd

f71 letter to FN from Susan Beresford June 25 [1875], Sir Patrick Duns Hosp, Dublin re nurse tr

f73 letter to FN from Susan Beresford, July 9 [1875] Sir P Duns Hosp Dublin thanks for papers and kind letter

f76 letter to FN from Susan Beresford [Aug 7 1875] Dublin, board of Richmond Hosp anxious you shd make a proposal as to the nursing of the hospitals curiously called the House of Industry Hospital, comprising 3...nursing in deplorable state

**f79** JS hand draft of letter to Miss Beresford [13:396]

My dear Miss Beresford [13:396]

I have not I am sorry  
to say yet received the  
Hospital Report-

I wd gladly give  
such help as is in my  
power towards bringing  
about a better state of  
things in the hospital-  
nursing you describe

**f79v**

and I *mean* HELP for  
the first step must  
originate in Dublin-  
Till your committee has  
come to a decision and  
can make me acquainted  
with the conditions to be  
provided for ~~I am~~  
~~unable to make~~ no  
proposal cd originate  
with/from me. ~~But I may~~  
~~say I will~~

Though there is much

[end]

**f80**

~~unfortunately that I cannot  
do.~~

F81 letter to FN from Robert Wigram, Aug 19 [1875] 4 Harley St., FN note in red pencil. Please return to F.N. M & N Nursing. Madam, I write to ask if you will allow us to insert *your name* as one of *the vice presidents of this assoc*, [red und] and in doing this need hardly add that it will be a great pleasure both to the duke of Westminster and the rest of the committee and a great advantage to the assoc to be able *to quote your name as one of our supporters* [red und].

You will no doubt have heard from *Miss Lees* that she is by this time fairly at work with two very promising nurses, and anxious for more, as soon as she can find them.

She experiences at present some little difficulty in healing of cases, being only at present eight, but this I do not doubt will disappear as we get better known, and she will illeg

The lawyers are as usual taking their full time in completing the purchase of the Home, so that I fear we shall hardly be in before October, but our present lodgings are quite sufficiently comfortable and contain ample room for our illeg.

...I hear *Miss Pyne* is in town and not quite pleased with her present

employment.

F83 letter to FN from Helen Blower Sept 2 1875, thanks for her letter, books, arrived in Liverpool, re Southern Hospital, did not learn to do cupping at St T

F85 letter to FN from M. Otway, Green View, Dunmurry, Co. Antrim, 21 Sept 1875, reports on work, since FN so kind to take such an interest in our work her and gave us the great benefit of advice,

f89 letter to FN from Jessie Gardiner, Kent & Canterbury Dec 13 1875, has often thought of writing to tell FN how getting on, in a muddle here, steadily improving. I have often thought of writing to tell you how I get on, knowing how much you are interested in the work. I found things in a great muddle here, but they are steadily improving, though far from what they ought to be as there are so many old fashioned notions to contend against. It has been rowing against the stream all the time. I am so much obliged to Mrs Wardroper for sending me Nurse Crump. She is doing so well and is such a comfort to me. I want another nurse very much and I wrote to Mrs Wardroper ten days ago, asking her for one that I am sorry to say that she cannot send one at present, so I have just written again by this post to ask when she cd spare me one, as my com will be so disappointed if I cannot get a Nightingale nurse and it will be a serious drawback to my work here. Perhaps you might manage to help me a little, dear Miss Nightingale. I hope you will pardon me but you have always been so good and kind to me that I thought I mt ask. I heard from Miss Hill on Saturday that she wants nurses herself. Believe me, dear Miss Nightingale, yours truly, Jessie Gardiner

f91 letter to FN from A. Bristow, Wilmont, Dunmurry, Co. Antrim Dec 23 1875 a private letter, re Miss Bourne leaves us to be married. Asked HBC, none to send.

f93 letter to FN from Sir Wm Muir embossed War Office, 12/1/76 thanks for wishes, brace of pheasants and hare, since took office work to carry out new system

I have got Mr Hardy's sanction to the employment of 1 superintendent, 4 nurses and 1 general servant. The Treasury sanction is all that is wanted to complete the business, which I have every reason to believe will be accorded. This I am sure will gratify you.

Since I took office I have had uphill work to carry out the new system of things, but I am making way steadily in the face of much opposition. If my life is spared for a few years, I trust to make the Dept efficient and *perhaps* contented.

Enclosed is a note which I have just recd from Dr Cuninghame. the S.G. with the Govt of India I sent it chiefly for the generous remark he makes regarding our illeg friend Dr Sutherland. I illegs

f95 letter to FN from Jessie Gardiner, Jan 14 1876, Kent & Cant obliged for letter and kindness about the nurse, glad to visit.

I am so very much obliged to you for your kind letter, also for your

kindness about the nurse. I will be glad to wait till March for the sake of getting one of your nurses. And it will not be so very bad for me as I have entered into a temporary arr with the Dover Nursing Institution to take one of their private nurses for a few weeks. She was trained at the Lincoln Inf and they wish her to see some hosp work and to act as a kind of advertisement as they wd like to get some private nursing in this part of Kent.

The inst has only been open a year and people do not know much about it yet.

I am pleased to be able to say that Nurse Crump continues to give satisfaction and she has been a comfort to me. She goes up to London tomorrow for 10 days holiday, she has had very hard work and not so much out as I wd wish.

I hope the hosp continues to improve but it is slow and rather disheartening work sometimes. I suppose Mrs Wardroper will let me know before the nurse comes down.

With very many thanks for all your kindness, believe me, dear Miss Nightingale, yours truly Jessie Gardiner

f97 letter to FN from W. Muir 2/2/76 embossed WO, Treasury sanction, re Herbert Hosp nursing est, impatient at delay, Hardy, Treasury sanction has not yet been obtained for the Herbert Hosp nursing est but impatient at the delay I went yesterday to Mr Hardy and got him to send a stiff reminder to the Lords so that I am in hopes of a decision forthwith. The moment authority is granted I will communicate with you.

f99 letter to FN from E. Notcutt Feb 25 1876, Leopold re large porringers, pleased and sure Belfast people will be too. I am very pleased with my large porringer and I am sure the Belfast people will be too. They are such convenient useful things I cannot think how we got on without them. I shall often think of you when I see them in use, not that anything is needed to make me remember the great kindness and interest you have shown in my behalf.

Miss illeg writes to urge my going as soon as possible so I have arranged to leave dear St Thomas early next Thursday morning and start for Belfast Monday the 6th. It is rather sooner than I expected, but I am to have a month in the summer to make up for having to hurry off now. I mean to cross from Liverpool as I have a sister there who will see me off. With kind regards I remain my dear Miss Nightingale yours sincerely, E. Notcutt

ff101-06 letter to FN from Alice Fisher March 4 1876 from Royal Inf Edin thanks for kindness, pleasure of seeing her that day, which I shall never forget that I cannot help feeling as though I had known you a long time and do not feel as (includes f105) You were so kind to me when I had the pleasure of seeing you that day which I shall never forget that I cannot help feeling as though I had known you a long time and do not feel as illeg as perhaps I shd in telling you something which has been much on my mind lately and asking you not to be very angry with me or to let Mrs Wardroper and Mr Carter be so either.

I think from what Miss Pringle says she must have told you something

about the Fever Hosp at Newcastle upon Tyne which presents great attractions to me. In consequence of Miss Pyne not being as well as Miss Williams and I had hoped I then gave up all idea of it. But the Newcastle san com will wait for me till June and I have been to see it and well I feel I *must* go and I have written to tell Mr Carter so.

Everyone I suppose must have some wish for their future, however obediently they may yield it to the feeling of a Higher Power, and mine has always been India or some foreign naval hospital and ultimately a naval hosp in England. I think Haslar is the highest for my ambition but in the meantime till my vague dream assumes a more definite shape I am sure I shd be very happy at Newcastle and I think it wd be well for me to go there because I shd be happier and may be consequently more useful there than many other people. I have not the slightest fear of infection and then I don't mind indeed rather enjoy a certain degree of illeg. The work at Newcastle varies very much. Sometimes during an epidemic it is very hard indeed and then comes a period of almost complete rest. Which with the necessary isolation is I understand still more trying to many people. I shall not mind this for I am very fond of sanitary and books and work and have still a profession being dear to me all of which are in exhaustible funds of contentment.

The hosp is small and old fashioned but a new bldg is already planned with all the latest improvements. It stands in a long crowded part of Newcastle but has a sort of wilderness garden round it in which is a wooden bldg for smallpox. The garden will be a great haven to me and with that and some dogs and cats and chickens I shall be as happy as possible.

The doctor who attends the fever hosp is the med off of health, very much overworked and lives out of the town, so a great deal will be left to me as there is not even a man about the house illeg for him if required. The cases are nearly all typhus and were you to see the narrow courts and lanes of Newcastle you wd not wonder at there being always an abundant supply of it. No clergyman I understand ever comes into the house but the Roman Catholic priest occasionally. I don't like to think this is true.

In concl, for I fear I am wearying you with all these details, I feel I *must* go and please don't be against me, dear Miss Nightingale, I could not bear to think that you disapprove of anything I did, but I feel so much again you will think I have acted too much on my own resp.

I am very happy here and Miss Pringle and Miss Williams are most indulgent to me. I shall be very sorry when the time comes to say goodbye for I feel as tho they were really friends. They do their duty nobly here and what very uphill work it sometimes is no one can entirely appreciate who has not lived with them and seen how great is the ignorance and prejudice which they have to conquer with infinite patience and tact.

We were very glad to welcome back our little chief looking wonderfully refreshed in health and spirits. She says she finds it rather hard work applying herself to her duties again but anyhow she does it in earnest. Forgive this long letter, dear Miss Nightingale, but you have made me feel that I cd not rest till I had told you everything. Always sincerely and gratefully yrs, Alice Fisher

to ask a great favour, encloses a ms of intended circular to look over for children's home, as a Nightingale nurse, asks for advice, PS going to Beckenham today, saw Miss Hill who was better but shaky

f109 letter to FN from I. Hawthorn, 68 Gower St. March 13 1876, thanks for kind letter (missing) and donation and generous promises embossed

f112 letter to FN from Alice Fisher Edin March 28 1876, cheered by her kind letter (missing). How cheered I was by your dear kind letter I can hardly express. Of the many great gifts you have had intrusted you, how great a one is that of personal influence. I know you have always used it for good, but I wonder if you know how far a word of your's goes. It seems illeg trumpet call.

I must own that had I had an idea that the charge of the Infectious Book at St Thomas Hospital could by any possibility have become open to me, it would have been far more tempting to me than Newcastle. illeg certainly will not give me as much practice in every sort of infectious disease as I should have had in NO. 8. The cases there appear to be principally Typhus. There are only thirty beds in the house & room for us. Many more in the wooden smallpox house wd be under my care, both of which at the time of my visit was empty. There were indeed illeg

....

Thank you very much for your information about Haslar which was very valuable to me. As regards India I had a very discouraging letter from Calcutta yesterday giving an account of the General Hospital three & Canning Training School for Nurses. the rules for both illegs

Miss Pringle and Miss Williams are everything that is kind to me. And the present arrangement is that I go to Newcastle the 1st of June. They cannot wait any longer there & we trust that by hat time Miss Pyne will be well enough to resume her duties.

Thank you again very much for your letter which I shall always treasure greatly.

f114 letter to FN April 11 1876, embossed, from George Frere, Hon Secy St John's House on embossed Norfolk St. re desire of Council of St John's House sends circular letter issued by Bp of London, our president, states ground on which Council have decided to endeavour to est a maternity home as a school for monthly nurses. Re "a maternity home as a school for monthly nurses" with FN underlining, *skilled* MIDWIFERY (~~monthly~~) nurses among the POOR is quite as much felt as the want of ordinary sick nurses.

f116 envelope with notes by FN on:

*Proposed Lying-in Institution*

3 letters with a few of

F.N.s comments on them [blue pencil]

15/4/76

(letter from St John's House & Sisterhood) Frere, Parry, Sutherland, Galton Jan 12/76

f117 letter to FN Dec 31 1875 from Anna Warder, Women's Centennial Committee for Ohio re dept of Women's Work at Philadelphia Exhibition

Add Mss 45804

491

next May [letter out of order by date]

Arch: 13/4/76?

Draft which appears not to have been sent  
[To Miss Annie Warder? Ohio, see her letter  
also HBC on the back                      Dated Dec 31. 75]

ff119-120, pencil note 13/4/76? arch: draft, appears not to have been sent, but Warder response f148 seems was [13:510]

### f119

No report can give the real moral or efficient causes of practical successes: or failures: & we, like other people, have plenty of disappointments: tho' we try, perhaps unlike other people, to know *where* we have succeeded & *where* failed. & *why* our success & *why* our failure.

I would rather say: if I might.

work it out: try your hands at perfecting training. prove your faults. Not indeed for the world but for & to yourselves: learn in what real training consists: in what the 'flashy' & the superficial consist & in what the permanent & the solid.

*Tanto se ciascuno quanto opera: & no more*

### f120

you will not know the more for what you can be told by us. (nor the less for what you are not told)

but by what you can do yourselves you will know:

you whose magnificent devotion -never weary, never belied - to your sick & wounded country men - burst forth so gloriously over the whole Land & in no fitful blaze during the 4 years' War should now ~~w~~ in peace, well show us what is the perfection of training - patient, persevering, practical training: *feeling its way* to perfection.

You who are the most educated people on the Earth should well show us this

I wish you God speed with all my soul & strength: & that you may overpass your old sisters in England

**f120v**

& then we shall have to work  
up to you:

The greatest compliment that could  
really be paid to any Reformer  
would be: that she, at the end  
of 30 years, should be forgotten.  
because no longer wanted.  
because every body has worked  
up to her work - & beyond.

You ask me for my "face".  
I have it not. It is 20 years  
since I have "sat": & then it  
was 'by command'.  
When I am gone - my work God  
no longer needing here: - to work  
in another world of His, let  
my "face" be forgotten here.

Again: God speed to all our American  
working & "training" Sisters:  
ever our dear American Sisters' faithful  
Servt. F.N.

**[end]**

f121 letter of Dr Heywood Smith, 2 Portugal St, Grosvenor Square, 15  
April 1876 to FN, 6 years senior physician to British Lying-in Hosp at  
Bristol, re stats on mortality; he compares city and country, but FN  
writes in mortality rates in cities not materially higher than in  
country, ref to F Lees, with forms of deaths reported

f120 FN comments on a letter of Heywood Smith

[after 15 April 1876]

FN: Then keep accurate and detailed statistics. My whole book is written  
to show that these causes may exist, but that accoucheurs do not show by  
their statistics that they do exist, still less do the statistics of  
lying-in institutions. Surely you might show these abnormal cases if they  
exist, by your statistics. We did no see p. 111 of my book.

Only these lying-in women at home do *not* show a materially higher death  
he says "On the whole I like your remarks on the training of women."  
FN: The "strain" and "anxiety" of nursing is greater than that of  
doctoring.

FN: If it were compulsory to pass through this school in order to  
practise midwifery of course "men must be admitted." But it is *not*. There  
is excellent training for men under Dr Braxton Hicks the Out-Patients  
Midwifery Dept. of Guy's Hospital.

ff127-28 data on deaths

f129-30 has a printed letter by Council of St John's House for the Training of Nurses, re tr of monthly nurses, nd; J London, London House (is this by Bishop?)

FN: It appears as if this would degenerate into the mere provision of *monthly* nurses for the *rich*. There is a sort of ambiguity in every expression.

f131 printed form Proposed Maternity Home and Training School for Monthly Nurses in Private Families and amongst the Poor, in connection with The House and Sisterhood of St John the Evangelist, 8 Norfolk St. founded 1848; lists Council, chaplain, Rev C. Vaughan

f132 undersigned lectures on obstetric medicine at various metro schools of medicine, having examined the plans....

signed: J. Braxton Hicks, W.S. Playfair, Graily Hewitt, R. Greenhalgh, J. Watt Black, Alfred Meadows

f132v initialed note, pen

**f132v**

probably due to this: if the Nursing of St. John's House is considered

"systematic & complete": & this is "no less" so: it may be considered a

" The absence of accommodation for any Head *Midwife* in the *Plans* is systematic" plan of training to have the *Midwifery* done by the *Sisters*: &

*taught* by the *Sisters*.

FN

April 17/76.

{at the bottom of the page}

But ? for the rich?

36 occupied

& accommte for how many pupils?

only 12 beds for Nurses)

& 5 " " Ladies) are on the plan

& none for Midwives

FN

f133 note on envelope addressed to FN **dated April 17/76**

it would be impossible to nurse this construction  
with only 12 Pupil Midwives: even were there  
3 qualified Training Midwives: & 2 qualified ~~Train~~ Nurses besides  
for the first year: Nor could there be any training worth the name  
Ward Scullery is to do the duty  
of a Delivery Scullery, this, so greatly increases the Scullery work  
not  
to be used for any other ward that it  
renders absolutely essential one Scullery to each 4 beds, Sink, W.C  
&c:

Insert- Not to be used for any other  
Ward - Sink Bath for soiled linen  
jts standing empty within Ward

{following note written on angle}

-organ  
control not  
be borne  
by our average women  
during or soon after  
delivery  
& would  
wake the  
night people  
sleeping  
by day

**f133v**

The delivery in the single bed Ward would not be without danger: nor would it be assimilated to Home Lying-in, as Mr. Salter says: unless the Ward remained empty of Deliveries for a year: since in no room inhabited by the same couple can there be another Delivery for 10 months & ~~probably~~ may not be for years.

Neither does it appear as if economy were obtained by this plan, since the necessary standing empty of each Ward appears by Mr. Salter's own theory to be greater than that of a Delivery Ward: & since, for this is important, if the

**f134** letter to FN from Isabel Callaghan, The Village Hospital, Hambrook, Bristol enquiry for Nurse for Village Hosp., saw her letter "Trained Nurses for the Sick Poor" to *Times* April 14, asks if can recommend one for hosp.

FN comment in red pencil: Where does the nurse board?

F136 letter to FN from W. Muir 28/4/76 on embossed WO re Netley school. As I know the interest you have taken in the Netley School question, I hasten to acquaint you that Mr Hardy has decided that it, the school, shall be maintained in its integrity. Already orders have been given to illeg accommodation

I trust very shortly to be able to make a satisfactory illeg as to the Nursing School.... Herbert Hosp but it has been a weary business to bring this about.

f138 letter to FN from Notcutt May 4 1876 Belfast re est, her place, FN red underlinings

f144 letter to FN from F. Wolferstan Thomas, printed Molson's Bank, founded 1853, 130 Sherbrooke St., Montreal May 8 1876 request prospectus of National Nursing Assoc for the Poor re inhabitants of Montreal, marked answered HBC 26/5. May I request you to transmit to the undernoted address a copy of the Prospectus of the Nat Nursing Assoc for the Poor. The inhabitants of Montreal held a meeting during the past week to devise means for the promotion of such an object and a difficulty which met there interesting themselves was the want of a well defined and matured scheme a criticism of your undertaking [??]. I have but now perused in the Sat Review and I have great confidence in its being the clue to enable us to attain our desired end.

May I further ask if it wd be practicable to obtain three or four trained nurses and a supt who wd be the nucleus for training others, and the expense, exclusive of passage money for one, two or three years to form what hospitals wd you recommend them to be obtained.

Your interest in all that concerns the poor and afflicted is the only excuse necessary for the trouble I ask you to illeg.

FN comment on back:

It is curious that they should not ask Miss Machin when they have

her on the spot: for information & advice. Perhaps this is some rival concern. F.N.

Hy Bonham Carter Eq 24/5/76

f145v FN comment

Would you kindly desire the *Secretary* at *Bloomsbury Sq* to answer this, as you think desirable? I suppose you would send the *Preliminary Report*

(With map of London) & *reprint of my letter* to "Times" besides "Prospectus" &c

f146 letter to FN from Edward Freeman May 21 1876 on embossed Somerleaze, Wells, re her letter, has written to *Times*, *Daily News*, etc. and got nearly £400 more for refugees in Dalmatia. Your letter found me her yesterday. I am running about in Normandy and Maine for several weeks, but anything sent to Sotherleeze will find me sooner or later. You will not be sorry to hear that, by means of letters which I at last screwed up courage to write to *Times*, *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*, and *Standard*, and which all save *Telegraph* illeg I got nearly £400 more for the refugees in Dalmatia. So I have altogether .....

It is mainly clergymen and ladies who help, very few rich people have done anything so something is done both on your frontier and mine but I feel ashamed when I think that you are personally working while I might be sending what I illeg

Any authentic news from your part is always acceptable. It illegs

f148 letter to FN 5/29/76 from Anna Warder, North Bend Ohio thanks for her letter of 20 April and suggestion re success of American sisters, acknowledges much done by women in late war, but much more cd have been done if women had been trained for this work, has heard of but 2 training schools for nurses in this country, Philadelphia and recently in New York; ladies of Christian Association of Cincinnati desirous of organizing such a work

Add Mss 45804 ff150-51, Incomplete draft letter, signed letter, pen original is HI/ST/NC1/76/2a [8:378-80] to George Frere

**f150**

Arch: 25 June, 1876

2

the Lady Superior & the Sister of the Ward.

In the present plans, there are 48 Beds: & having due regard to the number to be occupied, a corresponding staff of Training Midwives & number of Resident - Pupils would be required, if the Institution is to be a Training School.

The proposed accommodation is surely insufficient for this purpose.

[Some of the notes refer more in detail to this point.]

Altho' somewhat premature to refer to the time when the Buildings shall be completed, I have little doubt that should the organization of the proposed Training School be, according to our views efficient, - that is, if ~~not only the Committee of the "Nightingale"~~

**f150v**

~~Fund be~~ we were not only satisfied with the  
 Lying in accommodation, which promises  
 with some alterations not difficult to carry  
 out - to be admirable: & with the  
 accommodation for Pupils, at present  
 not a little meagre.  
 but also with the Training means afforded  
~~they~~ (the Committee of the N.F.) will be glad, only  
 too glad, to avail themselves of its  
 resources in training Midwifery Nurses  
 & Midwives for the Poor.

May I add the warmest sympathy &  
 interest in your project - The prospect  
~~not only~~ as well of saving Lying-in lives & attending well to  
 infants - ~~but~~ as  
 of opening a Midwifery School under  
 good conditions for ~~women.~~ Midwives for the Poor: not only  
 a ~~Monthly Nurse~~ Training School for Monthly Nurses ~~to wait~~  
~~upon~~ for the rich. the prospect of having

**f151**

that done which is essential for this:  
 Fills me with hope.

I wish you 'God Speed' with all my heart  
 & soul & strength: & shall be proud  
 If we can by maintaining pupils with  
 you follow in your steps: & extend  
 among a greater number your benefits  
 promised to the Poor.

Pray believe me Sir,  
 ever your faithful servt.  
 Florence Nightingale

May I add that if I can be of the least little use  
 in considering at any time further plans  
 I shall be only too happy to put myself at your  
 service: I will promise, if it please God,  
 to incur no such unpardonable delay  
 also to be it long as I have ~~been~~ this time.  
 20/4/77

f152 letter of Heywood Smith, 2 Portugal St. June 8 1876, to FN thanks for her letter and present of her book, re mortality in lying-in, still of opinion that mortality of lying in hosps is for certain extent increased by the admission from time to time of know difficult cases, and as a set off against these the skilled treatment of puerperal septicemia nor that its pathology is better understood or more likely to be found than among ordinary run of general practitioners whose practice takes them into contact with.

Very many thanks for your most courteous and kind letter, and also for your kind present of your valuable book, whose value is greatly enhanced by your flattering inscription.

I still am of opinion that the mortality of lying in hosps is to a certain extent increased by the admission from time to time of known difficult cases and as a set off against these the skilled treatment of puerperal septicemia now that its pathology is better understood is most likely to be found there than among the ordinary run of general practitioners whose practice leads them into contact with various contagious diseases.

I think we must leave the question of the proper training of women for a time, until the Medical Council or the govt have decided on some course of action, and some channel whereby women might be admitted to practice midwifery legitimately. Yrs vy faithfully  
Heywood Smith

f154 letter of George Frere June 19 1876 on embossed St John's House to FN re her letter of 5th enclosing notes on plans for the maternity home and school. I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 5th inst enclosing Notes on Plans for the Maternity Home and School for Nurses which St John's House proposes to establish.

We have not yet had a meeting at which the valuable papers cd be formally taken into consideration. But I am sure that I ought not in the meantime to delay asking you to accept the best thanks of our council for the careful consideration you have bestowed upon the proposal, as well as for the kind expression of sympathy with which you intimate your readiness to consider any further details of the project, as it may advance towards completion.

f156 letter of E. Notcutt to FN June 30 1876, from Belfast

f160 HBC draft for FN re N Macleod??

F162 written notes, not FN 19 August 1876. on pamphlet entitled Irrigation or affecting Life or Death on India by Col Randall

ff169-70 letter to FN Oct 23 1876 from Dr John S. Billings, re plan for Johns Hopkins Hosp, asks for critique [seems to be first contact], typed copy Royal College of Surgeons of England (smallco)

I take the liberty of sending to you through Mrs Wardroper, who has very kindly consented to forward the package, a set of sketch plans

for a hospital to be constructed at Baltimore U.S. under the terms of the Johns Hopkins Trust. With this hospital are to be connected a training school for nurses, a convalescent hospital, an orphan asylum and some other things. I am now on my way to the Continent and shall return toward the end of November, spending a day or two in London on my way to the U.S.

Knowing as I do the deep interest you take in such subjects I shall consider it as a great favor if before my return you will, if your health permits, examine these plans and two pamphlets which accompany them, and let me know what you think of them. They are only sketch plans, and I desire criticism before going further.

I am with great respect  
very sincerely yours  
John S. Billings

f171 letter to FN Dec 4 1876 from H. Cocks 19 Edwards Sq Kensington, she responded years ago to his call for emigration. Many years ago you kindly and promptly responded to my call for emigration and your aid was very acceptable and more than useful. We long ago induced the colonial govts to illeg colonization in land. I now ask you ... donation for our Palestine Exploration Fund. I have undertaken to raise a large sum. I do not ask you for a letter for publication, which as in emigration you permitted me to publish. I illeg

f173 letter to FN Dec 4 1876 from John S. Billings thanks for her letter of 2 Dec and 12 sheets of notes on the Johns Hopkins Hosp plans (pub letter), copy Royal College of Surgeons of England 3(1)/Ms 0261/4;

London Dec 4 1876

Dear Miss Nightingale, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 2 December enclosing 12 sheets of notes on the Johns Hopkins plans, and I desire to express my sincere personal thanks for this favor. Your remarks shall be laid before the trustees as soon as I return to America, and I feel quite sure that they will be very greatly interested in and influenced by your criticisms.

The labor and expense of conducting an hospital built on this general plan I fully appreciate, as also the complications which arise in trying to cut off all service rooms from the ward.

I infer from your note that you may not have recd a copy of a book containing five different plans for this Hospital published by the Trustees about 9 months ago. I am quite sure that a copy was sent you. The first of the plans in that book I prepared and in it I think many of your objections were avoided. If you have not seen it, I shall make sure that a copy is sent to you. That at first but one or two blocks shd be built is precisely what I think

But I will not attempt now to comment upon your notes, nor indeed do I think it probable that I should do otherwise than agree with them. The copies of the plans sent you were intended to be kept by you and other plans will be sent to you hereafter. If you have not

the volume containing the five plans and will let me know I will have it sent.

But the next 9 days my address will be care of Brown, Shipley & Co, Founders Court, Lothbury, London." After that Surgeon General's Office, Washington D.C. U.S.A.

I leave London by the 8th inst. for Leeds, Edinburgh etc. and sail on the 16th. Again thanking you for your criticisms I remain very respectfully and truly yours

John S. Billings, M.D. USA

f175 letter to FN 12/12/76 from W Muir on embossed WO thanks for brace of pheasants

f177 letter to FN Feb 20 1876 I. Hawthorn, St Agatha's, thanks for her cheering words and handsome donation

f181 letter to FN 22/12 1876 from Wm Munro Surgeon General on WO embossed War Office. I thank you for your letter and for the assurance of your remembrance of me in connection with my old Regt in the Crimea, where I do not forget that I had the honor of meeting you.

Sir W. Muir, under whom I serve, is anxious that the Herbert Hospital should be complete in every way, and particularly with a small staff of trained nurses appointed with your assistance.

Mr Bonham Carter has had several interviews with Sir Wm on this subject, but on the last occasion Sir Wm could not see him, having been engaged during the whole afternoon with a special committee.

There have been several differences of opinion between Mr Carter and ourselves. Sir W Muir however is quite ready to make every effort to arrange for a harmonious adjustment of duties between the lady supt and the Medical Dept, but there is one point on which I do not think Sir W agrees with Mr Carter, viz, Mr Carter proposes that the lady supt appointed to the Herbert Hosp shd have it in her power to *correspond directly with the Secretary of State* [FN red und], independently of the MO in charge of the hosp.

From this Sir Wm and I both dissent, but Sir Wm says that she may freely correspond with the sec of state provided she forwards her letters through the MO in charge, who will transmit them through *the PMO of the district*. The Herbert is not strictly speaking a general hosp but a station hosp assimilated to a gen hosp insofar as it will have a lady supt and a staff of female nurses, there is no commandant, no officer of the highest rank in direct executive charge but a senior surgeon major, *especially selected for ability and general fitness* [FN red und] has the entire charge and he may be looked upon as *filling the position of commandant, PMO and offr in executive medical charge* [FN red und]. He has a *staff of Medical Officers* [FN blue und] and a *large detachment* [FN blue und] of the Army Hosp Corps under him; he is responsible *for treatment of sick, the discipline of the whole* [FN blue und] establishment, for the charge of the building and its equipment, for the dieting and

*everything* [FN blue und] connected with the hosp.

FN comment: blue pencil So much the worse. F.N.

Such being the case Sir Wm cannot consent to the appointment of a lady supt who shall have it in her power, in any way, to act independently of the *medical offr in charge of the hosp* [FN red und] and with whom she will be associated.

This I believe is now the only point of difference, but I will not weary you with more details.

Should it be your wish however to have further explanation I shall be only too happy to give it, either in writing or in person at your convenience.

Should the proposed arrs be carried out, Sir Wm Muir will give instructions both official and private to the medical offr in charge and will cause frequent visits to be made from the AMP in order that the lady supt may not only have no ground for complaint but have *every support* [FN red und] and he feels *satisfied that all will work together successfully* [FM red und] and pleasantly.

FN comment blue pencil: Are we to take the *Nurse K* business as a sample & surety of this "satisfaction"?

F187 letter to FN Jan 20 1876 [1877] from E.M. Gregory, Tamatave Smallpox Hosp. Bishop Cornish has asked me to write a few lines with his letter which I enclose. Through unconnected family circumstances I was detained in Tamatave at the beginning of the terrible visitation of small pox wh has just fallen upon Tamatave. As a nurse I was naturally desirous of doing something to help. We came upon a few houses & recd patients. I cannot say that they were nursed because *nurses!* were not to be had but they received such attention as we cold give them and many were at any rated saved from starvation. Dr Davidson happened also to be detained here on his way to Mauritius and every morning we spent some hours visiting the patients and relieving them to the best of our ability. Is there a Nightingale nurse you could send to continue the work of a small general hospital here, she should belong to the Church of England, have a capacity for Malagary and be a responsible person; if you know of such an one will you let me know and we must consider how we can bring her out. I am sincerely yours, E.M. Gregory

f188v letter of Kestell -Cornish to FN Jany 12 1877. I feel that I am hard to read.

f189 letter to FN Jan 12 1877 from R.K. Kestell-Cornish, missionary bishop of Madagascar, Tamatave Madagascar

f191 letter to FN Jan 31 1877 from C.H. Fasson, Royal Infirmary Edinburgh At our last board meeting, in accepting the two engravings you were kind enough to present to the Nurses' Home, the managers desired me to express to you their very grateful and special thanks, as recorded in their minutes. The engravings are most beautiful, how fully they are appreciated by all who have seen them Miss Pringle will no doubt have told you.

You will, am sure, have been glad to hear how well our establishment has prospered. For our part we shall never forget that to you we are indebted for as it were, our first start into life.

Thanking for the continued interest you still take in us, I remain...

C.H. Fasson, D.I.G. Hospls

f193 letter to FN Feb 24 1877 from Jane Spragge, Genl Hosp Nottingham, ack her letter (missing), at Nottingham endeavouring to refine and improve nursing of the sick of this town by imparting teaching of our own school

f195 copy of letter of Catherine Were, that Ladies Com of Hospital for Women, Soho Sq has received intimation of resignation of matron, will be difficult to find another, ask her to reconsider resignation 45804 f195, with letter of D. Cameron, 27th, Hosp for Women Soho Sq forwarding this

f197 FN note initialed pen

**f197**

2

I cannot say how deep is my disappointment about the Herbert: just now especially when trained Army Nurses are so needed: but you will pardon me, if not agree with me, when I say that, with a spirit of defiance, instead of help towards the Medical Officers, it would have been much the same 3 months hence, whether we entered or whether we did not.

f198 letter to FN from E.B. Mawer, re nursing in Rumania, wife of only English physician there, asks advice re nursing Roumanian soldiers, writing today to reigning princess to ask if she will sanction "The Princess Elizabeth's Aid and Nursing Society" and use her name, her husband physician to one of largest hosps in Bucharest for 16 years, pub E.D. Trappe "Florence Nightingale and Rumanian Nursing," *Slavonic and East European Revue* 49,114 (1971):125-27.

f200 letter to FN from probationers at N Home, signed by Florence Hunter, Marion McRae Wright, Selina de Lüttichan, M.C. Boole, M.L. Mayne for L.R. Cooke, M.L. Mayne, Frances E. Kay, Fanny Hunt, Katharine S. Meyer, Mary E. Rowan, Ada Booth, Mary Gordon, illeg Shila Viealfd?? Fannie Hallam, Sarah Wilson, J E Styring, Laura C. Wilson, Anna D. Curling, Angelina Reed, Anne Smedley, Elizabeth Dicks, J.C. Flatman, Jane Garrett, M

Add Mss 45804 **f202** signed note, pen

7/3/77

Mr. Cairns

The close smell which I complained of last year & for which you made the pipe from the ceiling of the Ground Floor W.C. has been for the last day or two as bad as ever In the places where it was bad before: viz. on both sides the Drawing Room folding doors: & sometimes pervading the whole of the large Drawing Room  
F. Nightingale

f203 letter to FN 4/6/77 from M. Cameron, Hosp for Women Soho embossed

Add Mss 45804 f205, typed copy of signed letter, published in Laura E. Richards, *Samuel Gridley Howe* 146-47 [8:799]

**f205**

London, June 7/77.

Dear Mrs. Howe

It is like a breath from Heaven to one's overworked and well nigh overwhelmed mind, your Memoir of one of the best and greatest men of our age, and your remembrance.

You have shown his many-sided life as known to few. You have shown in him a rarer and more fruitful man than even we, who had known and loved him for so long, know.

What has been a revealing to us of him will be even more so for the crowd of your readers who knew him but by the dramatic Greek life: and by his work among the blind, deafmutes, and idiots. No one will know him quite till after you have been read. That is the privilege of your community with him - with his unconsciously heroic life. A great duty has been fulfilled in making known his sympathy for every kind of misfortune, - his love of helping humanity, so to speak, - ancient and modern, - his generous and persevering devotion to right, - his noble horror of helpless pity, - his indomitable faith in progress: - thanks to you.

And how little he thought of reputation! That was the noblest thing of all.

The pressure of ever increasing illness and business - how little I thought to survive him - makes it difficult to me to write one unnecessary line. Our common friends, Mr. And Mrs. Bracebridge, Dr. Fowler, and how many others, are all gone before us.

In their names and in his name I bid with all my heart

Fare you very well.

Florence Nightingale

f206 letter to FN 10 June 1877 from Elizabeth Enderby St Mary's Hosp re her vote for Royal Hosp for Incurables pleads for a former St T. patient

f208 letter to FN June 16 [1877] from Linda Richards, Nightingale Home. Dear Madam Thank you very much for writing to Edinburgh for me--am sorry Miss Pringle will be away a part of the time that I am there. But I must not expect to have everything as I would like. I am so thankful that I can visit so many hospitals that I can well afford to put up with some disappointments, I feel that it is through you that I am allowed to visit so many hospitals, for if St Thomas' Hospital had not allowed me to visit others surely would not have done so. And I feel more thankful to you than I can express-

Add Mss 45804

507

I will go to Edinburgh the 11th of August--nothing preventing. And that will give me one month with Miss Pringle. I wish it could be more. But must make the most of it as it is.

Very truly & gratefully yours

Linda Richards

f210 letter to FN June 16 1877 from probationers at St Mary's Hosp Paddington thanks for illumination and books, includes Laura Whayman staff nurse, Eliz. Enderby sister;

ff212-17 letter to FN June 26 1877 from Sir Edmund Lechmere, Order of St John of Jerusalem re an ambulance for collieries, asks for her influence and her name long letter

Add Mss 45804 ff218-19, draft letter undated, unsigned, pen [arch: before July 1877] **[8:61]**

**f218**

Sir,

Tho' I could almost have ~~wished~~ thought that the important object of having fully ~~trained~~ qualified Female Physicians would rather have been brought about by beginning with a lying-in Hospital & also a Female Hospital where women could be fully trained as Physician Accoucheuses & Physicians for the diseases of Women and children at the bedside as well as by Lectures than by the methods which have been used

**f219**

[my reasons I will not trouble you with]  
- yet the object in itself has my so hearty concurrence that if you think my poor name will be of any service I would gladly ask you To add it to your Memorial to the Senate of the University of London, as you desire.

May I venture to ask you to accept a copy of a little book of mine on Lying-in Institutions? I am only waiting for some reprieve from illness to publish in a second Edition the Courses for training Midwives or Physician Accoucheuses, in the great towns of Europe, for which I have all the materials ready, including the magnificent 4 years' course at St. Petersburg.

f220 Luttichan to FN July 7 1879, from St T, Many years ago when I in my old home on Jutland's heath read and translated your account in Good Words of the training school at St Thomas' I still thought that I myself one day shd have a part and place in it, that I shd be able to call myself a Nightingale probationer...has come to pass, re FN's letter to her, I shall by Gods grace be enabled to carry it out, thanks for gift Selma de Lüttichan

f222 letter to FN July 9 1877, St Orans, Fort William Park, Belfast, arch: from E.R. Macpherson, supt gen Nurses for Sick Poor Belfast, sends report of first society for nursing the sick poor in Ireland

f224 letter to FN July 23 1877, from Sir E. Lechmere, embossed 13 Bolton Row, May Fair thanks for her letter of 2nd inst, hoped to hear more about substance

f228 letter to FN from Linda Richards KCH re her inv to visit (again)

Dear Miss Nightingale, Before I left St Thomas' Hospital Miss Crossland delivered a message from you inviting me to visit you for a night on my way to or from Edinburgh. Thank you so much for the invitation. It is so kind of you to see me again. I want to see you very much--more even than before I came here. So many things have I seen which I would so much like to talk of to you. And if I can remind, I will spend the night of Aug 10th at your house. I leave here the morning of Aug 3rd, shall be at the Royal Hotel Weston, Sir Jas More [?] for one month. I leave the 10th, would be very glad to go to you to go Edinburgh the 11th as I had before decided to do. I will write Miss Pringle in a day or two. Should you feel that it will not be convenient to have me do not hesitate to tell me so.

Very sincerely yours  
Linda Richards

f240 Kent and Canterbury Hosp Sept 4 1877...It was very kind of you to write to me under the circs I do trust that your mother is stronger and better.

I was so sorry not to have seen you when in London. In the first place I had a longing to see you and in the second I wanted to talk about a whole lot of little things that are hardly worth writing about, but still wd have been a help to me if I cd have talked them over with you. I suffer very much from neuralgia in the head and Dr Broadbent, London, seems to think that Canterbury air has got something to do with it. My friends for some time have been trying me to leave, which I did not feel inclined to do till the other day when I saw an advantage for a lady supt at the Childrens Hosp Great Ormond St. I shd so like to get the appt. Wd it be asking too much, but you have always been so good to me that I think I may venture a short letter from Miss Florence Nightingale to send in with my other testimonials wd carry a great deal of weight with it. My board have been very good and have agreed to give me a testimonial and I am to remain here if I am not the successful

candidate. The appt is to be made on the 15th of this month. I was very glad that I went to see Miss Hill. She knew me and cd say goodbye. The nurses are doing well. Nurse Crump is in London for her holiday, she is to return this week. ...

Add Mss 45804 ff244-48 pen, draft?

**f244**

*Irrigation & Water Transit* 35 South St.  
Park Lane

London W

Dear ~~My~~ Lord Duke

I am deeply grateful to your Grace for **[10:138-41]**  
your kindness in sending me so many  
valuable observations of your own on a  
subject so deeply interesting to me: & to  
the world. In your letter dated July 31.  
May I submit some consideration to  
your Grace's great knowledge as the only return I can make  
for your kindness?

The difficulties in the construction of the  
two Canals.

One of them that from the Coast Canal  
to Nellore, about 15 miles in the Delta country,  
is not ~~the most~~ difficult: Your Government  
has been told that the objection to it is that  
it would require locks & water, it is on  
the Pennair, into which the Toombuddra  
empties itself: could not they have always  
got the trifling quantity it would have  
required from the Company? But secondly  
if there was no water in the Pennair for  
(in pencil)

His Excellency

The Duke of Buckingham & Chandos

**f244v**

two or three months, were they to lose  
the use of the Canal for all the rest  
of the year on that account?

But why don't they store water? This, ~~before~~  
~~your Grace's administration,~~ is our very  
charge against them. They, like ourselves,  
have often done things by halves, & then  
said 'didn't we say so?'

The Nellore & Cuddapah Canal:

it certainly is a line of considerable  
difficulty: But are we to do nothing  
but what is easy? Your Grace's whole  
life has shown us the contrary. The line  
has been surveyed & estimated over &  
over again. Is there anything to  
prevent its being done, except that it  
will certainly be an expensive work?

It is indeed not for me to suggest on this  
subject. so peculiarly your own.

but the expence is I am told nothing to  
compare with that of the Railways which  
do not produce as well as carry:

As to supply of water for it, it is the continuation

**f245**

of the Toombuddra Canal. & as long as there  
is water in the Toombuddra, which might  
be even now almost if not quite the whole  
year, it would of course be supplied:

But if there is no water in that river why  
is there not? They don't provide it.

The Company did not do it.. In a country  
like India may not the Government step  
in & provide water the means of life for the starving  
millions? Nay, we are not actually doing it: & at a tenfold  
price. If we had given them  
water, we should not now have to be  
giving them bread.

The Company had not an unlimited supply of  
money: the Government appears to have,  
or it would not continue spending ~~it millions~~  
~~of princ~~ rupees on the Railways. It is now obliged to have:  
or millions of our fellow creatures will perish.

I am sure that the ~~undertaking~~ opening of the Northern Canal by Michaelmas will rain blessings on your ~~Grace's~~ name:

it is to be deplored when you had made such magnificent preparations for its conduce that there was any difficulty, - about finding labour for it: Often excuses in these ~~matters~~ things in England amount to this: We didn't do them because we didn't do them:

**f245v**

About the Toombuddra Canal:

it is most certain that the Directors have shown themselves incompetent, especially about the Navigation: but the Government went to the expence of hundreds of thousands of pounds to carry the corn by land: ~~when they~~ might ~~for~~ not they for a tenth part of the money have put boats on the Canal?

But I will implore your Grace not to suspect me of laying down the law, I am unprofessional about details of schemes, always topics of minutes & angry controversy between those specially acquainted with the subject: The general drift of my printed letter was simply this: viz. that Government must, if it is to avoid catastrophe as dreadful & loss as great as this Famine entails:

1. extend irrigation in every possible quarter
2. insist on the people taking or at any rate paying for the water when brought to their fields in non-famine times.
3. Have a much better prepared machinery

2

**f246**

for organizing relief labour &c than at present exists.

It is clear that the means now available are wholly inadequate to prevent wholesale loss of life.

In all this, I believe that I am only expressing your Grace's own views: of the ~~schemes~~ ways for carrying out which out you are so great a Master

That your Grace is in favour of Irrigation & Water Transit I look upon as one of the greatest blessings which could have been given to India.

1. As to the paragraph of my published letter regarding the delays of Govt having led to delay in using the Toombuddra for navigation &c: All my letter says is that "the Report goes on to complain of their having been prevented &c owing to the delays in 'the proceedings of Govt.'"

The complaint, if I remember, was that the Compy, being without the necessary funds, had requested Govt to assist them in starting navigation, & that the delays of Govt in disposing of this matter had led to there being no navigation. I merely state that the

**f246v**

Charge is made: & ~~your Grace does not deny it~~ this is not denied: The Manager did not complain that *he* was *prevented* by Govt but that being without funds necessary for a work of public importance, *he was not helped* by Govt. in due time.

Probably your ~~Grace~~ Government has already reproved ~~your~~ its officials for not doing so.

2. My letter impliedly {Sp} blames the non-extension of the Canal from Cuddapah to Nellore, & your Grace does me the honour to show the reasons which have led to the abandonment of this scheme.

I will take the earliest opportunity that a letter on the Famine to the "Illustrated News" will give me of saying that this scheme had not been abandoned without good reasons - [at the same time earnestly hoping that Your Grace's administration ~~will review~~ may possibly find a way of refuting those reasons]-

& that any conclusions on Famine management in Madras should be read in connection with the fact that the Govt had at a very

**f247**

early date a great Canal work in readiness for the distressed population which might need relief in this way.

My published letter was of course in no way intended as a criticism on the famine policy of the Madras Govt. but merely as indicating the importance of great works of irrigation, based on facts communicated in the Report of the Madras Irrign. Compy.

I will not take up your Grace's time further than by again thanking you for the great honour you have done me: & may all strength be granted you for your brave & vigorous ~~conduct~~ command of this grand war against destruction & death.

Pray believe me  
Ever your Grace's faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Will not the result of this visitation be to force the Govt. of India to provide much more systematically than hitherto for the recurrence of such times of dearth - And is not a development of the Canal system one of the most promising of the means at hand?

**f248**

N.B. I greatly sympathize with ~~Lord Salisbury~~ your regard for the Constantinople "dogs".

But - does not all that we know about drainage works come originally from Greece, & Rome? Are not the Greeks of Constantinople as good drainers as our people are - & better in some points? has not Constantinople been drained more or less completely from its foundation? And is not what they require a good system of outlets & certain lower improvements? "The dogs" are paid for doing nothing except barking at night: & amusing the Turks. **[end 10:141]**

f249 Leicester Sept 18 1877. You were kind enough to ask me to let you know whenever I shd terminate my engagement at the Fever Hosp Leicester. It was five years last month since I undertook that charge. This summer however the hosp mgt has passed into fresh hands. The chief med supt and officers have left and as I did not feel that I cd work pleasantly with the new staff I also sent in my resignation. I am at present taking a holiday and seeing something of my friends, but I shall soon be wanting to be at work again. May I ask you to keep me in mind if you shd hear of something to suit me? I am not very strong and am advised not to live in a hosp in the middle of a large town. What I seem most to long after is a cottage hosp in some quiet country spot. But for such a post I cd only expect a small salary and for family reasons I am obliged to make my earnings a consideration. If, dear Madam, the state of your health at present shd not render my applic inopportune, may I hope for a line by and bye? Any letter addressed for me to the care of Mr Dalrymple esq, East Bond St Leicester will always be passed on to me wherever I may be. I will not trouble you now with any further communication, but remain, dear Madam faithfully yours E. Jennings.

f251 Linda Richards No 68 rue du Four, St Germain, Paris Sept 29th [1877]

I look back to my visit to you with very much pleasure. My only regret is that I cd not see you again. Had I known just how my friends were situated I cd have spent another night at your house. One of my friends has been ill and is not yet well enough to come to Paris. So instead of finding them here I have been here two months by myself. I wished to make some little alterations in the notes I gave you of our

2. hospital and school. In two wards of 20 beds and 20 rooms as well. I do not all the time have five nurses in the day and two others and four night nurses. I place as many as they need there. Thus when the ward is light I think too many nurses a *bad thing* as they often get much too lively if they have too little to do. So I

remove those who are not needed. They write me from home that this ward has been unusually light, this autumn. And that they have never needed more than four nurses in the day (with a woman to do the ward house work) and one nurse at night. We also have the man who has this ward to take care of our other small ward. This he always does. We have four men in the hospital. They are called

3. ward tenders. They each have the care of one male surgical ward and male medical ward, and lift all the patients who need lifting in our female wards. They give all the baths in the male wards, each one bathing the men of his wards. They also carry the food from the kitchen to their wards, and carry the coal to the wards, also take the soiled linen to the laundry. In some ways it is nice to have them. In other ways it is not at all nice. It is very hard to get *sober respectable* men for such places. We have two who are nice and two who cd be very much better. I give my nurses every third afternoon out of the month. And do not allow them to go into the wards on that

4. afternoon. When they are out for the afternoon they leave the wards 1.50 p.m. and do not go into the ward again till the next morning. I give them every third sabbath after 9 a.m. and every second sabbath evening. Only one surgeon has operated for the nurses. But nearly all the surgeons have given clinical lectures. Two of the Drs have given clinical. The others have all lectured to the nurses. If you wish to know anything I have not told please do not hesitate to ask me. I shall be only too happy to tell you all our ways.

I shall probably go to London about the 20th of October (my friends think they will sail for America illegs And I shall probably sail with them. Dear Miss Nightingale if I have not made this clear to you please tell me and I will do so. Yours most sincerely, Linda Richards.

f255 Ruth Owen to FN, re not ungrateful to Wardroper, re payment when she was ill, long letter 15 Oct, cont 16 Oct (nice and clear) with much underlining, re HBC, going to Adelaide ward, will go wherever com sends her, has given word,

ff259-60 Linda Richards, 124 Duke St., Liverpool to FN Oct 23 1877, Thank you so much for the books you so kindly sent me. Had I chosen myself I cd not have named books wh wd have pleased me so much.

I came to Liverpool last Sat, on Monday I visited the workhouse and was more interested than I can express. The whole building is marvelously clean and fresh, and the inmates looked so comfortable and contented. The nurses looked bright and nice. And the whole place though very plain looked homelike. I liked the matron and the governor very much. Today I visited the inf and I enjoyed the workhouse much more than the inf. I like such old places better than places where there are more comforts. I did not see Miss Baker today. She was not to be found. I saw the home sister. But she is

not Miss Crossland. The difference is very great. She told me she wd soon leave. She has not sufficient strength she says. But she did not seem to have the interest in her master that I like to see. She had only been there 8 months in all and had not been able to stand hosp work [wards] and had some time since been put in charge of the home. But was not strong enough for that. I liked the nurses in the workhouse better than those in the inf. I have seen many hosps since I left home and have learned many valuable lessons. I hope I may work better for it all. I have formed many very pleasant acquaintances, and I shall always look back to my visit to England with pleasure. And shall never forget the kindness shown me. And shall always feel largely grateful to all connected with the hosps I have visited. We sail tomorrow morning. May you all prosper is my sincere prayer, most sincerely yours

f263 1 Nov 1877, Owen to FN from Adelaide Ward, re St T, Mrs W, complaint, FN had not answered her previous letter, FN ink note on diagonal on back

**f264v**

I did not  
answer her first  
letter. *What wold*  
*you have me do about*  
*answering this?*  
It is wrong for her to write  
these letters. But nothing  
can be more certain than that  
it would be wrong & impossible  
for us to admit *no* appeal to us  
Much of her letter (*generally* speaking) we know  
to be probably true - *p.p.* 2 & 3  
- I thought of leaving it till I could see her  
But such a letter is *much more* awkward  
to inquire into & answer *viva*  
*voce* than in writing.

F.N.

4/11/77

ff265-70 Alice Fisher to FN Nov 23 1877, from Addenbrooke's, long letter to tell her of the hosp given into her charge, and the work she is trying to begin; she was chosen because of her good kn of housekeeping and book-keeping, that she was trained in a hosp was of minor importance, and she was the widow of a man who kept an inn in the town!; finances of the hosp are in a bad state; Pringle sent an excellent nurse from Edinburgh; got as night supt Nurse Cross from Infection Block at St T, became her asst; and Miss Gibson took surgical wards; substituted probs for ward servants, sent to be trained for private nursing; now going to substitute more probs for night nurses; except a few they ave not seen anything good of what she has done, only allowed to because her plans are economical; but this is such a beautiful hosp and advantages for nurses (no dressers, nurses do) and the clinical lectures to the men good; a pity not to try and est a little training school; trying very earnestly to do, with God's blessing hope may succeed; sometimes despairing; asks great favour; our first Xmas here, asks to write to "my children and me a little message of encouragement that I may read them on that day" I shd not dare to ask you only I know that you take an interest in and are willing to help even our humblest endeavours to walk worthy of our profession [FN evidently did]

After much hesitation and at the risk of being though intrusive, I have yielded to my strong wish to write and tell you about the hosp which has been given into my charge, and of the work I am trying to begin.

My chief rec I understand in the eyes of the governors who appointed me was that I had a good knowledge of housekeeping and knew something of book keeping. That I had been trained in a hosp was quite of minor importance. And the widow of a man who kept an inn in the town was very nearly placed here instead of me. The finances of the hosp were in a very bad state and indeed I found everything in confusion. There were no trained nurses. The night nursing was done by old women of indifferent character who did not live in the house. And the wardmaids who were the only assistants of the nurses were dirty and ignorant girls of 17 who slept in the kitchens attached to the wards. The head nurses and wardmaids dined together and during dinner which by all accounts lasted a long time the wards were entirely unattended to. During the first few months I was here I almost despaired esp as the com were of opinion that the nursing arrs were quite perfect! However I thought I had better begin with the expenditure and if I effected a reform there the mgt perhaps be induced to listen favourably to anything else I had to suggest, and the first quarter to my great joy there was a saving of £300 as compared with the corr quarter of last year. This emboldened me to take some steps about the nursing. I replaced all the tipsy old night nurses with loving women partially trained only but respectable and as good as I cd get for £16. Miss Pringle sent me an excellent nurse from Edinburgh, another illeg girl from there the com have allowed me to engage as night supt. Nurse Cross from the Infectious Block at St Thomas took the place of my illeg old fashioned nurse who has been promoted to be my assistant. And Miss

Gibson who was at St T. and afterwards both Miss Lees herself offered to take my illeg surgical ward. Then a further saving of £300 the next quarter gave me confidence to take another step, to substitute probs for ward servants. These probs are sent to be trained for private nursing by different nurses' homes. We pay them nothing and another at ill scrubbers who do all the scrubbing and stone cleaning but nothing else. Now I am going to substitute for the night nurses more probs. Each prob is to serve one month in each ward on day duty and one on night, to take besides special or lady probs on a payment of 1/6 a week, not illeg them to stay any length of time. Illeg the one full complement of probs is 7 and I have found it such hard work starting the system, introducing so many strange people at once and making rules for them that I have felt like Frankenstein more than once when his monster began to move, for except one or two of the com who have been consistently kind and trustful no one has seen any good in what I am trying to do. And the only reason that I have been allowed to carry out my plan is that they are economizing.

But this is such a beautiful hosp and there are such advantages for nurses (for there are no *dressers* add the nurses illeg if they can do them, all the dressings in their own hands and the clinical lectures to the med school are given my men second to none in London) that I think it wd be a pity not to try and establish a little tr school for nurses here. This is what I am trying very earnestly to do, and little by little and with God's blessing we may succeed. Sometimes I am very despairing and feel as tho I were fighting and slipping hard at every step, but often I am sure this is want of faith in one who will bring all things begun in his name to a perfect end and now dear Miss Nightingale forgive me if I ask you a very great favour: this is our first Christmas here together - will you write my children and me a little message of encouragement that I may read them on that day. It will be such a help to us all. I shd not dare to ask you only I know that you take an interest in and are willing to help even our heartfelt endeavours to walk worthy of our profession. Forgive me this long letter and believe me ever your grateful servant, Alice Fisher

Add Mss 45804 ff271-74, signed letter, pen, original Trinity Houghton 18/140

Address

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

[9:760-61]

Nov 27/77

**f271**

Dear friend

I am sorry to hear you give a not good report of your health. I trust that your life may be prolonged for many years. Pray give my dearest love to your children, if they are so good as to remember me.

About the Trustee ship to the N. Fund in which I have to thank you for having acted and acting so kindly, I wrote to Hy Bonham Carter immediately on receiving your note, suggesting various names in order

**f272**

to carry out your advice: Ld. Lawrence, Mr. Rathbone, Sir Sydney Waterlow, Ld. Pembroke (Sydney Herbert's son), & one or two others: My friends are gone before me: & I have few to suggest: living. I have not had any answer from Hy B.C. Have you any advice as to names?

I have often thought too what you say about [5:485-86]  
 how strange that I have lived to see (& be on  
 the side of the Russian entering Turkey  
 but stranger still to see the Hand which has  
 brought good - almost the last good  
 which we were working for out of the  
 Crimean War: the reformation of Russia,  
 such as it is, the emancipation of the serfs,  
 came out of their defeat; such I believe,  
 is the opinion of the truest Russian liberals.  
 The 'wastefulness of that honest effort', as you truly  
 say, was not wasted. No 'honest effort', I  
 suppose, is One would be very sorry to  
 see the Russian yoke, substituted for the  
 Turkish: but progress coming from perhaps the very  
 reverse quarter from what we expect may  
 come from this most hideous war. [I wish  
 I had been in it] I cannot help

**f272v**

thinking that the Russian privates must  
 be much raised from what I knew  
 him as sick prisoners at Scutari. I will  
 not say scarcely above the bonte - for, is  
 it Baker (Sir S) Who says indignantly, -  
 What compare the faithful dog with the  
 debased (tribe of -) negro!  
 It seems to me that the Russian *soldier*, as we  
 see him now, has the one true mark of higher civilization,  
 viz., fighting for some idea, instead of for comfort higher more  
 than  
 the shopman standing behind a counter, in Bond St.,  
 I earnestly hope, however, against 'Turkey becoming'  
 as you say, a 'Russian satrapy': & will not

**f273**

2

trouble you with lucubrations where I can do nothing

God seems to take things more into His own hands  
(in history) - Perhaps He always did. Only we trace  
more now what we wanted to do & what we  
really do do: what is done. **[end 5:486]**

As an old Village Nurse said to me yesterday  
almost in Canute's words: 'I always tells 'em,  
you can do so much & no more. You can go  
so far & no further. Don't strive against  
the Almighty'.

What interests me more at the present moment  
is: **A** the Indian ryot: so incomprehensible to us:  
the poorest in the world, the most industrious in the w.  
the most heroic, the most secretive & false.

the Irrigation ~~wanted~~: so vitally, so mortally needed,  
so that a full crop if he has one, merely means so much in  
the money lender's  
pocket, the indebtedness to money lenders: the slavery (in  
Bengal) to Zemindars, worse than any Bulgarians

**f274**

slavery to Turks - the Indian ryot getting poorer and poorer every year for the last 20. These are the subjects least thinking enough in themselves

which in your hands? may stir all England. See **B**

to take the opportunity when English are *made* to think by the famine subscription lies heavy at my heart: but my work is greater than my capacity. The care of my Mother & other things since my Father's death have pressed out my life & prevented me from finishing the most necessary parts, that is bringing up to the present moment, two papers, (vols. of the same booklet;) 1. On the condition of the ryot, 2. On irrigation - with wood-cuts & Irrigation maps all of which are cut in wood or engraved.

To my surprise a few days ago, the G.I. Association asked me to give leave to the Bengal Missionary (James Long) to make & read selections from paper No. 1 as a lecture. I have consented rather than let this precious time go by.

I wish somebody would do the same with paper No. 2.

The Irrigation Maps which are very good - materials supplied by Inspector Genl. Of Irrigation

**L** have already done service as lectures.

You see: if people ask: but *what irrigation works are to be recommended now?*

~~Her is map to answer them~~ a question easily answered by you: I have done sanitary work for India for 18 years:

but for the last 4 have been continually struck with dreadful facts that it is vain to try to

keep starving people - people

think what is the good of trying to keep them in health if you can't keep them in life these ryots are being done to death by floods,

by drought by Zemindars, and usurers, in life by health measures {?}

You must live in order to be well.

I wish I could start my facts now but I too am being done to death. **[end 9:761]**

Ever yrs faithfully

F. Nightingale

Add Mss 45804 f275, Draft reply to Mrs Caroline Oakes' letter, fl,  
pen

**f275**

London Dec 11/77

Florence Nightingale acknowledges Mrs. Caroline Oakes' letter. She fully shares Mrs. C.O.'s disappointment: or if possible her own is greater.

There is but one contingency under which F.N. can renew her application on Mrs. C.O.'s behalf. Mrs. Oakes' own excellent good sense will show her ~~that~~ not only that F. Nightingale will make this application, whenever possible, without repetition of statement or solicitation - but that FN. cannot be ~~expl~~ frank as to state what this contingency is. Such an use having been made to herself of the frankness with which F. Nightingale has formerly stated certain of the ~~her~~ measures she was going to take - or had taken.

~~Measures proceedings and actions - concerning the relative advisability of what which info future proceedings are to be done what it to be done next. Mrs. C.O. will see with her usual full good sense that she herself can neither can she be neither no judge nor can she be cognisant but of those which go past of which has been done only F.N. herself & such adviser or advisers as F.N.'s may actual experience may consult. This is self evident.~~

Without wishing in any way to ~~control or~~ limit Mrs. C. Oakes' ~~freedom of~~ correspondence with her, F. Nightingale must also state that such a corresponde. As this can have no other effect than weakening, - ill and overworked as she is - any power she may have of furthering Mrs. C. Oakes' wishes which are *her own*: & hastening her final inability to work at all. F.N. repeats her disappointment - is greater than Mrs. C. Oakes'.

f277 letter to FN Dec 30/77 from Helen Blower, Montreal General with report on Machin's health. M.G. Hospital. As I know you will be anxious to know how Miss Machin is, and I do not think she will be able to write this much herself, I thought it wd be well for me to send you some tidings about us. Miss Machin left home last Monday week for Cornwall, stayed there 4 days, then returned to Montreal for one night, she did not come to the hospital but stayed with a friend. I went and spent the night with her, she seemed better, but anything but strong, but in such a short time we cd not expect very much improvement. The next day she and the lady went down to Boston it was so much pleasanter for her to have someone with her. I have not heard from them since, except a telegram telling of their safe arrival. I think she will be back again this week, tho I will be very glad to have her, yet I hope she will not return before she feels quite able for it. When she was first taken ill, I was very anxious about her, having had so much diphtheria in the hosp, and she was so much run down she looked so miserable and thin, indeed for some time back she looked as if she mt be ill any time, so when it came through I was very much troubled, yet I cannot say surprised.

In some ways it seemed almost a good thing for her to be laid aside for a short time, for of course everything which was connected with her had to be left alone, she did not see any of the com; they are waiting now her return but I am sure I need not enter into it at all, she will have told you how things stand. Everything has gone on very quietly since she left. I try to keep all as straight as I can, tho owing to changes in the hosp and in the household it has not been quite so easy as when she was away in the summer, and added to this I am not able to leave my wards altogether; there are some things I am obliged to see to myself, but we get on as well as we can, and that is the best we can do. Nurse Sealy left on the 13th inst, very quietly, she did not say where she was going, or what she thought of doing, but I have heard it whispered since that she intended to begin private nursing in the city. Nurse Wilson has now charge of her wards, they are all well and are a great comfort. The weather here has been very trying lately, so changeable, it looks almost as if we are going to have a green Christmas; it has been raining fast all day, early in the day it froze as it came down until the streets were quite dangerous, tonight it is thawing. As we approach another year it makes us count up our mercies and reflect on the troubles which have been thrown across our path, we seem to have had our share, but our loving Father knows how much is good for His children. I forwarded your last letter to Miss Machin. It would be useless for me to attempt to tell you the comfort your kind and loving letters have been to us.

May the coming year be a very happy one to you is the earnest wish of your sincere and faithful worker, Helen Blower

f279 letter to FN Dec 31/77 from Margaret Johnson re FN's kind inquiry after her Highgate Inf. Miss Hincks tells me you were kind

enough to inquire after me when last she saw you. I am very pleased to hear it as I never knew whether you recognized me as one of your children though I am proud to bear the title of a Nightingale nurse and am most grateful for all I have learnt at St Thomas's & Highgate. I am leaving this sadly changing place on the 17th January when I shall have been here 2 years. After a rest among my friends I hope to resume nursing and trust I shall not have much difficulty in finding some occupation. I rather incline to a ward at St Bartholomew's, being very desirous of remaining in London and I like hosp better than district work. Miss Hincks said she mentioned a cottage hosp, but cd give me no particulars. I scarcely like to trouble you, but still I shd be glad to hear a little more about it. One other thing I wish to say, that I ever look forward to an interview with yourself. I have often named this to both Mrs Wardroper and Miss Hill and I shd look on it as a great honour, and likewise feel that it wd encourage me in my work. It has been very hard work, sometimes, at Highgate, and the love of my patients has often been my only encouragement. Still I have been very happy here. Pray excuse this long letter and believe me, dear Miss Nightingale, yours faithfully, Margt Johnson [reply is Wellcome misc Mitiguy]

f281 letter to FN Dec 31 1877, from 59 Denbigh St. Belgrave Rd SW, from Miss Tebbutt re her work. I must give you my best wishes for the new year so soon to begin. I shd like so much to tell you of all my work. I know you will be glad to hear I have found great happiness and comfort in it.

Last year you sent me a nice little note on New Year's Day, it is very long since I have heard anything from you. May God's best blessings be yours and in remembrance of those old old times, believe me, yours affectionately, H.A. Tebbutt

Add Mss 45805, microfilm, 275 folios, 161 pages, general correspondence 1878-79, Adam Matthew reel 34

f1 January 3 1878 J.H. Gardiner, Kent & Canterbury Hospital, is flourishing. Nurses Crump, Bartlett, Bailey come in for special mention. My dear Miss Nightingale, We were all much pleased and delighted at your very kind New Year's greeting, it was so gratifying to find that amidst all your large circle and many cares that you had not forgotten our little corner. I am glad to be able to give a good account of all.

The hospital is flourishing and improving and all our nurses are doing well. To begin with No. 1. Nurse Crump keeps up all her good nursing qualities and has I think improved in other ways--she will have £2 more wages this year.

Nurse Bartlett No. 2 has most decidedly improved in every way. She is a better nurse, a better woman and is now strong and well in health. She has not been laid up now for some months. Nurse O'Leary No. 4 gets on very well indeed. She has always a great deal to do, most interesting cases among the women and children. She is very much interested in her work and wards; as she gains confidence is much more prompt and decided than she used to be.

Nurse Bailey is not clever but she is as good as gold and fits in the most charming way with very bodies' tempers, which is a great comfort as she is supernumerary, a most difficult position to fill.

The others do not belong to us and are very ordinary in every way, bye and by I hope to replace them by some ones from St Thomas'. They all desire to send their duty and kind thanks for your remembrance of them. They say that they are very comfortable and happy. I try to do the very best I can for them. The board have consented to give them £1 more wages in the year till it increases to £25, subject to my approval. I applied for the Children's Hospital in Great Ormond Street, was selected but did not get it. I am rather sorry as I suffer so much from neuralgia and all seem to think that Canterbury is the fault. My sister Miss Thomson is with me now. She is to take my place for a week or two till I try a change. If I am in London I hope I may be permitted to go to see you. Poor dear Miss Hill. Miss Johnson kindly sent me the memoriam. It does not pay her a higher tribute than she deserves. I am sorry to hear that Highgate is losing its high standard. I hope, dear Miss Nightingale, that you are feeling pretty well, and that your dear mother is quite recovered. With many thanks for all your kindness to me and all good wishes for the coming year on which we have now entered, I send a new paper with a short account of our Xmas treat.

Believe me, dear Miss Nightingale, yours truly,  
J.H. Gardiner

f6 Jan 12 1878 E. Notcutt, Nurses Home, Belfast. Reports of many very ill patients, two of whom had performed tracheotomies on themselves and others with burns. f6

f8 Jan 26 1878 FN to duke of Westminster? Not sent, incomplete, some in pencil) Advice about his "Coffee House association" for young men whose needs she sets out as "a place where they can have coffee, read the newspapers and play games (no betting) also a place where they can eat & have decent lodgings",

unsigned draft letter, ff8-10v, pen & pencil

**f8**

35 South St  
Park Lane W.  
Jan 26/78

Dear Duke of Westminster

You were so good as to speak to me about the subject of your Committee on Intemperance & to send me your Blue Book.

I bid God speed with all my heart to your Coffee - house Association - it is impossible to say how much 'God speed is bidden by an old Nurse like me engaged in the Nursing of Hospitals & specially of Workhouse Infirmeries - where the young men

**f8v**

Patients, at least a very large proportion of them, come in from 'the drink' & worse, come in again & again from 'the drink', ~~cause~~ knowing that it is 'the drink', knowing that they/ it will ~~fall~~/be 'the drink' again as soon/long as they live/go out, helpless & hopeless to prevent it,/save themselves knowing that they are caught & will be caught in the same desperate ~~circle~~/trap which like the Indian moneylender extorts a higher & higher rate of payment every year and the

Hindoo ryot in the moneylender's clutch)  
~~will go on~~ & another pound of flesh to their dying day  
all the unmarried men, & ~~many~~/some of the married  
ones, tell the same story: we live in  
miserable lodgings, where we are not wanted,  
& may not poke the fire (the criterion/ definition of  
a comfortable lodging is: to poke the fire)  
or even sit by it.  
we have nowhere to go to but the Gin Palace,  
nowhere to sit down, often nowhere to  
take our meals  
we often sleep ~~we~~ unmarried young men  
in one room with 2 or even 3 generations  
with grown up people, male & female,  
of the same family.  
unless indeed we can get in to the Model  
Lodging Houses:  
coffee houses might save us - model  
houses might make model men of us:  
nothing else would:  
as it is, here we are & here we shall be,  
in & out of this same Sick Ward, every man Jack of us

**f9v**

till we come once more & for the last time  
to die in it.

This is the story, told with every shade of feeling  
between tears & desperation, sometimes mixed  
up with a pitiful love story, sometimes  
with a theft story or worse - of thousands -  
Yet they are so far from wicked that they  
will scrupulously watch over the property of  
their Nurse, & even her feelings - & will send  
her word if they have "kept straight" - how  
seldom! - or when they have got work.

You may guess what chance the children of  
these men have - They are as much born to the Workhouse/same lot  
as the children of English are born to be English  
Thousands & tens of thousands will I am sure bless

**f10**

-2-

the Coffee house Association, especially if  
it could be made to include lodgings

[continues in pencil]

What these men want is a place where they can have  
coffee, read the newspapers, & play games (no betting)  
also a place where they can eat  
& have decent lodgings

Mr. Berton says Now, you, drink coffee for the rest of  
your life

Where are they to get it?

f11 Feb 16 1878 FN to Sir Arthur Cotton (Also in draft form,  
corrected in pencil) Discusses various politicians and their skills  
especially in the House: Sir G. Balfour, D'Israeli. She also sets  
out the need for exact facts, diagrams and maps in order to answer  
questions such as storing water e.g. in Bengal, extending the tank  
system (e.g. in Punjab) and extending Irrigation Canals system  
(e.g. in Bombay), offers 5 or 10 £ towards a public meeting to help  
enlist our Governors and the people in Irrigation works "not to  
raise the enemy's devil but to lay the exact facts before the  
Public"

f11 unsigned letter draft, ff11-18, pen & pencil

**f11**

35 South St  
Park Lane W.  
Feb 16/78

My dear Sir Arthur Cotton

~~I have to~~ thank you for your most interesting  
letter & for your several printed papers, most  
carefully read. But we want you to answer the world / not me

Well, now you have answered your opponents.  
 I. May I be permitted to repeat to you what  
 is pressed upon me by the most able &  
 conspicuous men on our side?

Sir Arthur Cotton has answered his opponents  
 [And you are mistaken indeed you are -  
 in saying that you have "all the old leaders

## f12

to contend with. I have the personal assurance of some of them to  
 the contrary. ~~But~~ And

Do not contend with  
 them. you are contending with them not they with you II  
 IV 2 a No two men can agree in  
 everything. And, if they did they would be ~~most~~ undesirable  
 allies, Don't let Sir A. reject as an ally every one who differs  
 on a point IV

3 ¶

VIII the mistake of policy ~~less set to~~  
~~Few people have done a cause more harm than~~  
 Mr. Bright ~~did ours.~~ when he said that  
 he had not verified your / Sir A. C. 's figures, but that  
 he trusted to ~~you/~~ him. To be sure,  
 your/Sir A. C.

He ought to have done just the contrary:  
 he ought to have gone & sought out an able  
 & conscientious opponent: have made him  
 give his facts & talked out the whole  
 matter thoroughly with him: sifted the  
 opposing facts & arguments & then come  
 & given us his well digested conclusions  
 of his own thought ~~of his~~ matured & unbiased judgment,  
 not as a counsel but as a statesman VIII  
 The most efficient Secretary of State I  
~~have ever known/knew~~ used to do this: he  
 used to get 3 or 4 of the ablest men of the most divergent  
 opinions who

had in any way mastered the subject  
 into his own room & make them talk  
 it out with him. Thus he had the ~~no~~  
 divergents' arguments at his fingers' ends  
 That is what Mr. Bright should have done  
 If B & C ~~say that they~~ don't know anything  
 about it/ the subject, but they trust A. What does  
 that prove in favour of A? It is not  
 B & C supporting A. It is in fact A clogged

**f12v**

with B & C. It is like the wife's argument that she trusts her husband.

VIII What we want is: not to convert the Converted  
1 but to convert the unconverted. VIII 2

No one but D'Israeli believes that invective is the best part of debate.

And to vituperate one's opponents is the ~~very~~ most unconvincing argument that can be: ~~but~~ except one.

& that is Sir G. Balfour's: his was the wife's argument. And it did our cause ~~much~~ harm.

Much as we admire Sir G. Balfour, it would do us more good to have one Sir G. Campbell than ten Balfours.

**f13**

-2-

**[9:769-70]**

Now what every one is calling out/[pencil} saying is this

III "What you say/ tell us is reasonable: but

show us the exact facts:

show ~~it~~/them us on a map: & with Diagrams

& don't irritate ~~us by inveighing against~~/ the enemy about {there is a diagonal line drawn from

] Railways when we want to hear about 'irritate'  
to 'water transit'}

water & water transit: show the good ~~don't~~/ not the bad  
over come evil with good the good of water,  
don't hold out a "red rag to the Bull"

"educate us: ~~educate us~~ not by invective  
but by showing us exact plans & what  
you want to do.

show us on a map: you say we are {there is a diagonal  
line drawn from

ignorant & stupid show us as to us stupid map to the next line}

**f14**

& ignorants on a map  
 e.g. how you propose to deal with the problems  
 of storing water -running to waste  
 (e.g. in Bengal &c)  
 of extending & feeding the tank system  
 (e.g. in the South)  
 of extending the well system  
 (e.g. as in the Punjab)  
 of extending the Inundation canals system  
 of water Transit: steam=boat Canals &c (e.g. as in Bombay &c)  
 show us on a map the other localities  
 where what you have done to save  
 millions on the Godavery  
 & similar Kistna &c

~~the other localities, we say, where this  
 life-giving system, could be carried out.  
 can be done elsewhere III 1~~

~~But do not irritate our Governors~~ IV (You **[end 9:769]**  
 IV 4 say they I.O. are irritated) / "in a rage" farther  
 we cannot change / don't attack the Govt ~~we~~ turn them  
 out if we dare

why aggravate them? (D. of Argyll succeeds to Lord **[9:769]**  
 Victory is not to turn off Government but to make them  
 do the right

[Victory is not to turn the govt out but to make them do right]  
 Salisbury & vice versa

~~If you say/ Let Sir A. C. have that you cannot do~~ all this  
 at a Public Meeting in London of his Association: "persons of  
 influence" / ~~because there~~  
 wd join it to have the plans of a Man of genius definitely laid  
 before them who

~~is not time:~~ Waste not the time.  
 will not join to hear a Govt. which can't be turned out irritated:  
 Railways which can't  
 be unmade abused: he truly says  
 with vituperating the railways & the Govt.

[ ~~this is not a party question:~~ ]

this is not time at a P. Meeting to give details  
 but there is time to give us as you say to a "scheme",  
 with a map: such a scheme as can  
 be given in the time & don't let the time be wasted ~~not the time~~  
 with  
 in vituperation is not that bad policy ? VI 2

**f14v**

VII 2 ~~then give~~ before the Ho: of C. Committee then  
as evidence more detailed plans shd be given by Sir A.  
with diagrams

~~of/~~ showing where you propose to carry out  
the respective systems of Irrigation & Navigation ~~enumerated~~  
suited to the various locations. He will certainly be asked  
questions. But Sir A.C.

~~above~~ is one of the few men who *knows*: & can answer questions at  
once

out of the fulness of his personal knowledge whenever he is wanted.  
The other men only

**[9:770]**

~~some of the most distinguished old~~  
get up their cases as Counsel & S. of S.s do VIII  
leaders" (of those whom you say you have  
to "contend with") are honestly  
anxious to hear you & be shown *what*  
to do.

III You say: it is quite a new subject how  
to feed tanks - So much the better:  
that at least has not 'established a raw'.

**f15**

-3-

show them ~~what/~~ how to ~~do~~ / feed tanks IV  
V ~~grant that these men~~ /If Sir A. C. will bear in remembrance  
that if we are old or young donkeys  
~~& that you have 'establishing a raw' in their~~  
~~old sacks~~ / that donkeys are only made the more obstinate ~~about the~~  
~~railways~~

that if the I. O. are in a rage - then all this makes it the more  
important that (he should calmly lay

his

scheme

before us quite as

anxious to hear

Is it any good vexing the 'raw' V 2

Are you the 'hyperbolic funds'? or  
rather are we not 'vexed' by the hyperbolic  
fund that prompted us to 'establish  
a raw? {there is a line drawn from 'good' down to 'raw'}

No: Lord Salisbury "will not as you say attend a  
Meeting" ~~to have his sore made sorer~~ / which is to 'establish a  
raw' Even a donkey would not

Few men would invite him But he would / might be invited to  
attend

a Meeting of 'persons of influence' to have plans laid before them.

VII

**f16**

II What the 'great men' say to me is:  
 let Sir Arthur Cotton show us distinctly  
 work for work                    locality for locality  
 what to do.

Practical men *will* take each work on its own merits, & according to  
 its

own locality

each work will & must be taken on its  
 own merits

river Deltas on theirs; Madras tanks  
 on theirs: Punjab x wells & Canals on  
 theirs

{written in the margin} Ld G. Hamilton: tanks  
 &c &c &c

Sir A. Cotton is too great an Engineer not  
 to tell us this better than any one else:  
 But most especially must he do this, *because*  
*he is not going to execute these works*  
*himself*

~~Don't let him vituperate:~~ but let him teach us.

**[end 9:770]**

x E. g. there is the S. of Se Punjab & Sind:  
 there you might as well try to grow anything  
 without land as without water:

Water there will pay because the water = tax  
 might, so to speak, be the land tax -

Irrigated land is the only cultivable land -

Let Sir A. Cotton show us what to do there

That is a different position from the river Deltas            III

VII

Let Sir A. Cotton ~~give his schemes~~ / then lay the more detailed  
 plans which there has

not been time for into the Meeting in evidence before

the Ho: of Commons Committee:

~~if~~ which there is not time for at a Public Meeting

**f16v**

these men are gentlemen an experienced man, a master man like Sir S. sh "Rebuke a young & ignorant man like Ld G. H. with the utmost dignity - the dignity VII 2 of facts.

it is not a party question

IV 1. Ld G.H. tell him what are the tanks already existing larger than the one he scoffs at)

2. Genl Strachey differs with Sir A. upon some points. But Genl. S. is a valuable convert

3. Mr. Leslie (iv) & the Bengal Admn Report (iv)

~~both of which~~ by Sir A. Cotton so well quoted give evidence in favour of Boat & Steam boat Canals: even by the side of Railways:

This is worth whole tons of invective against Railways

~~without raising the Devil in opponents & Public Meetings (conducted as hustings meetings) only irritate: they only "raise the Devil" in the enemy. They don't convert those we want to convert & they don't teach those we want to teach.~~

**f17**

-4-

Resting one's argument upon who is the oldest, as who should say: the oldest man should be on the India Council or the oldest Nurse must be the best does not convert the unconverted.

In these unbelieving days you train even Nurses by showing them the 'reason why' of what you want them to do:

you don't say: choose the oldest Nurse & the others must take her authority

you must *enlist* our Governors in Irrigation works:

as you must enlist the people in an Irrigation work



**f18**

VII 2 If Bright & Balfour knew nothing but what Sir A. Cotton had told them, how does that improve Sir A. C.'s case ? what does it go for ? that is with opponents. You don't want to convert your friends: you want to convert your opponents What good does it do a public man's schemes ?

VI 2

I would give £5 or £10 & many would do the same to meet the expence of a Public Meeting ~~filleg~~ not to raise the enemy's devil ~~are not to be attended at it~~ but to lay the ~~filleg~~ exact facts ~~filleg~~ before the Public. And if persons of influence are to join ~~the Assn~~/ London this is the way to make them: Also the Civil Engineers would open their Counsels to an Association VI 3

f19 is by FN February 19, 1878 FN to Sir [Captain Fortescue, secy Metro and National Nursing Assoc for prov tr nurses for the Sick Poor, no first name given] enclosing twenty five pounds towards the success of District Nursing with many reassurances about the need to maintain the high standard.

signed letter, ff19-20, pen, copy at Minet Library says chairman of M & N Bloomsbury Sq

**f19**

London Feb 19/78 [13:759-60]

My dear Sir -

Your Meeting & your District Nursing will have better help than mine: a deeper root & support than any I can give it.

As to Your 'success'? what is not your success?

- to raise the homes of your Patients so that they never fall back again to dirt & disorder: such is the influence of your Nurses
- to pull through 'life & death ' cases - cases which it would be an honour to 'pull through' with all the appurtenances of Hospitals or of the richest in the land: & this without any sick room appurtenances at all:
- to keep whole families out of pauperism by preventing the home from being broken up & nursing ~~up~~ the bread - winner back to health
- to drag the noble art of Nursing out of the sink of 'relief = doles'
- to show rich & poor what Nursing is & what it is not:

Add Mss 45807

541

Capt. Fortescue  
&c            &c

**f19v**

- to carry out practically the principles of ~~the~~ preventing disease & stopping infection & the causes of disease.
- lastly & especially to show a common life able to sustain the workers in this saving but difficult work: under a working head who will personally keep the training & Nursing at its highest ~~perfection/~~ point: is not this a great success ?

The aim is so high - but above all beware of letting it be lower; that there must be failures.

But degeneracy, not failure, common degeneracy, not individual failures - is the thing to be feared.

Keep your standard high: it is so easy going to let Nursing degenerate into relief & easy visits: gossiping - among the poor instead of gossiping among the rich.

One company scaling the breach is better than a whole army in retreat:

**f20**

There is not danger but what others  
will follow: follow the scalers:  
as there is no hope but what many will  
join the retreat.

"Put your trust in God: & keep your powder dry."  
Put your trust in God & man: & keep your standard high.

You have a glorious future, if you  
keep your standard high, as you will -  
District Nursing, so solitary, so without the  
cheer & stimulus of a large & public  
Institution like a Hospital but also  
without many of its cares, requires  
what it has with you the constant  
supervision & inspiration of a genius  
of Nursing: May it spread with  
such a standard over the whole of London &  
the whole of the land.

I wish I could do what you ask:  
write a letter for you. But you do not  
want me - Your Institution will  
stand or fall by its own standard -  
And it will stand: God bless it  
its faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

I beg to enclose  
an Annual Subn.  
of £25.  
F.N.

[end 13:760]

f21 February 19, 1878 Captain G.W. Fortescue, Secretary,  
Metropolitan and National Nursing Association for Providing Trained  
Nurses for the Sick Poor, Central Home and Offices, 23 Bloomsbury  
Square, W.C., London. Letter of thanks for donation and an apology  
for a delay in banking her previous donation of twenty pounds.

f23 February 20, 1878 Captain Fortescue, Secretary, Metropolitan  
and National Nursing Association for Providing Trained Nurses for  
the Sick Poor, Central Home and Offices, 23 Bloomsbury Square,  
W.C., London. Offering to discuss a pension scheme for nurses. f23

f24 February 21, 1878 Dr Joseph Bell, 20 Melville St, Edinburgh.  
Thanking FN for the gift of a book complete with her autograph and  
acknowledging the diligence and zeal of her pupils.

ff25-27 March 5, 1878 Elizabeth Bertha [Turnbull], Abbey Lane, Plymouth. Reporting on progress with subscriptions at the hospital and looking forward to a confirmation by the Bishop of Oxford next month when he visits the parish in which the hospital is sited.

f28 March 18, 1878 on War Office embossed, Sir W. Muir letter to FN re her note of the 13th seeking information about the new female nursing staff at the Herbert Hospital, enclosing a copy of the MOs

f30 March 14, 1878 G.M. Haughton Surgeon Major to the Principal Medical Officer, Norwich. Reporting on excellent care under the supervision of Miss Caulfield.

f32 March 30, 1878 draft letter to Sir G. Campbell (referring to Sir A. Cotton's letter March 27 and to letter ? to Sir L. Mallet 1/4/78. List of points mostly relating to the analysis of irrigation systems in India  
unsigned letter or notes from a meeting for?, ff32-33, pen & pencil

**f32** To Sir G. Campbell 30/3/78  
witnesses

1. Sir H. Montgy

H. Forbes see Sir A. Cotton's letter

H. Morris Mar 27

Col. Rundall

Sir W. Muir

2. Methods of examination ditto ditto

a very short précis Sidney Herbert

&c &c

3. his own examr on Bengal

Burdwan fever

Col Hay attributed it to want of fresh water for drinking being annually supplied to village tanks from river

embanking Damoodah

& closing head of Rana Nuddee -

land no longer renewed from most silt laden river in Bengal

So it might plausibly be said fever due to draining

see my Part II. p. 157

D.I.G. Saunders

food supply of river water for potable & culinary [9:920]  
guarding from impurities avoidable & unavoidable where no proper supply

would remove one of the worst causes of fever poor Bengal peasant

as also power to clear his land of surplus water

when rice crop sufficiently advanced

& yet to be able to claim water from an artificial source

when he wants to put a second crop into the ground

Burdwan fever a famine fever

now regulation of water, i.e. combining Drainage  
with Irrigation & a good water supply exciting cause  
in poor creatures whose normal state is semi starvation [ e n d ]

**9:920]**

No 177 Buckland see Part II pp 161 4

Note Col Hay, p. 152

Reports by D. I. G. Saunders

**f32v**

no fever in Tangore & Godavery  
 see Appendix F. Sir A. Cotton's Two Letters  
 fevers in hot season from want of drainage  
 dry from filthy water  
 collected in pits

4. Mr. Robertson's Report on Coimbatore

5. Revelation on changing state of poor Daccan ryots  
 see Sir L.M.'s Minute

6. Worst of your giving evidence no one who knows the worst  
 to examine you  
 Examine Sir Wm. Muir on  
 Whether fever due to carrying minor distributary chemicals  
 Whether water logged state due to faulty alignments &c &c  
 to spring levels raised &c &c Official  
 Resolution of N.W.P. Govt  
 whether fever attributed to canal not there long before  
 e.g. Mozuffemugger  
 measure of water &c  
 see my "Life or Death in India"  
 "note" at p.31  
 Sir G. Campbell said use or non-use of Irrigation  
 wd. turn upon Sanitary considerations  
 [on diagonal]  
 Pray excuse long letter  
 Know not how  
 to make it shorter

7. Like a woman one word more.  
 Indus Delta.  
 see Sir A. Cotton's letter March 27  
 competent evidence upon this  
 should be had.  
 [on diagonal]  
 if above true  
 you know more  
 about it than I do

**f33**

8. Analysis of "Madras Irrigation" Canal Water  
 whether it has essential manure  
 examine Chairman of Irrigation  
 see letter to Sir L. Mallet 1/4/76

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff34-35v, pen

**f34**

Two letters -2-  
Irrigation & Agriculture  
in India

2. It was very kind of you to send me those two printed letters - All such contributions papers are invaluable to me -

I do not think however some of the subjects, e.g. 'silt', manure, &c are so unknown or neglected as the unsigned writer thinks.

E.g. 4 years ago in a book let of mine ~~which~~ ~~I~~ printed, but never published. but never published, because ~~I~~ was always waiting for exact figures ~~which could not be successfully~~ challenged from the I.O. ~~which were always~~ tho' they probably had them unknown to even

themselves all the time on their

shelves

ever promised ~~&~~ but never given: "silt was manure improvements, in agriculture are all ~~one of the~~ subjects I need hardly say that it was from others I learnt all I know. (I did not "derive it out of the depths of my own consciousness")

If I can muster courage, I think I will

send you a very few of these printed pages & a letter I wrote to you - You need not read them - but it may induce your kindness

p. 1

2. I cordially agree with the (Unknown)

**f34v**

writer - that to teach the Natives better agricultural methods is one of the most essential things we could do -

I was delighted to see this assertion For an ex Governor of Madras, a very able man, & some of the highest functionaries of the Govt. of India in India have told me that native methods could not be improved: & that natives knew best what to do with their own land:

There is this much of truth - that the Village Communities which we have destroyed in old days kept up their tanks & wells themselves ~~which~~ /Now now no one keeps them up But there is scarcely/not a more wretched being on the face of the earth than the most frugal & industrious being of the earth the ryot in some parts of India (stripped of his 'Community' and his tank) with his miserable plough & more miserable bullock - dependent on the money lender *who is also the village shop* for there's the rub: for his food & even his seed corn.

Wherever the Banker is also the *Commissariat* things must be wretched: must not they?

**f35**

1. p.3 'Silt' is discussed as to the relative merit of that deposited by the Cauvery (Tangore), the Kistna (from limestone) the Godavery (from traps & primitive by the Sone, Damoodah &c &c

And there is a long & important note by Col Hay, one of the best men you have upon the Hooghly district silt & fertility & the effects of cutting off the Damoodah & its floods

back a point

{there is a line joining the following paragraph to the preceding page 'assertion'}

But in spite of the urgent efforts, or protestations of such men as Sir G. Campbell, Mr. Robertson, Supt of Madras Govt Farms, Mr Peacock who made an official substitute for an Agricultural Society contributing seeds & offering prizes in the 24 Pergunnahs (popn above 2 millions) of Ld W. Bentinck in 1835 down to Lord Mayo in 1870 (& the S. of S. in 1870) there are still men & men in the very highest offices including an able ex Govr of Madras who hold that native methods cannot be improved because natives know best & have always known best. what to do {the line ends here}

Mr. Harman            Mr. Robertson's  
Bangalore            last Report  
                          on Coimbatore

3. As to /live stock & agricultural improvements generally including manure Mr. Robertson & others have always been urging that to provide proper food & pasturage for live & stock is the very first of necessities agricultural.

that the Indian farmer might be bountifully supplied with fodder crops, much better than the English farmer that he has none.

**f35v**

that this is the very thing you have to teach him  
but you have to be roused to it yourselves -  
that this is the province of modern agriculture  
in India

that you have no idea, you do not know your  
own Statistics of annual loss by starvation &  
disease from chronic starvation amongst Indian  
live or rather dead stock, for want of pasture  
& fodder crops

To illustrate ~~this~~ the thing, I have wood cuts of native ploughs  
(or  
rather scratchers) & ploughmen &c

"

Schrottky's Rational Agriculture" I have - It is full  
of important ~~information~~ conclusions

4. We should venture to disagree with some things  
in the '2 letters' since to induce the native to grow  
the more valuable crops, to enable him to do so,  
& to make his land less "dry" & "precariously productive",  
- the "cultivators" of which land, dry & infertile as the  
writer

truly says, now "form the majority of the Indian population",  
as the very purpose in hand Ho. of C. P.W. Committee

5. N.B. Pray excuse an unasked for suggestion  
I would get many such questions asked & answered
1. e.g. would improved cultivation up in Mysore  
& all along the course of the Cauvery mean robbing  
it of its silt & diminished fertility in Tangore?
  2. Has the 'Madras Irrigation Co' Canal at Kurnool  
little 'silt' or 'plant food' & no essential manure  
in its water?      3. Draw up printed questions & send to  
&c &c      &c witnesses before they appear to make enquiry  
more practical?

f36 April 27 1878 Sir W. Muir apologising for delay in response to  
FN's note of 20<sup>th</sup> and seeking advice on female nursing  
establishments

f38 May 28, 1878 J.E. Sabin, Aldershot Camp. On behalf of one of  
FN's old nurses (Miss Edwards then, Mrs Green now) who wishes to  
get her petition before the Queen. Also reports on the female  
hospital at the base.

incomplete letter, f40, pen

**f40**

-2-

but Lord Salisbury's Despatch won't do down  
& Batoum was cruel

Princess with 80 Deaconesses in Hospital  
said there is neither Jew nor Greek  
neither male nor female before Jesus Christ

English Govt will try to show one united Empire in  
India now: not differences between Zemindars  
& Ryots

Farrer's Life of Christ translated into Russian  
but it gives no account of his preaching  
none of the lives do.

{written in the margin}

Burdwan better

fever gone to  
round Calcutta,

Serampore &c

a Russian objected to my calling ~~him~~/ Christ an Oriental Gooroo  
Russians have been very cruel to Tartars: Tartar town in Crimea  
Daily Telegraph, Pall Mall Gazette, diabolical, in their accounts  
of the War.

f41 June 1878 FN ? To Colonel Fife R.E. Agreeing to see him on  
Thursday to discuss Indian irrigation and agriculture, some details

signed letter, ff41-42v, pen [copy of actual letter in 9088/20]

**f41**

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

June 5/78

My dear Sir

[9:771]

I shall be most happy to see you on Thursday  
(tomorrow) at 5 p.m., as you kindly propose.

When I have the advantage of hearing you talk,

I feel so penetrated with the want of knowledge  
of the real bearings of the Irrigation question,  
under which English people in general & I  
in particular suffer that I think I ought  
not to dare to write a word on the question.

What I particularly want to understand is  
the bearing upon the successful use of the  
water of the way in which the people are

**f42**

rated for water  
 whether by paying so much per acre  
 " by paying for the water whether  
 they take it or not  
 " by not being allowed to take any land  
 or any water they like  
 how it is to be made their *interest* to use  
 the water in the most profitable manner &  
 not to exhaust the land:  
 to cultivate in the best manner  
 All this is only to be understood & explained  
 by such men as you are:  
 Also: how questions of Settlement bear upon  
 the development of Irrigation:  
 & upon the poverty or well doing of  
 the people - I think you are not satisfied with  
 the Sind Settlement: I want to understand more why  
 I wish I could see your Evidence.

I am very sorry there is no Dekkan Irrigation  
 Map. What is to be done?  
 Are the Storage Tanks you have completed  
 Moota                Koregaon  
 Ekrook               Hartata               - that makes eight:  
 Maini  
 Bhatodi  
 Madaq  
 Kasurdi

**f42v**

A man who can say: I have completed  
 3000 miles of beneficent Canals  
 ought to be the happiest man alive: **[end 9:771]**  
 Pray believe me  
 ever yours faithfully & gratefully  
 Florence Nightingale  
 Colonel Fife P.E.

f43 July 15, 1878 Miss Alice Fisher, Addenbrook's Hospital, Cambridge.

Note: FN has underlined parts of this letter in red and blue pencil and has passed it on to another with the comment dated 20/7/78 that "Miss Fisher wants you to train a probationer of hers for 6 months" and asking that the letter be returned. It is a report on progress and needs.

Your Christmas letter to us, one we can never forget or thank you enough for--makes me hope you will like to hear of our progress. Began our tr school last Oct with 8 probs, now 20, 10 pay for board and others are paid by the nursing insts wh send them; school nearly self-supporting; our hosp is too poor to be able to pay either probs or night nurses; night supt is Nurse Barnacle from St T; also have Nurse Gibson and Miss Morris from St T, loved and respected; 2 other wards are nursed by untrained nurses of the old fash sort; trying to get a lady for the female med ward, vacant, asked Wardroper; trying to get their Miss Kirkby in for 6 months at St T, da of Archdeacon Kirkby, a missionary in N America and upright and intelligent; very happy, but must attend to accounts and see meat weighed and passages sweep! We have not outlived prejudice yet and only the most severe economy keeps me right in the eyes of a large number of the govts; it was long before I cd get proper accomm for even part of the probs; 10 well provided for, but they won't fit up a room properly for the rest, till she manages to get the money; so a bazaar in Oct, trying to raise £300 to pay for all the probs' rooms and furnish a children's ward. I do not like bazaars, but we have no other means of raising the money;

FN note: Would this do for Miss Pringle? but £300 is a small sum.

God is good to me; and when I have taken my troubles to Him at night I generally get up next morning with a light hear. Dear Miss Nightingale, we have great confidence that we have a place in the heart and in the prayers of our 'chief' or I shd not dare to inflict so long a letter on one whom we know to be always more or less of a sufferer.

initialled note & underlinings on a letter, ff43-46, pen & pencil Letter to FN from Miss Alice Fisher at Addenbrooke's Hospital.

Your Christmas letter to us one we can never forget or thank you enough for - illeg

We began our training school last October with 8 probs. [FN red und]

I am glad to say we have now twenty, and as ten of these pay us for their board and the others are paid by the Nursing Institutions we send the, our school is nearly self supporting. Our hosp is too poor to be able to pay either probs or night nurse. So the former after being on day duty for a month .... Night supt Nurse illeg from St Thomas is entirely resp for the conduct of the probs during the night admin. .. Two other wards are nursed by untrained nurses of the old fashioned sort, but both are clean and one a good woman and apt to teach. *one female medical ward* [FN red und] is vacant. And I have written to Mrs Wardroper to ask her if she could give me

a lady ...I have however been unsuccessful. [lots of details reporting to FN on specifics in hosp]

**f43**

Miss Fisher:

wants you to train a  
Probationer of hers for 6  
months. 20/7/78 F.N.

Please [in blue pencil on diagonal]  
return to  
20/7/78 F.N.

f46v FN insert in Fisher letter on I do not lie bazaars but we have no other means of ...

FN blue pencil: would this do for Miss Pringle? FN\but £400 is a small sum

Fisher ends: Dear Miss n, we have great confidence that we have a place in the heart and in the prayers of our "chief" or I should not dare ...so long a letter or one \ever your faithful servant

F47 undated note of Alice Fisher, Addenbrooke's Great confidence that we have a place in the heart and in the prayers of our "chief" or I should not dare to print so long a letter or one when we know to be [illegals]

ff48-53 July 15, 1878 W. Whitton, Kidderminster Infirmary letter to FN with FN blue pencil on diagonal

Please  
return to  
F. Nightingale  
20/7/78

f54 Aug 1 1878 letter to FN from A.M. Marsh, Montreal General Hosp, re returning to MGH at request of committee, to prove to her that it was for no personal interest as regards salary that I left Montreal for the States. I had great success while there and also good surgical practice. I am not sorry for the time I spent there but I am sorry to be so misrepresented to you. I know you trusted us to do what was right when you selected us for Canada, Nurse Sealy has returned, Nurse Masters has been asked and likely to return, we are all very happy and under a good Christian lady. I remain Dear Madam, yours respectfully and truly Nurse A.M. Marsh

ff56-64 FN hand, copy of letter of J. Puckle 6 Aug/78 ff56-59 and 7 Aug/78 60-62

unsigned note, f65, pencil

**f65**

Col Puckle Mr. Caird {Arch: [1878]}

1

Would you consider

? to take the opinion of a Panchayets in several districts not exclusively in Mysore of native agriculturists (in the same way as Col. P proposes regarding "tilling" & cropping) regarding the facts & the best remedies legal or private for practically improving the relations of money lenders & debtors

So glad you think India can be improved thro'/with her own people - very certainly she can

unsigned notes, ff66-67v, pencil

**f66** {arch: [end July -Aug 1878]}

Sept

- 1 Legal (Public) Remedies for Money lending
- 2 Private

1 Water

Mantra Irr Co Reve Offr

Sept

Yet, you will see Parliamt will separate without one man moving for this Deccan Report, while we are hurrah ing like gamins (boys) because we have taken more lands to mal administer

And as you say we call ourselves *the Apostles of administration* for the good of the subject

2nd Article difficult to class legal (public) & private remedies

You see it is treading such entirely new ground to propose 'private'

**f66v**

remedies in India  
 Private enterprise has been discouraged of what few  
 Companies there have been: some, Govt has had to buy  
 up: others, it has had to save by sending an Officer  
 to manage the Curnums &c -  
 Natives are so used to having Government do the  
 landlord, the legislator, the baker, the water Company & every  
 thing else that they won't  
 even take water except from Govt - they will hardly  
 eat or drink except Govt. gives it them .  
 Private Remedies in the sense of benevolent organizations,  
 (not mere alms giving) as in France & England, is  
 almost unknown in India whether native or European  
 Syed Ali's letter - his country man  
 Mr. Caird going out to see p. 18

**f67**

I trust you will practise good economy, & not, like  
 a Merwari rack rent your tenant, the body: but  
 Save his resources for many a Crusade

**f67v**

1st Remedy Improvement of agriculture by  
 Irrigation  
 But incubus of debt must be removed before ryot  
 can avail himself of irrigation  
 p. 107  
 Land Improvement Act might be modified so as  
 to make help the Govt ready to give under that Act  
 more available to Ryot  
 2nd Remedy Village Courts  
 p.111  
 3rd Remedy Special pleader for illiterate  
 defendants  
 Improved system of trade  
 4 Abolition of imprisonment for debt  
 {written diagonally in the bottom left corner}  
 p. 84  
 character of  
 Merwaris as land holders  
 Appendix C  
 Sowkars of Parner  
 Bengali tenant p. 85

f68 Aug 28 1878 letter to FN from Helen Blower, 119 Shaw St. re  
 nurses okay after shipwreck

ff70-77 25 Aug 1878 letter to FN from Ellice Hopkins, Percy House  
re work in Brighton, with FN underlinings

unsigned letter fragment, ff78-78v, pen & pencil [8:492]

**f78**

From my own experience in long past years I  
am quite sure that the way as indicated  
in your 'Work in Brighton' is the only true way:  
and I could entreat the women of England to  
read the little book & then judge each for  
herself how best to use that influence never  
to be forgotten lost or set aside of every woman in  
the cause - an influence which must one day tell for or against  
whether she will or no: ~~whether she will not~~/She cannot be neutral  
This  
is the cause one would think of every Englishwoman  
for ~~time was when~~ to every Englishwoman ~~the cause of~~ home &  
family ~~is still~~ here imperilled with or without ~~the~~ her  
knowledge have a  
sacred name: the cause  
of every  
Wife & Mother for the happy Wife & Mother,  
(as was ~~actually~~ / truly said to me by one of these,)

**f78v**

has the strongest reason to do something to help  
those who have no Home & no happiness  
the cause of God who is the God of the poor  
prostitutes as well as of the happy homes.

In these great names I beg you to look at this work  
I cannot think how gentle women can call  
it 'loathsome': - what is 'character' given  
us for but to help those who have none?  
I bid the work 'God speed' with all my heart  
& soul & strength:

signed letter, ff79-84, pen & pencil

**f79** {arch: [Sept ? see Dr. Sutherland's Letters 31/8/78 & 13/9/78]}

*Private*

*& Confidential*

Sir {arch: to Col. Sir Frederick? Stanley]  
Very meekly I come before you only trusting  
to Lord Derby to 'speak for' me & principally  
as to the share I had in Sidney Herbert's  
R. Commission on the Sanitary State of the  
Army in 1857 & again in the R. Comm: on/ that of India in  
1859 - 63 In carrying out the conclusions of that first  
Commission, Sidney Herbert was the founder  
of the Army Medical School, grafted first  
on Fort Pitt Hospital at Chatham, which was

**f80**

the practical Training place for Army Medical Officers then. When Netley Hospital was finished, the School was transferred to Netley, which is an Invalid Establishment.

[inserted in pencil] And the only hospital in England where the effects of tropical diseases on soldiers can be studied to any good purpose

[ink resumes] The Warrant of 1859 was also Sidney Herbert's solution of another problem of that R. Commission And it was a successful one: to frame a Warrant & conditions which would enable the Army & Navy to offer inducements to the class of men they want - better than those offered in Civil life. The R. C. of 1857 was well aware of the difficulty of getting suitable men

& of the need of improving both their education & status . If you would wish to see the whole bearings of the case I could try to refer you to the

Army Medical Regns. the letter of Sidney Herbert prefixed to them & the

Warrant at the end. And I would try to appeal from the present constant

changes of small details to the great principle contained in these documents.

which if adhered to wd doubtless fill up the ranks with men suitable to

consort with their brother officers of any grade.

Forgive me there is scarcely any one but I left to speak for Sidney

Herbert's ghost.

{the preceding lines in pencil are written between the following lines in pen}

the consequences of the departure from the Warrant of 1859 have been: - increasing difficulty in obtaining the best men for Army Medical Service: And since then the Army Medical Department has undergone repeated alterations which have more & more departed from the intentions of the R. Commission of 1857 & the Warrant of 1859 so that subsequent proceedings have more & more borne the impress of want of acquaintance with the necessities of the case - almost of a breach of faith with the public while the great advance in Civil Medical education & status in consequence

**f80v**

of recent Medical legislation, has given men entering the civil profession a very different estimate of their position than they formerly had:

2. As Government has to draw its supplies of Officers from this source, it need hardly be said that ~~no~~ such men cannot be attracted into H. M. 's service by - small arrangements altering Departmental details, such as abolishing the entrance examination, or weakening the Netley School or sending Candidates to Aldershot to learn Hospital work, properly so called, Hospital discipline proper, & riding - which Aldershot

**f81**

--2 -

training might very well be entered on *after* the present Netley School course of 4 months - all too short for the work - is completed but not substituted for it .

Even in 1857 this was the case:

Is not what the Government has to do to compete with the Civil profession by offering such inducements in the way of rank, status, pay & privileges as will induce young men to forego the advantages in money & position of Civil practice & enter Her Majesty's service

Will petty changes make any difference in

**f81v**

the present state of matters - or prevent the Department from having to content itself with the worst leavings of the Civil Medical Practice?

**f82**

3. Is there any real road out of the present difficulties arising from paucity of candidates (in both senses of littleness) except in the direction of the Royal Warrant of 1859 with such additional inducements as the changed position of the Civil profession renders necessary? And on this subject Government has an official adviser at hand in the Medical Council:

And then to issue such a Warrant as will bring in the required supplies and to keep to it.

What is wanted are the men:

**f82v**

4. After a Warrant is once issued the public look upon it I suppose, as of the nature of contract: which ought not to be departed from at least in the case of those who have entered the public service under it & due notice of any contemplated change to be given in order to keep faith with the public.

At present there is no continuity in the service: is there?

**f83**

-3-

Might I in all humility ask that there should be no interference with the Warrant or the Organization of the Army Medical School & ~~(which includes the preliminary examination in London & enters into various details [illeg]~~ without those who remain of the framers of that Warrant other than the Professors of the A. M. School who have been for years carrying out its provisions, being formally consulted on the Subject Ought not The British Medical Council ~~might~~ surely also ~~to~~ be one of the advisers of the Govt on such an important matter.

{The preceding lines in pencil are written between the following lines in pen}

5. In the improved state of Medical examinations it might be worthy of enquiry whether if a Candidate is recommended by his College he should be now subjected to an Entrance Examination.

~~But~~ are not the following matters absolutely necessary to the efficiency of the Department - namely, the present organization of the Army Medical School

[ would it not be simply madness to do away with the Senate or to place the School {the four lines above have two diagonal lines drawn through them}

**f84**

under any other head than the Secretary of State?]  
 - the strictly technical teaching of the School:  
 - its observation of young men during their School course: with its power to cast out the unfit as now subject of course to the confirming sanction of the Secretary of State for War: the teaching ~~and~~ to be thus in the same hands as the discipline as now -  
 - and the final examination

these things seem to ~~lie at~~ be the very root of the usefulness of the School

Florence Nightingale

Rt Honble  
 Col Stanley MP



**f86**

{written in pen diagonally across the top of the page}

It has appeared hitherto  
impossible to check or even to  
take complaints of the universal  
taking of bribes by every kind of native  
petty official native P. W. overseers in distributing water  
peens in courts of Justice -every where every where

Could not Village heads  
be made responsible for  
reporting extortion & complaints  
of extortion: & if the Village Heads  
do not report, others, mutatis mutandis {after making the necessary  
changes - GW}

Putwarrias, Zemindars & farmers, be made  
responsible for "reporting the matter"  
& for reporting the non-reporters ?

Could not thus by degrees  
a public opinion be formed  
in the opposite direction ~~from~~  
against instead of for bribery ?

responsible for reporting the matter, & the neglect of those  
whose duty it was in the first instance to do it.  
The report will invariably be taken by the Hakim himself  
(never by an Amlah) & registered by him in English  
in a book kept for the purpose.

**f86v**

Rule 4 - After a claim has been recorded  
 Mode of Procedure a day shall be fixed x x x  
 after record of claim either for the trial of the case  
 or for the appearance of the Defendant  
 only. If for the former, Plaintiff shall  
 be verbally warned to appear with his witnesses on day fixed  
 & a summons shall be served on Defendant, stating claim & date  
 fixed & calling on him to appear with his witnesses on said date.

Rule 5 If Defendant does not appear on day fixed  
 second summons shall be issued fixing a 2nd date for his  
 appearance not later than 15 days from day of issue  
 with or without his witnesses as above Plaintiff being  
 warned accordingly.

{written diagonally between the paragraphs}

Could not this  
 be brought into  
 play to check & take complaints of extortion &  
 bribery & corruption & native oppression  
 (thro' the Village  
 Heads) in the native  
~~Villages~~ Officials?  
 to create a public  
 opinion against?  
 & village heads be made  
 responsible for  
 reporting  
 complaints

Southal Police Rules Dec 29 1856

p.17 9 Throughout the Southal District, the Manjees  
 the *Mundul* or the Hill Sirdar & their deputies or the  
 Murders & Homicides pashas representing them, & the Chaski  
 Assaults with Wounding Gura't &c will be *responsible* to the Hakim  
 of  
 or Severe Personal Injury the Division or Sub-Division the  
 occurrence  
 Rape of all the offences noted in the margin  
 Dacoity If the *Village* Officers do not report,  
 then  
 Highway Robbery the Pergunnytes, Putwarris Zemindars  
 Amlahs  
 Burglary of every kind Ghatwah *Zemindars* & all  
 Theft including Cattle persons holding farms under them  
 Stealing Affrays & Riots will be  
 Arson Counterfeiting or uttering  
 base Com Receiving stolen property

typed copy of signed letter, f87

**f87**

Sir G. Yule's Rules for {arch: (1) Caird  
Civil & Police Procedure 35 South St.  
returned. Park Lane, W.  
Oct. 5/78

6 a.m. **[9:817]**

My dear Sir,

I cannot thank you enough for all your kindness. I wish you 'God speed' with all my might on your great mission. [You cannot guess how disappointed I am not to be able to see you before you go.] My best wishes will follow your mission everywhere. If I may, I shall perhaps send after you to India any questions that may appear worth suggesting, without of course expecting any answer till your return, which may God prosper with a great freight of important work for India.

[If I may, I shall send occasionally to your house in London to know what news of you.]

As you do not leave London till the 9th., I may perhaps venture to send you (in London) on the 7th., some questions on the "Printed Questions" of the "Famine Commission".

These will of course require no answer - if they are worthless you can but throw them into the Red Sea.

Now God speed your mission & bring you safe home again & bring India safe too **[end 9:817]**

is the earnest prayer of  
ever your faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

James Caird, Esq.

f88 Oct 17 1878 Klastenberger to EHV re gold watches Oct 17 1878

initialled letter, ff90-93, pencil & pen

**f90**

*Coffee rooms* [to Sir Henry Cotton?]      Lea Hurst      October 1878

~~The~~ Sons living at home of ~~the~~ 'rich' men here (who are all *self made* men) drink, are found drunk by road-sides celebrate anniversaries with drink & associate with the 'vilest of the vile.'

This appears to me the great difficulty of this place = being as there are *no* gentle folk resident: not even a clergyman -

I cannot remember in my youth anything like the scenes that go on now - Drinking is so increased.

E. g. After a cricket match last week, a neat tea

**f91**

was provided at the Coffee room of which all partook. But AFTERWARDS some of the most "respectable" !!! & best educated youths adjourned to ~~a~~/ that public house, a very disreputable one, a little above Whatstandwell, & got drunk there, on spirits, I believe -

The two ringleaders in all this are the *two sons* of 21 and 23 years, of the richest man in the place (Lowe) both well educated,

both living at home & well supplied with money by their father, & one well intentioned, who has been 4 years Pupil Teacher at Lea School, & belongs to the Coffee room (Reading Room)

[I recommended that he should be put on the Committee & was told that he was on it already!]

These two youths go down to Whatstandwell with others to drink whiskey; they ordered a pint at the 'Bull' (a very respectable place) & being turned out ~~of~~/ from there, adjourned to the disreputable Public above named

One was found dead drunk by the Canal - the other had his watch taken from him -

Again e.g. Another whose term of apprenticeship expired

**f91v**

the day he was 21 told his companions  
that they should celebrate it by getting  
"jolly well drunk". And they did so at  
the public house above Whatsll: & were  
found in a state impossible to describe

[This public house & that of Holloway  
both lay themselves open to losing their licences  
but you see we have no active (Gentleman)  
magistrate here & the Licensed Victuallers'  
Assn always send an attorney to bring them off.]

The question is; what is to be done?

-Games there are plenty in the Reading (Coffee) Room

**f92**

-2-

Of *Bible Classes* Meetings & influences,  
Temperance Meetings, Revivals, Missions,  
these are *almost* too much - There are four  
Dissenting Chapels bidding against each  
other. There is a Bible Meeting in  
the Reading room Recitations, Teas,  
'Entertainments', Singing Classes, Magic Lanterns.  
They take the pledge & *break* it.  
The greatest recreants are members of the  
Reading room.  
We have not indeed anything *like* a '*Miss Cotton*'  
And this is our want Could she

**f93**

suggest anything to catch these youths,  
these well to do youths, who are actually  
more lawless than the working quarrymen  
& mill people?

You see they are well - educated, that is, as well  
as Haywood, the 'certificated Schoolmaster:  
the best education for village people.  
[Haywood keeps them up: will not break  
with them: is really anxious about them.]  
but their fathers have had no education at  
all, have riches without knowledge, are proud  
of their own self made fortunes, rather proud  
of giving their sons all the money they please  
& of their sons being cocks of the walk.

The Coffee Room has a good Library  
novels, travels, newspapers - all games except  
cards

I suggested a better & more highly paying room to  
be added on for these youths who *can pay*:  
but was told that they are never above  
'consorting' with the other youths. "And that would  
not attract them -

Could you return me this kindly  
with Lady Hooper's suggestions, if she will  
be do good. And may we see the way!

19/10/78 F.N.

F95 more to EHV re present

f96 Oct 24 1898 letter to FN from Edmund Verney re his corr with Mr  
Klaftenberger of 157 Regent St re watches for inscription

f98 Oct 28 Klaftenberger

f99 bill from above

ff100-01 letter to FN from Milnes, impossible to read, has references to Christianity and Russia

My children are well and do not forget you.

Fryston

Nov 18 [1878]

My dear friend

The final paper  
asking you [your wishes?] to a

all do- from my [illeg]  
is dying [illeg]  
life is the means of good  
one. I think you [illeg]  
consider illeg  
advisability of constantly  
a [illeg] I I want if you  
wish that condition of  
things of [illeg]  
Strange that you should  
have lived to see this

f101

reveral of your [illeg] here  
There is something [illeg] in  
the illeg of that [illeg]  
efforts. Now can I go with  
[illeg] see a [illeg]  
for [illeg] in the present  
sacrifices what all [illeg]  
[illeg] There  
is a [illeg] passage in  
Lecky [illeg] in which  
he says that the [illeg] have  
never [illeg]

v  
to allow Christian interference  
in the government of their  
Christn objects except where  
Russia is wrecked because  
they [illeg] Russia  
interference is [illeg] And  
they [illeg] any conclusion of  
[illeg] war [illeg] all [illeg]  
Turkey is a Russian satrapy  
with [illeg]  
[illeg]  
I am yrs affly  
Houghton

ff102-07 27 Nov 1878 Fair Lawn, letter to FN from Laura Wilson,  
Montreal nurse, had to resign, needs to earn living, her letter  
pained her

f108 Nov 28 1878 letter to FN from Edmund Verney from Goldings,  
Hertford encloses note from Captain Scott

f109 22 Nov 1878 E. Scott letter, from Greenock, to Klastenberger,  
thanking for gold watch from noble and generous lady FN, will prize

f110 Nov 30 1878 letter to FN from Helen Blower, Abernethy Ward,  
Bart's, writing at Machin's request re sister's duty, Machin about  
to arrive as supt

f112 receipt Dec 6 1878 Sarah Acland Memorial Fund for £10 from  
Eleanor Smith

ff113-16 letter to FN from Alice Fisher, Addenbrooke's Hosp,  
Cambridge, your dear letter last Xmas bore witness to so kind an  
interest in us that I venture to think you will like to hear how we  
are getting on. We have now 19 probs in our tr school, and with the  
exception of seven staff nurses which number includes the "extra"  
nurse and night supt the whole nursing work of the hosp is done by  
them. Ten probs are paid by the private nursing assocs who send  
them and none pay us for their board. Scrubbing and cleaning of  
grates is done by scrubbers, but we have no ward maids. I shd like  
to retain probs of a year's standing for another year as night  
nurses and pay them, but we are not able to afford this. Of course  
the probs on night duty are under charge of the night supt and we  
have seldom more than three or four very serious cases in the hosp  
. Our extremely ltd means have made it difficult for me to arrange  
as I shd wish for the comfort of the probs and without offering  
substantial comforts I did not feel myself in a position to enforce  
such strict rules as I shd like. The com allowed me to divide one  
large dormitory into cubicles and furnish them nicely, but they  
told me I must find the money for any further improvement to I

thought I shd have a bazaar in the hosp and ...  
 raised £1100 at bazaar to spend as like, has on probs' rooms, fit  
 up bathrooms etc, alter nurses' dining hall and sitting room and  
 furnish 2 children's wards for 18 and pay a nurse for them for 1  
 year; outbreak of typhoid fever and fever wards overcrowded for  
 months; lost a prob nursing in fever wards (nurse death). I am  
 happy with my children and I think I have their confidence and if  
 it is true that "we are educated by those who trust us" they ought  
 to have done a great deal of good during the twelvemonths. If you  
 have found my letter tedious ...

f117 Dec 24 1878 letter to FN from Helen Blower, Abernethy Ward  
 thanks for gift, book and good wishes written

signed letter, ff119-20, pen [5:165] [7:699-700] *Times* 30 December  
 1878 8D

**f119**

London Christmas Day  
 1878

Sir

Grieved to the heart for  
~~to hear of~~ the sufferings of  
 my dear if not native place  
 Sheffield yet a place where  
 my father's father & mother, Shore,  
 lived & died, may I ~~be allowed~~  
~~to~~ send a poor little sum

25 wishing it were 20 times as much & ~~which I hope~~ hoping to be  
 allowed to repeat it, for your  
 Relief Fund?

Might I ask that it  
 should be applied to providing  
 work for the poor women,  
 work which ~~as~~ I know has been so well  
 organised?

And if I might breathe a hope

**f119v**

as ardent as that which trusts that  
 Sheffield ~~would~~ /will be tided over these  
 sad sad times it would  
 be that her men may learn  
 from these a lesson of  
 prudence, manliness &  
 self-control, & when the  
 good times come again, as  
 pray God they may, ~~husband~~ /may use  
 their high wages so as to become  
 capital instead of waste?  
 Though this is a dreary Christmas,  
~~may/~~ that God may shower His best  
 Christmas blessings upon Sheffield ~~among us,~~  
 among which are thrift &  
 self - help, is the earnest  
 prayer, of, Sir,  
 your & her, ever faithful servt  
 Florence Nightingale

**f120**

May I be allowed to admire  
 the organizations of relief  
 set on foot?

[end 7:700]

**f121** 29 12 1878 letter to FN from Helmsdörfer, Darmstadt, re  
 message from Queen, asks her to come to Osborne and tell her all  
 the particulars about the illness and death of our beloved grand  
 duchess. I shall go there Jan 6, hopes to see FN I yearn to speak  
 to her and to tell her all about my work and the dear motherly  
 friend we have lost.

unsigned letter/draft?, ff123-24, pencil

**f123** {arch: [end of 1878]}

Here the Times & the D. News send out special **[10:811-12]**  
 correspondents to Cyprus & the living state of the island  
 is placed as in a speaking picture before us . Let the  
 newspapers of India do the same for the interior of  
 India & for the masses of people in her large towns & let them  
 place its speaking picture before  
 us & before themselves. What untold good might  
 not result from this ?

Popularize narratives true to fact of Indian  
 lives & cases among the men & women of India:  
 N. B. [In England people turn their Times inside out  
 you may if you choose to read our biographies or even our domestic  
 novels

such as Miss Yonge's or our novels of the  
 masses such as Dickens' or Hesba Stretton's. Know the English life  
 thoroughly  
 the family life of the life of the poor Nay each may  
 even know the Sovereign's life by what she has  
 published & by the Life of P. Albert]

If an instance of heroism or devotion or long suffering  
 whether inspired by love of country or of family or of goodness  
 whether in man, woman or child, give it us.  
 [Plenty such there must have been during the Famine]

If you know a true narrative of the sufferings of an  
 indebted cultivator of the Deccan or of the oppression  
 of a money lender, give it us. Not figures or generalities  
 but individual narratives, strike the English public  
 To Behramji M. Malabari Esq  
 If you know an instance of good citizenship, of a man's chivalry or  
 a woman's  
 Indian Muse in English garb

**f124**

-3-

When indeed ? p. 37  
 Tell the "Youths" what is the "chivalry" God expects  
 of them. Show them how to shake off their  
 moral slavery  
 Tell the Matrons how to gain the "spirit free"

**f124v**

"free" devotion, or a child's unselfish care of another child - if you know instances of these things exercised regardless of caste (you have given out) Give them us. Give us biographies too

see N. B. p. 1

Give us instances of the generous liberality in doing good, for which the Parsi is so distinguished. Give us also instances of the contrary: of country villages where a little organization, e.g. a Loan Bank at low interest, a little thought & kindness on the part of the Zemindar, or the monied & non landed man, or the native official, might do such immense good might almost regenerate his district.

And it is not done.

Give us instances known to yourself (narratives & imaginations) where the native official, by taking bribes of, or hindering justice to, his own poorer countrymen, hastens their ruin

or prevents their rising.

And give us instances of the contrary - of the true chivalry - Show us the native gentlemen who are chivalrous. Show us how the native gentlemen can be chivalrous.

And give us instances of the low, mean, degrading woman's life, & of the Matron, "spirit free", sacrificing in her daily devotion to the good of all around her.

Let a prophet arise to teach his own country men, and - to teach us

May God bless your labours. May the Eternal Father bless India, bless England

& bring us together as one family, doing each other good - May the fire of His love, the sunshine [?]

of His countenance inspire us all!

**[end] 10:812]**

signed incomplete letter, ff125-26v, pen

**f125**

"In 1876/77

"In the Central Division  
(of the Bombay Presidency)

"there were closed                    26                    4689

"In the North East" Do Do    41                    1645

                                  " 65                    6334 "

Am I right in supposing that the figures "26" & "41"  
represent the SCHOOLS that were "closed"

& the "4689" & "1645" the number of children  
who had previously been at those schools?

{Reply in another hand}

Reply you are quite right in these suppositions

If 6334 scholars seems a large number to be reduced

by the famine, you must remember that there are nearly 250,000  
scholars in the Bo Presidency

{FN's hand} In gigantic

**f126**

India, one is only amazed at the amount that is done to save the people from Famine: while horror struck at the disastrous result in Madras, Mysore & the N. W. P., in spite of efforts {in another hand} this is quite true & makes us realize the vastness of India {FN's hand} But it seems hard that the poor children should have been taken from School because their fathers could not pay the Cess, altho' in this instance, it was the Ryot who paid the Brahmin, who profited. {In another hand} The schools are supported by the Cess, and the

Cess having failed Govt could not longer support the schools except by borrowing.

{FN's hand}

In England "ragged schools" would have been opened, & the children fed while being taught. [This has been actually done on the frontiers of Bosnia by two gallant English ladies, friends of mine, among the 200,000 fugitives from the Slav States - half whom have died from famine And this is the third year.] {other hand} The cases are very different - I believe the Indian

ryots with their families were scattered far & wide in search of food & work & except in a few large towns where many congregated, it wd have been tragic to follow them

{FN's hand}

I suppose this would have been wholly inapplicable to India: viz. feeding the children *in School* (except by missionaries) letting the Schools follow the migrations

**f126v**

let me be -

ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

H.B. Boswell

incomplete letter, ff127-28v, pencil & pen

**f127** {arch: [1878]}

Could you point out to me any Reports that give as to

Irrigation actual facts how individual ryots lived

& ~~were~~ / or died *before* Irrigation works & *after*

facts about individual Ryots' lives giving names & places

& particulars under these varying circumstances p.8

in my Art. XIX cont. facts about individual (indebted) Deccan

ryots where the story is given with *names & places &*

*particulars* where every figure is a man

Something more than this, I should like (*the Famine Commission's*  
Report [to do about Irrigation

& evidence (answers to questions) to contain:

but *like* this viz to give the daily food & habits

of the people before & after Irrigation / in before and after  
the famine: English people have so little idea of the *after*  
consequences of famine - the money famine which ensues] at the  
relief works &c

then give *facts* about Ryots, Ryot A & Ryot B &

Ryot A's wife & Ryot B's uncle did & said & cared for

in relation to water or no water

& in relation to *cheap canal communicn* / carrying & travelling &  
markets & *no*

real *facts* & in relation to *what prevents them using*

the water when they don't use it -

just as I have given with the Deccan ryots in relation  
to the money lenders

& about the children {the following sentences are written in pen  
between the lines in pencil above} so old in India

& with regard to dwellers in

towns in relation to Municipalities

(no Municipalities - how they live &/ or die under these & under  
those - what voice they have -

& with regard to Eastern Bengal especially where they have

in relation to Land (not Trades)

but Land *Unions*

& where the Cultivators have discovered that to shew they can  
people having had a voice in their own affairs & hold their own

& about the particulars of receiving relief how they live or die  
under these

And how many more I could have given if I had had room -

[Against these villainous Marwari money lenders & now  
landlords there are whole lists of crimes against each by  
name in the Courts - forgery, theft, &c &c And they defy  
the Courts, beggar the people, & remain landlords.]

The reason why I was careful / Deccan Report to give individual  
facts & names is - that I was informed it is so much  
more *telling* with an ignorant or indifferent public  
{written in pen in the left margin}

(with infinitely much of the wisest  
conclusions & summing up}

about individual Ryots & individual money lenders, & their  
barbers & their dogs (dead dogs)  
to give *individual facts* with *names* & places & particulars: to try  
to

**f128v**

interest the public in *individuals* - the public which does not care about *generalities* but loves a newspaper  
Police Report

Help me to do this much better about Water & the Ryots you must have untold treasures in this respect / about see p. 8 They *wish* you to enquire into what you are "warned" not to make any general enquiry into

Then make a very *particular* inquiry into.

---

Resolutions & Obs. (May 18) of Govt of India on Famine Commn's duties cautious but not hostile  
Comm to enquire into disinclination x of Madras ryot to expend money on irrigation

Was there such disinclination at any time on Canvery Kistra or Godavery

On Gody: water rate not levied for some years ?

Rather in hopes Mr. Morris' excellent book on Godavery:

wd have given such *individual* facts: but it does not

x The fact explaining this in Madras Irr. Co. Report

about the Curnanis &c are very instructive

but would have been more so, had there been more

*individual* narratives about their dealings with the

Ryots.

---

Comm. to enquire how "projects for famine relief work are to be "kept ready for immediate presentation when necessity might arise" -

Mr. Caird a little against this - I showed him

excellent minute by Govr of Bombay approving Col

Fife's detailed "projects" as ready to be prosecuted

when the need shd come.

---

Comm to "investigate subject of "water communicn"

Govt. of India alludes to S. of S.'s "remarks" upon

"distinction" between "irrign works fed by permanent rivers" &

"tanks" fed by "local rainfall" - but does not allude to

storage tanks

God speed the right.

F129 Jan 12 1872 letter to FN from Perssè, Hetherfield Hosp, never hoped to hear from her at this time as know you are occupied, thank you for kind letter (missing) feared you wd be disappointed at my knocking up so soon, so many things weighed upon me. God had mercifully raised me up, shall soon be at work again

unsigned notes, ff131-32v, pencil

**f131**

Mr. Gladstone  
 XIX Century p. 1400000 died of Famine  
 paper p. 2 Mysore  
*Madras Presy*  
 the figures may be shortly stated  
 (Commiss paper/Table) By the Test Census in March 1878  
 the probable/ p. 7 decrease of population due to famine up to  
 March/78  
 is 3273527

This 3 ¼ millions allows for 5 years increase of pop.  
 from 1872-6 at one per ct only - tho' by the Test Census  
 of non famine Districts the pop without doubt increased  
 at the rate of at least 1 ½ p.c. per ann.

The 3 ½ mill. loss is upon a pop. of 17 ¼ mill.  
 (17,259,290) as by 1871 Census to wit District of  
 Salem - whole of wh District was taken by the Test Census  
 Bellary? Kurnool ? Cuddapah ? Nellore ? Coimbatore ? Chingleput ?  
 Madurai ?} N. Areas & 4 Districts of Partial Famine

This was the result of the Test Census -  
 Now for the Register of Deaths  
 Commn paper 9. the 17 months returns - down to  
 years

But such was disorganization down to recorded

Also: facts ascertained do not account for more than  
 100000 of the missing people by migration

It therefore stands thus  
 Mortality Returns show an excess of Deaths from - to -  
 of 1140048

while Test Census would indicate down to 3000000  
 of these rather more than 2 millions may be 2000000  
 reckoned roughly as Deaths  
 1 mill may be accounted for as diminished Births 1000000

**f131v**

For Famine cuts away pop. at both ends

And we have yet to know the consequences of Fe diminished Births. It will be well if the Census of 1881 does not show the loss to have been nearer 4 millions than 3

At one time the Birth rate was down to 7 per 1000  
Cornish paper

2 no connection between famine & pop.  
districts with sparse pops suffered the utmost extremity of famine

while districts with excessive pops.  
not only &c

Briefly then & not to annoy you with figures  
paper p.5

Madras

Our probable losses of pop. 3000000

Mysore

Deaths officially estimated at 1250000

Bombay & Hyderabad

losses must have 2000000

All these figures come from the various headquarters

telegraphed to India for figs. of B & H.

The others I have & have had for months

Would it be too much to hope - do not take

from me hope - that Mr. G. wd himself move

in the Ho: of C. for the Famine Morty figures

**f132**

4 People's minds are so taken up

5. The only way to interest the peo of Eng in India wd to be if an Indian Dickens

6. The great Indian Officials - many of them truly great men do not interest England

Mr. Jowett

7. Would that I might give you facts about this strange India wh for 19 years I have had unbounded oppority of knowing & for 20 years I have had all sorts of 'confidential' Reports not only from head quarters, not only from our own officials in India - men of the highest character & status as most of them are - but of late years from native Hindoo Parsee & Mahometan Gentlemen

But to return to facts of Great Famine e.g.

1. no connection betwn famine & excess of pop.

2 Commn papers

2. registration of Deaths

3 down to "unregistered "

We have destroyed the Village Communities

registration of Causes of Death

10

Famine Deaths to starvation

3 Decrease of Pop. not to be accounted for by Migration

6 down to Migration theory

4 Native official corruption

letter

**f132v**

Child Life in Japan  
 Cottages & Artisan                      Rels      Tract      Socy  
 Child's Companion                      "  
 Mrs. Burton's Best Bedroom  
 Tales of 3 Centuries  
     by Made de Witt  
 Once upon a Time  
     book about the Rail  
 Life of George Moore      by Smiley  
 Sainly Workers                      Canon Farrar  
 Good news of the Gospel  
 All Saints Day & other Sermons } C. Kingsley  
 Westminster Sermons    }  
 Two Years ago  
 Murchison on Fevers  
*Philo Christus*  
 Bible Lessons by Revd Abbot  
 Illustrated Edition of Canon Farrar  
     Life of Christ  
 Words of Comfort edited by Mrs. Townsend & Revd Forbes  
 Contemporary for December  
 Teale's Domestic Sanitary Defects  
 2 copies of each Affghanistan Map

typed copy of signed letter, ff133-35, original is LMA roll 3  
HI/ST/NC1/79/1a

**f133** {arch: (2) Caird}

10 South St.

*PRIVATE* Park Lane, W.

Jan. 24/79 [9:823-24]

My dear Sir,

Once more I come to trouble you: but this time  
it is only to bid you 'God speed'. [wish in 9:]

We look to your Report with the most intense anxiety  
to arouse the people of England to a sense of their duty  
towards the people of India.

We are like children: we have forgotten to learn  
our lesson (on the state of the people of India) in order to  
run to the window at the sound of the drums & fifes in the  
street going - ah me: what devil has done this? - to Candahar  
& Jellalabad.

The only chance of real reform in India lies in a  
powerful report such as yours will be - which will interest  
the people of England.

And - if an Indian Dickens could arise?

or if the 'Times' could think India of as much  
importance as Cyprus & send out a 'Special Correspondent' to  
'discover' the interior!!

or &c. &c.

The India Office say in so many words that they hope  
that Mr. Caird will disregard the limitations of the instructions  
to the Commission. And they also hope that you will tell us

**f134**

-2-

something about the Famine Mortality. And so do I.

Another subject:

A Mr. Digby, whom you will probably see at Madras, says that the Indian Govt. have two courses before them:

(1) doing nothing; & a Poor Law will be necessary in a generation: (2) exerting themselves to improve agriculture (active to devise such means as shall increase the food - producing qualities of the soil) "for there is untold wealth a few inches beneath the surface of the soil if an improved plough is used to turn it up".

The same Mr. Digby says: -

"With better village government, (the enlargement & improvement of the village system), better village Statistics, & general widening of knowledge, agriculture could be improved, *manufacturing industries* introduced, & famine become as impossible in India as it is in France."

No one will know so much about this as you.

A leaving of the wretched ryot to his ignorance, his poverty & his plough (which scarcely scratches the soil) is the doctrine which many preach here.

I was glad to hear the India Office say that their great hope now of reviving interest in this terrible Madras tragedy was in "Mr. Caird's report" but that it will require courage like yours to bring to light damaging facts.

God speed you & God bless you in so divine and Saviour like a task

**[end 9:825]**

**f135**

-3-

ever your faithfully servt [yes that it is]

Florence Nightingale

I have twice written long rigmaroles to you.

Gladstone letter ff136-38 [5:449-50]

[printed address] Hawarden Castle  
Chester

26 January 1879

Dear Miss Nightingale

How many years have elapsed since your name used to sound daily in my ears, and how many such events, events of varied sadness, have happened in the very places where I used to hear it. All through this Eastern controversy--the most painful of my life--it has been a consolation to know that I was in sympathy with you. Especially I remember your most striking declaration about the war against Turkey.

I am glad that you approve of my article on the "Friends and Foes of Russia," glad that the error you notice is one of understatement. I had not the means of complete references when I sent off the sheets and 1,400,000 sounded to me so awful that I trembled but I should be [illeg]. The first correction I received put four millions, then you raise it higher still.

The Indian question, midst most vicious handling is growing gigantic and most perilous. Depend on it I will do what I can in it, but I fear this must be little. I fear that, apart from other means weighty enough, my taking a leading part in it would *not only poison* its atmosphere, now that it has come to be at once a main ground of the controversy between government and opposition. When I dealt with the Vernacular Press Act last year there was no Indian controversy and I took all the care in my power not to treat it as a contentious question. All this is now changed, and whatever I recommend about India the Tories will oppose.

You can hardly be aware of the extraordinary degree in which prejudice and passion have gathered round my very name (as well, I am abound to say) as favour and affection since the Eastern question came up. Whether [?] my fault or not, I can hardly say, but such is the fact. In the line I have followed I must *steadily* persist to the end of the conflict, but I have [illeg] forever the likelihood that it would *probably* disable me, even if age and other circumstances did not, rendering any other serious public service in the way of acting, which it must always be remembered is so different from that of objecting and censuring.

I think, however, there can be no difficulty in the way of obtaining the fullest official accounts of the deaths from famine which it may be in the power of the government to give. The grounds will become most contentious when it comes to show in the way in which the Famine Fund has been appropriated and the public works arrested in order to supply means for supporting this ever more foolish (if it is possible) than criminal war. The whole Indian question will [however?] force itself forward and there will be plenty of hands to deal with it.

Mr Bright is coming here in two [?] days and I hope to have full conversations with him about it. Believe me,  
with warm regard and respects

Add Mss 45807

588

sincerely yours  
W.E. Gladstone

f139 Jan 27 1872 letter to FN from Perssè re her kind letter (missing), recd before leaving Liverpool, her friends don't like her returning to Liverpool, my friends don't want her returning to Liverpool

unsigned notes, f141, pencil & pen

**f141** rough notes all directions

Limit yourself to the discussion of the Govt proposals including those of Sir R. Temple  
The great Indian officials returning home do not interest England about India even so the length of a review article

You cannot interest the ~~people of England~~/I.O. Unless you interest the people of England? They don't want to know. You are like beggars, it is not that the I.O. do not will for more knowledge but that they are not apt to discriminate characters illeg between conflicting testimonies.

It is not enough for the poor man to come to the I.O. to be listened to illeg the people of England fist. Illeg enlisting the people of England for it must he not have a certain position in public admin & be able to move the people of England.

[On diagonal] God grant that your Report may be able to move the people of England

Sir G. Campbell has only damaged his position in the last 3 years - he can only be distinguished by sticking to India (he would only damage a question in the Ho of C.) His Admn Reports so very good - but nobody knows them in England *that they wd have* moved all England, if the information had been put before us, as Slavery information was put before us there is the govt takeor & the Govt loans: if the money lender's agency/action is restricted which is what you want those will be extended. Don't create new agencies. We can not/may say that bread is nearer to us than Hindoos are remoter than slaves to us. Tho corn may be nearer to us .but we cannot say that Hindoos are farther off from us than slaves.

ink inserts on diagonal:

Pol Eco is grounded on the assumption that all men are equal. Whereas in India they are masters and slaves.

As the Cabinet must have a Parly majority at its back must not the great Indian who in England wishes to benefit India & move the I.O.

Add Mss 45807

590

have a majority of the people of England at its back?

unsigned letter, ff142-43v, pen & pencil [15:848-49]

**f142**

Dear friends

I have not written for what can one say?  
You are in all our hearts & minds. And  
wiser minds than mine write.

A defeat in a righteous cause means a  
great victory in the end. I seem to be  
praying for you all night long.

Thoughtful men say: Sir Bartle is the only  
man not to blame in all this. He will  
bring them through.

The courage which stands in defeat ~~not~~ and  
turns it into victory: the "fortitude", which, as Burke  
says "knows as well to retreat as to advance," which

**f143**

"can conquer as well by delay"  
this will rank with some of the noblest efforts  
of courage that history records.

the courage which looks only to the best  
regardless of consequences to itself

May your troubles, our troubles, for we are  
all yours soon be less - your heroic vigour to  
overcome them never be less but ever more &  
more

For the heroism of Isandula

Was there a man dismayed?

Not tho the soldiers knew

Some

So in the Valley of Death

Stood the Seven Hundred

By their stand they have perhaps prevented a Zulu  
raid - but for them there might have been no one  
~~white~~ man, woman or child left in Natal

How Roland brave

It warms one's heart to know ~~they~~ /there are such paladins

It still is greater to stand in defeat than to stand in victory

But our descendants will speak of the defence of  
Rorkes Drift how well the Eighty held the ford  
Their names will live & be engraved in our hearts  
with yours But oh the mourning oh

the grief Well, I envy them & I envy you

I should like to have been the mother of one of those  
paladins who stood: even tho' he had been my only  
one or of any 6 of them

**f143v**

And as the head is greater than the hands & the feet, so the glory, the courage & the ~~en~~ are greater in Sir B. than in those who died at Isandula -

God bless you again & again & him & all the Mourners

But we may truly say: death is swallowed up in victory I *would* offer my deepest sympathy if I might with the poor widows who are left Only like the Bethlehem's massacred children, Isandula's massacred

heroes are

calling to them  
out of heaven not to mourn

~~for~~ When these times are gone by, look to the peaceful victory the beneficent rule

When we have annexed new lands in S. Africa may we be guided to govern well ~~when~~ have we succeeded so well in governing in India that we should want more lands to govern

**[end] 15:849]**

**f144** pencil on diagonal

Words seem so vain  
What a great man is he  
who can take responsibility  
it is all the difference between  
man & man

[ink line] All these are past events to you  
[pencil resumes] Before this reaches you a new phase in the War

We need not recommend clemency to Sir B  
for justice of admin  
for the putting down of slavery which among the Kaffir women seems still to exist even in Natal. a continuance of the just rule of illeg which in Scinde & Bombay  
and oh when the days of warfare are past  
& those for just organz admn are come  
if we must have more lands to govern

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff145-45v, pen & pencil

**f145**

-2-

swallowed up in victory. I would offer my deepest sympathy if I might with the poor widows who are left. Only like the Holy Innocents in the massacre of Herod at Bethlehem, in Guido's picture, the heroes are calling to them out of heaven not to mourn.

Words seem so vain  
All these are now past events to you. Before this reaches you, you will have entered on a new phase in the War. We need not recommend clemency to Sir Bartle.

When these dreadful times are gone by, and oh for the days of warfare to be over/ past, & those for wise ~~wise~~ & righteous organization & just administration to have come, then, if we must have more lands to govern, we know that we shall find, as in Scinde, as in Bombay, all the civilizing agencies in Sir Bartle. we know

**f145v**

that we may look for the  
 putting down of slavery, which,  
 among the Kaffre women, seems  
 still to exist, even in Natal,  
 look for, tho' among unexampled difficulties  
 the turning of the assegai into the  
 ploughshare and oh may that  
 day soon arrive we may  
 look for every victory of peace, of peace & good will to men  
 for every machinery of beneficent  
 rule & good government that  
 has followed in Sir Bartle's  
 steps wherever he went.

We count the days & the hours &  
 the minutes for the mails & the  
 telegrams to come in from Natal.

God bless you all again & again  
 And may not I say God bless  
 the fierce / poor Zulus. ~~if they are to  
 be brought~~ & bring them under civilization  
 tho' it be, if it must, first by the sword,  
 all the more *after*, by peace & good will.

F146 Feb 10 1879 letter to FN from Mme Schmidt-Zabierow, beg Mohl  
 from Vienna. Presuming on your kind interest I took the liberty the  
 other day of sending to you the publications of the Society for  
 Training Nurses recently founded here at Vienna. I ought perhaps to  
 apologize to have thus intruded upon you, but knowing the sympathy  
 you give to every attempt towards accomplished so important an  
 object, I trust you will not only excuse the ...enclosed letter of  
 Marie von Miller, a clever, accomplished, rich and still young  
 lady, such as we have but few to boast of in our part of the world.

When Miss Miller heard I had in former times the honour of your  
 personal acquaintance, she asked me as it were for an introduction  
 to you. As she is one of the most active and *intelligent* members of  
 eh new society, I thought I might venture to do so.

6 years ago the Frauen ...verein here at Vienna was in hopes of  
 setting up a school for training nurses, unfortunately We found  
 that the task beyond our means and above our strength. It was then  
 you so kindly wrote to me the letters, looked upon as great  
 treasures by me, to which Miss Miller alluded. I hope the present  
 society may be more fortunate as it has now the powerful patronage  
 and assistance of *great medical people* [FN red und] like Professor  
 Billroth and others. As for the rest, the letter speaks for itself.

My sister Helmholtz writes to me of the pleasure she has just  
 now had in making Miss Florence Lees's acquaintance and of the most  
 valuable information she got from her. But unfortunately hardly any  
 personal news from you have reached me ever since the loss of my

dear father and my beloved uncle in Paris. Life has not been the same to us ever since, nor will it ever be again. ....

ff148-53 5 Jan 1879 letter Marie von Miller Vienna III Heumarkt ii, re Schmidt von Zabierow, English. ...Through the kindness of Mme Schmidt ... I have had the great advantage of reading several letters written by you on the subject of training nurses. I found therein with greatest pleasure the confirmation of the views to which I and several friends have been led by considering the above question with the intention of setting up a school for nurses. Your lucid treatment of the subject has dispelled the last lingering doubts.

Let me first of all thank you dearest Madam for the inspiring example which you have given to all who take an interest in social welfare, esp for the benefit which I have myself derived from your publications.

Mrs S Z tells me that she has forwarded to you several newspaper articles "des Vereins fur Heranbildung von Pflegerinnen" to which I belong, the object of which is to found a hospital, chiefly for the purpose of organizing in connection with it a training school for nurses. We have, as usual, begun with an appeal to the public, and a number of ladies are now engaged in making personal applications to procure the requisite funds. We find however our Vienna public not so responsible as we could wish and much in need of being enlightened on the matter.

Unfortunately too the clerical party, consisting chiefly of the aristocratic families of our country, have got the impression that such an institution rival and therefore interfere with the religious orders.

Of course as you will easily understand, we have the warmest regard for the good sisters of charity, who are really the only nurses in Vienna of kind demeanour, but on the one hand we must take into account that most of the physicians are really opposed to the employment of religious orders in their large hospitals, on account of the clerical influence thereby introduced, and, on the other, leaving aside all questions of better & worse, the sisters of charity will never be of so large numbers as to supply the general want. A second argument brought against us is that, granted the utility of training nurses, of inducing a better class of women to enter this profession, it is most foolish to build a special hospital for this object. The cost of such is, they say, an immense deduction from the capital given to benevolent institutions in general, and, in this case seems squandered for a purpose which might be attained w/o such an apparatus. In fact the managers of another charitable society (practischer Frauen Hilfsverein) have at once set out to prove that [FN red und] *the training of nurses can be effected by a theoretical course lasting six weeks and by a further apprenticeship in the "Allgemeine Spital" under the conditions presently existing there with the mere addition of a premium given to such pupils as conduct themselves well and are ready to serve in*

*the case of war.*

It only needs however a visit to the "Allgemeine Spital" to be convinced that *the training given there is not such as is required* and it seems evident to us that neither the theoretical instruction nor the stimulus of the illeg will really raise the standard of a class which in our country is a *very low one. Respectable women would hardly associate still less put themselves in a position of pupil to the very lowbred nurses in that hospital,* even the mode of intercourse customary *between them and the physicians* would not suit them. During the short period of a year, while employed in the direction of a small hospital, with only ten beds, I have known several nurses, of whom the one *stole part of our linen* another was continually *drunk* and a third committed *atrocious cruelties* in order to *extract money from the sick poor* under her care. All were taken from the "Allgemeine Spital" [above all FN und, now Miller und] *it was hard to obtain the consent of the physicians for dismissing them on account of their skill.* I believe that [FN und red] *physicians, the only superintendents of the nurses* in our large hospitals, *hardly ever get cognizance of their moral deportment,* as they always know how to *frighten the wretched people* dependent on their good graces, into *silent suffering.* They are too much concentrated upon their scientific objects, besides the *guidance of men only will never suffice for women.*

To much further objection of the needlessness of a new hospital we can state that at present almost *three fifths of the patients who apply for admission in the hospitals cannot be received from want of place* this in a time of good health, without epidemic diseases.

I write all this, dearest Madam, to give you a picture of the situation I Vienna, in respect of philanthropic work of this kind. I may add that I never expect a reform to be effected without opposition esp in matters where physicians are concerned. The question is only how best to meet it?

Some passages of the letters already mentioned giving your views and advice upon the subject might be a great help to us if you would kindly consent to their publication. Coming from one of so deservedly high authority they would not fail to produce an impression upon the readers. Still better, of course, it would be e if you shd have the great kindness of addressing the committee or any of its members for the sake of encouraging it in following the course taken, or if you could send anything written by you bearing upon the subject which might be translated, printed with a suitable introduction, I venture upon this request, dearest Madam, not knowing your present state of health.... hope will pardon my presumption...

f154 Feb 27 1879 letter to FN from J.D. Goodman, Birmingham, re lying-in charity, encloses a statement showing causes of deaths of the 18 mothers and receipt for donation, with notes by FN of numbers

FN blue pencil note: Birmingham Lying-in Charity

viz from  
1870-78 (of Lying-in Cases  
delivered at home  
(94 years) (18 Deaths)

unsigned letter, ff155-56, pencil

**f155**

*Indian Famine Mortality* Mr. G. Duff [9:837]

1350000 Deaths figures given to the Ho. last August  
These were the *registered* Deaths, but such was the  
pressure - which resulted in an amount of human  
suffering & destruction to which the records of  
the civilized world scarcely offered a parallel  
that the officials altogether failed in counting  
the dead

In Madras the Register of Deaths was not 50  
per c. of the actual Deaths from Famine

In Mysore 22 p. cent

The Govt. themselves, I believe, now reckons the  
famine Deaths in Madras, Bombay, & Mysore  
at 2 ½ millions, or nearly double what they told  
the Ho. of C.

And this does not include the N. W. P. where  
there has been a Famine Mortality of something not  
very far short of half a million or Hyderabad  
where the Deaths must have been far above a million

The figures which have reached me bring the  
loss of pop. during the Famine up to between 5 or  
6 millions in Southern India, not including the  
N.W.P.

It is not that we want to substitute an arithmetic  
dispute however important, about the exact number  
of Famine Deaths for the far greater question - as

**f155v**

the state of the people & the *prevention* of famine  
which are I trust now forcing themselves to the front

But it is that in India the loss of life by  
famine is the test, the type of the condition of  
people - a test so striking, a type so awful  
that if it does not move the Government of India  
& the people of England to action the case is  
indeed hopeless a test & a culmination  
which, thank God can exist in no other country  
not even Ireland in days gone by under our rule

~~For~~ It is a test, because it is not precluded that there was not  
food  
to be had in ~~in~~ this Indian Famine, if there had

been money to pay for it.

And the large quantities of grain poured in from  
the irrigated Districts of the Godavery, Kistna & Canvery  
(Tangore) are matters of official report. **[end 9:837]**

**f156**

2. Controversy between Hyndman & Sir E. Parry  
in Monday's XIX Century bankruptcy  
of India whether India is getting poorer  
& poorer

3.  
& India  
might

1/3/79

typed copy of a signed letter, f157, FN Museum 0874 [8:542]

**f157** Copy March 3/79

10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dear Madam

I venture to recall myself to you for dear, dear Mrs. Bracebridge's sake, gone home now these five years: but whose little tokens, not needful to keep her always before me, always stand by my bed side.

Could you give me Mrs. Dee's address? I think *Mrs. Dee* was the name of the maid who nursed her to the last: And could you kindly tell me whether there would be the least chance of finding her disengaged? (The last I heard of her was that she was keeping a lady's house in London: a great waste, I thought, of such a woman.)

My mother's maid who, we fondly hoped, would have remained with her till the end, is going to be married. My mother is 91, & infirm: tho' she still drives out every day, enjoys a great deal of reading aloud (by a lady companion) & dines with the family. She lives in London with the Shore Smiths, my cousins: & goes every ~~year~~ / summer {typed} to Lea Hurst in Derbyshire, when I go with her & take charge.)

Her maid sleeps in her dressing room; with the door open: she has to lift her into her Bath & wash her; & certainly the attendance, night & morning, is very close. And some physical strength is required: tho' my Mother is not a heavy woman.

It would be to us a relief untold to entrust my Mother to such a woman as Mrs. Bracebridge's maid.

Pray accept my regret for troubling you with these details, & believe me, for the sake of our dear friend - not lost but gone before, yours ever sincerely (Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

unsigned letter draft, f158, pencil

**f158**

Buckingham Canal 21/3/79 [10:149]

May I venture to give you joy, as we give India & ourselves joy, on the noble results of the D. of Buckingham's wisdom & energy, in the Buckingham Canal?

Had not the Duke honoured me with some correspondence on the subject in 1877, I should scarcely have dared to ask you kindly to take the opportunity of presenting my respectful congrats to him.

It is a boon so wonderful: this having water communication all the way from Madras to Coconada excepting that short break of 8 miles at Feringse Disha [?] which doubtless will also soon be completed & opened. [end] 10:149]

Stanford, the great Map Engraver, has engraved for me a Map from my design, - furnished of course by the great Water Engineers of India of all the Presidency Irrigated Districts, Water sheds, Water Commissions of India, completed, in progress or projected And I am now having the Buckingham Canal added Doubtless we shall soon hear of the Duke having placed steamers on it.

The conveyance of troops & stores, of native passengers & heavy native goods by Canal we shall owe this great reform to the Duke - as well as the enormous increase of trade - cotton, rice, & all that is sure to follow the opening of a navigable Canal through to Corunna

Not the least of the benefits which Madras Presy will owe to the Duke will be the Buckingham Canal

signed letter, ff159-65, pen {this is copper plate handwriting, not FN's} pale blue paper

**f159** {arch: To Fraulein Miller, Vienna, III Heumarkt ii}

London, March 17 1879 [13:474-79]

Dear Madam

The state of things which you so well describe, the evils which you so wisely point out, as regards the system (or no system) of Hospital nursing in Vienna we have seen & known elsewhere. Nay, more, it seems to be the normal type of Hospital nursing in all Countries - the natural that is savage formation before Civilization comes. Thirty years ago it was the state of Hospital nursing nearly all over the world. This Country was (& is in many respects) certainly no exception before public opinion was directed to the subject of the organization of Nursing & the means of producing & training good Nurses [There was some exception in Paris in Hospitals nursed by Augustinian Soeurs & Soeurs de Ste. Marthe, mainly as my experience led me to think because the Administration was entirely secular - thus public opinion was brought in - & the Soeurs were entirely under their own female head - thus kindness to Patients and absolute morality & discipline were secured & the Medical (& most able Staff & School were the third element Progress, friendly rivalry leading to

**f159v**

improvement & the excellent police of publicity were thus all ensured. the free light & air & criticism so valuable, of public opinion were thus all let in.

I do not dwell on this further because we are not discussing the nursing of "religieuses" save for the excellent lesson here presented]

2. Nothing can be truer than what you say as to the position taken up as a rule by the Medical profession with regard to the subject of Nursing - great appreciation of the technical skill of a Nurse when they happen to get a skilful one - utter absence not only of any knowledge of her moral character but often of any necessity of moral qualities at all for a good nurse - A good nurse must be a good woman And how is a good woman to be made & kept?

These two things they do not know & often they do not care to know

The very A. B. C. of a Nurse is (A.) to be sober & chaste (B.) Strictly honest & true (C.) & kind & devoted. For (a) how can a drinking woman attend properly to her Patients.

Strange things go on when the Doctors are not there.

**f160**

One would think that any one might see how, of all women a nurse must be not only not immoral but must never allow a free word or look.

(b) And how can a dishonest woman attend to her Patients? She will take the Patients food & drink, the Hospital things & even if honest as to these she will - the cardinal sin in all unreformed Nursing, exact petty bribes of all sorts from the Patients. And those Patients who do not & can not give will be cruelly, sometimes fatally, neglected: children especially. And how can the Patients speak?

The Nurse who ought to be the Patients defender & keeper - you have in this case to defend the Patient against the Nurse.

And how can the Doctors spend their time thus?

They never know of it.

They little know how the Nurses hood-wink them.

The bad woman, the clever nurse must be a idiot if she cannot hood wink the Doctor.

Only a good trained matron over the

**f160v**

Nurses can, so to speak defend the Doctor who really cares for his Patients against and only good trained Nurses really carry out the Doctors orders at all times.

(c) Kindness and self-devotion & patience with the Patients is a sine qua non in a good Nurse and the merely clever nurse may be wanting in all these things.

O, the cruelty which may go on in the best Medical Staff-ed Hospital behind the backs of the Medical Staff.

How, indeed can they act as Matrons? & as Head Nurses?

They are, as you well say "too much concentrated upon their scientific objects & moreover the guidance of men will never suffice for women"

That is so true.

3. Our leading Medical men Physicians & Surgeons - are the first to admit that the lay administration of the Hospital should not be in the hands of the Medical staff they are not & do not pretend to be administrators. Probably the greater progress which has been made in England in the improvement of Nursing has been due to the fact that in many of our Hospitals the management of the Hospital is in

**f161**

the hands of Civilians - & if they had the sense (in some cases) to see that a Staff of women can only be properly looked after & managed by a woman - that all the details of moral conduct & general discipline must be entrusted to a female Head, qualified by training & experience to understand the work of her charges & subordinates. In no other way can the essential object of every hospital for the Sick be attained - that is the proper treatment of the Patients by an organization which will ensure the efficient carrying out of the Orders of the Medical Staff.

II. As to the Training of the Nurses the views as you state of the Frauen Hilfsverein are indeed those of many excellent & patriotic people, who have no practical knowledge of the subject, & who one may say do not even bring the every day experience of their common life to bear upon it. Would they think even a common Servant could be taught in this way? Would they think that Music & the Arts so admirably taught in many parts of Germany could be learned in this way? Yet the Nurse has to play upon the human body, the most delicate

**f161v**

& important of all mechanisms - She has to handle *life* the other Arts have only to handle matter - She has to do with life & death - other women have to do only with accessories to life.

Systematic teaching is not to be afforded by a theoretical course of a few weeks & the hap hazard process "picking up as we should call it, which an ordinary Nurse goes thro' in order to gain any knowledge she ever does gain in a Hospital under the usual conditions. [Sometimes the only practical knowledge she does gain is practising the blunders of her predecessors] and above all she does not learn the spirit of obedience to Medical Orders nor to her duties toward the Patients.

Herein and in the absence of trained female supervision - the two go together lies the root of all the evil.

(A.) *Training*: the key to the whole is, what is meant by Training: It is a word in every body's mouth now. But the widest possible & most opposite meanings are attached to it.

One of the largest Hospitals in London admits for three months "Probationers" at an hour in the morning when every thing

**f162**

is done in the Wards to leave at an hour in the afternoon before any thing has been begun & calls this "Training". What is there learnt, or not learnt, by Probationers of Nursing duty can be imagined.

The regular systematic course of a year with all its tests, current supervision examination and records - residence in the Hospital under the constant eye of a trained & training Matron - a trained Mistress of Probationers - trained Ward Sisters (Head Nurses) with Classes and Lectures and drilling in these by the Mistress of Probationers & a well cared for "Probationers Home" - this is also called "Training"

It must never be forgotten that Hospital life requires for women, more helps, spiritual & moral, more keeping up to the spirit of their work more of a good 'esprit de corps' & pride in & love of their work than domestic service or family life & hitherto has received less. And I defy any Nurse to equal the good trained Ward Sister (Head Nurse) for fealty to her Physicians or Surgeons I like to hear her in the faithful belief that there is no Physician or Surgeon

**f162v**

in the world like hers.

What are the instructions given to the Ward Head Nurses as to how they are to train?

I venture to append a M.S. Copy of those we give together with our list of Duties &c.

B. Trained Matron, her office and duties as distinguished from the old fashioned Housekeeper Matron. These two, the trained Matron and the Training System are certainly the key stones & the foundations of the whole improved system of the organization of Nursing.

As the sense to be attached to Training is the foundation to the Trained Matron is the head of the whole system.

The rest is only the hands & the body

What the Matron does.

What she is there for.

In every Hospital where the Nursing has been organized - this has been the main spring It has been mainly done by the appointment of a trained & training Matron and in the "applications" for a "system" which constantly reach us from abroad & at home, the first thing always is to advise them to obtain a Trained Matron: to advise

**f163**

what her responsibilities her duties & powers are to be - including selection appointment dismissal, training & discipline & governing &c of every Nurse Head Nurse Probationer &c in the Hospital - subject of course to the approval of the Hospital authorities to whom the Matron is herself responsible.

What she is there for, what she does I have tried to explain in the enclosed (printed) "Suggestions"

We have succeeded in some cases in this Country in having the needful reforms introduced into old Hospitals - always as a first step by the appointment of a Matron (Lady Superintendent) qualified as a Trained Nurse & invested with sufficient authority to have a real control & direction over the Nursing Staff

III Might not your great and wise activity not without a very real experience & that of your friends, be able to induce the Managers of some existing Hospital other than the "Allgemeine" to take the work in hand supported as you are by so great & able an authority as Professor Billroth & others? The support of the Medical staff or some portion of them is most important, & the change once

**f163v**

established the Medical men are too intelligent & too liberal minded not to be ready to admit the good shewn by practical work 30 years ago all the English Medical profession were against any improvement in Nursing (at the largest Medical School in Great Britain it was the recognised duty of the Senior house Surgeon to have the drunken Night nurses carried in a Stretcher every night [this comes of the Medical man 'doing' Matron] that Hospital some years since asked us for a trained Lady Supt of Nursing & Trained Nursing staff which has answered to the delight & recognition of all the Hospital Authorities & is now in entire possession of the Hospital Nursing with a large Training School as I said 30 years ago the whole Medical profession was against Trained & organized Nursing now all the leading men are not only in favor of it but are its most material helpers.

It is now almost a truism & recognized as such that to put good new pupils under bad old nurses or conditions (" a new patch on an old garment") is to make the new like the old or to put the cart before the horse. One of the oldest and grandest Hospitals in London after trying this experiment has

**f164**

now resorted to us for a trained Lady Supt of Nurses & her trained Assistants. These have begun work and the experiment is now begun at the right end.

Note: I wished to say a word upon part of the subject which you have so well touched upon; it is impossible if desirable and it is undesirable if possible, to expect the class of women which you want to attract into Hospital life, respectable young women of the lower middle class & practical sensible young women of the middle or upper classes to come into it to be trained if it is not a home & life into which any good mother would like to place her daughter of whatever class & if the Female Heads, Matrons & Head Nurses are persons to whom young & good women cannot safely be entrusted - Nor will they come, if relations between Doctors & Nurses are such as would not be tolerated in a good private family.

Lastly, about building a new hospital tho' when complete no doubt it affords the best conditions for success in organized & trained Nursing yet it seems a formidable undertaking as to the prospects of which I have not the means of judging. It is so very difficult to form an opinion If the Hospital is really wanted if money enough can be collected to build

**f164v**

a good sized Hospital - if a strong medical staff can then be obtained - Yes by all means build one - But of course far better to gain over sufficient leading men of the staff of some existing Hospital.

Judge of the deep interest I feel in your object, not by my delay in answering but by the length of this Letter.

Indeed it is impossible to say how strongly I sympathize with our Sister Vienna, with your efforts to ensure a good Training School for the Nurses you have believe me, my best wishes for your best success God speed the good cause & He will:

Pray believe me  
 dear Madam  
 ever Your faithful Servt.  
 Florence Nightingale

I see you kindly allude to some letters of mine "on the subject of training Nurses to Mrs Schmidt Zabierow" and to "Mrs Estelberger" and you ask me if use might not be made of some passages of those letters.

I have forgotten what was in them but if any thing in my poor letters could be of the slightest to you and yours I am

**f165**

sure I may depend on your kind prudence & I should not like to prevent what you even thought might be of the least little use

Again Good speed, & pardon my delay in answering unhappily unavoidable

I beg to enclose the "Suggestions" mentioned  
 2. A Report      3. "Regulations" for admitting  
 Probationers      4. List of Duties &c

I will send to Mrs. Schmidt Zabierow the M.S. Instructions I mentioned & one other printed paper.

F.N.

unsigned notes, for a letter? or from a meeting with G. Campbell  
ff166-69v, pencil & pen

**f166**

Sir G. Campbell 31/3/79 [10:524-25]

"Realization of Arrears of Rent Bill  
with Mr. Mackenzie's speech upon it -  
Calcutta Gazette of Jan 8/79

Is this new Rent Bill now passed?

[A letter dated Feb 21 says that it was to become law  
"in a month"?)

And do you approve this Bill? You who have  
done so much for Bengal & the Ryots.

If I say what I am going to say, it is not because  
I do not know that you know everything and I nothing  
but because I want you to tell me

it seems as if this Bill were actually going back  
from Art X of 1859 which did so much for the Ryots  
& is a sort of return to the principles of 1812 if not  
1799.

The Ryots friends think the new  
Bill "calculated to operate most injuriously on the  
tenants' interests but that " the Bengal Govt"  
(you will think that I am very seditious) "is determined to  
"pass this Bill: & no amount of discussion will  
"dissuade it from its intention. On such an important  
"question, one which vitally affects the interests of  
"the millions of H. M.'s subjects, only 6 weeks' time  
"has been allotted for discussion"

[I thought Sir Ashley Eden was the Ryots' friend]  
The people say (& Mr. Mackenzie says himself) that the  
Procedure for Summary Realization of Arrears of Rent  
(3) is a most 'summary' & severe procedure.

**f166v**

- that (4) "14 days is too short a time.
- that ("6 appeal only on amount of decree being deposited") - where is he to get the money to make the deposit? Let us have your money first & you shall have our justice afterwards.
- that (9. "Landlord must prove that rent at the rate claimed has been paid in former years or has been agreed to") - it is very easy to prove this.
  
- that (12 "occupancy tenure heritable & transferable there is a partial & not an absolute right of alienation
  
- that (13 " occupancy ryot not to sublet without consent of Zemindar") the section does away with the system of sub-letting  
[We should have thought 'the Section *right* here.]
- that (17. "Transfers of occupancy tenures to be registered) this is too great a power in the hands of the Zemindar.
  
- that (20. "Execution may issue on verbal application of decree holder") it is a most unjust procedure
- so also 22. " The Court may in certain cases award to the Plaintiff additional damages not exceeding 25 p. c."
- that 26 ("Arrears of rent" -*what they are*: "quarter days of payment: interest at 12 p c. on all that shall remain unpaid by sunset on any quarter day shall be awarded

**f167**

will prove a death blow to the tenants' right  
 [This does seem a most arbitrary proceeding. One knows  
 a good many people in rich England who would not  
 like to pay "12 per c." on their servants' wages or Tradesmen's  
 bills remaining unpaid "at sunset on Quarter day]  
 Are the Zemindars to refund their 'abwabs' by 'sunset'  
 on Quarter Day?

-28. "Service of summons in suits for arrears of rent  
 that Mr. Mackenzie takes objection to that sort of  
 procedure very rightly & then they place the  
 ryot under this disadvantage & Mr M. says "personally  
 he would like to "secure the actual attendance of the ryot  
*before* a decree: " He says against the "process serving  
 peons" what we all know to be a fact. And yet he  
 places the ryot under this process when what we  
 want for the ryot is just this "the securing his actual  
 attendance before decree: is it not?"

-29 ("*Ryot when liable to ejection* ") that the  
 poor ryot has only 15 days' time to make the  
 payment.

-30 ("Crops belonging to under tenant liable to distraint  
 that it discourages the system of sub-letting altogether  
 [But surely this is right]

I read Mr. Mackenzie's speech with the most  
 intense interest, because it touches on nearly every point  
 that you have been so good as to instruct me upon

But people are very much dissatisfied with it - they  
 say - of the Bill's two objects: ~~of~~ No. 1 'Yes it strengthens

**f167v**

the hands of the rent=receiver' (Mr Mackenzie's words) but, No 2 Mr. M. says "it attempts to strengthen the position of the cultivating Ryot" - 'No: it attempts to weaken the position of the Ryot.'

Mr. M. appeals to certain native gentlemen - And people say: these are members of the Landholders' Association & first class Zemindars of Bengal.

They say that the sum & substance of the whole Bill is that the "landlord has only to file his plaint to secure x x x failing which (suit) the plaintiff will at once obtain a decree."

Mr. M. says himself, this is a most summary & severe procedure & that it shifts entirely the *onus* on the ryot He says this *himself*.

But Mr. Mackenzie appears to rely on the very Section 9 which is not sufficient

And what is far worse he says: that the Bill "tenderness itself compared with the landlord's power ~~under the Perm Secy & Reg XVII of 1793: Reg XXXV of 1795~~

[That is adding insult to injury. It is in fact that "there were much uglier bonnets in the shop" premise {written in pen above & below this line:}

Charles Dix principle  
in France to Louis Quinze

Is it desired to return to 1793?]

This is what irritates people so much that he shd say that the proposed law is "tenderness itself" as compared with the abominable clause of Reg VII of 1799 & Reg V of 1812 which I believe you concur in calling abominable - Panjam & 'Haftam' quoted by Mr. M. were, were they not? engineers of oppression in

**f168**

-2-

'the Zemindar's hands' & for that very reason repealed by Act X of 1859. It is rather hard therefore to go back beyond 1859, as if Act X is to or ought to be repealed. Yet Mr. Mackenzie's speech sounds very like a condemnation of Act X as too tender. And his present Bill is certainly not "tenderness itself" as compared with Act X, which he seems to cast in their teeth. Then he hauls up the character of the Backetgunje ryots against them which "seems to 'rile' them considerably. And they ask because the Backetgunje ryots are wicked does it therefore follow that the ryots of other districts are wicked as well?

Mr. M. again repeats that the Zemindar is not to be allowed to turn the Bill into an "engine of oppression". [But what is there to prevent the proposed law from being an "engine of oppression" in the Zemindar's hands?]

And how does he propose to prevent it?

By, he says, Section 26

which, *they say*, is one of the most objectionable Sections of all. And by Section 27, a "proper system of rent receipts" - "an improvement advocated by the Zemindars themselves".

Is this any improvement at all?

[Timeo Danaos &c]

I don't think it wd be possible for Mr. Mackenzie's speech - the speech obviously of a most estimable man - to be made in a free Parlt where there is debating the Govt ought to pay an opposition.

**f168v**

Sir G. Campbell & Sir Louis Mallet

What interests me most in Mr. Mackenzie's speech is: 1. the tremendous case he makes out *against* the Permt Settmt 2. his admission that *while "the ryot has absolutely no inducement to begin ANY such IMPROVEMENT s,"* we must *look to him & to no one else* (to no Zemindar) for all improvements.

[And therefore must the poor ryot be starved to death?]

What is yet more interesting in the speech, if true, is what he cites of the flourishing ryots under the Benares Rajahs Is this true?

3 ~~It is curious~~/ But yet more strange than this is to see an English Government holding up the superior condition of the ryots under *native rule*] & citing

4 ~~And his~~ Lastly the British tribute to the Ryot that there is no more

zealous improver of the soil "when his tenure is assured" even when "his rent" is "crushing"

Mr. M. then goes on to enumerate our ryot's present advantages to which he adds the "power of education x for wh the name of Sir G. Campbell will be ever honoured

Nem con [nemine contradicente - with no one contradicting GW] The conclusion of all this is, however, a most lame & impotent conclusion. And, except in discouraging subletting among the *ryots* (not the Zemindars) he reverts again directly to strengthening the hands of the Zemindars.

**[end 10:525]**

x have many *questions about this Education Sen & Boswell*  
 - *Directors of Ed*  
 & *Rent League - do any exist now? Sen -*

**f169**

The rest (in my Bengal letters) is taken up with what may be more or less gossip - as to the way in which "artful Zemindars" have hoodwinked Sir Ashley Eden as to the prosperity of their Ryots & with accounts of 3 murders of Zemindars by their oppressed tenants.

[I mean to ask you some day if these things are true - but I have troubled you too long now How comes it that this "School Cess" is paid entirely by Ryots, & not by the richer Zemindars? Or is this so only in Bombay Presidency?

This Bill only reached me on Saturday  
And now perhaps has become law -  
{written in ink diagonally in the bottom right hand corner}  
School Cess is only  
on land (Genl Fife)  
money lenders &  
merchants escape

**f169v****[5:313-14]**

II. About the letter you were so good as to write to me that "there was a time when there was a conscience of England possible to be got at: at any rate in the particular case of the Slave trade there was". but that "nothing that is not for the interest of the rich x x x has any chance now -

*They said that* in the days of the Slave Trade yet they tried & overcame - they won the day & abolished the Slave Trade: - (my grandfather was for 49 years in the Ho. of C. the intimate & coadjutor of Mr. Wilberforce & Clarkson in the cause.

As a child I used to hear them 'fighting their battles o'er again' And if anything was clear it was this: namely that they had had to fight against an "apathy & indifference" in England not less but more dense & extraordinary than that about India that they, then as now, could only win their cause thro' Parlt & officials

- that they had to gain & gain painfully the ears of the people of England

in order to gain that of the Ministers & of Parlt.

- that the apathy of the Public was hardly to be roused & was only roused at last by laying down & agitating by every means *broad principles*

Then at last the Abolitionists had it all their own noble way

- when they appealed to the people in the name of justice - when they spoke from platforms & said

"can any long duration of oppression confer a right of

incomplete notes, ff170-71v, pencil

**f170**

Lady Hope April 4/79

"Clubs commonly do not answer on Coffee-room premises because Clubs are exclusive & you want every body to come to the Coffee-room.

Women are allowed to come to any meal at the Dorking Coffee room but have to turn out when the meal is over because their room is wanted

Make your Coffee-room as attractive as you can in the evening - musical boxes, *band playing, singing* Get young ladies to go in & sing - all sorts of games also music: not the sort they bring from the public house but good songs, cheerful hymns.

Boys' room does not answer, they get to plaguing each other - the bad ones pull down the good & the good don't raise the bad.

Industrial Rooms for boys: the only thing which answers A tailor at Weston super Mare did it at his own cost & made it self-supporting tailoring class, shoe making class, printing class &c &c

A woman's bar might be made has been made at Tetbury in Glostershire by a Miss - - by dividing a bar down the middle - separate entrances - - same kitchen - women to serve on women's side--men the other side. Division might be continued up to ceiling if necessary

Does not do to have women in Coffee or Reading room, because you don't know what women might come

**f171v**

Our Coffee room ~~despot~~/ Manager prevents men even from speaking ill of another

Gymnastics yes, very good, only it requires a large hall & is expensive

Ladies exercise such a good influence in Coffee rooms

Shy ladies (young) to sing much better than bold young ladies

Missionary goes about, goes to the homes of the working men - when they come in from work - must be one of themselves - persuade them to go to Coffee room Here & there going about among them - then goes to public house & says Meet me tomorrow at Coffee room I have got something to show you

Differences between different trades appeared It wants a Manager.

f172 April 8 1879 letter to FN from Perssè, 47 Chepstow Place re regulations. I had not the least idea the enclosed regulations were in contemplation. I shall feel much obliged if you have time to look them over, reform seems to me impossible une such arrs. I hope you will approve of my reply. I have deeply meditated on your last letter (missing), for which I sincerely thank you, most faithfully yours

f173 April 16 [1879] letter to FN from Perssè, has been absent, distressed about Liverpool but cd not see any way to be of any use subject to Mr Langton's arrs. Therefore on Sat 12th wrote to Mr Rathbone to say I wd much rather not return to Liverpool. As Mr Langton will not alter his. Wants to advise with FN about her future. Mrs Wardroper saw his papers but does not know her decision.

F175 Apr 23 1879 letter to FN from Herbert Darbishire, Antrimville Belfast re Miss Lennox gratified at receiving FN's kind note so soon after she had removed to our new hosp and she desires me to say that it acted as a stimulus and enc to her arriving as it did when she was somewhat overdone by the exertions and anxiety consequent on the removal of her little charges and her staff from one hosp to the other. She gave me your note to deal with as I mt think best and of course I felt much gratified to think that you considered the plans of our new hosp worthy of examination. I have seen Mr Mackson our architect and he has kindly undertaken to supply the tracing s you desire to know so I hope that in the course of a few days they will be forwarded through him ...Mr Jackson said he "would not have supplied them to anyone but Miss Nightingale' which I hope you will take as a complement, but to tell you the truth, the hosp is not an architect--hospital of all the general plan and the details having been supplied by others, with results which are as remarkable for the absence of "architects mistakes" perhaps as for other carefully conceived

unsigned notes, ff177 - 84 v ,  
pencil

**f177**

Sir R. Temple

25/4/79

Great kindness

Minute of April 12/79

[10:149-51]

2 useful & priceless speeches if they carry fruit to Native  
Med. students

Question as to the force wh. these words of yours ought to bear  
crowd from my mind: reconnaissance n'est qu'un vif

1. Might I ask what has actually been completed as to scheme  
so ably set forth & so much needed - for diverting filth from  
Harbour &c wh. you are having carried out ?

You have put the scheme in so strong a light May you be  
able to carry some day to full perfection

2. surpassing interest of Sanitary remarks in address  
to students of this March. you tell us that practical  
Sanitary code, such as all may understand, is being  
circulated "in the interior." The value of this - & the value  
of fixing the minds of Medl students on the paramount  
importance of Hygiene (or Preventive Mede) & of making  
them "do the work of popular education in hygiene"  
it is impossible to over-estimate

We hail your noble efforts in this direction, as in so  
many others, if I may say so without impertinence and  
so far from not recognising with joy the immense strides  
made by immense India during the last 4ter of century  
in Sany things, we admire & reverence - & only wish  
to co-operate & help all we can, if only you will let us  
while sharply conscious of our own short-comings  
[Your remarks on Vital Statistics - tho' we were in hopes  
that in *Bombay* regist "was farther advanced, & on  
water supply are simply invaluable]

**f177v**

You blame us for strong descriptn of e.g. the bad  
 Sany state of E. London - while *in fact* London is one  
 of the healthiest, if not the healthiest large city in the  
 world [See R.G.'s Annual Rep. just out]

But Englishmen *will* be Englishmen & we can't help it.  
 We paint ourselves so dark that other nations & races  
 who hold back as much as they can about themselves  
 cannot understand us. They think we are darker  
 than the paint over us (we *can't* look back -  
 we *can't* count what we have won - we must  
 "press on to the mark of our high calling." We *must*  
 think of what *is to be* done - not of what we *have*  
 done. Not to do this is not to be Englishmen

After all, there is something fine in it "Count nothing  
 gained," we cry, "till no fight remains"

I 1 yr high authority on the side of "legislation" for  
 "indebtedness" Might I ask if the "Bombay  
 Agricultural Debts Act 1878 "providing that no  
 ryot amount of principal debt" is carried  
 or to be carried

Perhaps already Civil Courts act upon this principle  
 of not awarding those that double the debt

2. Is it the fact that in one Collectorate at least  
 where in some villages received Mr. Boswell  
 Would it be possible to have a Return shewing

Holdings only Mr. Boswell  
 Pardon my audacity in view of my interest  
 form enclosed to be filled up

f178 blank

**f179**

-2-

most solemnly your letter & any information (*not* public) held most 'confidential ' & sacred by me.

At the same time might it be suggested to you that, if information were more freely afforded English journals wd be much more likely to speak "the *whole* truth, as you so justly urge they shd They don't speak the whole truth because they don't know it. But they are like children dragging out a secret which they think is being with held from them & parading their puny knowledge

We know nothing about India. You know all about India. If the high officers of India returning to England wd tell England what they know the interest of Engl wisely & *correctly* excited about India (instead of "sensationally" as you say) might be of the highest value to India. [might it not I ask humbly whereas now a House can hardly be put together to vote upon the most important matters concerning India. And in the Cabinet they are persistently avoided [In Austria the officials & journalists are called anti-Austrian if they speak the truth about Bosnia. English are called anti - patriotic, anti - English, not only if they speak, but if they wish even to hear the truth about India. There is nothing we wish so much as to learn the truth about India. But as you say it must be the *whole* truth - And *then*, are we not the real patriots, the true Englishmen & not those who conceal the truth?]

As you say, the "portraiture" drawn by the *half* truth, "cannot be recognized by those most nearly concerned."

**f180v**

3. In England now there *is* some feeling & wish to help Indian "indebtedness" - wh we are told is much the same all over India - e.g. by one or all of such methods as these.

- a. the Co-operative system (of immense use in England) as far as it is applicable to India
- b. Monts de P. convenient pledges being [illeg amerced?] of every man, woman & child.
- c. a National Bk (a "private It Stock Inst." but under supervision of Govt) with branches opened in every Collectors' dist., to make small advances of capital to ryots & land owners for purchase of seed & c & c at 10 p.c. the advance to form a first charge on the land to be repaid out of the crops

[Such is an English scheme - but of course every thing wd depend upon who are the men to carry it out - & upon what are its details when worked out]

It is said that capital wd be forthcoming in England if a sort of Philanthropical Socy were formed & if the share holders - for of course nothing without a sound commercial basis cd stand - had even a moderate but safe investment for their money.

[F.N. But Govt has a first charge on the land has it not? Are these advances to go *before* Govt assessment or rent? And wd Govt ever listen to that?]

But then we feel our *black ignorance* about India. We feel that the 'retired high officials of India don't help us [not as in other days great men created & led the Anti Corn Law League. not as in yet further days the Anti Slavery men led] - they are afraid of being

**f181**

-3-

called "agitators"

4. "Not more than one third of the total of peasant proprietors seriously in debt" - a serious comfort  
But is there not a good deal of discontent & disaffection - not wholly ungrounded among the people in different parts of India now?

I do not believe that any Englishman in his senses wishes us to "abandon India to her fate."

I know it has been said by some prestigious politicians  
But the almost general & far wiser tone in England is to extol & reverence & be thankful for & almost too proud of what England has done in India

But I suppose there *is* a very low moral tone among the races of India: an almost universal corruption & taking of bribes - & probably nothing but 1. prosperity & 2. education can raise the people of India

And we ask, very humbly, - can we do nothing to help you great you noble magnates in your God like work instead of being kept like children in the dark? **[end 10:151]**

II. As to the Famines - there is nothing in the world **[10:813-15]**

that ever excited the admiration (of those few who know) so much as the complete success which attended your almost miraculous efforts to lose not one life in the Bengal Behar famine of 1874. It was magnificent. it was the greatest battle the world has ever seen And it was won.

We looked with eagerness & terror for like results in 1877. Bombay was a great success - Madras - what can we say? - it wd be wrong to call it an Isandula on a

**f182v**

Gigantic scale - but it was, I suppose, a deadly & disastrous defeat - even tho' so much was done.

I shall read with avidity the Memo (to come) "explaining the diffe betwn the two cases, Bengal in 1874, Bombay in 1877

But what I am now venturing to tell you - not to judge the success of 1874 - God & the world can alone do that - - but to say - there were not 10 people perhaps here of whom I was one - outside the official world who read the Blue Books & Reports of these great events

It was impossible to popularize them - there was not the wherewithal in the Reports.

I have sometimes thought, for English periodical reading world wh never au grand jamais reads Reports I wd devote myself to popularizing Reports so that public wh stands at back of Parlt wh stands at back of Cabinets shd read & know something about India.

[22 years in W. O. & I.O. fact stares one in face that these Repts never reach the people who influence the world, never influence public opinion - has led me to think of writing in periodicals wh every body does read.

But the Reports must contain the wherewithal to do this. India's day is coming to force & Better than this shd be done by people in earnest & with a conscience than by demagogues

Most terrible details have reached us of death & destruction by Famine - especially in Madras & Mys. but very little indeed of what such men as yourself & Dr. Hewlett & others have done. A Minute giving the names only says nothing to English people even if read - wh it is not We hear of the Deaths & failures (V.C. for Famine heroes) we don't hear

**f183**

-4-

of the acts of bravery - feats of arms - of devotion of those who have been saved & of those who have saved them - We don't hear facts & individual histories.

Why do we care about the one night's defence of Poona? Because we hear of P's John Jones who held the world at the point of his bayonet & saved the Patients & of Pts & c & c I say surely it wd do us no harm to hear of the far higher heroism who held the Famine at bay, not thro' one night but thro' a long twelve months & saved the lives of thousands

May we not hear of this?

Is there any reason in official reticence why we shd not ? Were 'sensations' enlisted on *this* side cd you object?

We are thirsting to know of our Indian famine heroes, our Ind. Fam. V. C.s & defences And Officialdom will not let us

The heroisms of Rorke were reported in (printed) C.O.s' dispatches Why may not Civil C. O's do the same?

III Col Merriman's Irrn Bill (Dec 9 1878) ~~is~~ likely to pass?

IV Mily Sanitation my first love I am as every soldiers' first service - I do indeed thank God & yourself for

hail yr promise of sending more informn

v

Near a irrign project shortly coming up again for sanction

**f183v**

-3-

~~I may say that~~ the Indian Govt. at home declines to produce papers because they are the property of the Govt. in India & often, it says, I believe justly, that the papers are not sent to it.

While the Govt. in India decline papers, because they are the property of the Govt. at home, & because they are under strict orders from the Govt. at home not to do so.

**f184**

-2-

I never expected to see myself a writer in periodicals

It is the last thing for which I have fitness or liking: Still less to be writing to Y. E. now about "I"

But if you knew ~~you had~~ the necessity of guiding the dawning interest in India among the English people aright - You say so truly - that people wd take an increased interest in these matters the more they were acquainted with details.

It is perhaps scarcely becoming of me to treat of such high things. But I know that you will forgive me for the sake of my interest in India. Sir J. Strachey says: 'the Indian revenues are liable to have great charges thrown upon them without the Govt of India being consulted & almost without any power of remonstrance.'

Many "home charges might be enumerated wh are constantly increasing. And Sir J. S.'s case might be put even more forcibly than he has put it. But how is this to be prevented? The Ho. of C. does not care. It can scarcely be got together to listen to an India question The people wh. elects (& governs) the Ho. of C. does not care. [They ~~do not~~ wd care but they do not know enough they wd *make* the H. of C. care & the H. of C. wd make the Cabinet care wh now cares the least of all for India questions.

**[end 10:151]**

The thing is: to interest the people of Engd. There is no subject they are more sensitive upon when once roused than any 'putting' upon (unfairness) to a poorer & subject people. But we cannot interest the people of England unless the Govt. will give us true facts & details

The Govt often inveighs, & justly agst the partial accts of newspaper correspondts. But they do not give us facts in the place of these.

**[end 10:815]**

**f184v**

Sir R. Temple 2/5/79

acknowledged M.S. Memo points of diffe between Famine of 1874 & 1877-8 asked for further Famine figures You speak of the dark tints in wh Englishmen paint the **[10:150-51]** present & the prospects of India. It is *because* Englishmen have so high an opinion both of the great ideal in store for India under Eng. rule, & of the will & the power of the English high officers in India to accomplish this high ideal that the 'painting' is so dark. I pray you, not only bear with it but also turn it to the uses of India. And if I may be allowed to say so, it is also *because* no documents that the mass of Eng. readers *will* read are ever allowed to reach the mass of Eng. common readers. No one reads Blue Books out of Public Offices & Ho of C. & not they *India* B. B. It is because there is an enormous reading public in England outside both *unfed* that you see these one sided 'paintings'. these incorrect appreciations:

just as in Russia because there is an educated public wholly unrepresented that you see the present awful state of things. Russia in a state of siege **[break]**

In India there being no English reading public beyond the official public - & India being unrepresented [tho' we ~~will~~ only not ~~say~~ in a state of siege because she is uneducated - but when we have educated her we may see her in a state of siege (if she is still wholly unrepresented) OR in a state of Mutiny] even Englishmen have no idea of the vast importance of interesting the people of England on the *right* side by authentic informn - by as you say giving them 'the truth & the whole truth' & of course in a form in wh. they will read it [over

signed letter fragment, f185, pen

**f185**

-2

necessity that exists of guiding  
the dawning interest in India  
among the English people aright?  
You say (so truly) - that people would take an  
increased interest in these matters the more they  
were acquainted with details.

But I will not inflict  
another volume this mail:  
I only beg that you will  
believe me, dear Sir Richard,  
ever your Excellency's faithful  
servant.

Florence Nightingale  
It is perhaps scarcely becoming of me to  
treat of such high things. But I know  
you will forgive me for the sake of my

His Excellency  
Sir Richard Temple Bt GCSI

unsigned notes, ff186-87v, pencil

**f186**

*Sir Arthur Cotton* May 1/79

Truly the blood of our brother calleth to us from the ground  
or worse for he was bloodless: blood -drained he had  
no blood left.

[10:626]

"National Bank" All will depend on THE MEN who work it  
& on the details to be worked

In ~~its~~ present state of project one can only say that it  
wd be a good thing if it is a good thing

Let him give us *names*:

if it is not worked by good men & if its details of  
working are not good it wd of course give room for  
endless jobbery

By underbidding the existing Banks it wd also make  
enemies of them

It asks a great deal of Govt making a first charge  
on the first crops &c

And it wd be impossible to ask the advice of any  
high official upon this without giving him a scheme  
not a mere sketch to take his advice upon

[A different kind of Bank scheme fully workable  
has been, I know, privately submitted to the highest men of one of  
the

Presidency Councils in India]

As to the need of such a scheme being carried out

Co-operatives

Monts de Piété

National Banks

& the like

the want of them seems more crying every day or we would  
not say - we shall lose India But India will be lost  
to herself

[end 10:626]

**f187v**

*Ild London News* May 1/79

? sketches of Indian agricultural life & death  
India whose peace shows disasters where millions  
reckon what any War, Affghan or Zulu reckons by hundreds  
A Madras Canaletti also

Is India too big or not big enough to interest us

unsigned note, f188, pencil

**f188**

Mr Cornish

2/5/79

thanked him for March 22 & enclosures

both 1877, 1878 Famine Years

Gody, Kistna, Trichy, Tangore in 1878 don't maintain their low Death rate

Irrigated & non Irrigated Talongs in Kishna, Trichy, Tangore, Trinevelly [?]

for 1877 increase of population in irrigated  
severe suffering in dry

Wd it be possible to have Statistics distinguishing between dry & wet Talongs for 1878 for Kistna, Trichy, Tanjore, & Trinevelly? Godavery all wet?

wd seem good supply from Irrt may put off for months & months Death rate caused by famine conditions but cannot altogether prevent it i.e. not for 2 successive years

Is Madras Presy being rained upon & recovering now ?

Curious facts about Consumption of 'Arrack',

Distress in England - Sheffield, Manchester, all N. large towns Glasgow. Banks have speculated & failed on a scale large beyond precedent

firms ~~shut~~ become shut up - iron works & also tradesmen ruined. Of public houses only not one has failed not one beer or spirit seller has been ruined not one gin palace or beer shop shut up Every body also has suffered gin & beer never - Bread has failed but drunkenness has flourished. To an English ear it tells volumes (but

one cd almost quote the Scriptures: 'he that hath ears to hear let him hear')

that the poor man in Madras cd not consume his 'arrack' while in Engd the greater the poverty, the greater the drink. The people can always find ready money for that.

unsigned notes, ff189-95v, pencil & pen

**f189**

A.W. Croft            Dir of Public Instructn            9/5/79

thanked for note of March 21, promising farther answers  
 know what an overcrowded life is & am the more obliged  
 thanked for reports of 76-7 & 77-8  
 full of interest            primary & female Education Chapt  
 payment by results p. 27            96 - p. 15  
 standard of instruction lower while No. of schools increases  
 p. 27-96  
 want of Books            [quote Mr. Boswell "stupid books"  
 Believe that it is genuine interest not criticism wh prompts  
 my search I bear in mind one Division only (Orissa) answers  
 to schooling fitting a boy for life    p. 27  
 I feel the greatest interest (ashamed to say this, because how

**[10:680]**

much more it must be yours!) than mine in knowing  
 how far standard of instruction prepares a boy ryot for  
 his daily life - whether he can read or write on any  
 one of those bonds, agreements or what not wh concern  
 his relations with the money lender, with the Zemindar  
 &c wh prevent ryots being cheated whether by these  
 or by the petty native official?

Documentary evidence is being continually used against  
 the ryot who can neither read nor write Our instruction  
 will no doubt enable the future ryot to know what he is  
 putting his signature to [Ought the money lenders' accts &  
 part settlements with the Ryot in ryotwari Presidencies all written  
 by the money lenders

& perhaps only bearing the Ryot's mark to be accepted against  
 him? who can't understand them. Ought not Registration in a Govt  
 office to be  
 requested in all property cases & the boy Ryot made capable by his  
 education of

& understanding &

- to

doing these things.    ~~Registration ?}~~

The new Arrears of Rent Realization Bill (not yet passed)  
 will require fresh knowledge of this kind for the Ryot will it  
 not? How is he being prepared for it?

**f189v**

I beseech you to believe that it is rather *because* Englishmen have so high an opinion both of the great ideal wh can be attained for India under Eng. rule & of the will & the power of the English high officials in India to accomplish this great ideal - that we venture to trouble you - not in any low spirit of carping

And if I may be allowed to say so, it is also *because* no documents that the mass of Eng. readers *will* read ever reach the Mass of Eng common readers - Out of the Ho of C. there are perhaps not 10 people who read B. Bs - that I am so anxious that the interest of all Engd in India shd be practically & rightly laid hold of.

In India there being no Eng. reading public beyond the official public - & India being unrepresented reports are naturally & cannot be otherwise, reported to Govt & not to the public

We want to interest the people of Engd who are now almost wholly ignorant about India

The Magistrate of Balasore p. 27 gives the "instruction" in the indigenious schools as only "remarkable for its badness"

All over India one hears of the eagerness of the people for instruction

And please believe that we are not so base as not to see, as you say, how the ryot's interests are protected by the English officials whether in the Education Dept or in the Govt. And Sir G. Campbell's reforms of 1872 to wh you point are the subject of our liveliest admiration.

**[end 10:680]**

**f190**

But we *want instruction*  
just as the Ryot wants instruction  
Please instruct us.

Read Chaps on Zenana system with keen, it may be [10:725-26]  
sad interest. We know too well how the "Mission"  
agencies are obliged to compete not alas! as to who can  
raise the highest standard or do the best work  
but as to who can show the largest figures to the home Society  
p. 79 Is there no way of bringing them into a common organization  
& under the common supervision of Govt?

This has been done very successfully in France with  
regard to Charities

In Engd we know something of what you suffer from in  
the competition of Charities here & suffer more than  
you in one sense for many of them only pauperize &  
demoralize the people they profess to serve.  
Then we pay to a Poor Law & pay to Charities to keep  
people off the Poor Law. It is confusion twice confounded  
It is competing against our own Govt.

But no Englishman wd listen for a moment to the  
French system of charities helping Govt. relief  
Govt working in with the Charities & weaving them  
into a common organization - with women (Soeurs &  
religieuses) doing a good deal of the work of relieving officers  
& of course of nurses & attendants

In India however Govt is everything while in Engd it is  
comparatively nothing.

**f190v**

One smiles at the husbands doing the girl-wives' Examn papers for them (in the Zenana Examn organizns) p. 80. It is a new sort of Eton "cribbing" & "fagging" At Eton & Rugby the big boys did or do their fags' lessons In India the husbands those of their wives. There is a 'deal of human nature everywhere" as the Yankees say.

In our "Local Cambridge Examns & London University Examns for girls (now gaining ground) much of the same thing viz. spasmodic work p. 80 273. cramming for Examn - then books put away - it is not always a natural healthful progress in Educn.

Don't think we can't feel for your difficulties we have the same: *mutatis m* -

Instructor's inspection over the indigenous Schools p 29, 101 - Lady Insptrs (p 80, 270 p. 12 at end) over the Zenana Missions - must be as you say the crying want

The 'retaining fee' ~~for~~ p. 8, 28 for furnishing returns must be an unsatisfactory way of aiding unaided schools.

**[end 10:726]**

Lady Inspectors in England are quite as much needed **[8:71-72]** for Poor Law girls' schools & Asylums & indeed under the Educn Dept too for needle work & some other branches in Elementary Schools under Govt inspection - all over England [We have made wonderful progress in the last 5 years in *High Schools* for girls.]

Mrs N. Senior sister of T. B., a noble woman, was the first & alas! the last P. L. Lady Inspr. She died a premature death. And her post has not been filled up.

I don't go on, tiresome to you to hear your own Report I gratefully await further letter you are so good as to promise grateful

thanks for your assurance my letters not troublesome but welcome to you.

fragment, f191, pen [check if from his article]

**f191**

Mr. Gladstone April 28 {arch: 1879}

"what this nation (England) will do  
in considering its own interest, & in  
making provision for its own fortunes"

India can neither consider her own  
interests nor certainly make

"provision for her own fortunes"

She must look to us.

unsigned notes, ff192-94, pencil

**f192**

**10:547]**

We have kept the *headman* & *increased* his power without the checks

which the Village Community System, including that of quietly "getting rid of him ", imposed upon & corrected unscrupulous or tyrannical headmen.

Now under us the name of the corrupt headman is Legion. Our inflexible Law & Justice applied to an Asiatic community has as so often happens made offences against law; order & good administration & ~~[illeg]~~ easy [ e n d ]

**10:547]**

The headman is irremovable, above law, protected by law

It is the Law which Kills

The Spirit giveth life

*Mr Gladstone*

his great speech of April 28,

"what this nation" (Engd) will do in considering its own interests, & in making provision for its own fortunes"

India can neither consider her own interests nor certainly make "provision for her own fortunes"

She *must* look to us.

O that we could enlist the magic of your eloquence on her side.

Do people know what this stoppage of Government works

means? It means throwing one hundred thousand

*labourers out of work* (in the South of Madras alone)

It means leaving *half a million* of souls to distress &

death & ~~this~~ when food is still from 50 to 100 p.c.

higher than usual. It means making recovery from

Famine impossible.

And all this for what? is it that *the Govt. of India may be able to show that the so-called 'surplus' exists - may appropriate Indian funds to pay the cost of the War - may sweep in the "Famine Insurance Fund" as part*

**f192v**

of the ordinary revenue may show a *surplus* to justify the recent concession to Manchester is it not? Military charges are not to be put down but Public Works are cut down or stopped

If English people could even realize for a moment what the distress is in India which follows a stoppage of Govt. works.

I merely mentioned the S. of Madras as one instance because just in that part the people are suffering nearly as much as during the worst part of the Famine. but then "officially the famine is over so we do not think about them.

Think of what it would be to throw a population larger than Liverpool's out of work - out of the work they cd get.

You said that India's subjects must now force their way to the front - That is comfort.

If not for vastness of subject shd not dare to take up time of greatest financier of day

Do you think that

1. co-operation could be introduced into India - among measures to cope with poverty & indebtedness?

sent Nat Ind Ass to glance over report of meeting on co operation Do you think that 2 a Nat Bank cd be formed - a private If & ~~illeg~~/Stock Institution - but under supervision

of Govt.: starting with a paid up capital, say 5,000,000 hoping that gold & silver lying dormant in India may ultimately be deposited in it.

**f193**

[Everything depends on the men who do it -

If I give my name to the commercial part of the business then I am a knave - am I not ? imposing upon the fools for I know nothing about the financial or mercantile & only fools could think I did

branches to be opened in every Collector's district, & afterwards other branches at every central group of villages bank to make small advances of capital to the Ryot farmer seeds, tools, wells, & tanks advances to form a *first charge* on land [what will the Govt say to that?] which the interest to be charged at 10 pc native land owners to form in every Collector's district a local honorary Board of Directors Collector to be ex officio

Englishmen to manage the branch Banks at first

Would it be possible?

In Madras & Bombay Presys the *money lender* [10:547-48] the *headman* of the village who as head of the community, & as the servt of Govt is all powerful The fact that the headman is the money lender (when he is) explains ~~the~~ what seemed utterly inexplicable that while Ryots refused Govt loans for works of improvement at 5 p.c. they readily accept loans from money lenders of rates varying from 15 & 20 to 100 p.c. & more. The village headman when he is the 'money lender' wd of course permit no Ryot of the village to accept a loan from Govt. on terms *lower* than those he usually exacts.

[And all "money lenders" band together. They never underbid each other]

The Headmen have enormous powers - their corruption

**f193v**

especially during the Famine relief, was & is hideous [ e n d ]

**10:548]**

[see beginning of p.1]

In the olden times, a bad Headman would have been quietly "got rid of". [His clients *had* that check upon him. But now they are Govt officials & collect the Revenue for Govt. And their power is great for evil & we have removed all check upon them.

It stands between the Ryot & his true interests. It stands in the Ryot's way.

It is a perfect irony to wait till Education has enabled the Ryot to see them.

The School Cess is all on the *land* and the Bombay & Madras Ryot pays that the richer classes may be educated. *he* who cannot afford to send his children to School

Even in Bengal, the total No of male cultivators of all ages was in 1872 17 000 000 There shd be 3400 000 sons of cultivator ryots at School. There are 270 000 or only about 1 in 12 or 13 of those of a school going age

In Madras & Bombay the poor man pays  
the rich man profits

Do you think

3. *Monts de Piété* cd be instituted?

*Monts de P., Indian Nat. Bank, Co-operation*

wd these have any effect on Indian poverty?

The quantity of bullion, available for pledges, in the silver ornaments of every man, woman & child, must be almost incalculably large [It was stated in 'Ho of C.' that the 'wear & tear if these alone is 30 000 000 a year

This sounds incredible

**f194**

-2-

Is it true that there is no country in the world where larger sums of gold & silver lie dormant? that during the past 25 years Europe has sent to India nearly 300 000 000 in gold & silver which has gone to swell the large quantities of gold & silver abounding in India

Could the half starved or wholly starved millions of poor Hindoos not benefit by having even a part of this capital, lying buried away "energized" into a wage or mobilized fund ?

In India money runs to money lending. Capital produces pauperism

I so ignorant address myself to greatest master of finance in existence

Do statesmen sometimes ignore that execution of P.W. is a perfectly distinct thing from the state of the Finances? The finances are one thing, the investment of money is another. Are these two jumbled together in one account? The more defective the finances, the more urgent are P.W. wh. alone can enable the people to pay a higher revenue.

dining with him at S. Herbert's Id Lincoln talking about Italy. You said: man of Naples first offender agst law & order & govt  
But Italy wd be free  
They faintly laughed at your hopes.  
But you were nothing daunted.  
Now all these hopes have been fulfilled  
In real horror at length of this letter

unsigned notes, f195v, pencil

**f195v**

P.W.

Do you mean remuneration  
to revenue or commercially  
Some are not the first but the second  
Some are both  
Roads never give any direct return - yet they open markets  
Irrigation Works & increase trade  
are some only the second:  
some both  
e.g. India Irrig. Works  
Godavery  
Kistna  
Srivai  
Then P.W. give employment  
no other work till August  
these people come upon Dacoity works  
then famine relief works from being  
useful labourers

unsigned letter draft, ff196-97v, pencil

**f196**

Mr. Croft Dir of Public Inst May 16 1879

thanking for his letter of April 18

God speed

cause & effect in E. Bengal, where people so much more vigorous  
in addressing their rights there they go to school

Elementary education in Sanitary things all important

Sanitary primer to be in English Might I have a copy?

I wd / might furnish some hints

Sanitary teaching for home purposes & for the little Sanitary  
works every village, might if it pleased do for itself  
most needed

English elementary schools tho' we have the girls in them  
who are to be the future mothers

appalled to learn from the few ladies I don't mean

Missionary or Zenana teachers who really know the

native women--how these have not ~~ge~~ the most elementary

ideal of what concerns the health of themselves and children

---poor things.

[We have now a District Nursing Ass in London the  
ladies of whom were trained at our N. Training School who  
nurse the sick poor *at home* in the worst slums of London  
And one of their principal successes is in teaching the  
poor by example & actually putting their hand to the work  
to set the homes to rights.

sent my letter to Times

Second Agricultural primer in Bengali of wh titles of Chaps

sent ought if well carried out to be useful

Cotton - is it all day crass cotton, or whether irrigated  
as in Egypt & mut mut in the moist climate of America? Cotton in  
Egypt supposed

far to surpass (from Irrign) both in quantity & quality cotton in  
India

**f196v**

Model Farms & Agri. Colleges might teach Cotton  
Madras has not done so however

Objections to Model Farms in Bengal - & pamphlets  
most curious glad they do not seem to you conclusive  
against possibility of teaching ryot anything of practical  
value - I don't prejudge  
much seems to lie in this "no ryot can afford to grow  
fodder crops since he must have a speedy return  
in order to pay ~~the~~ /his landlord - That is he *must* be  
poor, because he *is* poor. He ~~can't~~/ cannot improve because  
he ~~must~~/ cannot pay.

If he cd be brought somehow beforehand in the world  
with his Mehajum then ~~he~~ might he grow the more profitable  
& more valuable crops? But, with this grinding poverty  
the first thing is - to make him less poor that he might  
be rich. And that is the difficulty.

There are people however who grow rich; but then their  
money all runs to money -lending - & not to commerce or  
agriculture.

In the Godavery Irrigated District, however,  
the people have paid off their money lenders - are all  
prosperous, & improvers in agriculture

[just seen a Minute by Sir H. Robinson whom you  
mention, on Agricultural Education, & a general agricultural  
scheme for Madras Presy]

impertinent of me to give an opinion [10:726]  
~~but~~ / so as a woman I am going to trouble you with a woman's  
question for my poor Indian sisters  
The girl mothers suffer great injury in health from the constant  
work of husking rice - pounding it with heavy pestle in  
stone ? mortars - [Informn comes from another Presy - is it the  
case in Bengal?] ~~Great~~-good has been done in S. India by

**f197**

of the Agri Model Farm

letting at cheap rates improved implements of husbandry

-Never heard anywhere of the poor woman - having any thing done for her

Could there be or have there been any attempts to save the women's labour in husking rice? Are there or could there be simple forms of machinery moved by cattle power? Would water mills or wind mills be available ? Some cheap form of grinding or husking mill moved by an ox cd scarcely be impossible

Government says, & most truly that it wd be difficult to introduce - that there is no function so deeply rooted in the Indian household as the pounding or husking of the grain that it is almost a sacred labour- that there is so little money to purchase implements or even to rent & the labouring cattle wd often not be available - but the maternal machine is always there & can always alas! be put in motion. Still these have been the Conserve. arguments from all generations & ought not to be final

**[end 10:726]**

carried away by the pleasure of your great kindness am making this letter too long

delighted with practical instruction wh prevents ryot being cheated by his shop keeper, mahaja or landlord's agent

As to question of mahajums making ~~him~~ the ryot advances for his crops coupled with the ~~question~~ /fact that no ryot can afford to grow crops wh do not give him a speedy return to pay his

landlord - are there Banks (Govt Banks) wh wd make him advances at a low rate of interest of things for which the Mahajums exact

such an exorbitant rate in making advances ?

Govt advance Yahvi in Bengal ? And is it not well taken?

It is said that there are not 250000 'out' in all India advanced by Govt. The Zemindars never provide seed - do they?

England's greatest financier asked me the other day - are there not

**f197v**

Govt Savings Banks in India? If the people do not trust Govt enough to put their rupees in its hands, the Govt has scarcely fulfilled its first function

But, are there Govt. Savings Banks in India?

A pici savings Bk, as a native Indian proposed must be purely eleemosynary & therefore difficult

But savings Banks for small savings have succeeded enormously in England - And the Hindoo is essentially a saving race - is it not?

delighted yr assurance that the embryo Ldy Magistrates or subordinate judges take on manly virtues thro' assocn of students with English teachers. Yes indeed that is the true educatn

Your instance of Mozufferpore ryots getting certified copies of the record of rent filed by the landlords - refusing to pay the Zemindar one rupee more than the amount - enchanting - the biter bit - one rejoices over it - a delightful scheme cannot be surprised that if the daughters of the poor dancing girls (who make vice a profession - a religion I suppose) were admitted to School, other girls wd be withdrawn. We shd do the same thing in Engd But if harmless low caste ~~people~~ children come to the schools, do the higher castes ever withdraw?

very satisfactory that wherever the 'Baboo' goes & settles, he starts a school & applies for a grant.

doing a great work indeed

cannot be grateful enough to you for offering farther information

afraid my gratitude will be shown in troubling you yet farther impossible to me to find words to say how much I feel for yr work - hope all England will

we do indeed know that all works of solid value find a firm friend in Sir A. Eden.

initialled notes, ff198-99v, pencil

**f198**

Kennedy & Merriman's Note on Famine 76-7

Mr. Gibbs Minute

Sir R. Temple's "

Chapman

Kennedy Vol. of Weekly Statements " "

Merriman

Hewlett's Note

"Famine Literature"

9 oz Sheets Sir R. Temple

1 Gibbs

1 Ashburne's

*Sir Richard Temple*

May 15/79

thanked for the above

regretted that for the sake of interesting not Govt but peoples there were not something more about condition of people in Bombay

Presy so that Englishmen could form some

14th Sanitary Report idea of which they have now scarcely

1 sheet Sir R. T. the vaguest notion of what ever the people

1 Gibbs did, thought, ate & drank before,

1 Ashburne's during, & (in some subsequent Minutes)

Merriman's Note on Census after the Famine

Your own Minute gives in a few statesmanlike touches more

of this than any other - of the independence & self help

of the evils & the corruption in the character of the people

of the native gentleman's good deeds

You allude in the most interesting way to the part the Headman took May I venture to ask Your Excellency a question -

derived perhaps too much from the experience of another Presy?

Is the Headman frequently the "money lender" of the village?

**f198v**

Would the headmen have been excessively corrupt, as they were in the Madras famine, had it not been for the excellent European & superior native supervision instituted by Y.E. in Bombay Presy?

I believe, but you will correct me, that in Madras Py money lender is often headman of village who, as head of village community, & as servant of Govt. is all powerful said that fact of Headman being frequent (money lender) explains otherwise inexplicable fact that while Ryots refused Govt loans for works of improvement at 5 p.c. they readily accept loans from money lenders at rates varying from 15 to 20 ~~p.c.~~ & 100 p.c.

Village headmen when also money lenders wd of course permit no Ryot of village to accept a loan from Govt on terms lower than those he usually exacts.

These village Headmen must have enormous powers Are they usually grossly ignorant?

In the olden times a *bad* Headman wd have been quickly got rid of - [law & justice in our days forbid the unrepresented ryot to rid himself from tyranny & corruption in the way he has at command - the forcible, illegal & unjust way - Are the Headmen Govt Officials & do they collect the Revenues for Govt? Does not this make them powerful? Are they Govt Officials in Bombay? And does any similar experience obtain in Bombay? I remember your Minute says that you were disappointed in the Headmen in the Famine.

**f199**

I was referred here to Y. E's invaluable Minute to find what 'Takavi' or other Govt. advances were made to the cultivators after the Famine to set them on their legs again - But I could not find it.

Is there a grant system of Govt advances in use in Bombay Py?

And are there Govt. Savings Banks?

(I was asked this question by England's greatest financier)  
It shows at once how ignorant English statesmen are of India & how much they wish to learn]

Are there?

A Minute of yours was mentioned in the Times of May 3

"Showing how great was the impending distress

F. Decree how the people had not yet recovered from the Famine, & how energeticaly Y.E. had begun relief works & R. houses

Must the works be stopped owing to the recent order of the Govt of India?

And is not the distress caused by throwing tens of thousands out of employment as in Madras lately realized by us.

conscience pricked by importuning you with questions

My great interest & your great kindness my excuse

Are there documents (not private)? I might see?

In parts of India other than Bombay not only nothing seems to have been done to help the labourers gradually recovering from famine but usual public works have this year been stopped.

People suffering

but "officially" famine over. And so we take no notice

**f199v**

[Famine is as Govt decrees it to be F.N.]

rejoiced at yr Minute's setting forth usefulness of Irrn Works & in your furtherance of these as relief wks as of terrible state of water supply or no water supply in Famine  
Can railways carry water for drinking?

or can they produce as well as carry grain

tho' by their eulogies some wd seem to say so

Pardon this letter inspired by my great interest & your kindness

my only apology to leave off.

f200 May 19 1879 letter to FN from John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, Wash DC sends circular re est of tr schools for nurses, used her name in the public

unsigned notes, ff204-05 pencil

**f204**

May 23 1879

Mr Cornish

thanks for April 25, & March 29

Is School Cess on land in Madras

poor cultivators have to pay for those who can afford to pay  
ploughing match of Hindu B. A. s

Bombay & Native States competing for Agricue students

Nattankothai Chelleen (?)

their very frugality & punctuality may make them a formidable power  
as a community

on the side of superstition, ignorance & usury

wish they wd repair Tanks instead of pagodas

Would they but set themselves to raise the agric ryots  
from wh class they spring by some

Cooperate orgn

National Bank - down to native landholders to form  
a local honourary Board of Directors

Wd that be possible instead of these Oriental traders lending  
money on usury?

extraordy good might do

Do these traders ever acquire land & cultivate it with their  
capital - according to best known methods of cultivation?

Besides repairing Tanks as well as Temples, would they, these  
people who are as you say, essentially the monied class  
of Tangore & Madura 3. form Monts de Piété to help

their poorer brethren this *would* be a charity &

you say they are charitable - lending money on the precious  
silver ornaments. The traders might make a reasonable  
profit on this. And also in the Nat Bank suggested  
one wd hope that gold & silver lying dormant in India  
might ultimately be deposited

afraid that oriental charity if not directed in these ways,



**f205**

-2-

How much you have done - how much remains for you  
to do - wh no one else can do .  
in laying down principles to treat Famine so as to save life  
I sh watch with intense interest for what you have  
still to tell us  
distress consequent on stoppage of P.W.?  
distress S. of Madras still continuing  
Don't say we shall soon be forgotten  
Famine's heroes never will be forgotten  
In a higher Court than ours will be held in everlasting  
remembrance

---

Poor Indian's vile body experiments

Dr Farr came back

will ~~filler~~ ask him what you say

---

much more interest (Ho. of Pt) in India

great debates

India's Liberal defenders not always right

but Discussion a ~~gain~~ gain

f206 May 23 1879 letter to FN from Helen Blower, Bart's with plan  
of Children's Inf. I am glad at last to be able to let you have the  
plan of the Children's Inf. I hope it is not too late to be of  
service to you. The OutPatients Dept is built onto separate from  
the hosp but there is an entrance to it under cover. The dispensary  
is in the outpatient dept. My sister has not answered the questions  
about the other little matters. I will have to remind her, but I  
thought it better not to delay the plans any longer. Miss Mosburgh?  
wished me to say that Mr Bamner the architect was very glad to show  
it to you. With love believe me,

letter fragment, presumably to Gladstone, ff208-11v, ink [5:453-55]

**f208**

-i-

Sir

After Mr. Fawcett's masterly speech on Thursday allow me to make some remarks on the effects of the late Order of the Government of India of cutting down

or stopping all Public Works in India,

In Bombay Presidency works are generally stopped: but Barrages, dams, & embankments cannot be stopped *at once* without destruction

In Madras one hundred thousand labourers were turned off, leaving half a million of people, dependent upon them, including old people & children, ~~to~~ with prices of food grains 50 to 100 per cent higher than usual at a time when no other work was to be had to distress & death

~~We know something of~~

These works are generally tanks, roads & buildings.

We know something of the ~~utter~~/ serious folly & waste of stopping

~~Public Works on~~/ for the repair of tanks in 1877

In the autumn of 1876 works were stopped

In May 1877 the thrice prayed for rains came in torrents. Could no use for it be found? No:

the tanks were still / had been left in disrepair - they would not hold water & millions of tons of precious water which might have produced thousands of tons of precious food were lost. We all know the dreadful history of the scarcity ~~& for~~ which might not have been famine but for such things as this deepening into famine which

**f209v**

-2-

~~followed~~ lasted from 1876 to 1878

But the official remark was that, when the rain came it was too much: & therefore did more harm than good. Too much rain! generally means too little wisdom, foresight & labour in a country like India.

The people were thrown out of work in Madras at a time when there was ~~too~~ no work to be had.

In Bombay there is no work to be had, ~~till~~ at least in the Deccan till June or July, when the cultivating season is fairly on in the Eastern Deccan, not till about August.

And in the mean time there is scarcity already in Bombay - there may be famine And useful labourers now are then converted into ~~lamer~~ relief receivers.

But this is not the worst:  
Already the administrative staff of ~~power~~ / order seems to have almost fallen out of our hands:  
At the great city of Poona bands of Dacoits or gangs of armed robbers seem to have taken the power into their own hands, have burnt our Govt. offices, Courts & Schools. & are threatening the Governor's life, if public works &c are not instituted.  
A greater misfortune could not well have happened to us: for, it justly sets the Govt. against granting what is thus asked.

And yet much of what was thus asked

**f210**

-3-

was just what we ought to have

And what ~~is~~ are these poor men doing thus thrown out of work till July or August?

They are squatting in front of their huts & grumbling as well they may.

Afterwards they begin to steal, in a small way certainly And some will join the bands of Dacoits. eventually those who do not succeed as robbers will come upon Famine relief whereas by working on the Public Works, not only might they have maintained themselves but have staved off impending general distress

This is what stoppage of Public Works means It is the very reverse of a strike in England As to whether these Public Works are remunerative in a revenue, direct or official sense: or, if not, remunerative in a commercial, indirect, or 'condition of the people sense -'

roads never do give a direct return Yet facility of communication with open markets, raises the price of grain & other products & thus directly benefits the cultivators small & big & cheapens the few articles of import; salt piece goods & Irrigation & Water Transit Roads & Railways directly increase the productive power & trade of the ~~countr~~ cultivator - But railways do not like ~~Irrigation works~~/ Canals produce as well as carry food; nor do they carry drinking water: the great want in ~~some~~ /the famines of Western India where there was nothing but the foulest remnants of puddles to drink.

**f211v**

-4-

But Delta & river Irrigation works do give a safe sure & very large direct return to the Revenue.

The Indus Irrigation Works pay from 5 to 20 per cent.

The Godavery Delta Works 21 per cent  
the Kistna 15 %

Soivai Buntham

signed letter, ff212-17v, pen & pencil [5:455-59], original 44460  
ff90-97

**f212**

*India*      May 28/79  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I remember your words that  
the day of India must come,  
even thro' the very means taken  
to increase her burdens & to  
"poison" our minds.

I pray that it may & believe  
that it has come -

But it may be a dreadful  
day.

You see however that you &  
Mr. Fawcett have not only  
convinced the House: you have  
convinced the Government also  
Why were they not convinced  
before?

in Bombay the reins of Government  
seem to have fallen out of their  
hands almost as much as in  
Russia. O when we take them (over page)  
Rt. Honble

W.E. Gladstone MP

**f212v**

up again, may we have learnt  
our new lesson! We have to  
learn a new language, even to make  
a new alphabet, to write & speak about India  
Sir R. Temple admits dire distress in Deccan  
This burning down the Government  
offices in Poona, (the country  
capital of the Bombay Government)  
& the manifesto which the  
armed gangs have sent to Govt.  
are the direct result of ~~stifled~~ lighted up  
with an awful light  
our broken promises to the poor indebted people  
who rose 4 years ago against  
the oppression of the money lenders.  
We promised to redress their grievances: & we have done nothing  
- nothing, but report & lay fresh ones on.

Those who knew prophesied  
that when the Public Works, essential  
to the people's employment now  
in ~~a time~~ / this second period of scarcity, were  
stopped: - & there is no work,

**f213**

no natural work to be had  
 before July or August, -  
 the people would ~~squat~~/ sit before their  
 huts, then they would steal a  
 little, then they would form the  
 armed gangs, & those who were  
 unsuccessful as robbers would starve & come  
 upon famine relief. so the last state wd be worse &  
 more costly than  
 the first

It was prophesied that it  
 would be so: & *it has been so.*  
 O poor indebted Deccan peasantry - can nothing be done for this  
 fine  
 people?

{from the bottom of the page}

It does not signify whether an assessment is light or heavy  
 for they have nothing x But

Such were the exigencies of the  
 Govt of India - that, whereas  
 the 'remissions' were enormous & necessarily so  
~~enormous~~ in Madras, in Bombay  
 the Govt boasted that it would  
~~not~~ make ~~out~~ / no 'remissions' ~~but~~  
 only 'suspensions' - & would  
 finally collect nearly all the  
 revenue. And it *has* done so

It was prophesied by those who  
 knew that, if this were done,  
 the people ground down would  
 rise at last. And this much

x They ~~are obliged to~~ /must go to the money lenders to pay it.  
 That makes them slaves.

**f213v**

enduring patient Mahratta  
peasantry have risen at  
last: twice: this is the  
second time.

It is now prophesied by those  
who know that, should there  
be another Military Sepoy Mutiny, (which  
there *will* be I suppose,) the Mahratta  
peasantry, formerly our  
staunch friends, will join  
it to a man .

This is prophesied . May it *not*  
be so.. May we learn in  
time.

I rejoice with 'silent delight'  
that the Indian Budget debate is only  
adjourned. I mean to  
live till June 12 to read  
your speech.

**f214**

-2-

Might not the 'Home' charges  
& the Military expenditure be  
cut down much more than  
Mr. Stanhope says? Sir Richard Airey  
(Lord Airey I mean) if *he* is to be President of the Commission  
for the Indian Army will not do much for us in your sense  
& ours. O for a Sidney Herbert now.

I bear in mind what you  
said that Mr. Fawcett's  
motion will be the prelude  
to much greater things: -  
~~retrenchment in order to~~ but retrenchment to  
~~spend~~ more wisely & more  
well.

~~In the~~ mean time the  
accounts ~~that reach me~~ from  
the East & from the West,  
from the North & from the  
South of India are terrible  
It *is* a dreadful day that is  
come.

In the East one fifth of the whole  
cultivated land of Madras was let out of

**f214v**

cultivation in 1877 - 8

[What would it be if one fifth of the corn lands of Eastern Europe were let out of cultivation in consequence of the poverty of the people ?

Yet we should be very angry if we were compared to Russia or Austria.]

In the West of India there are these awful riots - real 'agrarian' disturbances, whatever Sir Richd Temple may say; - at the very seat of Govt.

We are horrified at the Communists destroying Paris

But *what is this?*

Bengal has a terrible year before it. The Government has been obliged to shelve for another year an 'Arrears of Rent Realization Bill'. Some leaders

**f215**

of the Ryots wrote to me about this: declaring ~~that it was~~ /this Bill to be in favour of the Zemindars - *which it was*, tho' it pretended like the 'Greeks' to be 'bringing gifts' to the Ryots.

I dare not take up your time with describing this Bill.

--

I have a delightful account from ~~of a district in~~ Behar (Mozufferpore) where the Zemindars landlords had by a certain act had to go & record in a Govt. Register Office (Magistrate's Court) the rents they received from their Ryots.

[I need not say that these were generally put down at a far lower figure than the truth]

The Ryots got wind of this registration (at least some of their leaders who could read & write did) they ~~went to the office~~ came trooping in ~~paid their fee~~ /from every part of the District paid their inspection fee & took copies (certified) of the rents ~~registered as taken~~ at which they were said to hold their lands

**f215v**

And not a man ~~would~~ / has paid  
~~ever after pay~~ a rupee more  
than the ~~rent recorded at~~ / amount  
~~by his landlord himself~~ from that time.  
This is the true reform -

[This would not have  
astonished one in Eastern  
Bengal: where one in 5  
or 6 of the ryots' sons  
learns to read & write.

But in Behar & other parts of Bengal,  
where not one in 12 or 13  
of the boy-ryots goes to school,  
it is truly refreshing]

There *is* some use at last  
to India from education, after  
all. But in Bombay it is  
a mere cruel irony to talk  
of our educating the peasantry.  
I saw in a late 'Times of India'  
{printed address: upside down}  
10, South Street, a despatch from  
Park Lane. W.  
Lord Cranbrook brushing up  
Bombay about this. And

**f216**

-3-

it was time

But what can be done,  
when the people have *nothing*?

{from the right hand top of the page }It is the money-lenders  
& our own Govt. that want  
educating.

{the next paragraph is written between the lines, in smaller  
letters}

The Schools are shut because the people can't pay the  
Cess. The people can't pay the Cess because {from the top of the  
page} More going to money

lenders ~~More~~

~~us~~ Higher

usury

{main body of letter continues} every pie  
is screwed out of them to pay for the *War*

(insert Mr. Chatfield's from 'Taxes to 'undertakings')  
The licence tax, worse then any income tax, is screwed  
out of them, not to pay for famine, but to pay for War.

[More going to money lenders to pay it.] The wicked  
Salt Tax is raised 40 p.c. & just in this famine time.

[Ld Lawrence says that this salt tax grinds down the people,  
weakens the cattle & strangles manufactures more than  
anything else.[More money lending to pay for salt.]

{ in the larger handwriting}

~~In Bombay the people  
could not pay the Cess. the  
School Cess. — the people (the land)  
support the Schools by which  
the richer classes profit.  
When they could not pay, the  
Schools were discontinued.~~

Owing to the famine the loss for Govt. schools alone was  
177 schools closed, with nearly 16000 children. The  
closing of indigenious schools was, I am told, beyond  
counting.

Pardon me that I cannot stop  
when I have the great honour  
of reaching your ear about  
India. I shall never  
forget your goodness in  
coming to see me: never

I venture to send you two letters  
of mine in the Illustrated News,  
tho' not perhaps directly  
bearing on this subject.

**f216v**

An official writing to me from the ~~West~~/ East of India says of the Famine Commission these are the men who with few exceptions are directly responsible (for the poverty & famine) ~~by declaring~~/ because they have reported ~~to Govt~~ / for years that 'the country ~~is~~ / was ~~[illeg]~~ flourishing & 'the people prosperous.' They ought to be on their trial, instead of being the *judges*.

Thank you for introducing me to the 'Chronicles of Budgepore'. I got it & read it at once. It is too true. But I have to acknowledge very humbly a stupid blunder. I ~~thought~~/ fancied you were speaking of the 'Chronicles of Dustypore'. That is the /one {at the bottom of the page} This gives me the pleasure of asking your pardon & the privilege of repeating the warning.

**f217**

book by Mr. Justice Cunningham,  
 one of the Famine Commissioners  
 the author of this was, a very good man like Mr. Pritchard, but is  
 now

'enguirlandé' by the Viceroy.

I dare say you don't remember  
 this stupid mistake but I do.

O that we had an Indian Dickens  
 or a 'Daily News' (Bulgarian)  
 Correspondent in India.

But an Indian Dickens would  
 be hung in a fortnight

And an English Correspondent  
 would not know the languages

And the 'Times' Correspondent  
 or rather General of the 'Times' Correspondents,

Genl. Vaughan, now at Gandamak, denies in private letters  
 on the faith of what he sees in railway journeys

a l l  
 the

poverty & says ' India is quite  
 well off. And It is quite a mistake  
 to say the contrary'

Once more pardon me & believe me  
 ever your faithful & grateful servt  
 Florence Nightingale

**f217v** {written across the corner of the page in faint pencil}

write to  
 Mr. Gladstone  
 about the Madura  
 new traders  
 in connection with  
 National Bank

write to Mr. Fox  
 for copies

f218 11 June 1879 note, 34 Grosvenor St W. "Lady Brownlow presents  
 her compliments" with note of Lady Burdett-Coutts re waiting on her  
 tomorrow on behalf of committee

f219 June 11 1879 letter from Burdett-Coutts to FN re Lady Lothian,  
 committee. Lady Lothian has shown me a kind letter from you and our  
 committee are very anxious to illeg ourselves of the valuable  
 assistance which the nurses of St Thomas' Hospital would give. If  
 you approved. The Stafford House Committee would be very glad if  
 you would give sanction to some of the Nurses ...be appointed to  
 serve with ...surgeon...who with an assistant commissioner is  
 ..tomorrow.. Sir Garnet Wolsely but the ladies would feel equally

obliged if you would see them at any time convenient to you to appoint ...I am myself rather unfortunately occupied with business I cannot ...and my time is not my own. But Countess Brownlow and Viscountess illeg come at any hour you would name and explain all particulars. I perhaps shd add that the committee could wish that the nurses shd follow by the mail boat ...

f222 July 11 1879 letter to FN from Perssè, Bloomsbury Sq re work in Liverpool, had interview with Rathbone, re hindrances to work, he is anxious to get ladies to Lees for further tr but Persse does not believe real good can be done w/o entire change to system; nurses objected to supervision, which they need, goes to Paddington tomorrow

unsigned notes, ff223-24v, pencil

**f223**

Mr. Fox [cp Article Natal June 18/79  
Socy of Arts Journal May 3/78 ]

"Reform in Admn of India" [10:630-31]

"National Agricl Bank" nothing more wanted in India  
have you consulted Ld Northbrook? as to its details  
Everything of course depends on how these are worked out  
& on the men who take it up.

Local knowledge in India necessary to say how it will work  
asked one or two of our ablest men

but they say it is impossible to give an opinion upon the  
scheme in its present state farther than to say it will  
be a good thing if it will work.

cannot tell you intense interest I take in the subject how  
to raise indebted poor cultivators of India out of their  
wretched bondage of poverty whether

by Monts de Piété

by some National Bank such as you propose

by some co-operative system

or by all or any of such means

God speed your endeavours -

I will venture to offer some questions hoping that you  
will take some really good opinions from the high Indian  
officials & work out your scheme

1. Govt does already offer advances ("takavi" &c) for the  
very agrical purposes you propose to the cultivators at a  
very low rate of interest for India.

But they will not take these advances

There is scarcely ¼ millions 'out' in all India in this way

They prefer going to their own money lenders for advances  
at 20, 30 or even 100 per cent or even more. [end]

**f223v**

In Madras & even in Bombay this is partly explained by the fact that the Village headman is also often the money lender. We have made the headman our own (petty) Govt. official. This gives him enormous power Of course he will not let the cultivator take the cheap Govt advances instead of his own usurious advance The headmen would be one & all against your Bank

The money lender is also often the village shop General dealer.

In every way the money lender has the ryot in his power.

This is only one of the forms of rivalry which the so needed "National Bank" will have to incur.

2. a suggestion made to me by a financier I consulted what Savings Banks are used by the cultivators ?  
are there any used ?  
They don't trust the Govt. with their money  
they won't take the Govt. advances:  
how do you propose to "secure the sympathetic support of the people"? **[end 10:]**
3. "After the Govt charge for rent" - what is there left for "a first charge"?  
They, the ryots, have already gone to the money lender to pay their assessment (as they had previously gone to him for all the advances you name, P. 5)
4. The object of course is to substitute the Bank for the money lender.  
But how is this to be done?  
The Govt has entirely failed in substituting itself for the money

**f224**

lender. And many Indian officials whom I once consulted consider that for the Govt. to turn money lender (in whatever form) as well as Rent Collector wd only be another grievance in the cultivator's eyes.

The attempt to rescue the ryot out of his ~~poverty~~/ indebtedness is one of such vital, such mortal importance to India that you shd be implored to find the way out of these difficulties. **[end 10:631]**

5. Then the "native landowner" p. 5

In the Mafapit (the country) & Bengal there would be those Zemindars who at present have no other rule of conduct but that of 'screwing their ryots.'

In Madras & Bombay the great part of the "native landowners" are the indebted ryots. Or the money lenders who have fraudulently ousted the ancestral land owners (cultivators ryots)

6. (bottom of p. 5 & top of p. 6)

If a man has saved a rupee; he turns money lender himself No "interest that the "Bank " could offer him would come near the "interest" he then gets"

The money lender now invests in land & makes a worse & more 'screwing' Zemindar

7. It has been thought that the silver ornaments wh. every man, woman & child in India possesses might be turned to advantage as 'pledges' in Monts de Piété still working this subject

But high Indians (English) foresee many difficulties

I can only repeat pray, pray work out your scheme For India's future depends on success in measures to relieve the

**f224v**

indebted ryots & settle Land Tenure questions with justice & wisdom

8. p. 3 As to 2 or 3 minor points, have you consulted Mr. Robertson, Supt of Madras Govt Farm & Agricul College now in England ?

The higher authorities tell you - - & *manure* is another of the questions vital to India - that ~~lime~~ / it is too *expensive* to *burn* lime for a manure - & that there is no lime in India wh. will do without burning.

This & the obtaining coal & iron in India require to be worked out

9. top of p. 5:

There is now a Bill before Lege Council of Bombay to provide powers for requesting a Water Cess.

But a *general* Water Cess levied on the impoverished people wd produce discontent Govt wd hardly dare to face And a Water Cess over the 'protected' lands - that is where the people cd have the water if they choose wd produce small returns & great discontent

'Game not worth the candle' say the Officials themselves

All these things have to be taken & re-taken into account. So hard for Englishmen to legislate for India. What you say p. 4 about 'new English made laws' so true - & what you say about dearness of transport

10 p. 6 P.W.)

What P.W. are "remunerative"? Roads of course never All Delta Irrign Works, all Canals on low ground, are "remunerative" all Sir G. Cobham's Madras works

Deccan Irrn Works put together return  $\frac{1}{4}$  per c at present  
Bengal " "  $\frac{1}{2}$  per c.

work out these great questions

ff225-26 Marie Miller, London Inns of Court Hotel, Holborn re visit next Friday, thanks to her Mrs Wardr offered to be guest at St Thomas' home, accepted encloses proposals of Dr Billroth (in German) re org in Vienna

ff227-29 June 25 1879 Schmidt Zabierow long letter to FN from Ida Schmidt Zabierow many thanks for her letter and info (

unsigned notes, ff230-31v, pen

**f230**

famishing people brought into Madras bad administration

have not redeemed our promise hundreds of thousands

perhaps 1 500 00 have died

banja universally unscrupulous

Elliot a ram is richer than a ryot for his fleece  
is worth 18/

India has to maintain Depots in England!

Ld Lawrence says D. of Argyll's whole life spent in  
resisting charges on India  
Sir R. Montgomery consults Ld L.

**f230v**

The two Stracheys, Genl Norman, Ld Lawrence,  
all against Ld Lytton's policy, which is by  
way of showing Russia we are doing something  
to occupy Quettah & advanced posts,  
get an envoy into Affghanistan, & perhaps  
have a war in Affgn which will cost  
3 millions.

**f231**

Tanks all more or less in disrepair  
throughout Madras  
if they were all cleaned out, repaired, enlarged,  
this would go far to prevent all drought - famine

Madras does not pay its way

Orissa Irrigation works now pay their way/ expence  
& a little over.

**f231v**

With one or two exceptions the I.O. want to  
hear nothing about India

Sir Garnet Wolseley: "Oh Irrigation doesn't pay."

Why one of your own men, Mr. Thornton, shows  
that it pays 7 ½ per cent. some works pay a great deal  
more: some less: now that Orissa pays, none do not  
pay

[200 miles in Punjab easily irrigated, sure to pay, don't pay at  
all.

F232 July 13 1879 letter to FN from Lady Lothian re workhouse  
wards, FN underlinings blue pencil: lease return to F.N. I scarcely  
venture to intrude upon you but you will I hope not trouble  
yourself about this note if you are less well than usual or if ...I  
have been much interested about the state of the illeg wards of the  
workhouses where I visit, lying-in and nursery wards and have been  
struck with the illeg and preventable nursing? That still remains  
after a good deal of illeg I have been asked by a friend Lady Henry  
Scott) who is also interested in the health with her to see Mr  
Sclater Booth on the subject of improving the nursing in the  
workhouses. and I shd have been very grateful if it were poss you  
wd see me about it before Tuesday when he has appted to see us.

F234 July 16 1879 letter of Lady Lothian 10 Hyde Park Place to FN,  
shall be at the deanery Westminster

f236 letter to FN from Gladstone, plain paper **[5:464]**

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am sorry to be re-  
duced to the necessity of  
sending you as I now do bare  
written thanks for your inter-  
esting letter and the assurance  
that it does not pass unnoticed.  
I had hoped from day to day  
to call but an incessant  
pression [?] has prevented me until

v

now when I am on the  
point of starting for Hawar-  
den with uncertainty as  
to the date of return

Accept all my best  
wishes and believe me  
yours sincerely  
W.E. Gladstone

Harley St.  
July 26. 79

f237 July 30 1879 letter to FN from B Lothian thanks for help and sympathy, those most admirable notes, feel very hopeful at some good being done and I think we shall now lose no time in getting the assoc formed and after that beginning to work. We have every enc from Mr Sclater Booth and hope also to work well with the Guardians. I rather hope the agitation at St Pancras may bring to the point the urgency of the enlarging of the accom and the necessity of doing the nursing better. I find the lady .

unsigned note, f239, pencil & pen

**f239**

Sir R. Temple Aug 1/79

thanked for his letter of July 3 [10:297]

Restn of Gov Jan 7/78 Bombay Castle - Bombay Village Police  
of 1869 x

asked how far this has been carried out  
& selected Patels made responsible for domestic sanitation  
of their villages

Bombay drainage wished him joy

Hope's Bill. Pessimists annoying but they are pessimists  
because they think the best not because they think the worst  
of India's govt. by England. Englishmen always grumble  
when they respect & are interested & only want perfection

expect Memo on National Boards

" about land held by money lenders  
by side mortgages & the like

" with regard to employment of headmen  
in famine work

As you say, so " much may be done with the village headmen x  
as a class in most parts of India It is this that makes the  
Bombay

Village Police Act & the Resn of Govt so hopeful.

" about statistics of Takavi advances

Would it not be possible without making "Govt take  
place of money lender to relax a little stringency  
of rates wh prevent peasants from taking advances  
offered by Govt. [end 10:297]

" about Savings Banks

bid him God speed

ff240-41 2 Aug 1879 letter to FN from Ulricke Linicke Sir Patrick  
Duns Hosp

thanks for the extracts re the Mtl nurses, reports on the work,  
governors,

f242 Aug 7 1879 letter to FN from Edith Clarke, lady supt, Natl Tr  
School for Cookery, re her kind reply (missing) to her letter, will  
reply in detail to her questions. Will be happy to work with the  
rules and times of the hosp matrons as much as poss. The fees I  
shall be able to place as low as poss just to cover the actual  
expenses for the com have the matter much at hear

f244 7 Aug 1879 letter to FN from Louisa Gaster, Bourne Place,  
Hildenboro, Kent I send you our address, for months if she can  
write, re Lady Lawrence, her letters do her good

f246 2 Sept 1879 same address letter to FN from Louisa Gaster re  
her questions in letter of 30 Aug, thanks for answer, suggestions,  
Lady Lawrence says obliged for her interest, re material for a life

Add Mss 45807

678

of Lord Lawrence

f250 stamped env

f251 Sept 12 1879 letter to FN from Edith Clarke, National Training School for Cookery. President, duke of Westminster. cookery, encloses list of what proposes to teach probationers. In 3 hours lesson once a week for six weeks. Hope she will alter and suggest as see fit. The lessons wd be practical, each pupil wd do as much as cd in time. Fee, set of lectures on the chemistry of food by Professor church.

Dear Madam, I enclose you a list of what I shd propose to teach probationers in a three hours lesson once a week for six weeks. I hope you will alter and suggest as you see fit. The lessons would be practical, and each pupil would do as much of each lesson as could be got into the three hours, some would do more than others. The fee would be £1.1.0 each pupil for the six lessons, that would include everything, the materials, instruction, fire and attendance of the needful kitchen maids. I hope this will meet your views. I shall be most ready to follow any alterations or suggestions your unsurpassed experience may dictate. I have sent you today some handbills of a set of lectures on the chemistry of food to be given here by Professor Church. If you would care to see me about lessons for the probationers I shall be pleased to call on you whenever you may appoint....Edith Clarke, lady supt.

f253 bill from Dr to Aaron Bunting, Bookseller for July to 27 September 1879 for the Lea and Holloway Reading Room, to FN Daily Times, Illustrated Graphic, Illustrated London News, Miss Buxton. 3 Good Words, Treasure How, Sunday at Home, British Workman, Cottager and Artisan Friendly Visitor, Children Friend, Band of Hope, total 1.18.10

unsigned note on back of book bill, f253v, pen & pencil

**f253v**

The fact is  
what we want  
is rather an  
~~Sick~~ Incurables  
Allowance than  
a Sick Allowance  
for the Nurses

What would tempt  
them (the Nurses)  
to contribute  
what?

unsigned notes, f254, pencil

**f254**

Mr. Croft

Aug 1/79

Sept 25

thanked for his letter of June 22; he is doing a great work

Sept 25 1 - asked if any Monitorial or Pupil teacher system

small p. 9 Schools - influence of masters in small schools

Dame Schools running to Examn

needlework suffering no Lady Inspectors. Mrs Nassau

Senior

how are Brahmin schoolmasters trained to teach

(of small Primary Schools)

N.T. Training Schools difficulty of training to train.

2 Industrial Schools v. Report **[10:681]**

shd this element be introduced wherever possible

manufacture of glazed pottery pipes for Drainage

cd it be taught in India ?

industrial element in Schools important bearing

on Indian poverty **[end 10:681]**

Retrenchment Cabnt news hard on Indian

poverty

have made use of your Report in 2 out of 3 Articles

in Journal India Assn

did not quote your letters ostensibly

Influence of Education on future lives

3 Sanitary Manuals where does is stand

wd like to see it

will it be beautifully learnt by rote by children

& " taught " by masters

& not applied Main Sanitary works lie in hands of people

{continued up the right hand margin}

yr Agricultural Manual keen to hear about it



unsigned notes, f256, pencil

**f256**

*Mr. Hart: Priv. Secy to Sir R. Temple Oct 17/79*

thanked for 2 minutes on commencement of agricultural scientific education

no blacker cloud than dread lest 'retrenchment shd fall on this'

2 thanked for Village Conservancy Rules - my old love

Dr. Sutherland 's criticism: site: Cholera breaks out in a wetland

then I: ventilating huts                      selecting cases out of Reports  
glazed pottery water pipes      & showing how to deal with  
what the people could do themselves                      them

In India great difficulty in transferring  
book knowledge to their daily practice

natives so easily acquiring by rote

so hardly altering anything in their customs

Health Dept in Bombay a kind of normal school

for native Inspectors

Sanitary Primer or Manual

Great thing for Govt to put his imprimatur on necessity of teaching subject of health

Excuse my pell mell style of cramming in points interests me so deeply

3 thanked for M.S statement of Takavi

& M. S Statement of cultivated land held by

money lenders & cultivators Ahmedhajal & Sholapur

[Ahmednagul?]

regretted trouble

then put in form of questions Mr. Pedder's letter to Sir L. Mallet

promised to write again about other papers

hoped retrenchment & Affghan War so deplorable

would not tie his Governor's hands

unsigned notes, f257v, pencil

[10:726-27]

**f257v**

Mr. Croft's 2nd letter Oct 9/79

Sanitary Primer sent by Dr. Cunningham

difficult for one who knows so little of the tone of mind  
- mind so distinct from memory - of Indian school children  
to suggest anything to one who knows so much

Dr. Sutherland's 2 letters

But main thing remains for you to do viz. to make it

not only taught but practised among your immense  
family of little people - of whose Director I give/ wish them joy

2. But how about the women?

What educated natives say -

nothing can be done till the women know what is to be done  
& how to do it in health matters

Are matters of health now taught to them?

If you do in your girls' schools & Zenana Examns, you  
are greatly ahead of us

[end 10:727]

3. In higher Depts of Educn are Natural History &  
Physical Science taught to the young men & the lessons of  
Sanitary work depending on this?

How much easier would the working of Health Depts  
become if natives were so trained

Dr. Cunningham's Primer covers all ground of Village  
Conservancy Rules & a good deal more

no blacker cloud than fear 'retrenchment' may fall on Educn  
& Affghan War cost - May God avert it

heartfelt sympathy - nothing to cast in face of India

sent him District Nursing

now send poor trite Easter address to Probrs

need to keep up their spirits & try to inspire a higher  
spirit in all they do! With every stronger feeling enlisted in your  
success

unsigned notes, f258, pencil

**f258**

Dr. Cunningham Private & Confidential 10/10/79

told him substance of Col Yule's letter of Aug 6/79 x  
1 Secy of S. dealt only with Military Medical Admn  
no blacker cloud than fear of retrenchment injuring these  
Sanitary  
arrangements

2x separate position of Sny Commrs with Govt of India & 5  
larger Provinces amalgamation with Medical admn in  
minor Provinces

Dr Sutherland 's letter on contagion is in Article in Times  
founded on Cholera report of one of Officers to be suppressed  
thanked him for his noble stand against disease  
theories

Salvation of India  
whole question about Brit. India Med arrangements  
in India

II thanked him for his Sanitary Primer  
is his authorized for Punjab

What about Madras & Bombay ?  
great thing Govt imprimatur  
questions needed

children learn beautifully by rote  
how to make that knowledge *practical*?  
how to make Sanitary education extend to girls' schools  
& Zenana Examns? as an essential subject  
women at bottom of all resistance to improvement in  
matters of health

expect wonders from him  
but he has worked wonders already  
thanked him for all the work he has done  
God speed

unsigned notes, f259v, pencil

**f259v**

P.K. Sen: Oct. 16/79  
 care of S.B. Datta Esq M A  
 Lecturer Bethune Girls' School, Calcutta  
 thanked him again for High Court of Judicature Calcutta  
 Gazette  
 useful in directing attention ~~to~~ / of officials to official  
 statements which cannot be successfully challenged  
 deeply interested in prospect of crops E. Bengal  
 Thank God for a famine averted  
 & Zemindars looking after the poor -  
 No blacker cloud than dread lest necessity for retrenchment shd  
 touch  
 Education &c  
 asked to know results of his Examn  
 have not failed to bid him 'God speed' in that & his  
future life  
 reason of my silence &c &c looking after our own Schools  
 & sick & dying  
 Training Schools for Nurses in London x  
 will write by another Mail  
 asked for information of progress of Commission  
 in revising Rent Law of Bengal

x sent my Address half ladies half working women our Probrs

added know instances of our native Indian soldiers & N.C. Officers  
 fighting  
 & dying for duty & their comrades & Officers quite as striking  
 as those given

f260 Oct 23rd [1879] letter to FN from Susan Artrobus, 10 Grosvenor  
 Cres, re FN not able to see her when new rules printed for Nurses  
 Guild

**ff261-63** letter to FN from Ida Schmidt-Zabierow Nov 19 79 Vienna  
 Austria VIII, Tulpengasse 5 in English, Werckner, Mme Mohl

copy of a letter, f264, pen, FN hand

**f264**

"No. 4807/2/131

Financial Secy's Dept,  
W.O. Nov 29/79

"Sir

"I am directed by the S. of S.  
for War to acknowledge ~~the~~ &  
~~receipt of your letter of the 25th~~  
~~inst.~~ to inform you in reply  
that Mrs. Caroline Oakes has  
been awarded the highest rate  
of Pension to which she is  
entitled under the Regulations  
viz 34 per cent of her wages  
for the years preceding that  
in which her retirement was  
carried out.

(signed) W. A. Knox"

{the above seems to be a copy written in FN's hand}

incomplete, signed letter, ff265-65v, pen

**f265**

-2-

make an ex-Viceroy S. of S. for India [10:129]  
& when even in the India ~~Com~~ Office,  
that the only thing the I. O. does not want  
to hear about is - India [end 10:129]  
not to venture other things

I only trouble you with this line however  
to say what I cannot say how grateful  
I am to you to make some excuse for  
my self - & to hope that if I am not

**f265v**

too troublesome now I may be permitted  
some time to ask you another question  
Pray believe me  
dear Lord Northbrook  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale  
The Earl of Northbrook  
&c &c

unsigned letter, ff267-68v, pen & pencil, much in another, published as "Letter on 'Co-operation in India,'" *Journal of the National Indian Association. In Aid of Social Progress in India.* No. 101 (May 1879):219-21

**f266**

My dear Madam

It rejoices me beyond any [10:628-29]  
 thing that you are about  
 to have such a discussion as  
 that which you propose  
 next Thursday. a discussion  
 as to how to introduce - I  
 do not mean rather not introduce but  
 "apply" on the soil in all the world  
 best calculated for "co-operative"  
 system, - the soil of Village  
 Communities, India,  
 "co-operation" against money  
 lending - money lending which ties up all  
 capital ~~in making~~ / makes a poor  
 people poorer: & which is unhappily  
 supported by our ~~Civil~~ Courts  
 much against the intention of our law-giving  
 Miss E.A. Manning

**f266v**

The case is urgent beyond  
 urgency. E.g. So fully aware  
 are the Ryots ~~of the~~ Deccan  
 themselves that they are being  
 sacrificed to the Sowcars by  
 the action of our Civil Courts  
 that ~~I have heard of~~ certain  
 villages which a few years ago  
 were received in exchange  
 otherwise from the Nizam's  
 territory into Deccan  
 Collectorate, protesting against  
 being brought under the law  
 of our Civil Courts; urging with  
 truth that up to that time  
 their lands had all remained  
 their own but that under  
 our Civil Courts they would  
 soon all pass into the hands

**f267**

of the money lenders. Those people knew what they said. They spoke the truth.

The mistake which we have made has been to oblige our civil courts to aid & abet the practice of usury.

"The Civil Courts " says an Indian Judge "often become the direct cause of the cultivator's misery" - that is, by treating him as if he were an Englishman in England with a lawyer

at command. By all means let us treat

him as if he were an Englishmen

in England with 'co-operation' at command, provided

"co-operation" can be if so applied (the Co-op as it is fondly called

by the people in my parts of the country)

As it is now, no wonder that the ryots say, or worse still feel in silence

better off in the Native States", ~~say the ryots~~

There is not a finer race

of men ~~in~~ among our Asiatic fellow countrymen than the Mahratta peasantry. The

**f267v**

best qualities of the people  
are to be found in the  
Ryots.

Beware beware ~~of~~ If we ~~alienating~~ /alienate  
if we allow these patient much enduring, striving  
people "to be impoverished & dispossessed we break the back-bone of  
India.

Tying up capital in money/ usury  
lending instead of putting it  
out to fructify money into honest enterprise  
manufacturing commercial  
~~or~~ / & agricultural - this is the  
ruin of India.

May God prosper any  
attempt at ~~a~~-systems, co-operative & / or other  
to prevent this ruin!

Another small instance:  
Sugar cane is the most remunerative  
of all cultivation. But the  
sugar-cane grower uses ~~an~~

**f268**

-2-

a machine which only  
 'expresses' 50 per cent of  
 the sugar. He cannot  
 afford a no better.  
 Now a co-operative Sugar factory  
 would bring the money to  
 his door & make him  
 independent of the money  
 lender. necessary now to him even to  
 pay his Govt dues.  
 Make the Ryot money lender  
 to th himself & a more  
 prosperous peasantry would  
 not exist in the world.

thrifty, industrious frugal saving like  
 the French peasantry, ~~he has~~ they have  
 all the qualities for prosperity

May God bless them /~~the Ryot!~~  
 Three cheers for a Ryots' 'Co-op'!  
 And God speed the Ryot!

I shall wait to learn much  
 from /of your Thursday 's Meeting  
 To show the Ryots what arms  
 they have legal, social, economic

**f268v**

co-operative (not rioting)  
 against money lending or usury, is of the very  
 first consequence to India.  
 In Eastern Bengal they have  
 themselves discovered this arm  
 against oppressive land lords  
 in the Rent league.

Superstition: is it so much  
 greater in India than in  
 France or even in Paris,  
 in Italy, Russia, Malta,  
 Bulgaria?

[end 10:629]

unsigned letter, ff269-70, pen

**f269** {arch: [1878-1879]}

A good many native gentlemen  
& also Collectors & others  
have written to me this last  
year of their own accords.

It is of course difficult for  
a (comparatively) unpractical  
creature like me at home  
to sift the native statements.

[And that reminds me - to  
thank you very, very much  
for a remark you so kindly  
made, without I dare say  
knowing the weight I should  
attach to it, about the  
valuable education to poor old  
me of being brought into  
"immediate contact with the  
condition of the poor" & that  
otherwise "social problems  
remain too much in the

**f269v**

"speculative" form: (as referring  
to the place in Derbyshire  
of my dear Father who is dead  
& where is now no resident  
family) That is so true.  
But no one has said that to  
me but you.]

I come back to my natives.  
[I feel much like 'Mrs. Nickleby'  
in her discursiveness.]  
A remark about our Government  
Schools viz. that they only  
bring up Government Clerks  
& do not at all conduce to  
making more educated &  
prosperous & cultivated cultivators  
or weavers or goldsmiths &c &c.  
but very much the contrary  
has been made to me by so  
many Indians, 'Anglo' & native

**f270**

& Anglo Indian ladies too, that  
 I thought I would ask you  
 how much there is in it.  
 It is a remark which has  
     reached me from all the  
     Presidencies & from people  
     who had no knowledge of  
     each other's existence & no  
     desire to "make out a case"  
 that "a lad who had simply  
     "touched a school house would  
     "regard as degrading any manual  
     "occupation such as agriculture  
     "or manufacture. A potter's  
     "son after a stay at school  
     "for some time will not  
     "condescend to join his Father's  
     "business but would gladly be  
     "a clerk on Rs 10 or 15 a month  
     "tho his father's profession would  
     "have fetched him Rs 30 or 40

initialled letter, ff271-71v, pen & pencil

**f271**

N.B. I carefully register your judgement  
 that to "lie up the whole of the land by such a  
 law" as that "small holdings of land should not  
 "be liable to sale for debt at all" would be  
 "highly inexpedient" **[10:528]**

But what the native cultivator knows & feels so much & whether  
 he knows & feels it or not  
 seems contrary to equity

is

that when  
 we take ~~in charge~~ /under Govt. management 'encumbered' estates of  
 Talookdars,  
 not being saleable in any case not even in default of payment of  
 Govt revenue,  
 in Oude, we do not allow the creditors more than 6  
 7 per cent. altho' the original loan has always been contracted at  
 24 per cent & not rarely at 60 per cent  
     & ~~sometimes~~ / in some cases where the interest ~~exceeds the~~/  
 had reached more than  
 double the principal we have reversed into the old Hindoo law for  
 our own  
 sakes & allowed no interest whatever, have ~~do~~ we not? also ~~when~~ as  
 you say, we pass laws  
 "for the protection of some large proprietors in Ajmere  
 "& in part of Bengal"

Add Mss 45807

693

Say The cultivators: ~~natives say:~~ you do this for the rich & for

**f271v**

yourselves then why not for us? ~~But you do nothing for the poor indebted petty ryot.~~ When they discuss things 'under the village Fig tree' they ascribe all their woes to us.

I had a curious & remarkably well written letter

from a native gentleman of Oude, said to be an able man, now in the employment of Sir Salar Jung, stating this very strongly. And his is no

more than an echo of what is said "under

the village Fig tree", ~~I am told by~~ say officials

of our own ~~who have been~~ of 20 years standing ~~& more~~

~~in India~~ We do not breed disaffection. It is there already

~~But if~~ / Whether this is true /so you will know more ~~it better~~ than I.

[end 10:528]

F.N.

unsigned notes, ff272-73v, pen & pencil

**f272**

R.H.'s Article on "Thrift" is also most instructive

or rather I should say would be most instructive

is only he would tell us exactly what he wants

us to do. if he would only develop, for instance,

that theme that "the *spending* side of thrift

needs to be enforced even more than that of

saving". How true & how fruitful a theme

Enforce it especially upon the money lenders

who if they would spend (thriftily) their gains

in commerce & industries might be a true benefit

to India instead of a curse by creating riches

instead of creating pauperism. Enforce it

upon our masters who say that the way for

nations to get rich is: to save their money -

yes, but also to spend ~~it~~ & to borrow - What is

England's prosperity due to but to borrowed money?

Then he truly says that the Indian labourer

is "unskilled & inefficient". Let him tell us

how he is to be made otherwise: ~~if~~ / whether by model

farms & agricultural Schools & native teachers or by what means?

The Indian cultivator/ labourer is so ready to learn: so

much more so than the English labourer.

Let R. H. tell us more precisely how to "meet"

some at least of those "all important problems of common life" which he only alludes to. [end]

August No of

Indian Assn Journal

**f273v**

Mr. Nasarvanji Katnagat's too short sketch of **[10:815-16]**  
"Indian Village" also interesting. But how  
much more so it would be too an English  
public if he would give us a detailed  
account of some individual village that he  
has known & its individual inhabitants giving  
their names & name of the place. English people know  
literally nothing not even those few who have  
travelled in India of the agricultural village  
life, the life outside the large towns; And yet  
India is a land of villages. This is what is  
wanted to interest the people of England for  
~~let~~ him to give us some particular "village" by name  
& what the "sixty families" do, & who the individuals  
are *by name*: & what they care about & a history of  
a *daily* life & of the headman's daily life - the  
particular headman by name & his particular wife  
by name: & what the barber, the particular barber,  
does & says & thinks & cares for. And facts to  
illustrate their particular "village laws".  
It is quite true that villages are "mere dots" even to the  
Englishman travelling by rail in India. Let them cease  
to be "mere dots" to us ~~the~~ in England thro' Mr. N. R.'s pen  
Then let him tell us *in what parts* of India  
the Village Community still exists. *in what parts*  
it has been destroyed. **[end 10:815]**

unsigned letter, ff274-75v, pen & pencil

**f274** {arch: [1878-79]}

*Mr. Hyndman* will dig out your subject most important for us to have the ground sub-soil ploughed & turned up thus. by men who are for India & not only for India Office

What I differ in: there is surely a spending side as well as a saving side in National Economy  
It is not only that England has saved well but that she has spent well.. ~~which~~ /that has made her rich  
1. Unlock usurers's gains for commercial & manufacturing enterprise. Get native capital employed: that seems almost the key stone to the whole (Pall Mall July 25  
he says: 'in England we let money fructify in pockets of people in India we want it to fructify in hands of Govt. in shape of vast public works

Yes: but in England are not 'public works' necessary for our wealth & for making money to 'fructify in people's pockets' And are they not done by private capital?

In India does not our law virtually lock up private capital in hands of usurers who can make more by usury than by anything else?

2. Silt or Manure

I entirely back & front & side with all he says about the alarming decrease of manure

Most of the *rivers* of India are heavily laden with silt. The authorities have been urged to have analyses made of the 'plant feeding' qualities of silt so different in rivers from trap formation, from &c &c

But are there not e. g. in Sind & in Punjab (where you can as soon grow anything without water as without land) places where 'mere water' ~~has~~ makes 'soil good'.

**f275v**

3. After his terribly true acct. of ryot's income of 12 a year, taxed at 1.2.7 he quotes Ld Hobart as saying "Popular content is better than public works" Yes: but the 'popular content' produced by e.g. the Godavery 'public works', & the Canvery, & others I could name is the 'best' & highest of all - & has even enabled the ryots to pay off their money lenders.

I do not say that you can have a Godavery Delta every where. but is not the greatest 'popular content' produced by successful 'public works of Irrigation ? Do not go headlong into Irrigation works, expecting *all* to pay like the Madras Delta works but look carefully into e.g. the Sind & Deccan works: see what pays, pays especially in the prosperity of the people = see what requires say 10 - 15 years to develop its paying power - see what pays at once: see, above all, the causes which prevent or postpone their paying - prevent the people from taking the water. These causes are what most great officials will not recognize: slavery to usurers; fear of the corrupt native petty officials

Add Mss 45806, microfilm, 272 folios, 91 pages, general correspondence 1880-82, Adam Matthew reel 34

typed copy of letter, ff1-2

**f1**

COPY

31/1/80

The 6th anniversary of Mrs. Bracebridge's death: ah no: not death: the 6th anniversary of her resurrection.

She is so much more with me than many, than almost any who still live here below.

My dear Sir

On this sacred day I could not help writing to you of her who lives oh so much more a life than any of ours.

I have also to thank you (for I cannot even yet speak of *her*, to whom my life, such as it is, is due) to thank you for a book on Nursing by Mr. Brinckman, which you kindly sent me last year. I have read it - many parts over & over again - & given it to the best of our Trained Matrons to read. You ask me to say what I think of it. It is *intensely* interesting, in the first place, there can be no doubt of that. It is perhaps more fitted for old Nurses, like me, & for gentle folk' relatives of the sick than as a Manual for Nurses or for Hospitals. For these it is at once, is it not? too vague & too full of *detail*: It would be impossible to carry out

the idea of removing the dying in Hospital into a Ward for the dying.

Nor would it be desirable, if possible, I think. It would go near to break a good Ward Sister's heart to take away her dying Patients

as also theirs. It is harder to get a good Sister' to go to bed when she thinks one of her Patients is dying, even if a special nurse is assigned him, than for him to be neglected by her.

Very severe cases are, with us, put into the small' Ward,

**f2**

off' each Ward, & a special Nurse assigned by day & another by night. But then it is *the same Sister'*, - & this appears to me to be the essential thing, - who has been in charge of the Patient all through, who is in charge of him still. And she desires herself to be called, if he is worse in the night.

I would I had time to go thro' this most interesting & valuable book to you now.

But for 6 years & a month [since my dear Father's death] I have never had one day's rest of body or mind, the charge of Lea Hurst in Derbyshire has been added to my other charges -

My dear Mother is dying: Pray for her & for me - & believe me, for the sake of *her* who is so present to both of us,  
ever yours sincerely [Sgd.] FLORENCE

NIGHTINGALE

Revd. Berdmore Compton.

f3 James Knowles to FN embossed Reform Club, Pall Mall, the Hollies, Clapham Common

f5 Mary Cadbury to FN re nursing, Manchester Apr 3 /80. I am afraid you will think me long in fulfilling my promise to write and tell you how Miss Hunter and I are getting on in this new field of nursing.

It is rather more than 2 months since I came here, at first dear Miss Wainright's death prevented me and then my own father's increased illness and death when I was at home kept me there a short time, and altogether it seemed like coming rather under a cloud. Miss Hunter had been at work since the end of Oct but it took some time before the people got to know and realize all the nurses or to understand that we wanted really to help them and not only to give advice, as some of them have said. They appear a much more respectable class than what we used generally to nurse at Bloomsbury, but our services are just as much of and more appreciated by this class who tho they live in comfortable homes and perhaps have a small girl to help them with the work, are left in a state of great discomfort when helpless from illness and pain. Rheumatic fevers, several gathered breasts, bronchitis &c we have materially helped and most grateful have the people been. We do not give relief but find means for them to have it when needed. We lend mackintosh pillows and other sick appliances and sheets very occasionally, and I always feel glad that it is not part of our duty to give relief as I am sure it would prevent our usefulness in nursing. The work from 9 till 1:30 and in the evening from about 6:30 till the cases are finished and we find they prefer our going pretty late in the evening as it settles them for the night. It is often wonderful to me to see how the people admit us, at first perfect strangers to them, at once into their houses and let us do for them and thankfully follow our advice about ventilation &c about wh as in other places they are sadly ignorant. I find the work exceedingly interesting and enjoyable and it feels to me one

that you cd easily get into wherever you were. The doctors at first (some of them) were a little shy I think of our interfering, but now they are quite come round and we find they are thankful to have their patients properly nursed.

There seems to be a great demand for trained nurses, ladies and others for this particular branch of nursing, I have been applied to frequently lately and am always sorry to have to say I do not know of such. I wish more cd be trained for the work. With kind regards...

signed letter, ff8-15, pen, black-edged paper *Nineteenth Century* 7. April 1880:677-84 and replied to by Gull in 7. May 1880:884-904.

**f8**

Private Address 10 South St.           **[13:159-62]**  
    Park Lane W  
        April 10/80

My dear Sir

I must ask your pardon  
for being so long in  
replying to your kind  
note, asking me to  
read an Article by Miss  
Margaret Lonsdale [in  
your last XIX Centy] on  
"the Nursing Crisis" at  
Guy's Hospital:

- informing me that Sir  
Wm Gull is about to  
answer it in May, &  
asking me to write on the  
subject in May or June  
James Knowles Esq.

**f8v**

I lost no time in sending  
for the Article, which I  
confess I had previously  
heard of, as having  
infuriated the Doctors  
against us all; but, in  
my great trouble &  
press of business, I had  
felt like a coward before  
putting my foot in ~~another~~  
hornet's nest: & to a request,  
which I received previously to yours,  
that I would answer it,  
wished to reply that I had  
not read it;- being too ill,  
sorrowful & pressingly busy.

As you do me the honour  
to ask me to write upon it,  
I will ask your leave to

**f9**

indicate a few points in Miss Lonsdale's most well-intentioned Article.

e.g.

She implies as two of the characteristics of the new System", in which she is so good as to include us at St. Thomas:

1. that Sisters' & Nurses are moved about from ward to ward at the convenience of the Matron" (Such an unfortunate word) not for the good of the Patient but for the Matrons's convenience) -by way of training"or giving experience!!!
2. that Sisters" & Nurses are not necessarily present at the Medical visit: (by way

**f9v**

of giving them exercise in the open air).  
 N.B. I feel it at least as incongruous as you must feel it that I should be as it were ~~giving~~/volunteering to you lessons in Hospital Matronship. But I don't know how to answer your kind note without:

I would observe:- With us at St. Thomas' Hospital it is an essential part of the new System": it is actually the object of our training:

1. that Sisters" & Nurses (being our *trained* Probationers") shall never be moved from

**f10**

[2]

ward to ward:

( Probationers" in training  
are moved every month.)

2. that Sisters" & Nurses  
& Probationers shall all be  
be as far as possible,  
Sisters" always, - present  
at the Medical visits.

And for *this* purpose  
their hours of exercise" are  
arranged.

We should consider any  
training system an absolute  
failure which did not  
secure these two things  
among others.

The Sisters & Nurses are  
trained Sisters & Nurses -  
they are *there* to train,  
not to be trained: to nurse,  
not to learn nursing

**f10v**

But, anxious not to  
mislead or be misled,  
I took the precaution,  
before answering you, to  
send to Head Quarters at  
Guy's Hospital, where  
Miss Lonsdale is herself  
as lady pupil"; and I find  
that the Article itself is  
grossly incorrect, & that  
Miss Lonsdale acknowledges  
it to be so: but says  
that it was written in  
such haste".

(N.B. In her book on

Sister Dora', an admirable  
sketch of an admirable  
woman, it was obvious that  
the writer knew little or nothing of  
nursing.)

**f11**

[3]

But - il y a des choses  
 qui ne se disent point -  
 Miss Lonsdale is guilty  
 in her Article of high treason  
 against Nursing- guilty  
 of taking one of the noblest  
 Arts of Life-noblest because it  
 is exercised on living bodies  
 & souls,- in a mean  
 spirit of ladylike, ~~like~~, *falsely*  
*lady-like* exclusiveness,  
 - as a female Sovereign  
 stands up wrongly for ~~the~~ a  
 prerogative of the Crown  
 so she stands up for a false  
 prerogative of the Nurse  
 - in what she says about  
 the *Medical* School:  
 Miss Lonsdale is the truest  
 of gentlewomen: it is inconceivable

**11v**

how she could have made  
 this blunder, worse than  
 sin,- of pitting the  
 Medical School and school  
 nursing staff against  
 the Nurse Training School,  
 She puts it as if it were  
 as cricket match" not as  
 (see last page of article)  
~~instead of~~/of the whole,  
 building, Civil administration,  
 Medical Staff, Matrons &  
 Training School - ~~being~~/were one  
 great organization to be  
 worked & harmonized for one purpose,-  
 the good of Patients  
 I contend" - she says I  
 contend'- well, I contend too  
 I contend that the Medical  
 School is an immense, tho'  
 disagreeable advantage

**f12**

to this organization: that,  
 disagreeable as are the  
 breezes", the more the free  
 outer air of public opinion is brought into  
 the Hospital the better -  
 in order to keep up the highest  
 standard of care, including  
 Nursing care, of the Patients:  
 The Students are thus an advantage to the Nursing.  
 The worst Nursing I know  
 in Europe is that of  
 Sisterhoods, where no  
 Medical School is  
 admitted: the worst  
 Hospitals I know in  
 Europe are those where  
 no Matrons or Nurse Training  
 Schools are admitted,  
 but only Nurses under  
 the *direct* (Matron-al) *Authority* of  
 the *Doctors*. It cannot be otherwise

**12v**

The Doctors & their  
 disagreeables do at least  
 as much good to the  
 Nursing as the Nurses,  
 being trained ladies or superior women, do  
 to the Medical Students.

But - il y a des choses  
 qui ne se disent pas -  
 what would you think  
 of my judgement if I were  
 to ~~put~~/volunteer this kind of raw  
 truth into your XIX Century' ?  
 It is nuts' to the enemy. It is poison to us.

I am afraid ~~Miss~~ Sir Wm  
 Gull's will be a terrible  
 Article. Miss Lonsdale,  
 by inaccuracy & by truth,  
 has equally laid herself  
 & us open to it & us too.

**f13**

Now for your kind  
proposal that I should write  
whether before or  
after the appearance of Sir  
Wm Gull's Article.

I could not write till I  
had seen it, certainly:

but I would almost cry  
you mercy altogether

I never saw a thing I less  
wished to put my foot in  
-a hornet's nest, stirred  
up by Misses Burt & Lonsdale,

The Doctor -hornets are  
flying in from every  
Hospital to join the  
stinging- match: even  
from ours (St. Thomas!)

just as we had succeeded  
in making the Hornets  
into the most faithful &  
useful of bees: into making

**13v**

them love us & our training.  
And *this*, again, would  
you have me say *this*?

4. I will only indicate ~~another~~  
one more of Miss Lonsdale's  
blunders:

she says that trained  
Nurses are less obedient  
to the Medical authorities  
than drinking charwomen-  
nurses;

She might as well say  
that an educated Physician  
knows less than the old  
village crone:

What possible meaning  
can she, or those she has  
been under, attach to the  
word "training"?

The essence, the object of all  
training *is: intelligent* obedience  
to Medical orders: to teach the  
Nurse how to obey.

**f14**

[4]

Lastly: & to recur to your kind wish that I should write a sort of summing up Article (which could not be at all events till I had seen Sir Wm Gull's) I think my name scarcely a good pass-port to such an Article: People read, or for that matter write, so carelessly in these days, that they would only see in it: 'Oh Florence Nightingale of course speaks up for her Nurses, & see nothing more. (I hope I should not speak up' for either Nurses or Doctors, but solely for what Nurses & Doctors are there for - the good of the Patients.)

**14v**

Thank you for saying that Hospital trained Nursing is a matter of immense importance". I cannot but think that if, a *Doctor of St Thomas'* Hospital would write you an Article, saying whether his experience of our trained Nurses is the same as that which Miss Lonsdale describes as *Guy's*, that would be best for the cause.

**f15**

In a letter already too long,  
I must only add that like  
you these glorious Elections  
have gladdened my heart  
- glorious, because they were  
~~have~~ done by the people  
themselves. It is *the people*  
who arose in their strength.

Do give us an Article  
on the SPIRIT of  
the Elections of 1880 in your  
XIX Centy?

I must tell you some  
delightful details about  
this" but cannot write  
more now.

Pray believe me  
ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale **[end 13:162]**

ff16-17 April 14 1860 Knowles to FN thanks exceedingly for kind and  
wise letter...it is your own child

FN note on back: **[13:162]**

Medl School & Hosp like man & wife  
They can't be unmarried. If friends  
wanted to reconcile them, it wd not  
be by putting their grievances in the  
papers.

Wd Miss Lonsdale have Hosps go  
back to period when they had  
not Medl Schools? For that  
matter, they had no Nurse Training  
Schools till long after Medl Schools.  
Patients the only thing left out.  
Hamlet without part of Hamlet.  
It is to find a career for educated  
women (Patients exist for ladies,  
not ladies for Patients) so many  
ladies want a livelihood &c &c  
- Not how to do the best for the  
sick: how to advance methods  
how to educate for curing the  
sick. how to advance Science & Practice  
for curing & preventing disease, & smoothing the paths of death &  
incurable Disease **[end 13:162]**

ff18-19 Gordon to FN 22.4.80 letter to FN from C.G. Gordon introducing his cousin Mrs Hawthorn, with enclosed paper from her re hosp attendance on sick, "Do you think anything can be done." recounts calling on her, and thanks for her kind words on her card, FN underlining on letter

**f20** calling card Colonel Charles G. Gordon, Royal Engineers

ff21-23 29.4.80 Chelsea letter to FN from C.G. Gordon thanks for her letter, got support of his soldiers not by his justice but by looking after them when sick, limits to power, closes: "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and the violent perverting of judgment, marvel not at it, for He that is higher than the Highest regardeth it."

ff24-25 May 7 1880 Knowles letter to FN, sends copy of new number with articles in reply to Miss Lonsdale

incomplete letter, f26, pen, black-edged paper

**f26**

My dear Sir,

Since I wrote this, I have **[13:163]**  
 your kind note of May 7  
 which has been forwarded  
 to me. About a summing up,"  
 about an answer ~~generally~~ on the *Guy's*  
 crisis at all, I can only think what I  
 have there thought - and -  
 put myself in your hands.

It is impossible now for me to  
 have any answer ~~for~~ in the  
 June" No: & you do not propose  
 it. I If you still wish for  
 something from me, in a  
 following No, & do not  
 rather incline to let us  
 fight our own battles,  
 would you please lend"return  
 me my own former letter to you. as you kindly  
 suggest, & let me know  
 how late you can give me? **[end 13:163]**

initialled letter, f27, pen

**[5:465-66]****f27v**

After one's great delight at this uprising of the people, at this amazing success of England's glorious hero, Mr. Gladstone, one feels a little disappointed at the Indian Side of his Govt And we must never forget that under no govt have Indian questions been so systematically {line to end of paragraph} ignored as under Mr. Gladstone's.

Philip II of Spain is made to say: ~~(by S O~~ but for one pulse's beat of omniscience I say O but for one pulse's beat of Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer for India!

I only mention this that you may keep him up to the mark. Retrenchment has now reached its utmost limit in India in cutting down everything that has to do with the welfare the agricultural improvement that is the very existence of the people. We take 20 millions a year revenue out of the land, &

**f27**

we put nothing back. I could ~~tell you~~ give the most frightful instances of this. The people are beginning to see it. or rather to feel it.

And meanwhile the Bill for the War is 4 millions more than ~~it~~ they told us.

And who is to set this right?

The new Viceroy?

The member for ~~Hackney~~ India (M.P. for Hackney)

Mr. Fawcett considers every thing about the people but the people.

How can *Social* questions be separated from *finance* questions in a country like India, a country where social problems have no representation, no voice?

Finance *is* their voice-  
the only voice of FN  
India's appalling  
social state.

unsigned letter, ff28-31, pen, black-edged paper

**f28**

*Nursing Crisis* ) Address  
*in Guy's Hospl.*) 10 South St. [13:163-65]  
Park Lane W.  
May 8/80

My dear Sir

I have been waiting for a signal from you, like a ghost which can't speak till it is spoken to - in the shape of the "early" copy of May's XIX Centy., with Sir Wm Gull's Article in it, so kindly promised. It has not come. But I have read the Article.

I will venture, first, to mention to you the impression made upon our best *trained workers (Matrons & Nurses)* by Miss Lonsdale's onset, because you are so good as to call the subject one of "immense importance": It is this:  
Who is she to be the mouth-piece of the new system?

**28v**

She has dealt us a blow  
that we shall not soon  
recover. That was not the  
silent & patient way our  
system has been worked.  
it comes most inopportunately  
for us,'

I do not think the answers  
to Miss Lonsdale have been  
at all exhausted. Quite  
{written in pencil between the lines}  
No doubt you have been deluged Without  
any concurrence of mine  
unknown to me, the "Edinburgh  
Medical Journal" has an  
answer signed "Nurse", which  
is by one of the very best of  
*our trained* ladies, the Matron  
of the huge Edinburgh Infirmary,  
& an other answer (in our favour) by  
one of the Medical Staff.

I question whether one of the  
really trained women (Matrons  
& Nurses in Hospitals) will be

**f29**

found who will not condemn  
Miss Lonsdale's Article as being {in pencil above} a  
false witness' to her neighbour that the {in pencil above} a really  
new"

organized System of trained  
Hospital Nursing: & its writer  
as a parvenue': & rather an  
ignorant like all {in pencil above} parvenue.' somewhat  
& impertinent {written in pencil underneath}

It really/merely comes to this: a poor  
controversy between the a" &  
the the": a confusion of articles/words:  
Not articles/ Miss Lonsdale & even Sir Wm  
Gull & conspicuously Dr. Habershon take  
for granted that a new  
system of nursing" violently  
established at Guy's some five/few  
months hence & carried on  
with a friction & uproar  
characteristic of the very  
reverse, viz ~~a want~~ of system  
is THE new system of Hospital  
Nursing." We deny it *in totismo* {underneath}& quietly  
we who have been steadily at  
work for more than a quarter  
of a century. And what is

**f29v**

more to the purpose the  
Medical Staffs under  
which we work deny  
it too. {in pencil} I hope & I believe

We should take but little  
exception to Sir Wm Gull's  
Article: it is not much more  
than a criticism on Miss  
Lonsdale's & a personal  
explanation. Sir Wm Gull, as  
you are perhaps aware,  
supported generally the  
authorities of Guy's against  
much of the action of the  
Medical Staff, & writes this,  
I suppose, for the purpose  
of setting himself right  
with the Staff. {in pencil} With this we have  
nothing to do.

The only exception we should  
take is: that But Sir Wm Gull,  
without ever defining, vaguely  
speaks of the New order of  
Nursing", the New Nursing System",  
p. 886

**f30**

[2]

as if Miss Lonsdale & the Matron represented *trained* Nursing, & possibly *us*", whereas *we*" should say that they represent *untrained* Nursing.

Dr. Habershon's Article turns almost entirely (I trouble you with this because on its character & that of Sir Wm Gull depends whether a reply {in pencil} or summing up from *us*" would be useful) {in pencil} Dr. H's Article & *turns* upon the {in pencil} almost entirely charge's made by Miss Lonsdale's Article & the charges as to the Matrons's action made by Dr. Habershon. It is alleged that some of these latter charges are unfounded & some exaggerated. These are personal matters not to be dealt with usefully in a public print. {in pencil} least of all by us there appears to be nothing to "sum up" on our parts

**f30v**

If the charges of the Medical Staff as here stated are true & if they are correctly stated to be the results of an altered system" of management, the system" is undeniably a wrong one. though the writer's statements as to previous absence of evils are clearly exaggerated, & his conclusions often illogical, there is little to be found in the Article which is adverse to the introduction of a proper Nursing organization. The general inferences as to modern Nursing" are, as in the other, the only part which concerns us.

In so important a matter to the Nursing cause, I have, of course, consulted my fellow workers. As a *reply*, they think I should write nothing.

**f31**

As to summing up the case", according to the kind request which, I understood, you made me, I should in that sense decline. ~~For we~~

As a statement, very briefly of what we consider (& ~~has~~ our Training School ~~hav~~ & doctrine have for 20 years endeavoured to inculcate & promote) to be the main requirements of an improved Nursing organization, I am told that something from me would be desirable. solely with a view to meet the possible imputation which the vague assertions of the Articles as to "modern Nursing" and "new System of Nursing" may cast upon the genuine representatives of the Nursing Profession & the harm which will ensue to the cause of Nursing reform.

These think that it is only the opinions of the Medical profession

**f31v**

that we have to be much afraid of. & that so far as we are concerned the object would be gained by a pamphlet, which also would have the advantage of being severed from immediate connection with the Guy's Hospital crisis", as they call it (It is more like a row". Both Treasurer & Matron must have shown singular want of tact & judgment- the Matron in addition much ignorance of Ward Management

-On the other hand the Medical Staff gave their sanction to unfounded & exaggerated statements & mere rumours, & as a body signed a document embodying many such statements.

Would it be desirable to mix up the great Nursing cause in such a kettle of fish"? Extremely not so, we/I think.

**[end 13:165]**

ff32-33 May 10 1880 letter to FN from James Knowles re her letter, dismay

ff34-35 May 10 1880 letter to FN from A.J. Lawrence re BNA, Royal Free

ff36-38 May 26 1880 letter to FN from C.H. Fasson, Royal Inf Edin, remembering her kindness in previous corr, FN underlinings

ff39-40 May 29 1880 letter to FN from Knowles encloses early copies of articles on doctors and nurses from forthcoming June no.

typed copy of signed letter, ff40-42 note from embossed 84 Eaton Square with enclosed paper sent at sugg of HV, but no intention of giving FN, re proposed committee, with Ho of Co notes, original roll 3 H1/ST/NC1/80/61

f40 {arch: Mrs Blair}

London. June 24/80.

Madam,

You have my deepest interest, my deepest sympathy in the matter of the Convalescent Hospital which you wish to build near Bolton-Le-Moors, & which you already have the site.

I am sure that the benefits of Convalescents Homes are only second to those of Hospitals & indeed that no Hospital is complete without its Convalescent adjunct - so few patients leave Hospital able to return at once to their work & their poor homes. And this dooms them sooner or later to the parish' in too many cases: i.e. to be dependent on the poor rates: to a life of infirmity.

Not only do I think small" convalescent Homes admissible, but I think it better to begin with a small building which can be enlarged.

You ask me where to see the *working* of a small Convalescent Hospital".

Would it not be better to see several?

You have probably seen

1. Miss Hawthorn's St. Agatha's, near Beckenham. That is in a private house, and for children only. Have you seen the
2. Dover Convalescent Home?
3. The Ascot Convalescent Home, near Brecknell, Berks, kept Mrs. Blair

**f41**

[-2-]

Sisters". One could hardly recommend the *building* but the working is excellent. This is for women & children.

4. Have you seen the Convalescent Home,  
Black Rock,  
Brighton

(Miss Marsh's) ?

5. The Eastbourne Convalescent Home?

6. You have of course seen the Memorial Herbert Home at Bournemouth? - that was built on purpose for its object, viz. for *Convalescents*. But, before building on any large scale, you will probably see those near Glasgow, in North & South Wales, & others.

But I strongly recommend the *Cottage* form, like that at Bournemouth.

You ask to see me: how gladly would I do so in such a cause, but you only give me from today, Thursday, when I received your note, till Saturday. It is quite impossible. I could not even name any time *before the week after next*, alas! Mrs. ~~Wardroper~~ Wardroper will have told you that I am under the severe pressure of ever increasing illness & overwork, & entirely a prisoner to my room. And I might add - to show you how gladly I would see you, if I could - that my Doctors order me to talk only half an hour every other day, which is in *practice* is every half hour every day. My time is entirely filled up with overwork - persons leaving London or England who appoint themselves for weeks beforehand, among the rest.

**f42**

[-3-]

I am scarcely able today to write this note.

If you would have *sketch plans* of your proposed small Convalescent Home" made, & sent me, I would give them all the attention in my power, & consider every detail. And I would obtain valuable opinions from the Army Sanitary Commission, etc. etc. But I must have the permission to keep the plans at least a week for criticism, as I cannot command my own time.

God speed the future Blair Convalescent Home" is the earnest prayer

of ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale.

**note, f43, pencil****f43** {written diagonally}

Comm' receive evidence  
 but not decide how  
 the thing is to be done  
 conclusion to be drawn thro'  
 actual system  
 the ~~po~~ experience of other Hospls  
 where there is a good organization  
 say St. T's Edin St. Mary's  
 & not from a priori ~~views~~ views of what ought to be a scheme of  
 administration  
 write to Dr. Steeven's  
 Miss Franks  
 Dr. Grimshaw  
 -----  
 Collingham  
 Colney Hatch

note, f45, pen not in FN hand, embossed House of Commons

**f45**

Guy's has been governed from the  
 1st year of this century by [~~illeg~~]  
~~wish~~ a despot who never made  
 laws without consulting those who  
 would be affected by them  
     Ben Harrison  
     Ben Barclay  
     Borosy [?] Dobrey [?]  
     Turner still living)  
 Lushington introduced Miss Burt  
 without consulting the Staff & ~~led her~~  
 gave her carte blanche to make rules  
 The Staff smelt the rats of a  
 religious sisterhood - and a  
 system in which nurse training  
 was to be the first point  
 medical science, education &  
 healing subordinate

ff48-50 June 30 1880 letter to FN from Helen Blower Bart's As I  
 wrote to Miss I thought it wd be as well to delay sending my letter  
 to you until I recd an answer from her, which I did last evening,  
 she says the com will not allow her to resign until she has been  
 appointed to another hospital, she promises to let me know as soon  
 as it is decided, but I do not think after what you said to me and  
 the little that I have heard about Addenbrooke's it wd be a  
 suitable place for me, so I will not think any more about it.

I felt so ashamed, of myself after seeing you on Saturday I intended to have been brave, but your kindness made me break down, I came away thinking how very foolish you must have thought me. What has passed lately has been a sore trial to me, tho all most work together for good to those who love Him. The interview with you was and is a great comfort to me, as to your kindness and thoughtfulness for me. I feel it is impossible to thank you as I wd wish. If it wd suit your kind wishes I shd like to have "Churchill's Midwifery" very much, a book on this subject I have often wished to possess, not that I want to learn a little and think I know more, but as I told you it is a branch of the work I long to have some experience in, perhaps it was the few cases that I had in my wards in Montreal made me wish to know more about it. I felt my deficiency in cases of emergency. I do hope I did not tire you the other evening, it was selfish of me to stay so long. With much love, believe me to remain, yrs very faithfully Helen Blower

initialled letter, ff51-53, pen, black-edged paper [6:475-76]

**f51** July 9/80

Dear Lady Lothian

My poor words cannot  
express how deeply  
interested I am in the  
movement which by  
bringing ~~in~~ voluntary to them  
private fellow-workers  
into heartily ~~cooperation~~ concurrence  
with the Boards of  
Guardians & other Poor Law  
authorities - the great  
thing wanted - promises  
to transform the  
Workhouse Infirmeries  
into something like what

**f51v**

they ought to be &  
what so many Poor  
Law Guardians as will  
as outsiders wish  
that they should be  
- I will not say  
supplementary Hospitals  
to the great London  
& county ~~Civil~~ Hospitals  
~~—but~~/rather Hospitals in all respects fitted to  
receive to nurse & to cure those for  
whom the voluntary  
Hospitals are not fitted/suitable  
-including the infirm  
& incurable ~~but~~ but how

**f52**

many incurables would  
be cured by proper  
attendance, appliances  
& Trained Nursing,  
& so taken off the Rates.

~~I wish your~~

~~But~~ how much better  
do you & yours know all this  
than I can put it.

I wish your Association  
Godspeed' with all my  
might. For I see in  
it the means to remove  
that curious difficulty  
which here in England exists  
~~betw~~ in making voluntary  
aid heartily cooperate

**f52v**

with State aid;  
~~as well as of~~ & thereby  
promoting the comfort  
& cure of thousands  
& hundreds of thousands  
of our fellow creatures  
the poor sick & old  
paupers.  
& of ~~giving~~ extending to them the  
Trained Nursing which  
~~is~~ has now received almost  
a world wide acknow-  
ledgment as to its  
essential necessity for  
all Hospitals, Civil  
Military, & State'.  
I trust we may be able to give  
you some ~~little~~ help in the matter of

**f53**

Trained Nursing: it will not be ~~all~~  
~~the help we can.~~ for want of will

It did not occur to  
 me that you would  
 care for an expression  
 of what lies deepest  
 in my heart.

But if this or my  
 poor little pencil  
 note can be of any  
 use, it is yours.

Godspeed the Association  
 for promoting Trained  
 Nursing in Workhouse  
 Infirmaryes & Sick Asylums"  
 is the fervent wish  
 of ever your & their  
 faithful servant

FN

ff54 July 25 [1880] letter to FN from M.A. Fellowes, Leopold Ward.  
 I have deeply felt tenderness and sympathy wh is far from cold and  
 mean to have written to thank you for all your kindness. We go this  
 aft to 15 South Terrace, Littlehampton where we meditate stopping  
 a fortnight. My hand mends slowly but the doctors want to get me  
 away tho they wd like to keep it, so I hope it will not be  
 troublesome if so, I must come as an out-patient, it is not good  
 worrying but I feel dreadfully illeg about having to go away. Miss  
 Solly is writing that we are true nursing sisters helping each  
 other in affliction. Again thanking you for all your...

ff56 July 31 1880 letter to FN from A. Lawrence, General, Fox Hill,  
 Chertsey re hers of 18 June re nursing committee and costume for  
 nurses. I ought long since to have thanked you for your letter of  
 18th June but I wished first to communicate privately with the  
 members of our nursing com who had mooted the qu of an outdoor  
 costume for the nurses. I am glad to say that what you have said  
 have satisfied them that it wd be quite inexpedient to attempt  
 anything of the sort. Thanking you again for another instance of  
 your timely help....

unsigned draft letter, ff57-58, pen, black-edged paper

**f57**

London, July, 1880

To the Governors  
 of the London Hospital  
 Gentlemen

[13:143-44]

Miss Pyne asks me to  
 give her a testimonial

for the vacant post of  
Matron  
at your grand  
& most useful/valuable Hospital.  
I have known ~~her~~/this lady since  
8 years ago she came  
to our Training School  
at St. Thomas' Hospital  
& received her year's  
training there as a Nurse.

Since that time she  
has been, 6 ½ years, at

**f57v**

the great Edinburgh  
Royal Infirmary where  
she has risen to be now  
for some years first  
Assistant Lady Superintendt  
In that noble Institution  
she has had great  
experience: especially  
in training Probationers  
& taking charge of a  
very large body of Head  
Nurses, Assistant Nurses  
& Probationers.  
Her testimonials from  
Edinburgh  
will testify  
to the very high value  
placed upon her services,  
to her devotion to her duties.  
& to the great respect felt at  
losing her.

**f58**

to her popularity with all  
I have been intimately  
acquainted with her  
during all this time:  
& can indeed corroborate  
all that is said of her  
at the Edinburgh infirmary

Miss Pyne is a lady of  
great ability, who  
worked with Miss Octavia  
Hill in her works among the poor before coming to us  
for training into Hospital  
life.

She has so thorough  
a knowledge of Nursing  
duties (both in theory &  
practice), that she  
has been found singularly  
competent both to teach & to  
supervise them.

**f58v**

I trust that for  
the sake of the magnificent London Hospital  
she may be elected to  
the post of matron  
which she so much  
desires.

incomplete draft letter, f59, pencil

**f59**

To Adjnt Genl

2/8/80

referred to

3. As a *rule* Soldiers Wives belong to a class of Society  
which is but imperfectly educated, & very few of  
such women would benefit by attending a course of  
lectures as proposed

Practical instruction in the humbler duties of  
Nursing would be more suitable

4. Women to be useful as high class Nurses  
should be of higher moral & intellectual capacity  
than soldiers' wives usually are

5. We already have a nucleus of a Female  
Nursing Staff composed of women of refinement  
& education (Netley & the Herbert) & presided  
over by a Lady Supt ~~Genl~~ who with six of our Nurses  
is at present in S Africa. This nucleus we  
are prepared to expand to any extent, & it has  
very lately been proposed to do so, & to appoint  
a small Staff of trained Nurses to each of our  
larger Mily Hospls, all to be under the direction  
of the Lady Supt Genl & the orders of the D.G. of the  
A M D.

In conclusion -

(During 1879, 19 Soldiers' wives were trained as  
midwives by the M.O.s in charge of Female Hospitals

2/8/80

Signed Sir Wm Muir

**f60v** pencil

Is Paragraph as to nurses paid by Nat. Aid Socy  
to serve in the Event of War (marked by Sir W. Muir)  
struck out or not by Commer of N.A.S.?

Aug 7/80

Draft terms forwarded "approved" by Col L. Lindsay

Aug 7/80

2 Carlton Gardens 10 Aug 1880

Dear Sir William

The Terms for training Nurses at Netley  
to be paid for by the N.A.S.  
according to the Estimate furnished by the  
A.M.D. have been adopted by the Committee  
of the Socy and I shall be happy to supply the  
funds necessary for carrying out the scheme  
whenever called upon to do so.

I am dear Sir Wm

yours very truly

R. Loyd Lindsay

Sir Wm Muir KCB

-----  
£2000 agent income from accumulated Fund  
of Socy (Nat. Aid)

f61 letter Aug 7 [1880] letter to FN from Louisa Twining re her  
kind gift and sympathy and encouragement it gives, have appt 7  
nurses already and sending 3 for training. Printed Association for  
Promoting Trained Nursing in Workhouse Infirmeries and Sick  
Asylums. I cannot send the rect (at Lady Lothian's request) without  
adding a line, not only of thanks for your kind gift, but also for  
the sympathy and encouragement wh it conveys also. It is a great  
pleasure and satisfaction to us to know that our work has your  
sanction and approbation. I believe are getting on slowly but  
surely, we have appointed 7 nurses (already trained) and are  
sending 3 probs for training. Several boards of Guardians are  
applying for nurses, more than we can supply. When we re-assemble  
for work in the winter I hope we shall be able to do still more  
regular business.

F63 embossed War Office, memo on Permanent Under Sec of State, from  
Sir Wm Muir re mil nursing 45806; printed letter of W Muir WO, red  
FN und

incomplete letter, ff65-66, pen

f65

*Private* 10 South St.  
& *Confidential* Park Lane W.

Aug 18/80

Dear Sir William Muir

I cannot thank you  
enough for your kind  
visit nor for all  
your kindness.

I beg to return the  
Letter Book, which  
I need scarcely say  
has been ~~sacred~~ seen by no one else.

As you were so very  
good as to invite my  
observations, I shall  
not fail when Prof.

**f65v**

Longmore has worked  
out the ~~present~~ last Training Scheme,  
proposed by N.A.  
to trouble you with  
some remarks.

In the meantime  
might I ask one ~~merely call~~  
~~your attention to the~~  
question .Whether  
~~it would not be~~ you do not think it better  
to undertake one  
Hospital a year with  
so small a body  
as 5 nurses proposed to be trained, I understand by N.A.S. rather  
than distribute them  
over two, or even  
three Hospitals?

**f66**

When it was intended  
 that the National Aid  
 Socy should train &  
 pay for 9 Nurses,  
 I understood that it  
 was contemplated by yourself that  
 5 should be for say  
 Aldershot  
 4 for say Portsmouth  
 Hospital

~~for the first year as a beginning~~

And I was given to  
 understand that this  
 was your intention

Or perhaps I should  
 scarcely have ventured  
 to ~~make suggestion~~ ask this question.

I am probably under some  
 error ~~or confusion~~ occasioned by seeing

f67 Aug 23 1880 letter to FN from Huguenin, Brownlow Hill, thanks for bound book and dear letter, re healthy mothers having to look after sick children, re lock hosp, separate; 2 cases of ovariotomy, one died after 3 days of peritonitis had been suffering from before, to begin regular classes to probationers.

I am so very pleased with the useful beautifully bound book and dear letter you sent me that I do not know how to find words to express my grateful thanks, they shall be prized among my greatest treasures, as well as the day on which I was privileged to see you, the anniversary of my birthday.

I hope you have not been thinking me negligent in not ack..the book sooner, but I only recd it through Miss Rayner (one of Mrs Craven's nurses) at last Friday and this is really the first spare moment in which I can write you what you kindly take an interest in. I came here on the last day in June and set to work the next morning with Miss Gordon's guidance to deliver the letters all over the hospital (on the female side only seeing them opened and taking all stamps enclosed from them which one afterwards booked illeg them when leaving (ever bearing in mind that she wd leave me alone on the 9th of August for a month's holiday; it took me nearly three weeks to find the different wards without asking, many patients had been moved for the wards to be cleaned and even Miss Gordon found it puzzling, as no proper numbers are on the doors, only the old ones from the time when the workhouse was first built, now the med and surg wards are on the same landing, and are called by new numbers excepting the nursery (where the children are put belonging to mothers either in the hosp or buldg) class sick (when the healthy mothers have to look after their sick children) the cleansing (when mothers and children have eczema) and the surg and med serving rooms. I found it very difficult to remember each of

the above but have mastered it at last, and also have a fair idea of each patient and their diseases, in this last I have been much helped through the report wh each night nurse has to give in turn directly after prayers every morning. There are at present upwards of 1200 patients in the hosp. Miss Gordon tells me there are often over 1400 in the winter in which case they have to lie on the floor; they are nursed by 70 nurses, 55 day ones, and 15 for the night. I wish we had a supt for the night and altho I constantly go round after 12 a.m. I feel it ought to be done more frequently. Each ward also has its day and night woman, the duties of the former is to scrub fetch carry and generally wait on patients. The male and female parts of the hosp are quite separate, also separated from either patient can get to any part of the hosp or bldg w/o a pass. It is very difficult to overlook the work as I shd like now, when Miss Gordon is here we take alternate days to visit the hosp going several times thro the whole. I have desired the nurses to let me know whenever anything new has been ordered by the doctors so that I can go over and show them, Miss Gordon being often tied in the office with writing and other work. You wd be surprised to see how oddly the draw sheets were put on the beds in spite of the nurses having been shown the proper way repeatedly. As many probs were leaving shortly after I came I had five classes a week for bandaging and showed them each time how to put it both in and out using for a patient a little boy suffering from sore eyes, always commencing by sponging the little fellow all over between the blankets. There are ops every Wed performed by the one visiting surgeon, Dr Alexander there is a room for this purpose with only a skylight. There are generally six nurses present, one in charge of instruments, &c two others manage the patient, while the other three do the work, all the water has to be carried in jugs as well as the soiled which is put in a portable bath and carried out after each op, so different to the facilities of St T, but the nurses manage everything in the quietest and most orderly manner. There have been lately two cases of ovariotomy, one died after three days of peritonitis, which they found she had been suffering from for three weeks previously, the other tumour cd not be removed for it was believed the uterus the tumour was probed with the sound wh let out a quantity of very dark fluid, she was in great pain for some weeks after; ice being applied constantly to the abdomen the wound was dressed with carbolic oil and cotton but she has been removed into a more cheerful ward since last week and is able to sit up for her meals as well as for an hour in a chair; the husband of the above patient served in the Crimen war; he told me he had often had his wounds dressed by you in the hosp at Scutari. I shd so like him to tell me more about that time if he did not seem bowed down with grief about his wife's delicate state. Mr Rathbone wishes me to teach the probs like Miss Crossland does, my timely gift from you ought to help me much l

typed copy of letter, ff81-83, {arch: original, Miss Huguenin}

**f81**

COPY

10 South St.  
Park Lane, W.  
Sept. 3/80

[13:661-62]

My dear Miss Huguenin,

I cannot tell you the great pleasure & joy of receiving your long letter: energetic, like yourself. I don't know when I have had such a pleasure. You are working splendidly.

I go back to the days of Agnes Jones: & if she can see us she will be pleased as I am at the progress of her dear Workhouse Infirmary: \* delighted at the account of our Night Nurses; "reports": but I wish you had a Night Supt. And I only hope you will not knock yourself up. Remember, knocking oneself up is: defeat. Indigestion is: defeat.

I am so delighted at your 5 classes a week for bandaging for Probationers - \* at your showing how to sponge between blankets - happy "little fellow" - & manage the draw sheets - & at the Nurses doing so well at Operations, spite of want of facilities.

Ii am glad that you are to give regular classes.

And now when Miss Gordon comes back I want you & her to tell us how we can help you in any way - as regards books for Classes, or anything.

Miss Gordon will remember that, after a *general* request of hers for books now nearly a year ago in answer to an offer of ours made thru' Mrs. Craven, we made out a List of books, partly

**f82**

—2—

from our own at St. Thomas, to be sent her. In February I sent this to Mrs. Craven to approve & to send to Miss Gordon for approval. Unfortunately Mrs. Craven mislaid it (it was a whole file). And now I would ask you who know the classes at St. Thomas' - (you say "Mr. Rathbone wishes me to teach the Probationers

as Miss Crossland does") & who know the degree of education of you Probationers (at Liverpool P. Infirmary), - kindly to say *would the same books suit you as we have?*

And I would also ask you whether there were any little help I could give - such as putting a small sum into Miss Gordon's hands to make a few presents of surgical scissors & forceps etc. etc. to those who cannot afford to buy them.

I am so enchanted at your anti- "finger-poisoning" zeal: & at your "dress" reforms.

I should like very much, If I might, humbly to offer some little presents - enchanted too the you have good rooms - Alas how poor Agnes Jones suffered - *poor* no longer - & good rooms for the Night Nurses - & bath rooms - & such a large & well furnished Nurses' sitting room.

You do not say what "lectures" are given.

God bless you ever - God prosper your work.

Please remember me most kindly to Miss Gordon.

It warms my heart to hear of Agnes Jones' child.

This is written in all the 'drive' of winding up much business in London, & is not a letter, but merely an ejaculation of pleasure

**f83**

—3—

at your letter. I will write again.

God speed. Good courage will never be wanting to you.

ever yours hopefully,

(Sgd.) F. Nightingale.

[end 16:662]

ff84-89 letter to FN from I. Huguenin, Parish Inf Sept 19 1880; Note: Please return to F.N., thanks for letter and for naming the books we need; encloses list of the only books they have, which Mr Cropper (ch of Nurses' Com) gave; he also bough 4 doz Domville's sold to the nurses at 1/6; Gordon says they wd be grateful for the same bks they used at St T. and a small sum of money for her to buy scissors and forceps to lend to the probs.

FN note: I have sent £5. [blue]

f86 Mr Cropper the only one who has given any help towards the nurses' training. Dr Alexander the only visiting surgeon gives a few lectures, also examines the nurses in med, surg and Midwifery work; he too gives 3 prizes in the year for the best case papers. I intend beginning my regular classes with the prob this week, two evenings for physiology and one for bandaging, bed making etc.; Now that Miss Gordon here to take her own duties again, I am examining the 1200 beds in the hosp after first having thorough washed with paraffin, the state some of them get into in the infirm wards is incredible. the gov has promised me either a new straw bed or mattrass fo revery old one, so I am anxious to get them done before the winter comes. Miss Gilpin a lady who has visited the hosp for 36 years asked after you a few days ago. She doe so much for the girls in the lock. Miss Gordon looks very well and feels perfectly strong.

Typed copy of letter, **f115** (arch: original belongs to Mrs Budden)  
COPY

Dear Charles,

I hear from Mrs. Shore Smith that you are going to keep a Coffee-house at Brecon. And I heartily give you joy & wish you well. And if you like to write to me I should be exceedingly interested to hear any particulars of your coffee-house, & how it succeeds - & what drinks succeed best. We are going to have a Coffee-room, please God, as I dare say Mr. Shore Smith has told you,  
at Whatstandwell.

I am always interested in all particulars about Coffee-rooms - & in what directions & in what ways they succeed - & what attracts people most - & whether your men call for dinners & early breakfasts.

I wish you well & your wife & child too.

And I hope you will accept a little present from me (enclosed).

Yours in good hope

(Sgd.) Florence Nightingale

incomplete letter or draft article?, ff119-24, pencil

**f119**

[2]

In fact is there not here a very great move *in favor* of the Zemindars? This is the question more asked.-

At the same time it is provided that the *enhancement* is to carefully & systematically done & once done is *not to be repeated for 10 years* Is not the *penalty for illegal exactions wholly insufficient?* The Ryots may sue for *double the amount* as damages. e.g. an illegal tip of 1 rupee has been taken - by prosecuting

**f119** The important concession to *Occupancy Ryots* is one of the 3 Fs (*the right of free sale*) But had they not that *already by custom* in some districts - in others they were gradually getting it It ~~does~~ not w a concession which they themselves particularly wished for - it is rather one suggested by the Bengal Govt. It is supposed to be quite in the balance whether the Bengal Occupancy Ryots would gain or lose by the Bill The special provision in favour of the *Behar Ryots* would be very important if real practical effect were given to it.

**f120**

*Mr. Long* [3] {arch: 1879? 1881?} that namely that whereas the *Indigo planters* have continually changed them about taking one *field for Indigo this year* & another field another year & so deprived them of their right of occupancy It is proposed to *restore that right to those who have held for 12 years in the same village* tho' not the same land But it is doubted whether this special provision in their favour/it really would be operative *without a public record* which the majority of the Comme. decline to recommend In fact would they not do away with the existing law which requires such a record

The very important *Chap IV* is in favor o Ryots who have not proved or who have lost the occupancy title -viz that they are to have *compensation* for disturbance & compensation for improvements after the fashion of the Irish Bill of 1870. [not FN hand]

On the whole the Ryots friends say if the present Draft Bill could be carried out in its entirety with some improvements they would be disposed to accept it. But their very reasonable fear appears to be that (the Zemindars commanding so much more crying out & Press power than the Ryots) before the Bill is passed they will get all the Bill gives them & perhaps something more - Some

Mallet Papers

**f121**

[4]

say they have got it already  
while many of the concessions to the Ryots may be  
lapped off -

The impression is certainly rather strong in India  
that Lord Hartington is in favour of the Zemindars  
Are not Two very important members, the President  
Mr. Dampier & Mr. Field ~~are~~ against *Chap IV*  
altogether?

What people in India feel is that there is here a  
great disposition to *say let us* secure to the  
*Zemindars their rent & their right to enhance*  
with some safeguards against carrying that right  
to excess & some provisions in favor of the *Behar*  
*Ryots (on paper at least & likely to remain on*  
*paper) & let the rest remain for future*  
consideration

Unless the matter is taken up vigorously by the higher  
powers in the sense of giving *real security to the*  
*Ryots*, people in India seem to despair

I always feel your great goodness in allowing me  
to write to you at all - The above questions  
~~have been asked~~ are three months old in India  
I am old in not liking to trouble you  
~~even on~~ The subject is of such immense importance  
that that must be my excuse.

**f122**

[5]

The following comes from a genuine Hindoo, a friend of mine. The Bill in its present form concedes too much to one party.

Tho' the right of occupancy has been made transferable, yet the power to mortgage it has not been granted to the Ryots. The consequence will be that the tenant in time of distress will be compelled to sell out his right without being able to mortgage it. If the *right of mortgaging* had been given, the Ryot might pay off a debt of his by mortgaging instead of selling. But in the case under consideration *selling* remains the only alternative. The right of mortgaging has been withheld from the Ryot from fear lest the holding might pass into the hand of *Mehejums* But the [Mehajums?] same ground of fear exists with the contemplated arrangement also. The holding may pass into the hands of *Mehejums* by selling. Practically however the fear is without foundation. In those parts of Bengal where the right of occupancy is transferable by custom whether by sale or mortgage the holding as a rule *does not pass in the hands of the Mehejum* Is this true? Long - G. Campbell

[10:541]

---

The Bengal Ryots fancy that that this Irish affair has Mallet Papers thrown everything out of gear" for them - all their hopes  
& all their case

Is this the case so?

**f123 [Mallet Papers]**

[6]

For the first time in rural Bengal Bengal RYOTS not Zemindars have been holding meetings

A report was sent me of a meeting

of 8000 or 9000 Ryots in the district of Nuddea on the Bengal Rents Bill

Now see how far ahead my friends the Ryots are of the Irish in holding their meetings. *We don't shoot from behind a wall.*

Resolutions were ~~passed/proposed~~ carried in regular course in the most orderly manner ~~as a~~ carried as- *not as* the House of Commons this last week - but as at an assembly of gentlemen.

1. That the Draft Bill would with some modifications be beneficial both to Zemindars & Ryots.
2. That it does not contravene the power reserved to the Govt under clause 7 of Reg 1 of 1793 for marking the interests of dependent talokdars, ryots & cultivators of the soil
3. approving of Sections 20 26 28 29 36 & 77
4. forming a Committee to ~~draw up~~ memorialize the Govt of Bengal
5. thanking the framers of the Draft Bill for their good intentions

They said they always paid one anna for the Road Cess to their Zemindars whereas the Act required that they shd pay only half an anna

They did not like that their holding shd be made mortgagable as that would, they thought, give a handle to their creditors

**f124**

[7]

They understood that as long as the law was not changed they were bound to pay the same rent to their Zemindars & not to rebel.

Many more meetings were to be held. **[end 10:541]**

Another, a report on agriculture by a Hindoo says what we have all along said that there are more *graduates* in the University than *the Govt can provide for* But no one thinks of agriculture, manufacture trade or commerce. *ask Mr Long.*

Tho' the banians supply money to Europeans, we (the Hindoos) *have never been able to except in a few cases to become merchants, bankers & manufacturers*

*from the degraded position of banians"*

Those who have *landed property are content to screw/grind their tenants* A Zemindar offered to give to Govt *3 lacs of rupees for a public purpose*

The tenants asked the Govt to take the amount from them instead of from their Zemindar who wd they represented levy ~~a black mail of~~/from them *6 lacs to pay 3 lacs* to Govt. And Govt declined the Zemindar's present.

f128 March 27 1881 letter to FN from Mrs Fellowes, Pietermaritzburg

f130 March 30 1881 letter to FN from L.M. Franks, Doctor Steevens Hosp Dublin re her letter

letter of C.G. Gordon ff136-39

[printed address] 5 Rockstone Place **[5:496-97]**

Southampton

25 April 1881

My dear Miss Nightingale

Thanks very much for you kind letter, which makes me regret that I shall not be able to see you ere I leave, but I have done with time and have a deal to do here. You have written most kindly, and far too highly of me, for I find no responding true in my heart to make or claim such praise. I will explain exactly how I am situated. I consider my life done, that I can never aspire to or seek employment where one's voice must be stilled to one particular note, therefore I say *it is done*, and the only thing now left me in the drifting along to its natural end, in the endeavour to do what little good one may be able to do. Syria is, to me, the land of attraction, all lands are indifferent. I go for no desire of curiosity, but, simply because it is a quiet land and a land where small means can do much good. That is all my reason for going there.

I could have gone to the Cape. I could have gone to India as you suggest, but I would never do so if I had to accept the shibboleth of the India or colonial official classes. To me, they are utterly wrong in the government of the subject races. They know nothing of the

hearts of those peoples and oil and water would as soon mix as the two races. Men may argue as they like, but our tenure of India is very little greater than it was 100 years ago, the people's interests not having been interested or involved in our prosperity or disaster, are equally indifferent to either. In fact, they may hope more from our disaster than from our prosperity. Now, my dear Miss Nightingale, I do not write this to please you. I have asked a friend to send you a pamphlet I wrote on India in January 1881. In it are my views of many years, for though I have not been much in India I have *talked* to many Indians. I feel sure that this pamphlet which death to the blind official class, would never allow me to go to India. The fact is, the Indian government could turn me out.

Such being the case, what, my dear Miss Nightingale, can I do? My life is truly to me a straw, but I must live. Would that it could go to give you and all others the sense that they are all risen in Christ even now, even if it was at the cost of my eternal existence, such is the love I have for my fellow creatures. But the door is shut. I cannot live in England, for, though I have many, many millions in my home, I am only put on short allowance here, though it is ample for me with my wants. I cannot visit the sick in London--it is too expensive. I can do so in Syria and where the sick are, there is our Lord. I would do anything I could for India, but I feel sure my advent there would not be allowed. Believe me, my dear Miss Nightingale, with kindest regards and deep regrets that I did not see you ere I left.

yours sincerely  
C.G. Gordon

P.S. Should events so happen that I do stay another week I will try and give you three days' notice and will make a voyage up expressly to see you. **[end 5:497]**

f140 April 29 1881 letter to FN from Linicke, Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, Dublin. Although I was very sorry not to see you when I was in London last, or even heard much about you, as our mutual friends at St T. were almost without news from you I did not expect to hear from you and the sight of your writing was a very glad and welcome surprise. Knowing how much your time is taken up it seems impertinent to trouble you with letters, otherwise I shd often wish to tell you of my work and progress, more so perhaps because it has been and is an increasing joy and pleasure to me and, I trust, a help to others. As you express a wish to hear something of it I trust I may not weary you by giving you an outline. This hospital contains somewhat more than 100 beds. I am not a paid official but a kind of honorary member, which has made my position very pleasant, but the superintendence of the actual nursing is in my illeg. five very efficient staff nurses, for day work and enable me to leave the patients well cared for and the probs well trained in practical work while I do all the teaching myself. Attached to the hosp for training purposes, but otherwise quite independent of it and under a separate committee, is the training school for nurses and I am their head official. There is a matron at the home who sees to the domestic arrs. otherwise the whole work is in my hand. I have from 10-12 probs every year, having two other small hosps with efficient head nurses besides Sir P Dun's. When trained for one year these probs become hospital nurses or I send them out from our home as private nurses. As such they give almost unexceptionally the greatest satisfaction of which you may gain an idea from some papers I will enclose to yo, such as they bring home from every case.

Of course I used not like you dear Miss Nightingale that there are troubles difficulties and perplexities and that the hand which holds the rains has to be tight but very firm. still



Gordon that I was coming on the 13 and was obliged to leave London I would so ask you the favour of giving me a copy of that excellent address you send the probs for te committee day. What you say is so true deep and.. Illeg Excuse me, dear Miss Nightingale but I do wish so much to be able to tell ou what I feel but in this horrible English I can't find the perfect terms.

I have not seen much from the inf now I went round with Miss Hugn, through many wards, but the place is so large that though we were going from ward to ward from 10 in the morning till 2 in the aft I had not seen the half. Today I am probably going to one of the wards to see the work. I must ack that I am very glad to have followed your kind advice in coming here, I had no idea what a workhouse inf was and I think you see and learn a good many things and Miss Gordon as well as the other lady are so very fine and anxious to show me everything. It grieves me to say very much to them..but you can be assured dear Miss 'n that your name will always be present in my heart and memory and I hope you will believe that I shall ever remain yours most sincerely, Luisa von Cornberg,

ff155

Miss Nightingale  
6 South Street  
Park Lane

Naples  
30 May 1881

My dear Miss Nightingale

I have been in France for this last three weeks and now am on my way to the Mauritius where I shall stop till I get promoted. You will have been surprised to hear this, but the fact was that, until I can get free of the Army, I cannot be a free agent, and it was just as well to serve out the few months at Mauritius as to be not free in Syria. I hope you are better now you have the warmer weather. I am sure you would quite agree that I was tabooed from India.

Something must be done there ere long. I am glad to say Major Baring is quite of idea that the natives must be more considered instead of say the 15,000 English families who come bottom in India. On board this vessel and also on board the P&O in which I travelled so much last year you find nothing but discontent with their lot from Indian officers. "All I care for is to finish my time and get my pension" is their cry from high to low. If discontent among them is so rife and if their presence is so detrimental to the finances of India, why should we continue this system. It is neither good for them or for the natives. From a spirit of this sort which is so rife what can we expect will be the consideration for the natives.

The element of all government is absent, i.e. the putting of the governors into the skin of the governed. The old Indian was obliged to do so; he was bound in some way to consider the sympathies of the natives. The governors who are sent out are sent out for reward. In service in England often they are physically unfit. In this country India is a pasture land for them. They are too high in rank, too imbued with the idea that things will last their time. Plus on change, le plus c'est la même chose. With kind regards, believe,

my dear Miss Nightingale

yours sincerely  
C.G. Gordon

Typed copy of letter, ff157-59 {arch: original, Miss Huguenin}

**f157**

COPY

10 South St. Park Lane, W.

June 8/81

[13:664-65]

My dear Miss Huguenin,

Thank you very much for your most interesting letter & news of Miss Cornberg.

Please not to think that I have forgotten the request of your Committee: to recommend the "very best Fever Hospital" where a trained Nurse can be trained on Fever cases to act as Matron of a Fever Hospital.

The difficulty is not to find a Fever Hospital: nor is it to find a Training-School: but to find an organized system of efficient training *on* Fever cases *in* a Fever Hospital is the difficulty.

(Indeed the man who wrote an Article in the Encyclopaedia on "Chinese Metaphysics" by informing himself on *China*, & informing himself on *Metaphysics*, and combining his information," was not in such a difficulty as I who am trying to combine "training' with Fever' at your request.)

There is of course the large London Fever Hospital at Islington, which now sends its paupers (or non paying Fever cases to the Metropolitan Asylums - & takes in almost exclusively paying cases.

There are the Metropolitan District Asylums, devoted to Fever cases. (That at Homerton you probably know.) Vast experience

**f158**~~2~~

in Fever is to be gained at these places, of course: and a certain amount of good Nursing is no doubt to be seen at all of them.

But systematic training", or training" at all, - in the sense in which you & we understand training," - is certainly not to be had at any of them.

In our own No. 8 block at St. Thomas' Hospital, - tho' Miss Hincks, the Sister, is well able to train, - the number of Fever cases is so variable that it does not offer the field you want.

I am constrained to say that I cannot recommend" (as the Liverpool Parish Infirmary Committee do me the honour to ask) the best Fever Hospital" where *training*" can be had: because it does not exist. Or at least we do not know of it.

One suggestion remains:

The new Edinburgh Infirmary (of which Miss Pringle is the Lady Superintendent) retains Wards in the old Infirmary for its Fever cases. And these are nursed by Trained Nurses of Miss Pringle's -

I should have written to Miss Pringle to ask if she could admit a trained Nurse" to be trained there in Fever Nursing - but that Miss Pringle is just now very much overworked, & I was unwilling to lay more upon her.

Possibly the Liverpool Workhouse Committee may by this time have made up their minds to send one of your Nurses to a large London Fever Asylum (where there is not organized training) to gain experience. If not, would you or Miss Gordon write to Miss Pringle, (using, if you please my name, tho' this is hardly necessary,) & ask

**f159**

-3-

her whether she considers *their Fever Wards* as a proper field for training in; & if so whether she would admit one of your trained Nurses to be trained.

Pray excuse this pencil note, & pray excuse still more both my unavoidable delay in answering (I have been enquiring) & this unsatisfactory style of answer.

I bid you God speed with all my heart to the proposed training: because, anyhow, one of your good trained Nurses must learn a good deal even in a Fever Hospital where there is no training & may complete her own education afterwards by experience. But I wish I could have helped you more.

One must be prepared to see a certain amount of bad Nursing in the Fever Hospitals to teach one what *not* to do.

All that you tell me is deeply interesting to me - about your work -

My best wishes are yours & Miss Gordon's, to whom my kindest regards

ever sincerely yrs

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Many, many thanks for all the kindness which has been shown by you all to Fraulein von Cornberg. She is much to be envied & feels it. F.N.

f160 June 8 [1881] letter to FN from Fanny M. Stephenson, 56 Rutland Gate S.W. thanks for her kindness in explaining at length (missing) points re probationership at N School, will forward her letter to Miss Hubbard. Thank you very much for your kindness in explaining to me at such length many points relating to the probationership at the Nightingale School. I will at once forward your letter to Miss Hubbard.

Let me tell you that I shall always remember the time spent at St T. with pleasure. The life in the "home" with our dear "sister" Miss Crossland cd have but good influence. And the interest of what one was daily taught in the wards, by the beds of the poor sick and dying patients was beyond words. I always tell people the sanitary arrs at St T. are wonderfully perfect. But will you forgive me for still feeling hat the *daily* housemaid's work in the lavatorys and bath rooms and dusting the wards strike me as ward maid's work and not for women of the higher classes, who have been so differently educated and brought up with quite other surroundings. To them the menial work comes so hardly and heavily. But pray believe that for the patient's themselves nothing wd be too hard for one to do. One's natural instincts when attending on a sick person is to do all oneself, to pay strict attention to the directions one has recd, and in every little detail carry them ou to the best of one's power, for the personal comfort and cleanliness of the patient. But the extraneous cleaning did try me!

Forgive me taking up so much of your time, and, dear Madam, be very sure that I am the last person to spread any incorrect reports of St T, or in any way to "run down" a place, from whose people I have recd such real and unvaried kindness. I am very grateful to them all. But I own the housemaid's work was where the "shoe pinched" me. Others may not be troubled

in the same way. I am very sorry to think how much overwork must try your health. You must indeed have much to think of and arrange. I shd grieve indeed to add in any way to the amount of work or worry. Believe me always yrs very gratefully and faithfully Fanny M. Stephenson

f164 letter June 19 1881 to FN from Miss Huguenin, Parish Inf. I have been desired to thank you most sincerely from the chairman of the Nurses Com (Mr Cropper) and the governor for your very valuable help in proposing our nurses going to be trained under Miss Pringle an hour after the receipt of our dear letter (which all of yours are to me) the governor telegraphed to Edinburgh and had a reply ready to place before the com, it was at once decided and one nurse is to start for Edinburgh on Sunday the 21st where she is to remain for three months, after which she is to train the nurses under her in the work as they pass on from the other parts of the hosp at a salary of £40 a year. We are to have it under our care like the rest we hope to make many changes in time so that it may look as bright as our own. I mean in the brightening up of the wards with pictures and in dividing the flowers etc which come to us for only our illeg. The matron of the fever hosp has left, it is now in charge of a nurse who has been there for some years but who was never trained. We heard from Hawkins [Franklin?] a few days ago who wrote a description of how she passed her days. She seems to be learning much and says Miss Pringle shows her everything. The nurses in Edinburgh have a clinical lecture from one of the professors every Sunday morning at 9 a.m. Hawkins?? [Franklin?] says he spoke so distinctly that she was able to understand all he said. She hoped to stay a few days longer so that she might see Mrs Fellowes who hoped to go there this week, poor Franklin [?] told us the dread she had of coming here and when leaving for the north she was just as reluctant to go, I think she must have travelled very little to make her feel so, she will be greatly improved when she returns to Germany I think. I do not know how to thank you enough for the beautiful letter I recd from you last Thursday morning, when it came. I put it aside to read it carefully when I had time to think over it and illeg every sound. I came to a part of the hosp where the nurse in charge has much of the training in her division to do (I mean midwifery) and found all of them feeling very unkindly one towards another, just for the want of a little gentleness in correcting the faults of those under training. I heard all their grievances and tried to show them to see they had been hasty and left them amiable one with another. That evening I quietly read over your dear words and then I found all I wanted to say and then I did feel the value of your letters and the help I so much needed to put our poor nurses in the right way. I set off directly with the letter and desired the four nurses to sit down in the ward where the cases are delivered and where fortunately for us no one was in then. I began and read your letter aloud to them. It did them more good than I can tell you for I think it made them thoroughly ashamed of the manner in which they had behaved, all promised to do better and not to forget your words. I read it again at a bandaging class on Sunday evening. They were all very attentive and I am sure must have thought indifferently afterwards. As so many of the nurses are having their holidays we have given up all classes excepting those for bandaging for a short time.

Enclosed is one of the labels which I am putting in all the books you sent us, they have all been issued once but I had to call them in for the purpose. I went to Manchester a fortnight ago and saw Miss Hughina Gordon at Crumpsall, the inf is so new and clean that there seems to me no work to do. I wish ours looked as nice. Afterwards I went to the Royal Inf where I saw Misses Hutchins and Hughes. Miss Carless was out for the day; their

wards were very interesting to go through. Miss Hughes had a case of gastronomy the woman was up and going about it was the first I ever saw. Miss Gordon unites with me in kind regards. Believe me ever yours very sincerely I. Huguenin

f170 19 June 1881 letter to FN from Maria Miller, Vienna III Heumarkt 11, asks to write again thanks for kindness, cloud covers her, re Prof Billroth starting pavilions in Döbling; children's hosp has been promised [good letter]

FN pencil note: Please return to F.N.

Be sure to write again were your last words when I took leave, after thanking you for the great kindness you have for me. Have I written or have I not? The fact is that a cloud covers for me the greater part of the last two years. A few months after my journey to England I was rather severely ill with a nervous disease, which lasted for more than a year, and left me convalescent for several months, which I passed in Meran.

Since I have come back to Vienna I have tried to get info on the subject, the interest for which you kindly share. Prof Billroth has bought a pleasant garden in Döbling near Vienna, the plans for two pavilions, wh are to be erected therein are ready. The work will begin as soon as the sanction of the authorities is obtained. They will contain room for about 40 or 50 beds and the intention is to engage five or six sisters, nurses or probs for every ward with ten beds. The accomm for the matron &c will be quite sufficient. Of course another year will pass before the inner arrs are completed. I cannot venture to offer myself at this moment for the position, which I had forming in view, as the crisis in my health just passed through but it will I hope be a good beginning. A petty large children's hosp has also promised to share our endeavours, will accept the illeg sisters and probs as soon as poss, while some of the professors of the Vienna Allgemeine Hospital are also ready to take them into their respective wards. I am about to arrange for the press some articles which I have written on the subject after my return from London and shall take the liberty of sending them, if on second reading they will not appear too uninteresting. Ill health at the moment where the enterprise you so kindly favoured, filled my heart's mind, was a severe trial for. I shd have been so proud of walking upon your footsteps, dearest Miss Nightingale! I am now perfectly recovered, have regained sleep, which for a long time wanting of totally and feel even stronger than before, but I have had to promise my friends to keep away from serious work for another year.

In case you shd hear of a suitable lady for the office of matron in the Rudolfinerhaus we shd naturally be most grateful if you wd mention it to us. An Austrian wd be preferable, other things equal, but an English lady who knows german well mt even be preferable to a North German, considering all the prejudices. Billroth and the com seem more inclined than I supposed to give the matron full rights, but of course the first individual who takes the situation will have to give it the true stamp. The influence of character is always more decisive than privileges contained in statutes. This is all I can tell ou about our affairs in Vienna, dearest Miss Nightingale. I hear from my sister in law Mrs Sophie Miller than she has had the pleasure of meeting your sister Lady Verney and her husband in a railway car, and that they were kind enough to enquire about me. Please to tell them how very much I regret not to have been present in Vienna in order to lead them through the inst wh they desired to visit and render any other services in my power.

Shall I be permitted to come and see you again dear Miss Nightingale if I get to England another time? In spite of the obstructions which illness has thrown into my way I hope that your kind help and advice has not been lost either in respect to myself or to the

object which led me to you. I shall find occasion enough to use the experiences and insight gained in St T. Hosp through your spoken and written words.

I shall take the liberty of sending a transparent clock wh I think very convenient in hospital wards in the hosp of its being welcome in St T. It is the only improvement wh I might suggest there. As I won't want to trouble you with an answer I shall write to Mrs W and hope to hear from her that you are unite well. Believe me ever one of your warmest admirers and most grateful friends, Marie v Miller

f176 22 June 1881 letter to FN from von Cornberg, Royal Inf, Edinburgh, in German, Dank for great goodness, letters

f178 24 June [1881] letter to FN from S. Robinson, Soldiers Institute, Portsmouth thanks for kind gift and kinder words [in pencil in FN hand £20], hopes to use to stir up sluggish hearts, doesn't forget that she was once "the only voice" which encouraged

list of books & gifts, ff180-85, pencil [13:]

**f180**

{printed address} 10.South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Tanner's Index of Diseases: 2 copies

Garrod's Materia Medica: 2 copies

Outlines of Science & Practice of  
Medicine: Aitken: in 1 Vol

*Griffin*

Canon Farrar's "Fall of Man"

& other Sermons

Life of Charles Kingsley: in one Vol

Under the Surface: Miss Havergal

Dr. Watson's Principle & Practice  
of Medicine

Kirkes' Physiology

Transforming external force into  
vital force

a power by which we are enabled  
to grow & develop

{written at an angle}

the series of

changes by which

the individual

tho' bit by bit

perishing

yet by constant

renewal

retains

its entity

**f180v**

Miss Airy                   Druitt's Surgeon's Vade Mecum

Notes on Nursing

Nurse Jackson           Garrod's Materia Medica

Life of Dr. Arnold

Miss Murphy           Tanner's Index of Diseases

Bird

Kirkes' Physiology

Miss Pheas

**f181**

Miss Ashbee

With F.N.'s heartiest good wishes  
for her activity  
her peace & joy  
her highest success

in the most interesting work of  
as Night Supt  
at the St Marylebone new Infy

Mrs. Nicholls

with F.N.'s heartiest good wishes  
for her success in the highest sense  
ever increasing year by year in the  
Nursing work & her perseverance in whatever post [illegth-ni-it]  
she is successively undertakes allotted to her  
Miss Pheas One body in the Nursing world of which we  
are all of us members  
Great/Greatest work of caring among the patients is made  
ordered by Him in the smallest little details  
particulars

Nurse Jordan

And may we all find the inner life in God  
under the surface of our busy work  
[illeg] for His Patients.

**f181v**

To Nurse Vousden [13:667]  
 with Florence Nightingale's  
 earnest prayers  
 that she & all her patients & Nurses  
 may be led to that higher life  
 which our Lord wills for us all  
 with F.N.'s deepest good wishes  
 for her best success in all things  
 both here & hereafter [end]

To Nurse Ward Kingsley/Aitken  
 with F.N.'s most earnest good/kind wishes  
 that she may put her good Nursing to  
 the proof among her new Patients  
 & not only that but make progress  
 as all good nurses do day by day &  
 year by year Kingsley  
 with F.N.'s affect. & fervent good wishes  
 that she may find in this life of a true  
 Kingsley man & in her new life at St. Marylebone  
 Infirmary matter for ever increased  
 loyalty to her Matron, her work, her fellow  
 workers & her God & forever increasing  
 devotion to her Patients' good.

To Nurse Jordan

With F.N.'s earnest good wishes that she  
 may feel in her new sphere of Nursing no  
 minute detail concerning the Patients too small to  
 attend to. no work too ~~too~~ large for them too large to do  
 just as she sees in this Index of Diseases that God so

**f182**

To Nurse Kent        Tanner

With F.N.'s heartiest good wishes  
that all her fine Nursing qualities & hospital skills may  
may be thoroughly proved among her Infirmary  
patients & that day by day & year by  
year she may make the best progress  
Patteson

With F.N.'s hearty & affectionate wishes  
that she may find in this Life of a man  
devoted even unto death & in her own  
life & devotion at St. Marylebone Infirmary  
new room for devotion to her Patients  
good, new room x for tenderness &  
forbearance to those working under her - {line to x}for  
loving obedience/loyalty to those working over her  
remembering that to guide others well  
we must ourselves be guided by God our  
& their Heavenly Father & theirs  
offered to Miss Airy        Druitt

With F.N.'s warmest sympathy on her thus devotedly  
entering into her new work. Sympathy with the  
inevitable trials & difficulties in it, & trust in  
the glorious hidden reward even here which is given to  
the heart of duty in lovingly helping the good cause

Notes on Nursing

offered to Miss Airy with F.N.'s heartiest love  
{upside down, in larger writing in pen}  
Offered to our very dear

**f182v**

Nurse Vousden	Materia Medica x	
	Farrar's Fall of Man x	
Ward	Dr. Aitken's Outlines x	
	C. Kingsley's Life x	
Kent	Tanner's Index of Diseases	
	Yonge's Life of Bishop Patteson	
Jordan	Tanner's Index of Diseases x	
	Under the Surface x	
		Havergal
Miss Ashbee	Garrod's Materia Medica x	
Miss Pringle	Dr. Watson's Principles & Practice of Medicine x	
	Church Services	
Mrs. Nicholls	<del>Tanner's Index of Diseases</del> x	
	Hoblyn	
Miss Phear	Tanner's Index of Diseases	[Pheas?]
Miss Frazer	Garrod's Materia Medica	

with And F.N.'s most gives her joy of this great opportunity for good work & discretion for a right judgment in all things" This as at Whitsuntide in this new work among God's Nurses & God's poorest Patients

**f183v**

Garrod's Materia Medica  
 Jackson {written vertically} pedantic

Book of Therapeutics  
 Life of Dr. Arnold 2 Vols  
 Tanner's Index of Diseases  
 Kent

Offered to Miss/Nurse Jackson  
 with F.N.'s best wishes  
 for her our highest success  
 in good unselfish  
 skilful Nursing work

**f184**

Miss Murphy Tanner's Index Diseases

Offered to Miss Murphy

with F.N.'s warmest

Pendlebury good wishes

Lying in Lpool that every new

year of her our

Nursing life may be

a new & better training

- that knowledge may increase

while devotion ~~in~~ decreases not [illeg]

& that we may always be pressing

forward towards the mark

of our high calling as good Nurses

Miss Bird

that he may

increase &

we may decrease

**f185** rough pencil on envelope, front and bac

Offered to Miss Pheas:

And F.N. gives her joy of this  
grand opportunity for dealing skilled  
impartial kindness to God's poorest  
patients, for training herself farther  
in His nursing ways, for making  
one in a great organization

One body

{the following is written upside down} **[13:667]**

Nurse Jackson Dr. Arnold

With F.N.'s heartiest good wishes  
that she may find in this Life of Manly  
good sense & devotion to his work  
& in her own life at St. M. Infy. matter  
for ~~nothing~~ but continual cheerful devotion to  
every part of her work, seeing in it  
always the highest ~~sense~~/meaning, as Dr. Arnold  
did, seeking no gratitude to being like St. Paul, all things to all  
men, in her loving duty ~~to the common man/cause~~  
to those above her, under her, beside her  
in God's common cause of good Nursing which He  
puts into our hands **[end]**

**f185v**, written on an envelope

Nurse Jackson Mat. Med

{the rest upside down}

Miss Pringle Watson

With F.N.'s heartiest good wishes **[13:666-67]**

for the highest success of in her devotion

that ~~now she may~~ and may we all draw out of her our new

work power to execute her our thought

~~filler~~ her & ideal - power to overcome small troubles

~~often greater than~~ or great troubles

power to rise to the occasion

which is God's occasion -

of entrusting the poorest Patients

to her good/the best Nursing

even as God draws gradually

~~the elements of the recovery of~~power out of powerlessness

strength out of weakness in His Patients **[end]**

f186 letter June 26 1881 from Anne Fryer, Marylebone Inf Notting Hill, thanks for Materia Medica, wh Miss Vincent gave from you, shall always value it on account of its own merits and sent by you; we are very busy and shall be so for some time to come; already we have 21 men and 21 women; the men are placed for the present in a ward looking into the country, must be such a treat for them to have such a nice look out; Miss Airy and Nurse Wand have their hands quite full; I take a great liberty in enclosing a short account of the work in which my brother had been engaged in in Southwark thinking it may interest you

188 letter to FN July 2 1881 from E.H. Pringle, 23 Rosehall Terrace, Dalkeith Rd. Edinburgh. On Friday evening I recd from Miss Vincent your beautiful present Sir Thomas Watson's Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Physic. I cannot thank you as I ought in writing, but hope you will accept my best and heartiest thanks for the valued book, to be enable more thoroughly to nurse my sick poor and it may be help others to do so too. Your written inscription on my book I trust may be answered as you wish and it shall be my endeavour to do the work that lies before me wisely and well; Miss Vincent has most kindly given me a fortnight's holiday, so here I am at home with dear brother and sisters; Lucille I am glad to say is at present looking and feeling remarkably well.

f190 July 4 1881 letter to FN from Alice Fisher, Addenbrooke's Hosp Cambridge, lots of FN red pencil und.

When I first came here rather more than 4 years ago you were good enough to write me words of encouragement wh were very precious to me, and in the hope that you may yet be interested in it I feel I shd like tell you of our welfare in as few words as I can. We have had many struggles constant pressure of poverty--the absolute necessity of living within our income despite of grater number of patients more liberal dietary ordered by doctors and the many expenses which a rapidly increasing medical school entails--foes from without, governors (and every subscriber of £2.2 is a governor and has a seat at the weekly board) all jealous of change and bringing into each discussion the party spirit

peculiar to a illeg from --foes from within old nurses one or too good and narrow minded but many ignorant and bad--low nurses but for the sake of two bright exception I will not speak of these, and lastly my own want of knowledge over eagerness lack of patience--but we have survived our struggles, and are now in what seems to us smooth water.

For two years we have made both ends meet--financially--and I am assured by te med and surg staff that the nursing arrs leave them nothing to desire. And ours is s very distinguished staff which includes three learned prof and one surgeon accustomed to the nursing of St . So I am well pleased to have satisfied such. At the same time, I am well aware that such arrs as ours are best adapted for such a hosp as this or for a wkh inf. Though our night nurses are probs who in many cases have not had a long training, this hosp is small enough fo rthe nigh nursing to be quite within the grasp of the night sup and she is entirely esp for every serious case. I cannot but think that such a system is better than that of having Elderly women of doubtful character. The best obtainable fore the money we were able to offer--or as is the case in most prov hosp giving the whole of the night nursing to one or two rather superiorly trained women. We find it a great advantage to have an extra night nurse always available--for ex we have at present three del patients who shd not be left for an instant, and it wd be impossible to give them the necessary attendants if we had to pay each woman who kept watch at a bedside. For such illeg purposes we are able to make use of our special probs. As regards these, we have now so many appls for admission that we are able to select w/o causing the work to be at a standstil. We have a good many ladies who for various reasons are desirous of having a year's tr but who do not intend to make nursing a professions. Some of these are disappointing, but not more so than others whose object is merely to gain a livelihood w/o having any real inclination towards the work. In spite of this I am rejoiced to think of many who heave done and are doing good service; some are with me now. Others indifferent hosps are the sister of the bishop of Zululand is working with her brother in his new diocese, another is at the Sydney Hosp. The "nurse probs" I am seldom able to choose myself. They are sent for a year's tr by different nursing insts. Who pay them their wages and provide their uniform. I can of course object to them, but I am bound to say that in very few cases have I reason to do so. They have more of the ward work to do here than in many hosps, but I do not think there is an disadv in this to women who are to be private nurses-- illeg there may be less danger of the complaint one hears of trained nurse in private wanting an extra servant to wait on them.

For theoretical instr there is a lecture of half an hour five times a week and all the nurses are besides obliged to attend both courses of lectures given by the ambulance assoc. Those which have been given here are remarkably good and are continued each term for the educated nurses the exams cannot of course be considered as at all searching, but three of these have passed the physiological exam at both Kensington two receiving a first and one a second class certificate.

As regards the moral tone of our nurses' Home I think it cannot but be considered as satisfactory. To each indiv is allowed the utmost liberty which is compatible with the welfare of the community. It is very hard to please everybody but on the whole I think my household is content. I ought to say that notwithstanding the large purporting of young and attractive women in our tr school no sort of frivolity or even engagement has taken place bet them and the res med officers or students. I can only say for these last that the have behaved to the young nurses as they wd wish other men to behave to their sisters similar placed.

I will not say any more now. If there is anything else you wish to know you will ask me, and I fear I may have already wearied you. I have been told by many that I have been hardly judged by you. I do not know in what respect and my conscience does not accuse me. We women, fellow workers together for Christ do not always love one another as we should, and then we are apt to bear unconsciously false witness against our neighbour. If such has been spoken to you of me, it is easy to forgive for I am very very happy here and you are too great to form a judgment without hearing both sides of any question. Now I only ask you to try and believe that there are few who esteem you more highly than I do or to whom it would be a greater privilege to see once more your dear and revered face. Your obedient servant

, Edinburg. On Friday evening I recd from Miss Vincent your beautiful present. Sir Thomas Watson's Lecture on the Principles and Practice of Physic. I cannot thank you as I ought in writing, but hope you will accept my best and heartiest thanks for the valued book. I hope to get great good and wise instr from it, and so be enabled more thoroughly to nurse my sick poor, and it may be, help others to do so too.

Your written inscription on my book I trust may be answered as you wish, and it shall be my endeavour to do the work that lies before me, wisely and well.

Miss Vincent has most kindly given me a fortnight's holiday, so here I am at home with my dear brother and sisters. Lucille I am glad to say that present looking and feeling remarkably well. With the hope that you are keeping pretty well, believe me, honoured chief, your faithful nurse E.H. Pringle

f194 July 17 1881 letter to FN from George Evatt, RM Academy Woolwich, re Indian Hosp corps

signed letter, f199, pencil

**f199**

Miss Day Aug.8/81

{printed address} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

When may I expect you to send  
Spence's Surgery? I think it  
was ? ordered some time ago. Would you be so good as to send

x Druitt's Vade Mecum Block 6

x Murchison on Fever  
Life Mosaic F.R. Havergal

Longfellow's Poems  
Provident Knowledge Papers

x Westward Ho: Kingsley: Alexander  
Two Years Ago

Long's Eastern Proverbs: Trübner  
(with all my account) & oblige  
yr obedient F. Nightingale

Please to return me  
~~this sheet~~—list

Add Mss 45807

762

**FN**

**f199v**

3. 19. 0  
 13. 2  
 3. 5 10  
 79  
 79  
 158  
 8.4  
 4.10  
 13.2

f200 letter to FN from J.C. Bird, St Marylebone re her own health, throat, her ward. I am at length accomplishing the promise to write to you about my throat etc.

It is much better since the cooler weather has come and now is only sore at night sometimes.

I get so dreadfully tired the entire days on duty that I asked matron to allow me to go straight to allow me to go straight to bed at night, instead of going down again to prayers, esp as I never stay for supper. I am sorry to say that matron will not grant me this request. It wd make things a little easier and the work is very hard and trying.

My ward is at the top of the end pavilion G 3. There are 54 stairs to mount to it and the same number to my bedroom, wh is the 33rd along. The two evenings a week off duty from 6 o'clock till 8, we have to return to the ward just for half an hour, wh is not a pleasant arr any way.

The patients in G 3 are many of them from the old chronic ward, gout, paralysis and numerous consumptive ones. With the amount of work to do it is almost hopeless to exercise much influence over such a large number. In course of time, when some of the old patients are gone and the new ones fallen into regular ways, it will be easier, but at present it is a constant exercise of patience, and yet more patience. I greatly miss the clinical teaching we had at St T; the cases in hospital are more interesting and decidedly I prefer that work to this and shd like to return to it as soon as poss.

The wards here are delightfully clean, light and airy. It is a real comfort to have nice clothes for the patients, also plenty of clean linen. Perhaps we appreciate it more than they do!

I cannot express how much the interview with you cheered me on my way! I often think of your quick sympathy with all my troubles and feel deeply grateful for it. The remembrance lightens many solitary hours of hard work and I try in my small er way to emulate your bright encouraging spirit.

I am so much happier since seeing yo; the knowledge that I was disliked and misrepresented at St T. took a great deal of spirit out of my work. But you recd and welcomed me after it all! Surely no lesson of charity was ever sweeter or more deeply grafted. Believe me to remain your grateful probationer J.C. Bird [good letter, enc, prob]

f203 Aug 17 1881 letter to FN from Florence Meyrick, 90 Harley St., re hers of yesterday, re Galton's advice to see her, FN her heroine of younger days. It was very kind of you writing to me yesterday (missing) or I shd othwise have certainly followed Capt Galton's advice to call upon you and take the chance of your being able to see me. I have ...love of nursing

It was very kind of you writing to me yesterday [missing], or I shd othwise have certainly followed

signed letter, f205, pen  
**f205** {arch: crossed out, s74 & s72}

August 22, 1881  
 {printed address} 10, South Street,  
 Park Lane. W.

Would you be so good as to  
 take back this Wagstaffe,  
 which tho' ordered, appears  
 not to be wanted.

[I am sorry to trouble you]

& to send

Hoblyn's Dictionary of  
 Medical Terms (Führmann  
 Smith's Lectures on Nursing  
 (Dunstan

Fosbery's Voices (or  
 Words) of Comfort  
 (Dunstan

Berkeley Hill on Bandaging  
 (Führmann

The Boy's Watchword  
 Spence's Surgery (S. Elizabeth  
 & oblige yr obedient  
 F. Nightingale

Please return me *this* list  
 with the Books

f206 22 Aug 1881 letter to FN from Alice Fisher, Addenbrooke's Hosp, thanks for her letter (missing) a privilege to tell her of their work; Miss Turner re applic for adm to Tr School, cannot make payment, married, but dissolved by courts, wd not want to explain Cambridge Thank you very much for your letter. I shall think it a great privilege to be allowed to tell you of our work sometimes. I only hope I may not intrude my letters on you too often. Miss Turner has consulted her uncle who is her chief adviser on the subject of her application for admission into the Nightingale Tr Sch. He is a well known London solicitor and my cousin being in the same firm and knowing Miss Turner I was induced to take her on this recommendation, tho she gives me the names of two ladies as referees. The result of her deliberation is that she is convinced that it wd be most advantageous to her to be trained at St T. She is not able to make any payment but she has every intention of making nursing the business of her life. She felt however she said bound to disclose to me one fact, wh by the advice of her uncle she had previously reserved, namely that she had married ten years ago (she is now 29) an officer in the American Navy and that in consequence of his conduct the marriage had been absolutely dissolved by the American courts. Having illeg in America and so long ago it is prob that few in England know of the

circs and she feels it wd be so exceedingly harmful to have them known at St T. that she hardly knows what to do or how to reply to the question of whether she is a married woman. I told her the comm mt object to her on account of her history, and she said if this were poss she cd not apply at all, as she wd not like to have the great pain of an expl w/o any good result. She begged I cd ask you for your opinion and the circs being unusual I promised to do so, tho indeed I do hesitate to intrude wo warrant on your precious illeg.

If what I have related was illeg bar to her being recd at St T. I shall try to keep Miss Turner here. She is a good worker and has a tender sympathetic manner and I think there are so few who combine these qualifs, also she has a certain sense of humour wh contributes I find to cheerfulness and lessens the dangers of friction in the many difficulties with wh this work is beset.

I think perhaps too that the sadness of her past life may deepen the earnestness with wh she pursues her new career. I will only add that it is merely for her own sake that I wish her to go to St T, for my own I shd be very glad to keep her.

note, f208, pen

**f208**

For ~~Nurse Dunstan~~  
~~St. Marylebone Infirmary~~  
 with

Florence Nightingale's  
 very best wishes  
 & earnest prayers  
 for her "comfort"  
 in this world  
 & that which is to come.  
 August 1881

f209 Aug 25 1881 from St Marylebone Inf letter to FN from J.C. Bird, your faithful probationer, acks book sent by Miss Vincent

f211 Aug 24 1881 N Home letter to FN from L. Fuhrmann. I must thank you with all my heart for the two books you so kindly sent me by home sister yesterday, and more still for the kind words you have written inside them. I consider them one of my most precious possessions, and they will ever remind me of the happy hours I had the privilege to be with you. I saw Her Imperial Highness the crown princess the day before yesterday, and as I did not possess anything written by you she kindly gave me the envelop of your letter to her and I was delighted to have it, never thinking I shd so soon get such kind words written by you esp for me. I dare say you have seen her imp highness by this time and she has told you that she quite agrees with your proposal for my training; she seems however to think that a training of two years wd hardly be sufficient for me and she said she wd like me to see a great many hosps before I come back to Berlin. About monetary arrs nothing was said. Thanking you once more most heartily for your kind gift, dear Miss Nightingale, I am in grateful affection, ever yours Luise Fuhrmann.

f213 Aug 31 1881 letter to FN from L. Fuhrmann from N Home. You must think me most ungrateful that I have not thanked you for that beautiful letter of yours yet, wh you so kindly sent me on Friday last, but our ward has been so heavy this last week that we have been rather late coming off duty and then I was so tired that I cd do nothing but rest. So I hope you will pardon my thanking you so late for it and the kind words written by yourself on it. Home sister told me that she has got many of your letters and she promised to let me read them, to which I am quite looking forward, for I think this letter of yours is most beautiful, most true and I want to have it put under glass in our future home at Berlin, always to be reminded how we ought to be and how we ought not to be, for I feel and see every day how true it is that only a good woman can be a really good nurse and I will think of you, dear Miss Nightingale and try hard to be both.

Today is my last day at Alexandra Ward and I am glad of it; the last fortnight has not been easy and I am thankful it is over. Home sister has been most kind to me during the whole time and she is such a truly good and just and upright woman that I love her better every day. We are getting on very well with our bandaging with her; I know now how to do an arm, a leg and a heel, yesterday I tried a spica bandage for the shoulder. Home sister

thinks I am getting in the way of bandaging which I am very glad of.

The poor woman in our ward I told you of was removed to Charity the very next day, much to my relief. The doctors there think that she has a diseased liver prob cancer, so you were right that there was no action of the liver. How much I have to learn yet!

Wishing you a pleasant time in the country and warmer weather...

f215 letter Aug 31 1881 letter to FN from I Huguenin from Parish Inf Brownlow Hill. When convenient wd you kindly let me know if I may ask Miss Crossland for one of your printed forms on finger poisoning. Mr Cropper likes I so much that he told me to write and ask you for a copy instead of which I wrote to Miss Crossland who said she cd not give one w/o first asking your permission to do so. I have had a very pleasant holiday during the whole of July and am now working alone while Miss Gordon takes hers. There are six new baths being built for the female hosp which will make it much more convenient for the nurses. The nurse who is training for fever in Edinburgh writes very brightly about her work, which she likes extremely. We expect her back next month when we shall have the fever hosp added to our work Miss Hughina Gordon has been apptd to take the home sister's duties as well as district superint at the Royal Inf. While Miss Aston and Miss Stains have been also apptd there, there will be five of us, then from St T. living close together. We have had lately some very interesting op cases tying the vertebrae artery to prevent epileptic fits; in one case the patient had no fit for seven weeks since then he has had several but not nearly so strong as before. Trusting you are well ...

typed copy of letter, ff217-18 {arch: original belongs to Miss Huguenin}

[13:665-66]

**f217**

COPY

August 31 1881

10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Miss Huguenin,

Miss Crossland has referred your note to me, relative to the Memo for Probationers, as to finger poisoning etc."

I beg to enclose a copy; and as nothing is nearer my heart than the welfare of Nurse Probationers all over the world, including their not poisoning themselves, I trust that you will make all the use of it you can. And if the Governor will reprint it, we shall be greatly pleased.

Pray commend me particularly to the Governor, with my kind regards: & thank him especially for his (& your) kindness to Fraulein V. Cornberg, who fully felt it.

I venture to enclose two copies of a Memo of ours - one for the Governor: & to ask him (& you too) - should Lady Probationers of the competent sort therein mentioned come under his notice or yours - & for any reason you should not want them for yourselves - he or you would kindly direct them to us at St. Thomas'.

It is especially Lady Probationers of the higher standard that we want. applications of Candidates we have far more than we can entertain. But for the last year or two we have had better Probationers (in proportion) from the Nurse class than from the

special" class. We have not had many of the truly valuable sort for future Superintendents of Nurses.

**f218**

[-2-]

I need hardly say how deeply I wish you well - you & all your work - & that the standard of careful practical training may year by year be raised higher & higher at the Parish Infirmary.

I understand from Miss Vincent that your Probationer, Miss Murphy, whom also I saw, is doing well at St. Marylebone Infirmary.

How truly & fearfully I hope for the great Institution of the Royal Infirmary & its branches, including the District Nursing.

My kindest regards to Miss Gordon when she returns:

& believe me

ever most truly yours,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

F219 Sept 5 [1881] letter to FN from L Fuhrmann, Nightingale Home, thanks for a kindness to go to Cookery Class at S Ken, re Leopold Ward, example of Mrs Fellowes. I must write to you again for I have to thank you for a new kindness to me. Home sister has told me that I am among the favored six who are to go to the cookery class at South Ken and being an only two months' old prob I feel sure that I owe this to your kindness to me entirely. I am most delighted, dear Miss Nightingale, that I am to go and feel very grateful for all your goodness to me. Everybody has been so kind to me of late that I am very happy and must tell you about it. I am in Leopold Ward since Thursday last and very pleased with my change, for Mrs Fellowes is a perfect lady and most kind in teaching her probs and in sending them off duty at the appointed time.

I shd however not mind any amount of work there for Mrs F sets us herself such a splendid ex in hard work. The second piece of good fortune wh has befallen me is my removal to the first floor. Miss White has left the home and sister has been so good as to give me this, her own former room, about wh I am quite delighted as I felt the 79 steps to the top of the house very hard work on the evening. Now my hardest work is ...

f221 22 Nov 1881 letter to FN from Alice Fisher Addenbrooke's, prob applied to St T, given interview by Wardroper, asks for decision, Wardroper deferred until FN's return to London; now getting lecturers with fixed stipend for probs. Miss Turner having sent in her appl to St T. and Having been granted an interview by Mrs W turned to write a short time ago and asks if any decision had been arrived at with regard to her. Mrs W replied that it wd be deferred till your return to London but advised her if any other opp of work offered itself to accept it. By the time in the year of tr is completed I shall have a vacancy for a sister and sh be only too glad to keep her, but she has so st her heart on going to St T. and is I think so likely to do credit to the superior tr she cd get there that I shd be very sorry if she were disappointed. I do hope ..illeg In answering Miss Turner's letter Mrs W I see has inadvertently illeg the env to Mrs Turner. This mistake has caused some remark. And the poor young woman being under the circs more than naturally sensitive has suffered and wrongly. She is certainly a very satisf prob. She is now in charge of a very successful case of ovariectomy having arr for and waited at the op excellently w/o the illeg of a sister being present.

I am glad to say that I have now .. [lots of FN und]

signed letter, f223, pencil

**f223**

[illeg]-Lea Hurst: Cromford: Derby:

Nov 16, 1881

*Messrs Day*

Please send nicely packed

2/6 copies of *The Golden Chain*

by Miss Marsh

2/6 copies of *The Home Beyond* (Allen)

Oxenden: Hatchards

2 copies of *Pilgrim's Progress* (Allen)

(same edition as before)

*La Terreur Blanche* 6/. ) par

*Numa Roumestan* 3/6) A. Daudet

*Le Petite Chose* 3/. )

2 cop: *Bow in Cloud* Nisbet

2 *Precious Truth* (Allen) Yapp

*Bread from Heaven*

Please return this List to me

(with acct) & oblige yr obed servt

Florence Nightingale

f224 Nov 24 1887 Day and Son, 16 Mount Street, Grosvenor Sq, letter to FN re *Precious Truth* pub by Yapp & Co being reprinted

f226 letter Dec 6 1881 to FN from Day & Son re Lawson Tait Book not yet pub, re Spence's Surgery, have sent Uncle Toms Cabin by rail today, will send invoice tomorrow. Re Precious Truths still reprinting

f228 order form, Spence's Surgery 2 vols out of print, no copies left in stock Dec 13 1881  
f229 letter 14 Dec 1881 from Alice Fisher, Addenbrooke's re FN's interest in her endeavours to procure St T. training for a prob, encloses letter of Miss Turner from Wardroper (negative) regrets for trouble. As you were good eno to take an interest in my endeavours to procure for one of my probs the benefit of being trained at St T. I enclose the letter which Miss Turner has recd from Mrs W I am sorry that I shd have been the means of this poor woman having undergone two months of unnecessary suspense. Some expence which she cd ill afford and a great deal of mental suffering, but I did so under the conviction wh I still retain that she was of material superior to any sister or prob with whom I was acq during the year I was at St T. Pray accept my regrets that I shd have given you trouble in this matter....

FN pencil note

Shall I answer this?

I have seen Mrs Wardroper  
& heard what she has  
to say about it.

F.N.

typed copy of letter, ff231-33 {arch: Original lent by Mr. S. Buxton)

**f231**

COPY (carpenter)}  
January 9 1882.  
10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dear Mr. Buxton

I wish you from the bottom of my heart a happy New Year - happy in the best sense - with every good & perfect gift - & that you may meet Rebecca again where she is gone before to "Our Father which art in Heaven" at last. To you & yours the best blessings.

Mr. & Mrs. Shore Smith have been very uncertain about going to Lea Hurst. Mr. Shore & his eldest boy are at Embley - I am sorry to say Mr. Shore is far from well. Mrs. Shore & the other three children have been at Claydon where they were celebrating Sir Harry Verney's 80th birthday last week. On Monday there was a Concert at the School for the people. On Tuesday there was a workmen's dinner: then dissolving views by Capt. George Verney, who brought in portraits of the blacksmith, the coachman, & some of the Nurses, which were much clapped, to music -

And then a servants' & tradesmen's dance. And Sir Harry led one great dance and Lady Verney the other. And everybody danced with everybody.

On Wednesday there was a deputation from Buckingham of all the Liberal tradesmen who had exerted themselves for years, & given up time & interest & everything for weeks at last Election to bring Sir Harry in - Then there was dinner & a party for them with all the gentlefolks in the house, & every tradesman took in a lady - & music afterwards.

**f232**

[-2-]

On Thursday was the tenants' dinner: also with the gentle-folks. And the new tenant she sat by told Mrs. Shore Smith how much Sir Harry had done at the draining, & said: That s what I like: Sir Harry puts us in the way to do for ourselves."

I think the Committee of tradesmen who brought Sir Harry in for Buckingham at last Election by dint of hard work & without one sixpence of bribery, tho' the other side had 10/ in their hands for every man - a Baker & a (Cabinet-maker/Carpenter at the head of Sir Harry's Committee -were the most disinterested & intelligent men I ever heard of. Sir Harry spoke, of course, at every dinner. He was much affected, speaking of what the people had done for him.

And he spoke on the Monday at a Village Club for an hour and a quarter on Education.

He is quite hale & active.

On New Year's Eve we had our great entertainment at St. Thomas' Hospital. And our Probationer-Nurses went round & sang carols in every Ward. And there was scarcely a Ward where the Patients did not join in or had not prepared something in return. In a Female Surgical Ward our Nurse had prepared 4 poor little girls under 5 years to sing some little carols 7 glees which she had taught them. She put two in one bed & two in another opposite each other. And they were such pretty little things. And she beat time & led them. And there they sat up in their little scarlet cloaks. And the 4 little pairs of eyes were all fixed upon her, & not upon the people who were all standing by listening to them & admiring them, nor upon themselves.

**f233**

[-3-]

And they sang beautifully. And they were clapped more than anybody.

In several other Wards the Patients, taught by our Nurses,  
sang beautifully.

*Lea Hurst.*

I hope that the Garden door's lock is done. Did it go to Derby? - & also the Front door. And the Nursery bedroom floor made tight & sightly. And the servant's hall. And the other things mentioned: in case Mr. & Mrs. Shore Smith should come this month after all.

It was a pity to leave my Bedstead to be packed by Saml. Crooks. It came up broken in 3 places - & the bottom smashed.

You will see that my Cheque was to have been sent you 3 weeks ago - And I have no excuse to make but that I am so very much pressed with business - And I was quite laid up with cough & cold.

I trust that you & yours are well: & believe me

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

initialled draft of a letter, ff234-36, pencil, original 5483/30

**f234**

Mr. Saxon Snell

Jan 10 1882

Thank for his magnificent Vol Charitable & Parochial Estts.  
 a glorious vol because When I remember how as lately as  
 17 years ago there was not one place where the  
 sick of our fellow creatures who we call paupers  
 were not laid in common Workhouse Wards. Where  
 order was maintained sometimes by having in the Police  
 -not one place where but which had the glory/honour of first  
 the pauper sick were not introducing Trained Nursing  
 nursed by drinking brutal  
 paupers whose pay was  
 perhaps beer - & not by trained Nurses

I feel as though Annual Festivals or occasional Jubilees  
 are the way to manifest our thankfulness -  
 to commemorate & perpetuate so great & blessed a  
 change which however is but just beginning -  
 we should have the highest & best Festival to  
 strengthen that reform in which you have had so  
 conspicuous I might say illustrious a part.

Much Everything is not now as the years ago to  
 be done. But much very much remains to be done -  
 Local Govt. Board - the part it has had) Manchester  
 Asylums - Small Pox & Fever - Lunatic ) Highgate  
 Training Schools in Workhouse Infirmaries)

The Workhouse Infirmaries models in construction  
 administrative & trained Nursing are still but few & far  
 between

Of your noble volume the part which interests me

**f235**

most is of course the new St Marylebone Infy.  
for which we had the honour of supplying the Trained  
Matron & part of Trained Nursing Staff.

At Internat. Med Congress of August last many  
American gentlemen attended. Amongst others some who  
being Trustees of a very large sum left for building a Hospital:  
indeed all the civilized world, inspecting every Institution  
for sick in order to find models for their purposes

Their model was, they told me, St. M. Infy - the best  
Hospl. in their opinion taking it as a whole of all  
in the civilized world that they had seen-

Yet America has done much for the sick poor in  
construction

I give you joy FN

Soot doors to/in Ward fireplaces opening inwards into Wards

Soot falling on inmates

14 years since we lost our Trained Matron Agnes Jones  
the pioneer of Trained Workho. Nursing at her post  
in the immense Workho Inf (1700 beds now in winter)  
at Lpool - which she had entered 3 years before  
with a staff from us of Trained Nurses

Then the Police had frequently to keep order in the  
Wards. Now the Workho. Infies. where Trained Nursing has  
been introduced not only kin are the centre of a beautiful  
order & goodness but are themselves the Training Schools  
of Nurses, Gentlewomen & working women - as they are called

**f236**

but gentlewomen de are & ought to be the most  
vigorous working women for other Institutions  
And of these Liverpool was the first.

And I trust that you will be called upon to build  
a Home in order that St. M with its generous  
reforming Board may also become a nucleus & centre of order & reform & a  
Training Sch for itself & other Infies.

Pardon me for having delayed thanking you for so  
great a gift - reason

Pardon that I write so discursively now  
In the great & essential reform in Hospl.  
construction which has made of Hospls.  
places no longer to do the Patients harm  
but Patients places to cure them in You have a  
large & honoured share

initialled letter, ff237-38 pen {arch: reply to L. de Luttichan letter Jan 15}  
**[13:777-78]**

**f237**

The sacred Jan 20 1882  
 cause of

District Nursing  
 is safe in your hands.

My dear Madam

I give you joy - you  
 & your active Committee

We ~~celebrate~~ hail the first anniversary of your  
 first birth day of  
 independent usefulness with a  
 hymn of thankfulness.

May every succeeding  
 birth day be one of yet  
 higher success.

You ask me to write  
 a few words:

Keep up a to the high standard  
 of trained Nursing:  
 the bringing of the highest

**237v**

trained Nursing skill,  
 trained observations,  
 trained carrying out of  
 Doctors' orders - to the  
 bedside of the sick poor.

Not the mere drinks &  
 food & kind words & alms  
 which do not need the  
 skill of a highly trained  
 Nurse.

then the teaching the family  
 to nurse -that is to keep up the care &  
 cleanliness & order & appliances  
 which you have shown  
 them.

for the nursing the room as  
 well as the Patient in it - the

**f238**

making the room such as  
 the Patient can recover in  
 the bringing health to the house  
 is one of the highest duties  
 & privileges of such skilled trained District  
 Nurses as you are.

What true glory to have  
 taught a poor family that  
 which is better than riches or rather is riches  
 to have taught them so that it they may never fall  
 back.

then hardly less a privilege  
 the bringing such sanitary  
 defects as more often  
 than not have ~~been~~ produced  
 the illness & which people  
 cannot remedy themselves  
 to the notice of the Public  
 Officers ~~concerned~~ who can

**f238v**

{line indicating insertion of paragraph from the centre of the page}

These are the things which make the  
 keeping up the high standard yet more  
 important in District than in Hospital  
 Nursing - *and reward it*

Go on in these lines  
 your mother=lines -so to  
 speak. & prosper.  
 And may God bless you  
 & your supporters & your  
 & their good work  
 is the earnest prayer of  
 ever your fful servt

FN

I regret more than I can  
 say that under the severe  
 pressure of business &  
 constant illness I can only  
 attend your First Annual  
 Meeting in spirit

**[end]**

f239 [1882] letter of Harriet Reeve, née Hills to FN from 27 Preston St., Faversham Kent. I beg you will pardon the great liberty I am taking in addressing you. I visited St Thomas' about a fortnight ago and heard from your sister ophthalmic that you had been to see them [Jan 27]. I feel very thankful to God for his tender mercies in answer to prayer that you were able to visit the place for the benefit of which you have laboured with heart and hand for so many years and I sincerely trust our heavenly Father will spare your life for years to come and enable you still to work for Him and for the good of to hers, you may not remember me now as I have been left St T. over 7 years, my name was then Nurse Hills and you gave me the linen set of roll bandages for my exam, words cannot tell the blessing a knowledge of nursing has been to me since I have been married both in my own family and delicate little ones and when my health has permitted me to go among the sick and suffering ones around me and I can look back...

partial draft letter, ff241-42, pencil, draft, longer original is 5483/31, see

**f241**

Miss Townson  
answered

Feb 4 1882

- no Handbook for Private Nurses

don't believe in teaching Nursing from a book.

Best classes given from notes of their own - roughly put outline notes from books & Lectures - particularly Clinical Lectures - but chiefly from actual bedside Nurses' experiences during years of Hospital life  
from Miss Pyne

2. first thing to reform the Hospl. if Probrs. are taught by "Doctors & Students"

Miss Pyne

3. often thought of printing a monthly sheet for all our trained Nurses -telling them of their comrades far away - of the Nursing methods of wh. standard rises so rapidly year by year - Into friendly exhortations

Monthly Serial

Stories of good done

Miss Pyne's letter

Then, as to new nursing methods, these must, after all be prescribed by the Doctors & got up by the Ward Nurses Lady Supt. & Class Mistress. To publish any such & send them to other Hospls. wd it not be just to set the Drs. against them?

different is a private sheet because it is entrusted to direction & care of Supt. But even this is risky.

Certainly not for us even to appear to teach the Doctors more Advanced Methods of Nursing" - tho'

f243 Feb 18 [1882] letter of A. Townson, Nurses' Home Belfast to FN. I feel that my most earnest thanks are due to you not only for answering my letter at such length but also for the trouble that you have taken to obtain info for me. I used what I and many others I expect feel the need of is this wise monthly sheet of which you speak, how illeg wd we or our com pay for them year by year! So often I have felt when speaking with one of the St Thomas' nurses, and when reading your letter of enc & advice do workers who have left the hosp that we who have not been trained there are outside the circle, and have no influence binding us together as they seem to have. Yet our work may be as thorough, our standard at which we aim quite as lofty as theirs--it seems to me and seems still that a wise monthly pub if managed wisely mt supply in some measure the want.

We have some good nurses here and those who promise to be such in the future I have classes every week which I make a point of never omitting, and yet so often am inclined to be discouraged because my teaching is obliged to be so very theoretical and head nurses, tho they ought to be the teachers, are some of them so wanting in method in their ward mgt and have so little eye for order that one feels that the probs are not in a good school.

This year there are 40 students, even the illeg dressings must be left to them and since they are only learning and their teachers the illeg have not one English particularity with regard to cleanliness &c I do feel that it is no easy matter to bring the nurses up to the standard I wd wish. Id d not mean that they are rough in handling the patients, but that having so very much to do, this being on illeg nursed hosp, they cannot do much more than keep tidy and cleanly and give the patients what is *ordered*. Shampooing and grooming, turning pillows &c which are often such illeg comfort they have not time for. Sometimes one forgets (I do myself) what mt be done to comfort & each little handbook for reference, to which they mt refer when not at private cases mt remind them of what they had learned in class and wh wd not have been remembered otherwise. Books are filled with their notes, but the writing is often so bad, and corrections so many that they are almost useless.

We had hoped to be able to teach many little niceties in one small private ward but you can hardly believe how the extreme poverty of our Irish insts comes in the way, one more serviette or tray cloth for the wash is quite a consideration. With many apologies for troubling you thus, and still more earnest thanks for your kindness, believe me, affecately & respectfully yours, A. Townson

f247 letter to FN Sat Feb 18th [1882] from Mary Nicholson, Government House, Jersey re efforts here to start Inst for Trained Nurses, not a single trained nurse in the place. I hope that perhaps you may like to see that we are making a great effort here to start a nurs inst for trained nurses. At present there is not a single trained nurse in the place, and the women who go out as nurses are all most inefficient.

f249 Feb 28 1882 letter to FN from S. de Lillehave [Lilleham?] North London Nursing Assoc for the Poor. I wished to write immediately after our annual meeting to tell ou about the warm reception your letter met with and to thank you for your great kindness in sending it. Mr Butler expecting the issue of our annual report almost directly and intending to contain a full account of the meeting as well as your letter in extenso, asked me to postpone writing until I cd send a copy, but his illness and other circs delayed the printing. [long letter]

f251 letter to FN Wed March 1 1882 from Mary Nicholson, Govt House, Jersey thanks for kind donation and letter of sympathy. I cannot tell you how very much obliged I am to you for your kind donation and also for your most kind letter of sympathy and advice. It is very good of you in the midst of all your own business to write me such a long letter with so many useful hints which I shall certainly give from you to the com. Our present intention is, if we are not able to get a promise of sufficient subs to do more than cover the nurse for the poor, to try what we can do on a smaller scale, merely keeping one for the poor and none for those who can pay, but I shall be very sorry if we were obliged to come to this as there are a very large class of people in the Island now who are not sick eno to pay for nurses from England who wd gladly pay for nurse if she were in the Island as there are no trained nurses in the Island (except a few certificated monthly nurses) the now have to go w/o. I will take care that your kind donation is entered in the lists in the way you desire, and I hope it may induce others to give in the same way, as several people have refused to give merely because all the nurses were not for the poor, oblivious of the fact that we shd require a large income to keep 4 or 6 nurses fo rthe poor alone. One of the ladies on the com had sent her a report of an inst wh was started in Glasgow a few years ago and which now supports with very small subs 1 nurse for the poor for every 3 nurses that are paid for, they began with 4 and have now 12, i.e., 8 who are paid for, and 4 fo rthe poor, and tho' there are more prejudices to contend with here than in Glasgow still I hope we may in time be equally successful. Believe me yrs very sincerely Mary Nicholson

Add Mss 45806 ff258-61, letter

copy of signed letter, signature removed, ff258-61, typewritten

**f258**  
COPY

May 30, 1882  
10 South St.  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Sir,

[10:697-98]

I cannot thank you enough for your kind letter of May 16, for its most interesting, most exhilarating enclosure from the Punjab. I am carried along with him in every line. I bless God for him, for his interest in the people,, for the foundation so evidently laid one might almost say for *eternal* good by Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab. Tho' Sir J.L. would not *quite* agree {edge of paper missing}

{with?}

him Mr. Wilson that, in all "cases" to "decide" "in a way {} with the ideas of the people" was "*therefore*" "in accordance {} justice & good policy" - for the very secret of Sir J. Lawr{ence's?} extraordinary success was that his "policy" was always to {} "ideas of the people" to an ever higher "justice" - do you remember the formula he made each Punjabee repeat as he settled {} claims of each to the land? - - yet it is undeniable & delightfu{l} that it is only thro' such sympathy as Mr. Wilson's that it is

possible to do the people good - that such sympathy is as rare as it is essential - & that the want of it is the very secret of our ill-success with the people.

For alas! at this moment while Mr. Wilson writes with such well-earned & justified pride in the Punjab results & such confidence in those of our rule all over India there is in this big India a province near him, namely Bengal itself, where by our own avowal Land question has become so *burning* that while every year, almost

**f259**

every month makes it more difficult to settle, every year and {} makes it more imperative that it should be settled; for, a few {} years, & it will be impossible.

The question of representation which Lord Ripon has so started has a terrible significance, all its own, in India, and positively make the settlement of Land Questions impossible in Bengal and perhaps in parts of Madras. For *whom* are you to represent? The Zemindars? All the representatives will repr{esent} the Zemindars. (These are 100 times more *anti-people, anti* {} own people than the straitest English officials are.

The most powerful element *against* the good of India {} secured in the first representation of India. The cultiva{tors?} have no one to represent *them*.

But see what enormous, what priceless good you are {} this most populous fifth of the earth - Balliol sends forth new Missionaries - And in four years from the time he was a Balliol undergraduate, see what Mr. Wilson has done. I know nothing that *tells* so soon, so widely and so vigorously as Indian Civil Service education, because nowhere is there such a field.

Please be so good as to let me know your impression of Sir Campbell's two lectures "as an experiment" when they have been delivered. It is an "experiment" crowded with consequences. **[end 10:698]**

June 10.

I have been prevented by illness and overwork from fin {ishing?}

**f260**

this letter: & now I must send this scrap as it is. But I {}  
much to ask.

I have good news from Mr. Grant Duff at Madras as to a {}  
scope being given there where they have been at work so long {}  
Agricultural Education to the (narrow) Govt. Resolution on the  
Agricultural Dept. which I think I shared you with dismay.

At the same time the encouragement that had been promis {ed?}  
rich & enterprising natives to take up land & improve cultivat {ion?}  
has not in one remarkable instance at least - there are so f {ew?}  
granted.

I do so entirely agree with you that your "future admi {nistra=?}  
tors" must be awakened *here* to the intense interest and impo {}  
their position in India. Or they will not awaken to it {}  
rule.

(Prof. Seeley has been giving some lectures of this a {}  
kind at Cambridge. But then he has no Civil Service Candidates.  
How I wished for yours -)

I rejoice that you think it possible for "a few months'  
residence at an agricultural College" to be given to the Students,  
if an alteration in the "Regulations" can be made. But I suppose  
the "Agricultural College" course must be somewhat altered to give  
agricultural education such as would be required for the Civil  
Servant in India? He must not actually dig or plough or clean  
manure sheds. We must always remember that tillage is actually  
better in India than in England. But in agricultural Chemistry {}  
Botany, as regards plants, & a knowledge of Woods, Geology, as

**f261**

regards Soils & water-supply - Forestry, as regards rainfall  
 fuel (they burn their manure) - Animal Physiology, as regards  
 Animal Breeds, fodder, & Diseases of Cattle, which every year  
 off as many as a famine they are absolutely ignorant. An agricultural  
 education would for an Indian Civil Servant include leadings to higher knowledge not generally taught at Agricultural  
 Colleges. What of Scientific Agriculture could be taught at  
 Oxford?

Sir Joseph Hooker at Kew, or Sir George Birdwood could  
 doubt draw up an Agricultural or Forestry Course?

Why is population such a great element of power  
 but in India - and in India an element of weakness? This  
 question I have often wished to ask you.

All good attend you. I await with anxiety any information  
 that you may be pleased to give me - specially as to whether Sir  
 G. Campbell's lectures have succeeded to your mind.

{signature cut out}

A. Toynbee Esq:

I will return Mr. Wilson's letter (which I ought to have done  
 before) by next post.

f266-67 letter to Nightingale from A. Baster, Royal Berks Hospital, Reading, June 19 1882

My dear Madam

I have taken the liberty to send you one of our reports. I know you will be pleased to  
 hear our work here has steadily progressed & our nurses improved in a very satisfactory  
 way. My chief difficulty for a long time has been to keep pace with the demand for nurses  
 of our own training so that in many instances the year of probation has been shortened but  
 as you will see our numbers are to be increased. I hope we shall be in every way in a better  
 position.

I fear you will almost have forgotten me or that I belong to your school & yet during all  
 these years of labour it has been one of my greatest confidences & satisfactions that I had  
 been trained at St Thomas's and was working under your banner & for the Master you  
 serve.

with every feeling of duty & respect, I am, dear Madam

very sincerely & obediently yours

A Baster

f270 letter to FN June 19 1882. The lord provost of Edinburgh presents his compliments  
 to Miss Nightingale and it will afford him much pleasure carefully to weigh what she has  
 written him regarding Dr Joseph Bell. Before coming to a conclusion as to which of the  
 candidates for the vacant chair he will support.

He may mention meantime that testimonials regarding some of the candidates have  
 yet to be issued, and he is not therefore in a position to consider satisfactorily their  
 respective claims. Westminster Palace Hotel S.W.

Add Mss 45807 FN letters 1882-87, microfilm, 296 folios, 173 pages, general correspondence 1882-85, Adam Matthew reel 35

F1 Typed copy of a signed letter/draft/copy letter to Sir James Caird, original LMA H1/ST/NC1/82/7

**f1**

10, South Street  
Park Lane, W.  
July 4 1882

Dear Sir James Caird,

The paper which you were so good as to leave with me is simply invaluable. And I rejoice in the hope that you will speedily bring it in some forcible form before the Public - especially the part which relates to Land Banks - a remedy which would probably produce a greater change for the better in the state of the cultivators than any 'Act' whatever.

**[10:631]**

I return the precious M.S. with thanks because I scruple to keep it. [I need hardly say that I have neither shown it nor will ever quote it] I am in haste that you should put it to use & urge the Land Banks in every way. Have you spoken to Sir Louis Mallet again about them?

**[end 10:631]**

I have not enclosed the little printed paper, because you kindly said that you thought you could find another copy, & I might keep this. If you want it, please send me a Post Card.

With my kindest regards to Lady Caird, whom I wish I could have had the pleasure of seeing before she leaves for Scotland,

pray believe me  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

ff2-5 letter to FN from Mary Cadbury, Parish Inf, Brownlow Hill Liverpool 6 July 1882, with FN underlining, thanks for her letter and her blessing, says shd not have nurses under 23 because so soon have to take resp posts of heads of wards. My dear Miss Nightingale. Thank you very much for your kind letter, it was a great pleasure to me to receive your blessing, in prospect of the great work which I had undertaken here and waited to reply till I had been here a little while and felt that I had *begun* to take hold of the place. It is a little more than a fortnight since I came and what appeared at first a hopeless mass of nurses, wards and innumerable things to be learnt, is beginning now to sort out by the patient and kind help of Miss Huguenin, who I am sure has spared herself no pains and trouble to let me into the mysteries of my work; she has such a thorough conscientious hold of everything herself and an untiring ardour in the fulfilment of her duties that it will not be her fault if I do not get a right comprehension of my work, and very much I shall miss her when she leaves, but as far as I know that is not to be yet. I am sure from the bottom of her heart she is greatly interested in the whole place and has done much for it and though any rule

will be I expect a little different in its way of carrying out to hers, yet I hope I may be able with the help of some other assistant who will succeed her to keep up the training as well as has already been done under Miss Gordon and herself. As far as I can see now there are a large proportion of good conscientious nurses, though of course not quite all of this stamp. I am beginning with being very particular not to take any new nurses under 23 years of age, for our Liverpool staff so soon have to take the responsible posts of head of the wards and teachers of others that I think it is most undesirable to have them too young. I am pleased to find the interest of Dr Alexander (the head dr of the surgical and lying in wards) take in the nurses and their turning out efficient nurses. This morn he examined 3 of them in surgery who have nearly finished their training and he drew his estimate of them from their whole career here. It is a great benefit to them to have the experience of 3 months in the lying in. I wish it were a part of the education of all of us who claim your name. I never felt my education complete till I spent a month in the lying-in wards here this spring, and understanding all the surroundings of the work it was easy to learn them and yet until I had been through it I shrank from meddling with it for fear of doing mischief. In less than a month I saw 35 confinements and took 9 myself, but there was an unusual run at that time. With the class of women and girls who come to these wards, so many not married, it is difficult to keep up the refinement that must be carried out in a higher class of women. They often come in dirty at the last moment that to prevent evil consequences they have to be washed in a way that in private would be considered most undesirable. I am very conscious of the great responsibility of every dept of this great place, the lying in, the fever block, the lock and medical surgical and infirm work, and your prayer for me is mine, that God may indeed give me "a right judgment in all things." without Him I know I am utterly helpless. In my 9 years nursing experience I have learnt many hard lessons and my only really unhappy 8 months of that time spent at Highgate Inf comes in now of more use than any other and giving me a more thorough sympathy and understanding of the nurses' trials and difficulties than I could possibly have had without it, tho I think in many ways they have a much happier time than we could have there. Miss Hunter has found a successor to me in Miss Brinsley, a lady who was trained at Highgate and afterward went to Manchester and from what she tells me I quite hope she will work well with her. I think much about them as the people had become much attached and did not like my leaving.

I had heard such an improved account of your health that I was very sorry to find that it has not continue, but I trust you may regain it. I find here I am most kindly supported and helped in every way by the nursing committee and the governor of the place illeg is greatly interested in it and desirous of its being kept up in efficiency and the nurses cared for and helped in every way. Hoping I have not wearied you with my long letter, I am yours very sincerely, Mary Cadbury.

f6 notes re Loyd Lindsay mainly not FN hand, but underlining

f8 letter to FN Aug 3/82 from M.E. Spreat, Fairfield, York, thanks for her letter of morn, sorry name too late to be a fellow sufferer! [FN underlined]

f9 letter from C.J. Wood, British Nurses' Assoc May 19 1890. Tho the above assoc does not yet commend itself to it, may I ask you for that which involves no question of our principle but will only help to futher the interest of nurses, a question on which I believe we all agree. The favour I ask is that you would most kindly present a copy of yr very valuable

work on nursing to the Nurses' Library. The book itself is a valuable one, but if presented by the author, whose name is the watchword of all nurses, and whose example is of undying power, it will confer a very great honour on our library.

Unsigned letter/draft/copy, unknown recipient f10

**f10**

27/8/82

**[15:927]**

Yes, I try to trust God for our Egyptian children  
He *deserves* it of us So to speak does He not?  
But the sending them out under arrangements so  
different from our own, in such heterogeneous  
parties under superintende. so inefficient & so  
strange, makes us cry out to Him God.

Tho' Miss Airy is quite able to manage, I feel  
too her loneliness: there is a certain weakness,  
you know about her, as well as a certain  
greatness.

I thank God that the 'Carthage' must have  
been at Ismailia yesterday or even Friday  
to take off the Sick & Wounded (there were so  
many sun strokes) who had been called to the  
Khedive's Palace. so that our Sisters have  
the first fruits of the work after all.

She is a remarkably fast ship, I am told.  
In the Suez Canal you know they must not go  
above 5 miles an hour.

I suppose she will be ordered back to Pt. Said?  
for coolness - Canal like an oven - & then come  
back to Ismailia if wanted to fetch more  
Patients.

But it looks as if we were making for Cairo  
And then I suppose we must have a Hospl. there  
Please God it may not be the Alexandria Hosp.

**f10v**

Mrs. D "delighted" with Miss Airy. How well  
she, Miss A, must have behaved!

**[end 15:927]**

Signed letter/draft/copy to Miss Solly, pen handwritten by FN ff12-13  
f12 [arch: To Miss Solly in reply to her letter Aug. 25 [Oct. 1. 1882.]

Many thanks for your long  
letter: I have written more  
than once, letters you can't  
have had. For the Carthage  
started too soon  
I wonder whether Ismailia is  
entirely broken up ??  
I long to hear all.

**[15:936-37]**

I cannot tell you how I  
grieve for your grievances -  
I will say nothing about them  
now - It was my fault  
for letting you go out under  
other superintendence than our  
own. Forgive me: & show  
that you forgive me, if you  
will allow an anxious old  
woman to venture to say so  
to an energetic young one:  
by not ~~breathing a word~~ talking to  
any Nurse of complaint or  
anything that could be construed  
as insubordination\_ & might //  
on the subj matter on  
which you are for the time being a servant  
of the War Office a nurse of the Army  
Medical Dep, & a Sister under a Supt.

f12v

almost say to any to any friend  
of whose discretion you are  
not perfectly sure - And this for the  
work's sake - not for ours.

Everything leaks out. The  
War Office as any man of the world will say: 'if you  
cannot put up with any  
superintendent you don't like,  
you are not the sort for us'.

Don't let them have *any* cause  
*to say this often, however*  
unjustly. I cry under your  
grievances. I would fain bear  
them all myself - I *have*  
suffered as much as you  
under them - Let us not  
make them worse & do lasting  
harm *by* to the cause we love  
by talking against people.  
That will heal no wound.  
Forgive me again. I will  
tell you when we meet what  
the War Office says.

**f13**

[2]

You have done splendid good  
service. You will not mar it, I know.  
And now let us talk of the  
physical wounds - & not  
the mental ones.

Don't think I am  
preaching: or rather pray  
for me.

God bless you\_ God bless you.  
Au revoir: au revoir, my  
dear, dear Miss Solly -  
Ever yrs, with great love  
to both,

F. Nightingale

Lea Hurst  
Cromford  
Derby  
Oct 7/82  
{with large  
curly bracket  
b/w two sides}

Did you find  
your little "Manual"  
answer among the  
men? After you  
had so kindly  
introduced me to it,  
I gave away a great  
number, but kept  
the one you gave me  
F.N.

**[end 15:937]**

f14 typed copy of FN letter to Arnold Toynbee, old copy, torn along right margin, copied as laid out in type f14 (orig. held by Mrs. Arnold Toynbee); Goldie and Cook have Oct 30/82 but typed copy says Oct 20

**f14**

10 South St. Park Lane, W.  
Oct. 20/82 [10:698-99]

My dear Sir,

I am truly distressed that I have kept this valued lette[cut] long before returning it to your kindness which lent it me.

Pray do not punish me by declining my interest in all [cut] Indian work, which is indeed great.

Your correspondence with your pupils now in India must [cut be] invaluable.

I hope that Lectures on Land Tenure, Provincial Administrat[cut] &c will form part of your future course as you desire.

And more - if your 2 years can be made into 3, that something [cut] of instruction on Agricultural & Technical Science, including

Forestry, may direct your students' attention at least to what are the peculiar wants of India - a knowledge often absent in her rule{cut off. rulers?}

I give the Balliol Civil Service candidates joy of their position with you. The future of India depends, more than on any [cut] thing else, on the rulers we bring up. May that position be eve [cut ever?] more & more making progress in accordance with your wishes. [end 10:699]

**f14v**

I hope the new Vice-Chancellor will find health and stren{cutoff. strength?} for *all* his duties - & that Balliol may not lose by what the University gains.

Some day when you are in London, I trust that I may see [cut you?] again - & have some more talk on education for India. I have s{cut off. so?} much to hear from you.

ever faithfully yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

A. Toynbee Esq.

f15 letter to FN 26 Nov 1882 from Luise Fuhrmann, 23 Bloomsbury Sq, re going back to Berlin, hopes to see before going. It has been settled that I am to go back to Berlin on the 14th of December, so that I shall be barely three more weeks here, and I should be so very sorry to leave England w/o having seen you once more, dear Miss Nightingale, that I make bold to write to you to remind you of the 18th of August of last year, when I had the privilege of seeing you, and when you said you hoped to see me again at he end of my training. That time has arrived now and it wd make me very happy if you still felt sufficient interest in me and my future work to allow me to come and see you and say good bye to you. I have been busy at work in the district ever since the middle of July and have been very happy, for I like district nursing very much better than hosp work, and am so glad that that will be my work at Berlin. Certainly since our lectures 7 esp our reading up for them

have begun our working time has been too long.

I have not been able to see home sister for nearly two months now and that has been a real trouble to me, for I love her so dearly. However I am not to go any more to the district now, but only to nurse one or two confinement case to complete my training, so I dare say I shall be able to see her in the course of this week. Hoping, with kindest regards, every yrs, Luise Fuhrmann

f17 Fuhrmann to FN 23 Bloomsbury Sq., Sunday night Dec 3? 1882. re having seen. I have just arrived home--the fog was not nearly so bad than before--and have some time before supper to thank you once more from my heart for all your kindnesses to me and that you have allowed me to see you. I shall never forget today as little as Augst 18th of last year. & hope the crown princess will let me stay a little longer as that gives me a chance of having perhaps once more the happiness of seeing you, for it is real happiness to me. Only one thing troubles me, that is that I must not bring forward England in Germany, I feel sure I shall do so & get myself into trouble, for my tongue is an unruly member & is often carried away to say what the heart is full of, without consulting first my head. And my heart will be very full of England & what I owe to you and your example & to home sister. However I will try to shut it all up and only think of you in loving admiration. I hope I may write to you from Berlin and let you know from time to time how our work progresses; it wd give me a fresh impulse to try and improve our work, even though I shd find many difficulties. I am afraid I must have tired you, for I was shocked to see it was 8 o'clock when I cam home; I am so sorry about it, though I certainly enjoyed every minute. I am, dear Miss Nightingale, every yrs gratefully, Luise Fuhrmann.

F17 Fuhrmann to FN Sunday [Dec 2? 1882] day of visit to FN

ff19-22 letter to FN 11 Dec 1882 from 14 Guilford Terrace, Dover, D Blair Brown. I sent yoU a typed copy of the regulations illeg with the working of the AHC> composition therof may be likened to the same regarding te syllabus of instrution for the school at Aldershot, they look well on paper, like a collection of Notes in Nursing, their utter insufficiency being manifold when put into execution. Regulations even if those who wrote them, in practice could make anything but discord out of them.

In addition to the points I have already called your kind attention to regarding the future of the AHC the following are worthy of thought.

1. A first class school certificate shold be a *sine qua non* for a non-commissioned officer.
2. That no many should be promoted to the rank of sergeant under four years service.
3. That annual competitions be held and prizes given, for f20 passing ...
4. That the men serving in a district should not be moved out of it for lengthy periods not constantly changing as at present.
5. That the corps be recruited from volunteers, both regiments ...
6. That men who show proficiency in nursing, but not qualified for promotion, be re-engaged to complete 21 or 30 years service.
7. That punishment by pack drill be reintroduced, deprivation of dept pay as at present is no punishment except to married men.
8. That the training of compounders of medicine take place at Netley or Aldershot and the instructors of the corps be made responsible for the same. That printed questions

according to standard be used. Everything connected with the ..

9. Men found unfit for the AHC ..

F21 [FN red underlinings]

I see the enemies of female nursing bestirring themselves. There is a very weak article in the illeg on the subject from a pen easily recognised, one of those miscreants who held the position of instructor to the corps. Expenche is the great argument advanced against them. If there is one thing more than another *the employment of women in military hospitals* would do, it is quite in the opposite direction, *economy*. If the nation only knew the hundred and one ways *women are checks on extravagance and pilfering*, putting aside their *immense superiority* in nursing, their services would be gladly accepted.

Probably recent events will show the red tapeists that "utility" must take the plea of shams. You will notice that all the junior surgeons & surgeon majors promoted specially for service in Egypt are those who were attached to the bearer column. See my former remarks on this subject, which I foretold f22 those who like the correspondent of the British medl Journal did all the real medical work and not promoted but worse than that others for two days superintending the conveyance of wounded men passed over their heads in the Army List.

Had I been one so treated I would not have held a commission longer than the steps to retire would take.

When next in town I hope to hear "progress reported" Believe me...

f23 postcard to FN from L Fuhrmann 15 Dec 1882 [Friday] re seeing tomorrow [possibly date of f19 shd be 16 Dec, check if Sunday]

f24 letter to FN from L Fuhrmann from 16 Steinmetz Strasse Berlin W 24 Dec 1882, has torn up previous 2 letters she wrote her because wrote bitter and angry words against Mrs Craven, for turning crown princess against her; This is the third letter I write to you, but I have torn up the two first ones, because I had said some rather bitter and angry words against Mrs Craven who during the last few months has saved herself no trouble to turn the crown princess against me and to make things as difficult for me all round as it was possible and the two first days I felt very sad at heart and I do not know how I shd have got on if you had not said those kind and encouraging words when we parted and had not written those dear sweet lines into the two books which make them my most precious property. I am so glad to be able to tell you through my coming and since people know me personally the strong prejudice against me has faded away like a summer cloud and everybody is as good and kind to me as I can wish. I saw the correspondence on Tuesday night for two hours and since then twice again for a short time. HIH was so very kind and gracious to me, that she sent me books out of her library and kissed me when I left her on Tuesday. Of course I did not say a word about Mrs C and HIH did not ask me any questions to my great relief. I am to my great relief to come back to England at some time or other to learn monthly nursing at Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hosp. I am so pleased about it for I like England so much and besides perhaps you will allow me to see your dear face again. I feel you have been my good angel during these days of difficulty for when people saw the kind sweet words you have written in those books they began to think I cd not be quite so bad & worthless as Mrs C. had tried to make out, not in plain words, but in hints and thrown-out doubts which is infinitely more dangerous than plain accusations for they cannot be disproved.

I am going to begin work single handed on Jan 2nd at an outpatients Dept wh is on the ground floor of the same house where we are going to live on the second floor. It does not belong to our assoc, but we think it is practical to spread our work from the small nucleus through the agency of the four doctors who work here. The two first nurses come back from Kiel Febr 1st unfortunately they have a purely surgical training as they have only worked in Professor Camarchtis wards. Next come two nurses from Bethanien whom I have seen yesterday and who seem really very nice and well trained. There are three more, so that at the end of the year we shall be eight altogether. Our home is very nice, HIH came to see it on Friday last, and ordered some little improvements as to ventilation etc. Next week the furniture is to be put in and everything arranged, so that it will be quite ready by the end of February when I believe it will be officially opened. I have also undertaken the mat of some stores for the relief of the poor which belong to the Out Patients Dept, therefore not exactly to our assoc but to a sister assn however. I hope our committee will agree to it, as it is the wish of the cr prss that one shd help the other. I am at present busy to cut out body linen for the sick as we want and store of it for sending it to the needy. I was always afraid I shd make a very bad beggar, but I have already got from the crown prss a great deal of our material and last night to my great delight a whole heap of lovely cast off under linen of which I am going to cut out baby shirts, for it is so lovely sort that it is too good for anything but to touch their tender skin. I hope I shall be able to get ready some bags to send out to confinement cases, as it is done in England, and am begging now all round for flannel and old table lien to make all the necessary things for it. Here is a lady who has a class of young girls who work for the poor and to them I send the cut out things.

I feel so happy so very happy in the work I am beginning & I have the strong conviction it will prosper in spite of many difficulties, even in spite of Mrs Craven. Your sweet kindness

I know & that you wish it well, that has been such a comfort to me during the few days of difficulty here & will for ever remain an impulse to do my utmost and to preserve your approbation which I prize more than anybody's in the world. With my kindest Christmas wishes, I am for ever in loving admiration yr grateful disciple Luise Fuhrmann

f28 letter from Alphild Ehrenborg from Sweden, in Liverpool 4/1/83. 39 Sydenham Ave, Liverpool. Venerated Madame! For presenting my warmest and most humble thanks for the New Years wish I received yesterday, I must add, that it was beyond my highest expectations to get a direct greeting from Her whose name is connected with the very first shy wishes for the actual taking up of an occupation that I always felt very happy with when I illeg got an opportunity to practice it, at my country home in Sweden - that name has become so much dearer to me as I have had the benefit of being a "child" in the dear "Nightingale Home" enjoying its advantages, though not having made all the use of them that I should have wished. But the thought of making this dearly beloved occupation of mine a *profession*, a *business* was so strange to me that it has taken quite a year to get reconciled to such an idea.

Though I have *all* the reasons to be *very* thankful for this new post, I can not help thinking about the *loss* I make in being only of indirect instead of direct use for the patients.

Still I am quite sure that my loving God has appointed this post to me as there was no choice to bewilder me, that is the way He has dealt with me all times. He quite unexpectedly gave me the chance to start on this my way - the byways have been kept out of my sight.

The best and most desirable memory of the "home" is my acquaintance with the home sister to which we are so much indebted. If the responsible post here will succeed to cultivate the germ she has laid down in me I ought to be able to do much good in my own poor country, where the *nursing* stands so low that instead of being a help to the medical profession which stands very high there it is rather a hindrance. Though I am conscious of your extreme interest and sympathy I must beg you *excuse* my long letter & believe me your humbly loving servant, Alphild Ehrenborg

ff30-33 7 Jan 1883 from M. Cadbury, Parish Inf, Liverpool. The sweet angelic face you sent me last Sunday pointing heavenwards, with your kind words and good wishes were most cheering coming as they did in the midst of many difficulties and disagreeables. It is a great comfort to know that you are one who are praying for us. That we may have the guidance and the help and the tact and the judgment so needed here. I am sure nothing but an unseen though all powerful presence could help one calm and collected with the many daily and often hourly worries that arise, and difficulties and straits that have to be met and overcome, many at a few minutes notice. I had 5 weeks of very hard work after Miss Huguenin left, for the classes had commenced and I did not wish to let them slip through. Then almost directly Miss Gibson came we had the bitterest cold weather and in this bleak place it is dreadful and she was laid by for nearly a week, but since that has been well and active and was soon able to relieve me of many things and will more and more as she gets a stronger hold on the place and people besides being a great comfort to have someone to consult. It is a *great* change for her from St Thomas' and as she, like so many of us, was just blindly devoted to the place and people there, she has found it a great wrench to leave it. I have often been overwhelmed with sick nurses. Since I have been here I have had 3 nurses very ill with typhus fever, but all have got over it well. Two are at work again in the

fever hospital and the 3rd is going to her friends for a change before resuming work. But we had a sad loss the day after Christmas in the death of typhoid fever of an old nurse, Matthews, who was just finishing off her 3 years with midwifery in the lying-in (the cleanest and best hosp ward in the building). It is supposed she got poisoned with a bad smelling case for we have had a very diseased set of women come in there lately, but everything is done for ventilation and cleanliness that can be and we have had no losses among the women there. I have great confidence in Nurse Sharples and if she is rough and ready she is thorough and dependable, and a good woman if not as refined as one could wish.

In the fever hosp typhus has been very bad for the 3 months we have had to turn out all the scarlet fever cases to make room for it. I take great interest in it though can spare but little time for. I visit it most days that the nurses may not feel cut off from us. They are at present a very nice reliable set and being brought in close to such an acute form of illness has a very steadying effect upon them. They are much freer from the terrible gossip of the large infirmary.. I have commenced a library of general reading for the nurses, it is but small yet but our kind friend Mr Rathbone has given me money to increase it, which we shall do when we have time to select the books. Your study books are always but amongst the nurses and are much appreciated. I think I shall have to endeavour to get a few more. Nurse Sharples has been asking me for a long time for a Medical dictionary for her wards as she cannot explain to the nurses the words from the books they read in the wards on the subject of midwifery. I wondered if you would be so kind as to give us one.

Miss Gibson wishes me to say how pleased she was to receive your card. It was a great cheer to her.

I hope I have not written you too much, but I like to feel that you are interested in this place and know something about us. With kind regards. believe me, yours very sincerely,  
M Cadbury

Incomplete unsigned letter/draft/copy, handwritten pencil by Florence Nightingale ff34

**f34**

*Private* {on diagonal in top left corner}

10 South St.

Jan 21/83

Dearest Margaret

Thank you so much for  
your dear letters. Aunt  
Florence's love to the  
joyful three, joyful  
in having their blessed mother,  
not forgetting Herr Baby:

And may dear Ellin's  
cough soon disappear

{the bottom of the page is covered in mostly illegible words, very light pencil

Oleograph Club

**[illeg illeg notes at right angles]**

draw prizes

no blanks

Add Mss 45807

799

Daddy  
loved  
His Prince

**f34v**

Dr E B

have her as a Midwife--not a Phys Acc  
Would they let a consulting Doctor be called in  
K.C.H. Playfair Priestley  
Selting [?]  
danger of Leading Physicians against it  
by putting it in the hands of Lady Doctors  
ladies to be trained  
as Monthly Nurses  
&as Certificated Midwives  
trained  
Certificated Midwives  
would act under Ph. Accoucheurs

Miss Book [?]  
capital.  
refinement  
Army Patients

Endell St.  
cannot have a  
night gown Patient lying down

St John's Maternity  
teaches nothing  
but bandage child  
& mother  
Sibella's maid

**f35v** [illeg rough notes]  
skip series of unnumbered, **illegible** folios

ff36-38 Signed letter from Dr Elizabeth Blackwell ink

[printed address] Rock House,  
Hastings

Feb 16th/83

*Confidential*

Dear Miss Nightingale

I write to ask whether  
an effort at the present time to  
establish a thorough school of  
*midwifery for women* would [red underline]  
meet with your sympathy, and  
with your countenance in any  
way?

I write confidentially  
because I wish to say that I am  
dissatisfied with our Henrietta  
St School in two respects, viz:  
1st *it neglects midwifery*, not [red underline]  
striving to perfect instruction in

v  
that most important branch.  
2nd I am not satisfied with  
the tone given to the School by  
some of the leading medical women  
connected--I mean the *moral* tone.

Now that the essential  
battle of the highest equal  
legal degree for women, is  
completely won, my great  
desire is to make the educa  
tion (medical & moral) worthy  
of the degree.

Dr Scharlieb (who I hope  
will do a great work in India)

[10:905]

**f37**

after graduating with distinguished honour in the University went vainly round to all the leading obstetricians of London to seek the means of gaining special skill in operative midwifery. All declined help, and told her emphatically that they wished to keep all operative midwifery to themselves. She is therefore gone to Vienna. She told me that there were no opportunities for the attainment of practical midwifery by women in England, to be compared to the opportunities enjoyed and

f37v

exercised by the matron of her own Madras hospital; and what she had gained there herself had enabled her to pass so brilliant an examination at the London University!

**[end 10:905]**

Now Dr. Frances Hoggan is true & earnest and is interesting *one of the royal princesses* in this matter; I want to support her action! There are also several obstetricians, interested in aiding women and who could I think be kept in their proper place. But so far, I have vainly tried to get our own

**f38**

school (Henrietta St) to take a generous view of their position and invite co-operation from all capable persons willing to help.

I think that by interesting a number of able and wisely judging persons *to make an independent effort at getting up a good school outside Henrietta St.* that we shall take [red underline] the most effectual means to draw Henrietta St. or still better, the Royal Free

f38v

Hospital, into united action.

I remember well the interest you formerly took in this subject, and if now, you will again give us the expression of your sympathy, I believe the time is ripe for a new and successful effort.

Believe me  
yr old friend  
Elizth Blackwell

2 letters from Frances Hunt, New Hospital for Women, 22 Marylebone Rd. 12/2/83 and 14/2/83 re giving gift of New Test revised to a nurse, and other books and gave to Frances Hunt for the New Hospital for Women, Marylebone Road

**f39**

Dear Miss Nightingale,

Doubtless you have heard that nurse Alexander who has been with us nearly 5 years is leaving now to go to Tasmania where an appointment in the Hospital there has been offered to her.

Now that the time of her starting is fixed and she is expecting to leave England next week, I am writing to ask whether she may be allowed the privilege of seeing you before she goes.

The committee have agreed to give her a testimonial and have also *awarded her a* grant of five pounds

**f40**

as an acknowledgement  
of their appreciation  
of her services.

The doctors have been  
most warm in their expression  
of satisfaction as to  
her work & are sorry  
that she is leaving us.

For some time how-  
ever it has been thought  
that her health would  
be much improved by  
emigrating and now that  
a good opening has come  
it was thought to be  
advisable for her to  
accept it.

Nurse Richmond who is  
taking her place, we  
like, and are hoping that  
as she gains experience  
we shall find her cap-  
able also.

With very best wishes  
Believe me to be  
sincerely yours  
Frances A. Hunt.

**f41**

Dear Miss Nightingale,

Thank you so very much for having appointed a time for seeing Nurse Alexander notwithstanding your time is so very fully occupied.

My conscience smites me for having given you so short a notice but I have waited until we were *quite* sure we knew I have ben a trifle overtired and I have consequently been neglecting some of my duties.

I trust however that you will forgive me and that the hour you name (5 o'clock on Sunday) will not be inconvenient to you.

I find that Nurse would like very much

**f42**

to be the possessor of a  
copy of the Revised edition  
of the New Testament

-

I know how greatly  
she would value such a  
gift as coming from you.

You kindly ask also  
if there is some medical  
book or Nursing Instru-  
ment that she would  
like and I think that pro-  
bably "Barnes' manual  
for Midwives" would be  
a book that she would  
find very useful. She  
has not however any  
medical books so that  
if some other one may  
strike you as being of more  
use she will I am sure  
be only too glad to have  
one of your own choice.  
She is to start on  
Thursday next in the  
"Pokosi" a vessel of the  
Orient line.

Thanking you very  
much for your kind words  
and trusting we may long be  
able to maintain the good  
name of our nurses.

Believe me to be  
Sincerely yours  
Frances A. Hunt

**f43**

Nurses Home  
Dover, Liverpool  
1372 83

Madame!

How I wish to  
have a pair of wings  
so might - to fly and  
kiss those hands that  
are so busy distributing  
love and that new events  
has reached me.

The sweetest surprise  
in form of a little table  
awoke me this evening  
and though I know the  
writing of the following  
note far too much well to  
make any mistake about  
the Donor. I had to  
read it over and over again  
before I could realize at all  
how --unexpressed--  
--of mine would have  
been know at such  
'high quarters.' -

The humblest and  
warmest thanks that  
can be written by hand  
must be the only  
expression of my delight  
I am accustomed to  
be 'persecuted of  
Goodness and love,  
so no wonder if  
I one day gets  
like

**f44**

Papageno who  
 always got at once  
 what he wished for,  
 It is sometimes to  
 me a persecution,  
 because I feel that  
 I am not worthy of it  
 and that the love  
 is a mistake of the  
 Giver, yet perhaps  
 the only *pardonable*  
 mistake, which in the  
 end will bring some kind  
 of fruit-even to  
 him that made it.  
 The Nurses here are  
 much better than  
 their reputation and  
 can as easily be  
 ruled by the  
 'Sea Lord' as by the  
 'From God.' I think  
 they are very loving  
 to me and I regret  
 so much not to be  
 -even furnished  
 superintendent that

can fill up what  
 they are lacking I  
 theory/practice of  
 Nursing.--It is true that I have  
 used borrowed "furniture" to communicate  
 to them my thoughts about our occupation  
 in extracting definitions about of  
 'Nurse & Nursing' from (Q)ainse's Dictionary  
 and (which I should be very grateful  
 to be allowed to communicate by and  
 by to my own people)

Begging your pardon for my long  
 letter I am Madame your most  
 gratefully devoted humble Servant.

A. Ehrenberg.

Signed draft/copy to Sir Robert Lindsay, handwritten by FN; ff45-48; original Wantage D/Wan/7/2/18

**f45**

Feb 27 1883  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W. {printed address}

Dear Sir Robert Lindsay

Thank you very much  
for the valuable evidence  
of the Committee of Enquiry  
& for your kind note,  
proposing to consider the  
"Recommendations" when  
printed, & that I should  
consider them too with you.

I shall esteem it a great  
favour to be allowed to do  
so: but in order that  
I may not quite waste  
your time, I will beg you

**f45v**

very earnestly to be so very  
good as to let me see  
this part of the draft Report  
(in the strictest confidence of course)  
two or three days at least  
before I have the pleasure  
of seeing you - being as  
I am very slow at the  
"up take", as you say  
in Scotland.

**f46**

Strictly

*Confidential*

It would be of great importance to me, if you could kindly tell me, had you time, the impression which the last evidence, particularly that of Sir James Hanbury, Dr. Longmore, & Mrs. Deeble, made upon the Committee. E.g. Professor Longmore gives in evidence that Ward management

- Hospital administration,
- Nursing, so far as to be able to train the Army Hospital Corps as Nurses, to supervise Nursing, & to

**f46v**

discriminate ~~Nursing so as~~ recognize good trained Nursing from bad; - the same with Cooking & Laundry work not only can be taught but *are* already taught In Netley with the latest Civil Hospital improvements in each. Would it not be as well to examine the best of those Medical Officers who have been trained at Netley: & who all aver that they are quite

**f47**

[2]

ignorant of these &c - all important subjects, now that Hospital administration & the Army Hospital Corps are to be under the Medical Department,- & that they have never been taught the simplest elements of them. Also: that as a rule clinical training of the A.H.C. is never so much as thought of by the M.O.s

2. I think that you have also kindly noticed to me the fact that as the best Civil Doctors tell us that Medical & Surgical treatment makes such strides that every 10 years it is as it were transformed,

**f47v**

so that trained Nursing has to be re. [illeg] organized every ten years, at least,- because of the fresh demands made upon it by the Doctors. [I can answer for this at St. Thomas's Hospital ~~at least~~] Mrs. Deeble who has not been in a Civil Hospital for 13 years gives in evidence, in opposition to that of other lady Nurses, that everything needful can be taught a Nurse in a year's training at Netley to Nursing Sisters, & who have to teach men: & that \_ whereas Civil Hospital

**f48**

"Sisters" say that the Nursing to be done by women at Netley is "child's play," compared to that in the great London Civil Hospitals now,- she, Mrs. Deeble, states the exact reverse of this.

Though I was much opposed to your examining our "Sisters" on board the "Carthage," which has now returned, I could wish that, in addition to Miss Caulfield's & Miss Lloyd's, you had taken their evidence. Also: The evidence of ~~all~~ the Sisters in Egypt is that ~~no~~ Med: Offrs. never trains the Orderlies in Nursing, even while vehemently complaining of their total ignorance as Nurses.

**[15:956]****f48v**

Sir James Hanbury's evidence is rather reckless is it not?

I am reading the Evidence (slowly) through before I venture to send you the notes you so kindly ask for.

**[end]**

Pray believe me  
ever your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

ff49-52 letter to FN from E Blackwell, thanks for her letter and book, attended midwifery school held at Henrietta St on 10th

**f49**

Rock House  
Hastings  
March 16 [1883]

Dear Miss Nightingale

Thank you very much for the letter and book which reached me yesterday.

I attended a little conference on a midwifery school, held at Henrietta St., on the 10th. There were present Mrs Thorne, Mrs Meredith, Miss Beddington

**f49v**

(a friend of Miss Hubbard, a very pleasant intelligent midwife)  
Mrs Marshall MD, Dr Jex Blake and myself.

I mention the names because they represent a great variety of interests and experience; therefore the conclusions we unanimously came to may be interesting.  
1st. The great existent necessity of a thorough midwifery training school, where not only capable moral midwives might be educated, but where our young physicians may gain what they require.

**f50**

2nd. That medical *men* will never organize the school we need; a great variety of experience from *all* of those present supported this conviction.

3rd. That as we have neither funds, nor persons to devote exclusively to this work, as neither Henrietta St. nor the Royal Free is prepared to take it up, its growth must be slow, but may be approached in two ways. First a promising student who possesses ability, health, and enthusiasm, and who will complete her

**f50v**

studies this summer, will it is believed consent to devote the necessary time to midwifery in France, to become a skilful surgeon accoucheuse, and familiarize herself with the organization of a training school. Details of la Maternité and the newly formed hospital cliniques in Paris were given, shewing the course for this young lady to pursue.

Secondly, it was stated that a benevolent home was about to be started in a neighborhood not far from the Royal Free

**f51**

Hospital, and that it was not impossible that rooms for an approved midwife in connexion with such a Home might be provided, for the purpose of forming an outside clinique (at present with a male consulting surgeon) from which a future school might grow.

This was as far as our little conference could go last Saturday; but we all felt that although we had come to very modest and slow plans, yet we thoroughly

**f51**

understood what was wanted, and we felt some hope that even in such a gradual way, we could approach our aim.

You see therefore dear friend, that we are very far yet, from being able to put your admirable plans into force; but they will be a valuable guide for future work I hope, and I am sure it will encourage future workers to know of the deep

**f52**

and life-long interest which you have taken in this subject.

A confidential word about myself. I thought my work was done when I left my "Moral Education of the Young" as a legacy to my successors. But not so. A new and peculiar work has opened before the first woman physician that as far as I see no one else is able to do. It is the education of men as well as women, in true instead of false

sexual physiology! Of

**f52v**

course this is only the hidden  
gist of my work--the ways I  
which it must be worked out  
are various. But light seem  
ed to dawn on me last January  
at that most interesting convention  
of religious bodies, at Devonshire  
House, and the enclosed leaflet  
will give an idea of one of the  
ways in which I hope to lead up  
to municipal action Our April  
Conference will I hope take  
place in the Town Hall by ticket;  
and be joined from friends  
from neighboring towns.

f49 on side ends:

But I must not take up more of your valuable time with  
details of what seems to me a grand and inspiring work.  
Believe me  
sincerely yrs  
E. Blackwell

ff53-56 letter to Crossland from L. Fuhrmann from Berlin. Dearest Sister, Many thanks for your letter (missing), am rather late, but I have been and am still so very very busy that I could never find sufficient leisure to answer you. Though I have not written for such a long time, I have been thinking of you often enough in arranging our Home and the Rules for it; for there were a great many things I liked much better at St Thomas than at Bloomsbury Sq, as I have adopted those and as there has not been any interference, I was at liberty to do as I liked. That is the beauty of my work her, neither the crown princess nor the committee hamper me in any way; all the Regs and arrs I have proposed have been accepted and everybody is most kind to me; I am very often at the Palace, either quite alone with the crown princess or Frau Schrader, with whom I was staying in December and has proved a true friend to me, is invited too. I think Mrs Craven has done me rather a good turn in writing so much against me during the last weeks of my stay in England, for everybody thought that I must be a most horrid and objectionable person after what she said, so I did not find it at all difficult to make a favorable impression. Our Home is very pretty; it was opened by the crown princess on Jan 4th. During Jan I have been at the Victoria Haus all by myself attending at the Outpatients dept, called here Poliklinik, for about 5 hours every day. On the 1st of Feb two of my nurses arrived; the one of them took my place at the Poliklinik, whilst the other one and I went to Prof Schrader's Lying-in Hospital for 17 days, for as my London attempts to learn monthly nursing had been such a failure I had to learn it somewhere, and I have learnt it very well. I was at work night and day; sometimes only sleeping 3 hours out of the 24, but I have also assisted at 51 deliveries during that time. I have nursed 8 mothers and 7 babies all alone till they left the

hosp and we had five lectures on monthly nursing by the house surgeon, of Prof Schrader on monthly nursing. He also helped the house surgeon in making observations about a new narcotic Bromæthef?? Which given in small doses like chloroform dulls the pain without obliterating entirely conscientiousness, it rather quickens pulse and respiration and does not cause any sickness like chloroform. He gave this narcotic to most women those at the latter state of delivery and the relief they had was most wonderful. It was with perfect horror I went to this hosp, for it is the university lying-in inst and \I did not relish the idea to work together with students and after all I have been so happy here that I shd have loved to stay there altogether to get things right, for the nursing is abominable, as the nurses belong to the lowest class of women who have no idea of duty and truthfulness, who cheat the doctors to save themselves trouble, who falsify the statistics out of laziness and neglect the patients. This is not to be wondered at, as there is no matron to look after things, only this young house surgeon who has so much to do that he cannot possibly superintend all the small and yet important details which belong to nursing. I wonder whether I shall live to see the day that we get educated women as matrons of hospitals without being deaconesses. I think alterations of this kind will come about when the time comes that our crown princess gets more influence. She is really so good and so clever and so simple that I love her dearly and I feel sure she likes me too, she is always so very kind and gracious to me, and yet I have an idea that I may be replaced any day by some countess or other grander, as soon as they find anybody of that kind to undertake my duties. However that does not cause me any sleepless nights for there is so much nursing wanted in this world that I shall always find something to do. And I cannot tell you how I love my work, Sister, I never found life so full of enjoyment and happiness as here at the Victoria Haus. I have of course no end to do since I have left England I have not had time to darn a stocking for myself or to read a book or a newspaper, but that is just what I like. I am so "full" of our work and the arranging and organizing of it that I do not care to do anything else. I am working now with two nurses, at the middle of May I shall have five, and I am glad to say we have already a good number of patients, 31 since the 1st of March, about half of them we are still visiting and as there is the Poliklinik every day which occupies one of us for 5 hours and as we have no servant but are our own housekeepers, only a charwoman who comes every morning to do the dirty work, I assure you that there is plenty to do for all of us. I get up at 6 o'clock and am hardly ever in bed before twelve, for I have a good deal of corr to do, to keep no end of books, to go out with my nurses to teach them "English nursing" which they don't relish at all, nor the cooking at home either, but I do not want fine ladies as nurses, only good workers who are more intelligent and better instructed than the general run of nurses. I am sorry to say my nurses are quite as disappointed in their life here as I am in them, but I think in a few weeks time we shall get on all right. Mrs Craven had published here in a newspaper through Miss illeg whom you know a glowing article to how many parties and concerts, theatres and grand festivities her nurses in London go, what a comfortable home they have, how perfectly free they are etc. as in the same article it was said the Victoria Haus wd be arranged in the same way, my nurses conceived perfectly ridiculous ideas about their life her, thought the inmates of this house wd be introduced into the aristocratic circles of Berlin and wd only attend the sick poor as a passe temps and ware now horrified that I expect them to attend to their own rooms as we did at the Nightingale Home. To walk fast from one patient to another to get through a good deal of work doing their 8 working hours. When I found out that they had come to be fine ladies here, I sent away my cook, who was by the bye a bad one, and we do our own cooking,

for the last 5 weeks chiefly according to two cookery books which the crown princes has sent me. I am still with my nurses on half a war footing and I can dare it as I have the confidence of the crown princes and of the com and plenty of applications. However we are getting all right now and I am making slow progress, ye progress, in introducing English discipline, obedience, punctuality, I am so glad that I have been trained in England and that I have learned more there, for I am afraid I have not as the German doctors have taken a great deal more trouble to teach my nurses than any English doctor has ever taken with me, but I have seen the methodical working of a well disciplined English hosp where I have been one of the regular workers and a boarder and half a guest as my nurses have been at the German Deaconesses Inst and I begin to think that theory is good in nursing, experience of many cases better, but discipline by far the best in a nurse, for I miss it so sadly in the German nurses and if I had learnt nothing in England I cd not have been in the Nightingale Home without learning discipline. And you don't learn, dearest Sister, but it helps me to think of you when I try to introduce it here too, for it is as pleasant work and I had far rather leave it alone. I shall never equal you as a disciplinarian yet I hope nevertheless to get the Victoria Haus into good working order. We are going to have a night bell and we have been to two night cases already, so you see we do not quite stick to Bloomsbury rules but imitate the good wherever we find it and the crown princess is really very good to allow the work to develop itself according to he wants of Berlin. I love our doctors and our poor and I hope for he day that I shall be proud of our nurses too.

My kindest love to Miss Nightingale

ff57-62 letter to FN from Huguenin, Manchester, long letter March 25 1883; has been uphill work, almost despair of getting things in proper order; told her was not certain why her predecessor was dismissed, had been intemperate; the home opened only 1 year before; district work, like Bloomsbury; I am trying my best to work in every way as Mrs Craven taught me; how I wish she cd peep round our cases after we have made them so neat and comfortable; getting supplies, water pillows

Signed letter/draft/copy to Revd. James Long, handwritten by FN ff63-64

**f63**

May 14/83

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

Referring to my paper on the Bengal Rent Bill to be read before the East India Association, I have seen Sir Bartle Frere, and he could take the Chair on Friday June 1, at 3 p.m. or at 2.30 p.m., as is most suitable to yourselves.

**[10:546]**

Or he could take the chair on Thursday, May 31, if the room could be had.

Add Mss 45807

821

Indeed he could have been  
at your disposal on any of

**f63v**

the latter days in May, except

May 27 or 28, as had kept himself at liberty for our convenience, I am sorry to say.

It remains now for yourselves to decide. And I must let him know not later than tomorrow. ~~or~~ ~~Wednesday.~~

[I communicated to him Mr Hamilton Burn's letters.]

I enclose ~~you~~ the two letters, for reference, which please return to me.

**f64**

Would you be so good as to send this note to Mr Hamilton Burn (as I suppose the office at Charing Cross is not open) *to.day*, if you judge it necessary: & let me know the result as soon as possible **[end 10:546]**

Pray believe me  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

Revd.  
James Long

**ff65-66 June 5 1883** letter to FN from M Cadbury. Thank you very much for the Medical Dictionary. It is for the Lying-in Ward. The only part of the hospital where they study in the wards and Nurse Sharple the midwife there has often asked me for one, as the nurses come to her to know what the words mean and she is not sufficiently educated to explain them. Now they ought to as well as far as study books go there as they have had several additions lately and sometimes when they are slack they have a good deal of time for reading. Your kind postcard was most welcome. It came just when I was wanting encouragement and when I was downhearted with two nurses very ill, I was afraid we shd have lost our head nurse in the Fever Hosp (Nurse Pugh) with typhus, but she has pulled through and is getting on well now. I am thankful to say and she will be all the more valuable from having had it. Thank you for the pamphlet you sent me, I like it very much and think it has many useful suggestions and hints for all who are training nurses and this we cannot possibly expect in this place to come up to such a high standard it is at least something for us to aim at.

I was very glad that Miss Gibson had the opp of seeing you, she is most valuable in this place and her brightness and cheerfulness make her a great favourite with all, besides the

ever ready help she is always willing and able to give to the nurses night or day.

Our nurses had their annual half day at Mr Rathbone's last week and enjoyed it much. The country is so beautiful just now. They go on two days, that as many as can may enjoy the pleasure. We are shutting up some of our medical wards. I wish we cd lessen the infirm in number, but the old people are decidedly on the increase, they live longer than they used to before the training school opened because they are better cared for I suppose.

I shall look with pleasure for your promised letter at some future time. Asking for a continuance of your blessing and your prayers. Believe me yours sincerely Mary Cadbury

ff67-72 Berlin W, Victoria Haus Steinmetz Str 16 June 10 1883, long letter from Luise Fuhrmann. I have been longing for some time to tell you how well our work is getting on here at Berlin, but every day has its full share of work, so I cd not spare time till this afternoon when everybody is away and I have a few quiet hours. How I wish I cd sit once more near you and tell you about all my joys and trials, those three evenings when I had the privilege and happiness of pouring out my heart to you are among the dearest and most precious remembrances of my life, but though far away from you now I feel sure of your ready sympathy yet, for it is your work we are carrying on here and I always feels as if you are the spiritual Queen of the Victoria Haus as well as of the Nightingale Home to which I am truly devoted, tho at times it seems as if my present work absorbs all my love and energy and interest. And beautiful work it is and spreading every day. Illeg that I always enter the new cases of the last week on Sunday morning and I have entered today our 142nd case and yet we have only been regularly working since 1st March and till these last three weeks only with two nurses and one of us has to spend five hours every day at the out-patient dept, where we get most of our cases from. Three doctors are working there, but lately we have got some cases from other doctors, too, so that we have been working under 19 doctors by this time. I keep books about all these things for my own satisfaction to note the progress of our work, but also for the yearly report which I mean to be less meagre than it has been hitherto. On the whole I have imitate the district nursing as practised at Bloomsbury Sq and the arrangements as I found them the, but yet not altogether. Some customs I liked better at St Thomas' and so I have adopted them for our Home, again some other things are quite new here. For instance, we have a cupboard brim full of beautiful under linen and bedclothes to provide our poor patients with, every pocket ticketed and I keep the key and books about what I give to the nurses from this precious store, which is growing week by week, for I am turning out a most talented beggar; hardly one rich lady comes here to look over our home who does not send me something for my beloved cupboard, as some wine for the sick women and children because after a hard battle which I had to fight, I have succeeded to get the permission to provide wine, beef tea, milk, lemonade and such like things for our poorest patients, for the very short experience here has taught me that it is of no avail to wash a patient from head to foot every day, to give plenty of fresh air and clean linen and make the bed acc to the best nursing rules, if the sick person does not get nourishing and proper food and that the poor things sometimes die before they get anything from some "Verein" and most certainly if one waits for help from the town authorities.

HRH the crown princess has given 300 Marks the interest of which is to be used for the proper feeding of the most sick and destitute patients and I am making beef tea or an egg soup of my own invention which the patients like very much, every afternoon, but from tomorrow my nurses are going to look to the feeding of their own patients, as they ought

to have practice in sick cookery. I have plenty of practise in cooking, for I have quite a young maid of all work, who is not a famous cook, besides, poor thing, she has plenty to do as she has to sweep and wash the floor of 12 rooms every day since in the Victoria Haus and Hall is the Klinik. So I often help with the dinner and am not so bad cook by this time Thanks to the two excellent cookery books from the crown princes and the six weeks when I had sent my first horrid servant away, who wanted to be mistress instead of me, when I cooked the dinners all alone, only occasionally help by my nurses. Now I feel quit comfortable, because I understand now something about what I have to superintend and am no longer at the mercy of my servant. I keep the keys of the store rom and give but what is wanted for dinner and by that means I keep house very cheaply, we have meat three times a day, beer and two or three courses for dinner and all plentiful, yet I only spend about a shilling a head per day. What has caused me most trouble have been my nurses, who at first were not all nice, they set their faces against everything "English," did not want to keep books and had the strange notion that, as they did not belong to a sisterhood, there was no need to keep up discipline or to be obedient. So I had very hard work at first, esp with one of them, but I am glad to say by this time they have settled down very nicely and we are very comfortable together. My position is not easy, as I have hardly more experience in nursing than they have, in fact we eldest one of them has a great deal more than I, and I am not much older either, two of them are just as old as I am, so submission does not come natural, yet they are very good, esp the eldest one, who is a little slow and heavy, but good as gold, and through, her example my greatest help with the others Our com are very nice to me, yet I have had great trouble. It had been settled that the Victoria Haus was to have, out of the money the cr ow=prss had got for her silver wedding, a yearly income of 10,000 Marks, then Herr and Frau Schrader used their influence that this money was to be given to the great Verein, of which we are only one of the many branches, so that we have only a small income of our own derived from a present of the town to the cr pr on her silver wedding and mentioning that it was to be used for a nursing Inst, so Herr and Frau Schrader cd not deprive us of this income, else I have no doubt they wd have done so, and we wd have been entirely dependent on the great Verein and the Verein mt think in a few years that the Victoria Haus with 4 paid nurses is rather an expensive inst and spend their money for some other purpose.

If the crown princess did not take such a kind interest in our work, I shd think our pecuniary prospect rather gloomy, but I feel sure she will keep up what she has called into existence. I used to see the cr pss more often in winter, but have not seen her since this money affair, however she wrote the other day a very kind letter to me and does not seem to be angry that I have been standing up for the Victoria Haus. I have never entered Scharaders house since this affair. I cannot, I have the feeling as if they have robbed the Victoria Haus of her independence and cannot get over it. I wish I had not such strong feelings. One good thing has come out of all this trouble, Frau von Helmholtz has seen that I am not a fool in Frau Schrader's house and I am glad of that. She is still at Paris, as I suppose you know, and I hear she is going to bring some likenesses of you, which were in the possession of her aunt, to the Victoria Haus. She cd not bring anything I shd prize more than that, for you know how I wished to have a likeness of yours to enthrone here, and I did not see how I shd ever get one.

Good bye, dear, sweet Miss Nightingale, and forgive that I trouble you with such a long letter. I do so like to tell you about all. My kind love to home sister who is treating me rather badly as I have not had a line from her since January, when she stayed with you. Good bye

once more, with kindest love, yr truly devoted Luise Fuhrman

ff73-77 Anne Gibson Parish Inf Brownlow Hill June 14 1883 to FN. Intended to write to thank you for the pleasant afternoon I spent with you. I often think of it and I think it has helped me a great deal to know what an interest you take in our infirmary. However much I ...I want your ..to believe that I ...do all I can as well as I can to be at least no discredit to my training and to the school to which I am proud to be able to say I belong. If I do fail the fault is in all respect ...training which was excellent but to myself. I often feel as though I cd never ...I found poor Miss Cadbury quite overwhelmed. She had nursed in the fever hosp had typhus herself briefly and was ... [hard to read]...You told me to let you know a surgical book I would like, I shd value either Grihset's Surgery or Esmarch bandaging very much. I cannot tell you what a pleasure it was to me to see and talk to you. I think ...your probs to know how much our chief is .

Signed letter/draft/copy to Sir Arthur Cotton, handwritten by FN ff78-80

**f78**

*Private* {on diagonal in top left corner}

June 23/83

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir Arthur Cotton

Thank you for coming

**[10:546-47]**

to the reading of my paper

on the Bengal Rent Law

Bill: I only wish

that you had spoken

I have been thinking of

bringing my, or rather your,

Irrigation Map of India

(Stanford's) up to date.

You are, I trust,

pleased with the opening

of the Sirhind Canal. And

**f78v**

have you any other motives

of satisfaction which

would so rejoice my heart?

You know how Lake Fife

'poudrette' from the

Municipality have

transformed the district

round Poona from a

ragged millet crop of

5R. to 10 R. per acre to

a sugar cane garden of

500 R. worth per acre.

But to return to the Map:

I could have it now

entirely set to rights by

**f79**

a Gentleman who is willing  
to correct the errors in  
the features of the Irrigation  
works & natural channels  
&c. e.g. round Bombay,  
& in Gujerat, & give a  
*"complete examination"*: also:  
to add the Swat River  
Irrigation:  
& the *new* Irrigated grounds,  
if any:  
to insert (in the Arabian Sea)  
a complete list of every  
distinct Irrigation System  
in India & also their  
important divisions.  
&c & &c

**f79v**

*Private* {on diag. in top left corner}  
But the India Office  
to our great joy is about  
to undertake a new  
Irrigation & general  
Hydrographic Map of  
India as a part of a  
series of Physical &  
Statistical &c Maps of  
India for the Decennial  
Statement. And I am  
kindly warned of this  
"before I go to further  
expeuce": viz. that my  
Map must be entirely  
"recast from the beginning"  
in order to "bring it up  
"to the same level". **[end 10:547]**

**f80**

[2]

I consider myself under  
your orders with  
regard to that Map.

Could you kindly give  
me an answer as to  
*what you wish to have  
done* by TUESDAY morning,  
as I am obliged to send  
in *my* answer ON TUESDAY.

God bless you:  
ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

Tell me of any extension  
of Irrigation in India  
that has encouraged you

FN

**f80v**

Pray give my kindest  
regards to Lady Hope,  
if with you.

Signed letter/draft/copy to Sir James Caird, handwritten pencil by FN ff81-82

**f81**

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
June 23/83

Dear Sir James Caird

I trust that you have **[10:632]**  
been keeping Sir W.  
Wedderburn up to the mark  
in spreading information  
about Ld. Ripon's true policy.

When is the reading of  
his paper on the "Raiyat's  
Bank" to come on?

I enclose you the Proof,  
which I ought to have  
done before.

The amount of violence,

**f81v**

continuous & virulent,  
against the Native  
Magistrates' Jurisdiction Bill & the  
whole of Ld. Ripon's acts under the colour of  
this is appalling. It is like  
the rush of the poor  
children at Sunderland  
as blind, as ignorant,  
& it is to be feared as  
much fatal to lead to disaster.

If Sir W. Wedderburn  
could do anything to  
enlighten people, it  
were much to be desired. **[end 10:632]**

**f82**

Excuse pencil \_  
I have been ill \_  
Yours ever faithfully  
F. Nightingale

**f82v** [rough notes] **[10:632]**

Ld. Ripon's policy: Important Changes in favour of natives

- 1 Encouragement of  
Local Industries
- 2 Employment of Native  
official
- 3 influence of Govt. - India  
formerly adverse now in  
favour of Land Bank  
"Recognizing true interests  
of state as general landlord,  
they offer to undertakings  
of this kind an action  
support, administrative  
financial & legislative **[end 10:632]**

Unsigned draft letter to unknown recipient, handwritten by FN, pen, with pencil revisions ff83-88 [editor of 19th Century?]

**f83**

June 25/83  
10, South Street, {printed address}  
Park Lane W.

My dear Sir

I look forward to reading **[10:801-02]**  
the paper on "Our Rule in India"  
which you tell me will  
"grieve" me ~~while~~ to "agree"  
with in your ~~next~~ out-coming Number  
not to mourn as those without hope.

The condition of usefulness  
for all papers/articles on India now  
is, as I am sure you will agree,  
~~not only to state~~ that while fully & forcibly stating the  
defects & grievances ~~but to~~ they should recognise as fully that  
the new state of things - viz that  
we are now on the way to remedy them - that we have  
at last a Govt. of India which has  
stedfastly & honestly let ~~on~~  
its face - not to make a new

**f83v**

Arbuthnot's Meeting ignoring all that has been done since Mutiny Competition Wallah & & esp ~~all Education municipal & Local self Govt. railroads & other means of communications}}~~ especially what has been done by Ld. Ripon's policy & Govt.} {written on diag. across top, not clear if all together, or where fits in}

departure but to

carrying out ~~the~~ ~~instructions~~ ~~of successive S. of S.s - & successive Parlt. \_ & the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation.~~

The present outcry against the ~~Criminal~~ so-called Ilbert Bill is due ~~to~~ not to itself but to Lord Ripon's policy no one believes that the capital will be driven out of the country. no one believes that the lives & property of Englishmen & the honour of Englishwomen is at stake in so carrying out those instructions - e.g. in the encouragement of local industries by obtaining & buying in India all that *can* be bought in India in maintaining undisturbed the regular course of promised promotion ~~of~~ for native officials & ~~the discouragement of European adventurers. & improper European~~ instead of allowing what must to some extent be called young European adventurers to be put in ~~the~~ over their head in taking away illicit patronage from High Courts & such like.

**F84**

All these things & others have arrayed against ~~him~~ his policy a rush/stormwave of European enmity which has found & above all in the Local Self Govt: & Decentralization schemes on which the whole future of India *depends*

Which seem to be totally misunderstood at home. rock to suree round in the Ilbert Bill.

The rush against ~~the~~ which ~~Ilbert Bill~~ is, like that of the poor Sunderland children, as blind, as headlong after the *toys & prizes*, as ignorant, & one well nigh fears as fatal. curious similarity

Is not The business of all true friends of India of which I am sure you are one of the best is now to explain Ld. Ripon's policy. & to bring Raj pressure of a better of public opinion to bear upon Govt. so that the Cabinet here may ~~be~~ supported him who is so honestly & on the whole wisely carrying out their instructions./principles If they do not support him, if he resigns &

**f84v**

comes home, the impression made upon the natives by our thus yielding to clamour will be disastrous. ~~And this~~ it will be more fraught with danger than ~~at any time~~ anything since the Mutiny. for them to say as they will say & say justly that the man has thus carried out our promises to them should be forced to resign.

2. With regard to the Bengal Rent Law Bill about which you are so kind as to write, it comes on in November in the Viceroy's Council: & whatever has to be said ~~in its favour~~ about it to bring public opinion to bear must therefore be said to have its effect before then

**f85**

[2]

c

[Does any one read the  
*August* Numbers except  
 for amusement or sleep?  
 you will know this better  
 than I.] But a pamphlet published  
 in August would, I conclude, have *no*  
 chance? {from 'But...' appears to be in pencil}

You will doubtless kindly  
 remember that you proposed  
 to me a very much longer  
 paper for July for the XIX Century  
 Man that you now propose  
 -indeed I understood you  
 to say two - And I  
 withdrew from ~~another~~  
 the offer of me of your  
 Contemporaries in consequence

I am extremely pressed  
 besides by Indian authorities

**f85v**

[p. 2]

as some  
 and on all this I crave your  
 kind advice. as soon  
 as my article is out -  
 to republish it - making  
 a whole with the E.I.A -  
 curtailing  
 paper not shortened  
 but expanded - And I  
 & alterations  
 withdrew additions^ to my  
 E.I.A paper in consequence

c

d

excuses

**f86**

Insert p. 3  
 in the Bengal Rent Law Bill  
 in the Suspensions & Remissions of (Revenues)/Collections of  
 assessment  
 in the proposed help to indebted agriculturists  
 in Land Banks, with & not without the  
 co-operation of Government & of money lenders  
 in Education  
 measures - the saviours of India.

policy always pretended to be ours  
 but now pursued in real sober  
 earnestness

**f86v**

Insert p. 3      ^b  
 It is not as if Government  
 could stand still While  
 the real admn. in India is  
 as you know, carried on - not  
 by us but \_ by ill paid corrupt  
 petty native officials -  
 While nine tenths of the Baboos  
 whom we have educated & educated  
 so highly are without other  
 employment than to become  
 Arabic against us - a daily  
 growing danger placing ourselves behind the Mahometan conquerors in civilization & art  
 of Govt. - Ld. Ripon's  
 policy has simply been to transfer  
 village & local admn. the management of their own affairs from the  
 corrupt peons who have it under us/do administer India  
 to the villagers & others/local folk who have  
 always had administered it from time  
 immemorial - & secondly to open  
 paths to these discontented Baboos

**[end 10:802]**

**f87** (appears to be mostly in pencil, with revisions in ink)

[2] e

3 The second part of this paper which I

~~withdrew after your first kind letter~~

I would ask your kind advice

~~to me & which was to contain an~~

~~how this can best be done~~

~~for India-~~

an account of Madras & Bombay

land interests as regards

Agriculture as the first did of Bengal as

regards land tenure

in reference particularly as

regards Madras to mercantile [?]/agricultural

superstitions & Education especially

agricultural of the Native sub-inspectors

~~illeg.~~ inspectors (Revenue Officials who exercise

such oppression

as regards Bombay in ref. partic

to the supply of capital to indebted

agriculturists. & especially by

your Land Banks. ~~one~~ which is one

of the things that the Govt of India encourages/has had the courage to

further & one of which and a Bank has actually been

started & with the co-operation

of the money-lenders themselves.

I waited for more recent news

of this. ~~some has already been written~~ which I now have to finish go on with

my second paper which

I withdrew after your first letter to me

& which you as I understood asked me for

[2]

**f87v**

[4]

Your kind note reached me

too late to make an arrangement

for renewing the insertion of

my Indian article in a

contemporary for July

"situation" generally

**f88** {appears to be in pencil, with ink revisions}

[3]

that it was like finding a  
common term for Russia &  
France or for Scandinavia  
& Greece to include  
the crying wants of Bombay -  
Bengal or Madras & Bengal in one  
paper.

I would now ask your kind  
advice ~~now~~ how all this  
can best be done for  
India - repeating  
that all these things measures we so care for *are*  
imperilled by the strange  
~~step of taking~~ mistake of sending Baring to  
Egypt\_ & would probably  
be lost by this still strange mistake, if Ld. Ripon goes -  
All this should be out before  
November.

[4] {this number is actually upside down in the ms}

**f88v**

2 f ~~at the time~~

You urged, ~~as I understood,~~  
that all this Shd. be in one  
Article. I hesitated on the ground

3 f

{remainder of text upside down on page, what follows begins at bottom of page}

I was strongly recommended  
by some haut placés Indians [one diag. line from 'strongly' down thru 'haut placés', strike  
out]

~~when~~ as soon as my paper in your  
Review was/is out to re  
republish ~~(with your~~ it  
~~a pamphlet including~~ making a whole  
~~that &~~ with the E.I.A. paper  
not curtailing but  
expanding. And I withdrew p. 2

4

I should like to know  
what you wish, because I  
might still probably ~~inva~~ publish my articles  
elsewhere - this I declined  
as you know on the ground that you, without  
naming you, had accepted.

Add Mss 45807

837

f89 July 12 1883 letter to FN from Luise Fuhrmann, Berlin, re crown princess anxious to train another nurse at St T

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Sir William Wedderburn ff93-94

**f93**

10 South St. W.

Aug. 1/83.

Dear Sir William Wedderburn

I have ordered a copy of the XIX Century to be sent you -  
You have, I hope, received it.

I have not dared to open the No. since it was published!  
The Article is an excellent if only it had been signed  
by you & not by me.

I now presume to avail myself of your most kind permission;  
& to send you the *uncorrected* Proof, or rather the 'shell' of the  
rough matter which is to form the Second Article for September.

It begins at "Part II." p 8.

You will see that it will not "do" at all.

It was only intended as a Draft. And I *had* altered it very  
considerably, tho' not nearly enough, for it to be published with  
the August Article.

Cut, slay - and oh! suggest & correct & alter - please.

What trouble I am giving you!

Success to Mr Bright's Meeting to-day!

It was you who set the ball a-going in favour of Lord Ripon's  
policy - Good speed to you!

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

I have received a Circular & letter from the British India  
Commee., the one which *promotes* these Meetings in favour of Lord

**f94**

Ripon, asking me to give my name & to be a member of the Committee!!

I would have signed any Petition that you asked me to sign  
But I don't think it would "do," would it?, for me to be on this.  
Indeed I could not be "a member of" any "Committee."

F.N.

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Sir William Wedderburn f95

**f95**

Aug. 15/83.  
10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dear Sir William Wedderburn, **[10:804]**

Very many thanks for your notes. And like a grateful cormorant I expect the rest with hope.

What do you hear from India? And which way do you think the storm is going?

Pray tell Sir James Caird, with my kindest regards, that I have had the opportunity of carrying out what I consulted him and yourself about. Both from home & India I think on the whole we may say the private communications are satisfactory. *But India says: we want all the help you can give us from home (in the way of support).*

Pray bear this in mind, as indeed you do. **[end 10:804]**

Ever yours faithfully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE

Unsigned draft/copy to Miss Cadbury, or notes from meeting? handwritten by FN ff96-97,  
roll 3 LMA HI/ST/NC1/83/6,

**f96**

Probr.

Miss Cadbury's Aug 20/83 [6:323-24]

Will you say to your Nurses  
what I cannot say but ever feel more & more how deep  
is the interest always in my  
heart for them. They know  
the first beginning of Trained  
Nursing in Parish Hospitals  
was made at Lpool under  
Agnes Jones. That beginning  
was the Pioneer. But every  
fresh Staff of Nurses are  
Pioneers. *They*, the present  
Nurses & Probationers have  
to be ~~or ought to be~~ are now the Pioneers  
now - Pioneers in obedience,  
skill, gentleness, trustworthiness  
-for we are *trusted* by God  
with His sick & must prove  
themselves worthy of His trust

**f96v**

\_ Pioneers in learning Nursing,  
in being trained \_ & without  
obedience there *can* be no  
Nursing & no learning &  
no training\_ as they will  
know when they have in  
their turn to train others -

May God bless us - We  
know what His blessings are  
- pure in heart, merciful, meek  
longing for righteousness.  
May God give to them & to me  
hearts & eyes & hands  
& feet to serve Him in His  
Sick.

[end 6:324]

**f97**

Mundella on training  
newspaper

Unsigned, undated letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten by FN f98

**f98**

Dr. Acland begged me to  
ask you to be so good as  
to forward enclosed book  
to his son who has  
been attached by Foreign  
Office to the Egyptian Medl.  
Dept. & is now with  
Abbesiyeh Hospl at Cairo.

This I trust you will  
forgive my troubling you  
I beg to remain

pencil note to Dr. Acland, handwritten by FN **f98v**

**f98v**

Dr. Acland  
Egyptian Hospital  
Cairo

with

Florence Nightingale's  
earnest

warmest good wishes  
for his highest success.

in every way  
& warmest admiration  
of his devotion

London August 1883

f100 letter to FN Sept 27 1883, from Lena Alexander, Hospital, Hobart Tasmania. In accordance with our wish that I shd write to you from my Tasmanian home, I have much pleasure in letting you that I am comfortably settled here and that I like the country very much, though of course it can never be to me like dear old England. We have the most beautifully bright weather. No smoke or fogs. The hosp is a very good for a colonial hosp. There are 120 beds in all, with the exception of the fever wards. Each ward contains 12 beds. Each head nurse has charge of 2 wards or 24 beds, with one prob or male nurse and a ward maid. It is not hard work for apart from the accidents we get very few really bad cases: most of the cases are the old and infirm. So that there is very little real nursing to do. For this reason I shall try at the end of the year to get to Sydney where I believe there are good hosps and plenty of work--here there are three head nurses from England

besides myself. The under nurses are all colonials. Miss Ware or rather Mrs . . . Husband is the senior house surgeon. Mrs Holden was confined a fortnight ago with her second child, a son. I think she is very much altered but I do not think from what I can see that she improves by living in the colonies. We, the head nurses, get a salary of £50 a year, but everything is very expensive so that really one is very little better off than in England with half the money. I believe you understood that my chief object in coming here was my health. I am very thankful to say it is very much improved. I think the voyage did me an immense amount of good. I did enjoy it so much, it was so wonderful as well as beautiful to see that one realized the greatness of God's power so much more when one is on the broad sea. I trust you are much better than when I left and I hope this long letter will not tire you. I cd write so much more but for that. Trusting that you will remember me sometimes in your prayers,

Incomplete signed letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, cJune-Sep 1883 f102

**f102**

[2]

has been irretrievably bungled  
by the removal of Sir  
E. Baring but poor Lord  
Ripon was certainly no more  
to blame for this than an  
infant is for being born of  
~~piti~~ bad circumstances parents.  
What must we say of  
the Downing parents  
who removed Sir E. Baring  
from work in India  
which he alone could do  
to work in Egypt which  
no one could do?

But surely Lord Ripon  
was the more to be pitied

**f102v**

& if possible helped.  
by doing what could be  
done to enlighten public  
opinion here as to the  
reforms needed.  
I did not want Lord Ripon  
to be extolled \_ but the  
reforms of which Sir E.  
Baring was the back-bone  
to be continued.

F.N.

F103 letter to FN 1/11/83 from Alfhild Ehrenborg, Liverpool Nurses Home. Evidence of that wide sympathy and interest, I feel it as one of my first duties to tell you that I have quite unexpectedly received my gracious queen's command to come home and start our work in Sweden. She herself has since long seen the need of the introduction of true nursing and cannot wait any longer for the general interest that is little or none to have it begin. I must say that the tool she has chosen is rather blunt and wants to be transposed up by some better material and it is for that purpose also I do venture to come to you to beg you to let me give to my own country the benefit of those golden rules and illeg expressed in your Notes on Nursing and now lately in Quain's dictionary under the heading "nurse and Nursing" Had the work not been trusted into my hands without the chance to choose I shd certainly not have dared to take it up. But now I will trust receive help and thank for it as a very sweet work to show others to love and spend their affections while one is spending one's own. I will also have the great treat of *doing* nursing myself to begin with because we

will not have nurses home ready the first year, but I shall have to stay in a hosp in Stockholm and tach the pros as ward sister, they living outside the hospital. Such an arr is clearly very objectionable but we have no other means to begin with than what the queen gives and that will not be sufficient for the supporting of a real home for the nurses, which we an one of the higher classes and therefore can be left more to themselves. I will probably leave here the 1st of Dec via London. Hoping that you have derived much benefit from our country sojourn I beg you to accept my bet wishes for the future,, your humble servant.

F105 letter to FN 13/11/83 from Alfhild Ehrenborg, from Liverpool Nurses' Home. If yours had been the first letter (missing) of blessing from my own mother it cd not have been greater nor more welcome. Yet I am very sorry that ...physical strain. I do so hope that your anxiety for Lady Verney... sorry cannot fix the day yet, very thankful that you will gant my request about the translation. I am sure I wd have known had anything "on nursing" been translated before into Swedish. There is your biography I know, but some of your own works made accessible to the Swedish publicum. And they *do* want better sanitary principles. It is sad with so unproportionately small practical results of all the magnificent developments of science. Would you therefor allow me to try to translate "On Nursing" for the labouring classes as well as a little book on Nurses & Nursing, which only was edited for private distribution but that I thought to be the same as that in Dr Quains dictionary.

F107 undated letter from Ehrenborg from 39 Sydenham Av, Sefton Park, Liverpool re visiting her

f109 undated letter from Ehrenborg from Earlsmead illeg Nov 28 or 5 Dec 1883, re visit

f111 Ehrenborg letter 26 Longridge Rd, S. Kensington, 1 Dec 1883, words so poor and so insufficient to express what I feel for all your love and goodness towards me. I do think that the glory of them that *love* must be very great and I do wish that your ...Did I say anything yesterday *against* that a nurse has opportunities to be a missionary *also* in words. If I did I do heartily repent it, for I do consider those opportunities more gracious than anything else in nursing. It *is* for the sake of the soul--a soul like my own with yearning after God and happiness) that I do love to nurse the body. May that peace that passeth understanding and that reward that follows them that *love* much is with you *for ever*, with inexpressible affection, humbly yours

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Loyd Lindsay, handwritten pencil by FN, dated ca. Nov-Dec 1883 f113

**f113**

Loyd Lindsay

Could you get for me  
a Proof of the revised  
Regulations in order to see  
how the wording carries  
out the Suggestions  
because it would be  
disastrous if the Regns.  
when they came out  
failed in carrying out your  
intentions?

ask him to come

f115 Alfild Ehrenborg to FN Sabbatsburgs Sjukhus 19/1/84. Accept my best & humble thanks for your sending me those books--most for your thoughts--the hours of my day are still very much taken up by my cherished work. But oh! how the daily cares of interest for the physical and material tend to out do--that one for the spiritual. The practical work itself. The work to arrange organize and work with one's own hands is so charming that it seems satisfying at least for the ...think goes very smoothly with us in our work. My pupils (4) are all very nice women, real ladies, not shirking all the hard scrubbing work. We often must do they have had very little time up to this day for studying but in the beginning of February courses of lectures will begin. Our hospital is charming at least inside. Believe me always dear Miss Nightingale yours very true and grateful Alfild Ehrenborg

Unsigned, incomplete letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten by FN ff117-19, black-edged paper

**f117**

District Nursing:

Relief: 10 South St. W.

Feb 13/84

My dear Sir

**[13:782-83]**

When you were so  
good as to call upon me the  
other day, there was not  
time to tell you what  
further I had gathered in  
answer to your question:  
viz. what connection  
should District Nursing  
have with relief?

What agencies are there  
which District Nurses  
can well employ for  
relief, where necessary,  
of their Patients?

Add Mss 45807

846

must fresh agencies be

**f117v**

"organized"? to supply "food"  
& "clothing" to destitute sick?

I had omitted, or rather  
I had intended to include  
under the &c in my  
former indication of  
actual existing agencies,  
"Dorcas" Societies.

"Working" Societies:  
for "clothing".

If your "organization" of  
"ladies" give money whereby  
new flannels &c &c are  
given to the destitute  
sick, these will probably  
find their way before  
night to the pawnshop  
& thence to the drink shop.

**f118**

[And here it may  
be generally stated that  
charity given by ladies  
who do not know or  
do not supervise how  
it is applied, generally  
has a different effect  
from what is intended.

If given in the form  
of meat, wine or brandy,  
it goes to feed *not* the  
sick person but the  
whole family: If given  
in the form of new  
clothing, it goes to the  
pawnbroker's & for drink.

This may be illustrated  
further on]

**f118v**

But say to your Milk  
 man or rather Milk woman  
 or to your small tradesman  
 -"We have a poor sick woman  
 here: her two babies  
 want flannels: I think  
 all your children have  
 been short-coated some  
 time. Would you  
 like to let us have  
 some of their old flannels  
 for her babies?" She  
 will produce some  
 perfectly clean old flannels  
 with joy, which will  
 delight the poor sick  
 mother, & cannot be pawned\_

**f119**

[3]

the Patient, measured,  
 as you do medicine -  
 taking it with her.

In the former, the  
 'bottle' case, our District  
 Nurses are often  
 offered 'a drop out of  
 the bottle'. 'It won't be  
 missed,' says the offer=er.  
 What sort of charity is  
 this?

**[end 13:783]**

Beef Tea must be  
 made in the same way:  
 not a slop - &  
 the meat given for the  
 children:

f120 letter to FN March 7 1884, from J.C. Bird from Cottage Hospital, St Pauls, Cray, Kent to chief, was at Marylebone Inf, was not strong enough for it, anxious to have hr opinion about cottage hosps, will be grateful for your advice, any good book on cottage hospitals, has she written on? Difficult nursing with only just necessaries and two miles from a doctor, one night last week had a sudden death from internal hemorrhage, no poss of getting ice and the patient was gone before doctor arrived. This little hosp is not endowed, has been built by subscription at a cost of £4000, no debt on it, came here as matron Feb 11, hosp formally opened 16th, only 14 beds, capable of more, bldg itself beautifully complete, bare garden

ff122-25 letter to FN April 15 1884, from Mary Nicholas, Greek Hospital, Alexandria, sends photo of exterior and a ward, has endeavoured to introduce rules, routine and diet of St T, but uphill, good letter

Hearing through Mrs Craven that you feel interested in the success of this hospital, I beg to send you photographs of the exterior and of once of the principal wards. As far as poss, I have endeavoured to introduce the rules, routine and diet of St Thomas'. But it has been very uphill work to get things to work smoothly. The hosp was opened just three days after the bombardment when the town was still in illeg. At first we could get neither attendants, a regular water supply or decent furniture; we were, moreover, expecting every day for some weeks that "Arabis" troops would besiege, some of them being encamped within two miles of us. After a time things began to mend a little, provisions became less scarce, attendants were more easily obtained, the old broken down beds and dirty bedding were replaced by new and new ward furniture was made by degrees by carpenters employed on the premises in Sept two English sisters arrived and illeg Bagner a month later. Directly she came the other two began to show signs of discontent and impertinence tho before her coming they seemed perfectly happy and well in hand. Almost immediately after Miss Bayner left I discovered one of the other sisters was much too intimate with one of the doctors. It seems Miss Rayner had known of this intimacy all along but had said nothing whatever to me about it and was always on most friendly terms with both her companions.

Nevertheless, in spite of drawbacks and disappointments the hosp began to be highly spoken of and soon became full to overflowing with patients. We have at present acc for you only, the other wing? Being still unfinished for want of funds owing to the heavy losses of the Greek community during the late disturbances.

One great difficult I had to encounter at first was any inability to make myself understood by the employees. The only languages in general use here being Greek and Arabic. We find the Gr servants very quick and intelligent but they are most untrustworthy and deceitful, and are very rough and unfeeling towards the patients if not carefully watched.

I have the difficulty now in maintaining order and discipline amongst the servants, tho during the first six months I was obliged to use very severe means to keep order on two or three occasions I had to call in the police to remove refractory employees. They wd quarrel and fight and even use knives upon the smallest provocation.

None of the doctors live here, they come for an hour or two in the morning and one

comes again in the aft.

It is now exactly two years since I left England and I am beginning to feel much in need of a little rest. I have had excellent health here and I like the climate and Eastern life immensely. I hope to get away towards the end of next month for two months leave and if I go to London I shall beg you to kindly grant me an interview. Oh often I have wished that you or Mrs Craven were at hand to give me advice in some great difficulty but I have never once felt tempted to throw up my appt in despair since we once fairly started. Opposition and difficulty have only made me more determined to hold on tho I fear when things go smoothly I am inclined to be indolent and self indulgent until another starker? Raises me up again.

It has given me great pleasure from time to time to hear that your health has improved so much of late years and I sincerely hope that the improvement may continue.

Apologizing for troubling you with such a long epistle about nothing but my unworthy self and my difficulties, believe me dear Miss Nightingale yours faithfully and affectionately,  
Mary Nicholas

f126 letter to Mrs Prendergast re intro to FN for Baroness Lützerode from D. Beale at Ladies' College Cheltenham

f128 May 16th [1884] letter from O von Lützerode, [printed] Clementinenhaus, Hannover.

To my earnest regret I must leave England sooner than I expected and am obliged to beg leave to come and see you on the 24th or 26th as I shall return to Germany on the 27th inst. Please be kind enough to name the day when you will allow me to come and see the Philomena whose lamp lit also my way, as your books and example gave me the first impulse for nursing. I long to thank you for an influence that was instrumental to my finding fullest happiness in this line of life and working for others. Yours very truly O von Lützerode, lady superior

f129 May 26 [1884] letter of Sister Olga von Lützerode, Lady Superior of [pinted] Clementinenhaus Hannover, Thanks for all the encouragement and mental strengthening you give me, who tho a fellow worker in your great work of solace to the sick but a follower in your track and never can compare neither her doings nor her success with your own great pioneering! I am so proud that you and Sir Joseph Lister, this great benefactor of mankind in his line of work, shd be the first donors of gifts of a considerable amount to our house here in England. I never shall forget the interview I had with you. Your urn will remain for ever a most valued relic. May God bless your time of suffering as He did your time of active work and may He accept the many prayers thankful hearts offered for you in all parts of the world. Henceforth please number amongst these yours most faithfully,  
Sister Olga von Lutzerode, Lady superior of the Clementinenhaus

ff131-34 letter of C.E. Barff, 70 Upper Parliament St., June 27 1884 thanks for cheque recd this mornng for a little patient; most of troubles over; the ladies interfere less with the work, new nurses a great improvement upon the old, re ovariotomy op, attended by district nurses

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient {arch's sugg. Boulnois, handwritten by FN,  
c. 7-8 July 1884 ff135-36 [13:678-79]

**f135**

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W. {printed address}

My dear Sir

Most heartily do I give you joy on the  
opening of ~~the~~ your Home for  
Probationers & Nurses without  
which your beautiful Parish Infirmary  
would be incomplete.

~~Most deeply sorry that I was grieved~~  
~~I was~~ to be prevented by serious increase  
of illness from seeing with my own eyes the building in which is so much of my heart  
System. {not clear where 'System' fits in}

~~We are delighted that we~~ How glad we are to  
have been able to give some  
help from the N.F. to the  
Guardians of the Poor of ~~this~~ this  
great Parish of Marylebone  
in their most wise & well directed  
efforts to bring to the service of  
the Parish Sick Poor ~~the benefits~~ all the good of a  
well organized system of trained  
Nursing

**f135v**

All experience has shown ~~the~~ what  
 Great improvement both in the  
 physical as well as moral condition of  
 those who can least help themselves ~~of~~ such a system bring  
 & its depauperizing effect

And ~~we~~ one cannot help the conviction  
 that your measures to which this  
 result is due must be based on  
 principles of ~~true the right sort of~~ economy & sound  
 administration of the right sort

~~We therefore~~ One cannot but trust & believe  
 with all our hearts that the  
 example will be followed by  
 others in this vast London

Again giving you joy  
 May all ~~our~~ your trained Nurses present & future be actuated by  
 one mind & may ~~feel~~ their training  
~~be trained~~ produce work to be acceptable to Him whose  
 wisdom as well as love inspired His going ~~about~~  
~~went~~ about doing good, ~~Who~~ His  
 healing of bodily as well as spiritual  
 malady

**f136**

{begins more than halfway down the page}  
 [illeg] & will spread  
 till all the Parish Poor in this vast London  
 are so inured ~~which is~~ on the lines of true  
 economy ~~lines~~ in the true way to  
 restore those who can be  
 restored to help themselves  
 & to prevent pauperism  
 till all those fathers & mothers of families  
 who *can* be restored are restored  
 to help their families  
 till ~~the~~ young me are raised up  
 morally & physically to help themselves to lead a better &  
 healthier life, with the helps that now

**f136v**

Are given in the way of decent lodgings,  
 Coffee.rooms . & the like- & ~~the~~ young women  
 till the/any pauper sick children who may  
 perhaps have never before heard  
 'good words' are started in the  
 right way.

& those who are incurable may be gently nursed  
 & started on their way to a better world

This is the ideal: to which you  
 have so nobly shown the way  
 well administered & well nursed Poor Law Infy.  
 Such a ~~system~~ tends perhaps more than  
~~Scarcely~~ anything else ~~tends~~ indirectly  
 so ~~much~~ to depauperize and to  
~~the lowering of~~ the rates in the long run ~~as~~  
 a ~~good well-nursed Parish Infirmary~~  
 well-administered

And you have by your example  
 held so high the standard that  
 we may hope it will be seen  
 & followed by all this vast  
 London

**[end 13:679**

Again giving you joy  
 pray believe me the most faithful  
 & grateful of your servants & I hope  
 I may call myself the most devoted of you [?]

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Mr. Boulnois? {arch}, handwritten in pen by FN f137

**f137**

July 18/84

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I cannot say how very **[13:679]**  
sorry I am, after your  
extreme kindness, to find  
myself entirely unable, owing  
to cough & sore throat, to  
visit the new Probationers'  
Home at St. Marylebone  
Infirmary this week,  
as you were so good as to  
desire.

I can only hope at some  
future time to be able to  
see with my eyes this

**f137v**

noble embodiment of yours  
of progress in the care &  
trained Nursing of London  
parish sick which  
I have so long haunted  
in my heart.

I rejoice at the thought  
of the Public opening by  
Princess Christian - And  
may success always

**[end]**

Unsigned draft/copy to W.E. Gladstone, handwritten in pen by FN ff138-143, original 44488 f204

**f138**

*Private* {on diagonal in top left corner}

Rt Honbl. {pencil} Dec 4/84 {in pen}

W.E. Gladstone {pencil} 10, South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I have no words to tell  
you my regret that when  
you were so very good as to  
offer me a moment of your  
most precious time by  
calling I was unable to  
avail myself of it.

To hear a word from you  
about India & Lord Ripon's  
policy would have been  
priceless to me:

upon the Bengal Rent Law  
Bill, as now it stands -  
there are so many points of  
resemblance between Bengal

**f138v**

& Indian Land questions:

upon Oudh Land problems,  
more difficult but even more  
pressing than those of Bengal\_

upon Bombay Land  
Settlement Dept. justly called  
the "*Unsettlement*" Dept. -

upon Lord Ripon's Local  
Self. Government Acts-  
his Encouragement of Native  
Arts & Industries.

Agricultural Banks & Land  
Advances Acts.

the employment & promotion  
of natives

**f139** [diagonal line drawn through the entire page, as if to cross it out]

Lord Ripon has shown  
your Liberal policy on the largest  
scale in the world -

& the result has been that  
he has conciliated the confidence  
& affection of the natives  
to the British rule as no  
other Governor-General has yet  
been able to do -

for education, rail-roads, Durbars,  
the opening up of the country,  
have so changed the peoples  
of India in the last 8 or  
10 years that those, as has  
been well said, live in a  
'fool's paradise' who think  
India can now be governed  
*without* its peoples.

**139v** [one diagonal line, striking out entire page]

The last time that you  
gave me the highest privilege,  
that of seeing you, you said:  
alluding to the fact that  
educated Natives on Viceroy's  
Council & elsewhere never  
support the people's cause  
~~that it was enough to break  
one's heart, because you had  
expected so much from it./~~  
referring to the want of help & energy in Native  
Members of Council who should be our  
powerful allies in reforms for the cultivators  
& who are on the contrary our worst hindrances  
'it is enough to drive one to despair'  
And so it is.

But Lord Ripon has turned  
their flank: has he not? &  
tapped the stratum of the  
decent villagers & what  
middle class there is in  
giving local self-government.

Add Mss 45807

857

It is no new thing. It is what  
India must be administered  
by natives

**f140**

[2]

Has not Lord Ripon shown your Liberal policy on the most colossal scale in the world?

With the result that 200 millions & more of this vast empire ~~are~~ have for the first time confidence ~~with~~ in our rule - No other Gov.Genl. has yet been able to conciliate them as he has.

Sir Neville Chamberlain declared Lord Ripon & Lord Wm Bentinck to have been the Governors General of this century who have done the most for the benefit of the natives, & that they were equally abused by their English fellow countrymen

~~Is not this~~ Would not there be in India the greatest triumph of the age of Mr. Gladstone's Liberal principles? if measures now unhappily in abeyance were ~~set free again~~ - started & measures started were carried out?

The more we try to reform &

**f140v**

conciliate in Ireland, the farther  
 her poor little 5 millions go  
 from us. But in India the  
 200 millions meet us halfway.  
 Lord Ripon is obliged to go ~~before~~ while  
 his measures are as yet scarcely  
 launches or indeed have been negatived But let Lord Dufferin  
 continue his policy. And shall you  
~~will~~ not see the triumph of your  
 principles in tranquillizing your  
 vast Asiatic empire -

for have not ~~our own measures~~ education, rail-roads, the  
 opening up of the country  
~~have~~ so changed the peoples of  
 India in the last 8 or 10 years  
 that those, as has been well  
 said live in a 'fool's paradise'  
 who think that *India* can  
 now be governed *without* its  
 peoples?

**f141**

The last time that you gave  
 me that highest privilege of  
 seeing you, you said: referring  
 to the want of help & energy in  
 native members of Council who  
 should be our powerful allies in  
 reforms for the cultivators & who  
 are on the contrary our worst  
 hindrances: "It is enough to  
 drive one to despair."  
 And so it is.

But has not Lord Ripon  
 turned their flank, & tapped  
 the stratum of the decent  
 villagers & what middle class  
 there is by giving Local  
 self government. It is what every  
 good District Officer has been  
 doing all these years - taking  
 the people into his counsels

**f141v**

Lord Ripon is only legalizing it. The administration of India *must* be mainly administered by Indians (natives) whether we will or no. That is not a question. The question is whether she shall be administered by petty corrupt lowpaid native officials \_ or whether she, whose Institutions have been from time immemorial those of self-administration shall be administered by the respectable villagers & municipal people \_

We trust that Lord Dufferin has been sent out to perfect the policy.

**f142**

[2 3]

every good District Officer has been doing all years - taking the people into his counsels. Lord Ripon is only legalizing it. Lord Dufferin [this first pg of f142 is crossed out w/ one diag. line]

We have by our education & good measures unwittingly created that power of combination which was altogether wanting in India.

This must be used for us or against us.

We have also by our Durbars & rail-roads unwittingly created the power of combination ~~ag~~ among the Great Chiefs, Scindia, Holkar &c &c who formerly only just knew of

**f142v**

each other's existence\_

Our "higher Education"  
 which fits Baboo-dom only  
 for Governmt. clerks. Every  
 Asiatic expects Governmt. to  
 find him with a situation -  
 We cannot of course "find"  
 nine tenths of the Baboos we  
 have educated with Government  
 clerkships. These turn Home  
 Rulers, translate Bradlaugh,  
 write seditious newspapers.

It is true these have but a  
 small circulation - But then are  
 they not taken & read in the  
 Bazaars to those who can't  
 read.

**f143**

Had it not been right, it  
 would have been *imperative*  
 for a Governor-Genl. of this day,  
 to give a share in their own  
 Government to the peoples of  
 India of this day.

How our hearts bounded  
 within us when we saw  
 Mr. Gladstone's Liberal  
 principles applied by Lord  
 Ripon's honesty on this the  
 grandest theatre in the world

India is not standing still  
 We have talked a great deal  
 about giving her Western  
 civilization. Western civilization  
 has given her, whether we  
 will or no, Western powers,-  
 more than Western powers to  
 their Eastern craft & cleverness. With

**f143v**

Western powers must we not  
give them gradually,  
cautiously, Western responsibilities?  
If we did not, would they  
not take them?

The Local Self. Government  
Acts which are now passed  
for the whole of India, are  
most carefully framed. The  
elections are proceeding & have  
hitherto disappointed the  
opponents. They have in  
fact been singularly successful

Unsigned incomplete letter/draft/copy to G.F. Mortimer, handwritten, pencil, by FN ff144-45

**f144**

*Private* {on diagonal, in top left corner}

10 South St W

Dec 27/84

Dear Sir

Let me begin by wishing  
you & your Corps every  
Xmas & New Year's  
blessing - & ever increasing  
prosperity.

I wish almost more  
than you can do that  
we could "get up a  
Wellow squad" for you:  
& that one of the "young  
gentlemen at Embley

**f144v**

would "take a Commission"

& ~~do it~~. get up

But I am told that both

are almost equally impossible

- that the "young gentlemen"

only go to Embley for their

holidays or for a short time

- & that there are few or

none of the class of which go out as Volunteers

in the two Wellows or the

neighbourhood.

About what proportion

of LABOURERS have you in

among the men under

**f145**

your own command? & who

~~are those who are your~~ of what class

principally are your volunteers in &

about Romsey?

petty tradesmen &

farmers' sons? or what?

It would be very interesting

to know this

The discipline for ~~the~~ all sorts of men  
is invaluable.

I may say, in passing, that

Volunteer Ambulance Corps

are now formed out of the

Medical students of every

Medical School in London.

**f145v**

They thus learn to cut their hair,  
to be silent on parade  
to salute an Officer  
to obey orders.

to They buy & wear their uniform

The Medical student was  
heard to murmur out:

'I have not obeyed an order  
since I left School 6 (or  
7) years ago. I forget which

The will soon come on  
to better things still. Hitherto Doctors  
have waited in Hospl. for their accidents. Now Students  
learn how to carry accidents from the streets  
to Hospital

Till of late years a  
Medical Student's life was  
much like dropping throwing a man  
overboard in mid ocean & telling him

Typed copy of signed letter to Professor Burdon Sanderson, M.D., original National Library of Scotland Ms 6103 ff120-23

**f146**

Dec. 29/84  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Sir,

I venture to hope that you will pardon me, tho' a stranger, for writing to you, & not waiting for one of our many mutual friends to introduce my letter to your kindness.

It is to ask you to be so very good as to tell me in whose charge is now Brown's Hospital for Animals (? at Battersea). It had, I know, the advantage of your great name and skill at its creation.

My reason for asking yourself, the fountain-head, to direct me is my unhappy experience of what you would call the brute-like ignorance of Veterinary Surgeons in treating brutes, especially thorough-bred cats.

Within the last month a highly recommended Veterinary Surgeon so treated the last of a famous breed of real tortoiseshell Persian cats, (given me 27 years ago by a foreign friend, now dead) that they died - a mother cat & her kitten - in 36 hours in tortures. Both were in perfect health before. The cat had scratched a small wound on her neck, occasioned, as he said, by "parasites". To destroy these parasites, he destroyed the cats by, in spite of my warnings & entreaties to run.

**f147**

[2.]

run no such risk, steeping both cat & kitten in a "Patent Dressing" which, he said, he "always used with success" - and which turned out to be an Extract of Tar. Could any result possibly follow but what did follow, viz. a cruel death? (It was like the Centaur's shirt which killed Hercules. We could not get the Tar off.) The cats' looks at me were pitiful to see. The kitten I was obliged to have put out of its misery. The maids sate up with them, they were such favourites. (I am myself an overworked Invalid.) Every cat of mine whom he had previously treated died under his hands, tho' I could not say that they died of what he did but of his ignorance what to do.

This man is the Veterinary Surgeon of a large district near London with an immense practice among all kinds of animals. I was advised to prosecute him but do not wish to injure him. But I wish to save future animals from Veterinary Surgeons.

I am encroaching too much on your kindness by so long a letter.

Might I ask you to be so very good as to give me such particulars of this Brown's Hospital or of any other Doctors for Animals, of which your name alone would be sufficient guarantee, that I might make use of the information both/

**f148**

[3.]

both for myself & others.

It is not only for the sake of valuable pets but for the sake of all animals that I write.

Pray believe me  
ever your faithful servt.

"FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE."

A Tom kitten of mine, several months old, had taken the little kitten, about a fourth his size, under his protection. He nursed it, washed it, - it used to lie between his paws, - kept its food for it. Since its death he has been inconsolable; his mourning for it has been quite human.

"F.N."

Professor Burdon Sanderson, M.D.

Incomplete unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten by FN, pen, c1884  
ff149-55

**f149**

[2]

Madras Agricultural  
grievances - for reasons  
I do not presume to teach *you*

**[10:703-04]**

Mr. Wilson has been  
made a member of the  
Board of Revenue, under  
the control of which he is,  
as Settlement & Agricultural  
Officer; and the Board  
have given him separate  
charge of agriculture to the  
Board. Is not this rather  
like Mr. Wilson, as Settlement  
& Agricultural Officer  
sending up a reference -  
& as Agricultural member  
of Board, in the name of  
the Board agreeing in the view

**f149v**

expressed by the Director  
of Revenue Settlement?  
It was bad enough when the  
Government Farm & College  
were under the Board.  
But there was some redress  
by Govt. for all their papers  
were sent up to Govt.  
Now all their reports are sent  
up to Mr. Wilson who may  
either record them (i.e. put  
them aside for months or  
altogether), or send them  
up to the Board of Revenue  
when he, as the Board of  
Revenue, agrees with Mr.  
Wilson, the Directory of Settlement.

**f150**

This probably ends in the paper not being printed  
At least we know that generally under this kind of system - every one being all the while all that they ought to be - it is useless to report anything that it does not suit the Settlement Dept. or the Board of Revenue to make public.

I have been hearing a great deal lately of assessment & Settlement Dept in Bombay. But that is such an enormous subject. This little definite

**f150v**

matter in Madras seems within the compass of mortal man to redress.

Mr. Grant Duff is exceedingly good to me: but it passes even my impertinence to represent this to him which probably was arranged by himself.

The Agricultural Reportership, as I think it is called, is quite useless under these circumstances.

There was some talk of an Agricl. Enquiry Commission from England. Could the Director of the Governmt. Farm be on it? He is the "Agricultural Reporter."

**f151**

About Madras agriculture:  
 it is easier to see the  
 difficulties than to remedy  
 them:

I will not allow that any  
 Ryots are worse off than *my*  
 Ryots, the Zemindaree Ryots.  
 But good Bombay & Madras  
 men sometimes tell you  
 with so many facts that  
 the condition of the Government  
 Ryots is as bad. that  
 one can hardly help listening.  
 The Settlement Department,  
 or the Unsettlement Dept.,  
 as Lord Hobart called it,  
 is the principal offender.  
*Its very raison d'etre* is

**f151v**

not to make land revenue but  
 to raise land revenue. That  
 is an immense subject: I  
 do not presume to give  
*you* information upon it  
 But is it not true that it  
 has been a great mistake  
 in Madras joining the  
 Agricultural to the Settlement  
 Dept. a Dept so hated  
 by the ryots that as  
 Settlement Officers the  
 Agricultural reformers  
 must lose the influence  
 they had gained amongst  
 the farmers of S. India.  
 Every suggestion now made

**f152**

can be looked on ~~only~~ by the  
Ryot only as some means  
of raising the rent.

Mr. Grant Duff is most  
favourable to agriculture  
but does he think that Mr.  
Wilson, the present head  
of the Agricl. & Settlement Dept.  
(I do not know the exact term)  
- a capital man, I believe -  
is as favourable to the  
Agricl. College & the Saidapet  
farm, as their long services  
deserve - or that he ties  
down their action, files & ignores  
their Reports, & does not  
attend to them.

Mr. Gladstone's Liberal

**f152v**

principles in India ought  
to make their voice heard  
in England - So ought the  
Government Farm & College  
of Madras in India.  
But so far from this they  
have no appeal  
Indian grievances have no  
appeal in England but to  
the India Council - capital  
good men - the strongest  
men perhaps in the world  
\_ but not exactly the  
best Court of Appeal for  
reasons you ought to teach us.

So perhaps the Madras  
Board of Revenue is not  
the best Court of Appeal for [breaks off] **[end 10:704]**

**f153**

About the Bengal Tenancy Bill: [10:598-99]

how I wish we knew what  
you think of it:

there seemed some dangers  
ahead in the last revised  
Bill: it was like a dead  
set against the Zemindars.  
If a Zemindar buys his  
tenant's land & lets it,  
the new tenant, *ipso facto*,  
succeeds, does he not?,  
to all occupancy rights,  
without the 3 or 12 years or  
any other qualification -  
reverting to the principle  
of ryottee land, attaching  
the occupancy rights to the  
land. But if a money  
lender or middleman buys

**f153v**

the land he may sub.let  
without the tenant having  
any rights at all. And  
thus a large class of  
tenants at will may grow  
up. Why this?

I remember you said there  
were a great risk of the  
next generation seeing a  
class of tenants without  
any rights at all.

There are some other  
flaws. And there is an  
immense corresponde. & papers  
printed in the Gazette of  
India of Oct 20.  
which doubtless you have  
seen.

**f154**

But it is hardly worth  
 while to criticize the  
 details of the Bill as published  
 It is now being operated  
 upon, is it not? by a Select  
 Committee of which the Lt.  
 Governor is president. He,  
 they say, will greatly  
 improve it. But, if he  
 succeeds in that what will  
 happen, it is said, is this:

the Bill in one more  
 new shape will be  
 republished & time given  
 for Consideration while  
 the Govt. of India goes  
 away to Simla.

The whole force of agitatione

**f154v**

against it will then have  
 free scope & will end  
 in a surrender \_ unless indeed  
 such" an immediate surrender"  
 takes place "as will square  
 the opponents."

If the Bengal Bill fails  
 to benefit the Ryots, it will  
 be impossible, will it not?  
 to hope for better success  
 in regard to Oude &c  
 (which Lord Ripon  
 contemplated) where the  
 legal position of the  
 landlords is stronger  
 & where the cultivators  
 seem to want redress  
 even more.

**f155**

But as for Lord Ripon's policy, nothing ought to discourage us.

Ministers ought to say to the few Anglo-Indian agitators: we are sorry for you, we will do what we can to please you & make it easy to you; but we do not apologize for the grandest policy that has yet been tried & succeeded (by honesty alone) in tranquillizing a vast empire.

Though we may regret the compromise on the Ilbert Bill, this is what

**f155v**

they appear to have been doing.

And let us hope against hope that it will be the same with the Bengal Tenancy Bill - sticking to principles - ceding unimportant details.

But for all this, is not Mr. Gladstone ~~is~~ committing a blunder, even an electioneering blunder in not giving an active & even loud support to Lord Ripon's measures, which are his own, in India?

**[end 10:599]**

Incomplete unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten in pen by FN, dated ca. 1884 ff156-57

**f156**

[2]

2. In the Blue Book he will see that Dr. Hewlett has laid his hands on the worst military stations in the province & laid down the principle of the remedies. Ought not these stations, especially *Neemuch, Nasirabad & Mhow* to be taken in hand at once; or else the European garrisons removed during the unhealthy season?

3. There is a good deal to do in the way of inspecting & improving many towns. Cess-pits, & wells close to them are almost universal, & water is next door to being bad. Dr. Hewlett knows all the facts so far as Sanitary inspection is concerned; but should not the Sanitary Engineer follow?

**f156v** {ink is blurry, as though paper was wet}

[8]

(2) Dr. Hewlett's report on  
Nasirabad  
Neemuch  
Mhow

will be found at & after p. 178.

They contain all the information required put in as few words as could be used.

The measures can be discussed with Dr. Hewlett.

A list of the offending Bombay stations will be found at p. 291.

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Miss Anderson ff158-60, original LMA roll 3  
HI/ST/NC1/85/1/1a

**f158**

10 South St.  
Park Lane, W.

Jan. 14/85. [12:376-77]

Mr dear Miss Anderson,

I have been vainly trying for a moment's time or strength which is the same thing to wish you every New Year's joy that Infinite Love can give - but I am always wishing it to you in my heart.

You have left your remembrance as Night Supt. in many hearts in St. Thomas'. Nurse Franklin, Night Nurse in Albert, is talking of you still. I am always hearing of Miss Anderson, how good she was as Night Supt: so "respected" by the Nurses. Night Nurses often in a difficulty - then Miss Anderson so helpful - would not let Sisters be disturbed - would show Night Nurses what to do and help them - then would keep the Ward during an operation - & when the operation case came back, not standing by but helping so much at the bed - kept such a cheerful, holy tone in the Ward - so important - always knew when Night Supt. Miss Anderson came in.

Then the best Sisters say: Miss Anderson never satisfied with her own work - always aspiring higher -

Ah! there I recognise Miss Anderson. I knew she is never satisfied with her own work now - always aspiring higher - And that is the true good work.

I know how she must influence the Nurses now - & raise the whole Night Nursing -

**f159**

[-2-]

And I hope she does not find it dreary when she thinks of this.

The good Night Supt. is *truly* giving God "Glory in the highest - & on earth peace, good will towards men."

What a noble calling! scarcely anything nobler.

How I should like to hear anything you can tell me of your work - It must be very heavy now. But *His* "strength is made perfect in our weakness" -

What should we do without that promise?

My best love to Miss Gibson - & my kind regards to Miss Palmer, please.

I have but a sorry account to give you of home affairs. "Home Sister" has been very poorly, & is staying here at this moment. Matron too is very ailing - Miss Pringle, of Edinburgh, has been obliged to go to Pau in the Pyrenees for the winter.

Sister Albert (Miss Stewart) dined here last night with Home Sister - *She* is particularly brisk & bonny -

So is Sister Airy, (notwithstanding Diarrhoea & Dysentary) at [typo] Cairo in Egypt - very heavy work - on Night duty now - as cheerful as a bee.

Miss Estcourt is thriving - is now Night Staff Nurse at her own request in Alexandra - She is to have that Sister ship, for Miss Isla Stewart is leaving.

I can fancy how you have exercise for every gift and talent where you are.

**f160**

[-3-]

I trust you are quite well. It does my heart good to hear them talk of you -

Now, again God bless you & your work, very dear Miss Anderson:

Pray for

Yours ever affly.

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

**[end 12:387]**

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Lord Reay, handwritten in pen by Florence Nightingale f161

**f161**

*Private* {on diagonal in top left corner}

March 9/85

10, South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Lord Reay

I cannot thank you enough      **[10:308]**  
for your great kindness in  
coming at so absorbing a time  
to you

I deeply regret that having  
been rather ill & overworked, I  
have not been able to write down  
what you kindly said I might.  
But I shall seize the great  
privilege you gave me of  
letting it follow you to Bombay

Mr. Ollivant is the name  
of the Municipal Commissioner  
of Bombay city - a most

**f161v**

trusty & competent person. The  
Municipal body of Bombay City  
considers itself, I need not say,  
a Private Corporation, & is  
rather impatient of interference      **[end 10:308]**

Typed copy of signed FN letter to Miss Hicks, copied from the "Daily Telegraph" Mon. Aug. 15, 1910. f162

**f162**

10, South Street, Park Land, W., March 20/85 [15:978-80]

My dear Miss Hicks,

What news? What news? How fares it? Is it well with the child?

I yearn to hear of you. God bless you, I pray, every moment.

I know not how to write to you, for now your destination is fixed, and you are either speeding up the Nile for patients, or gone to the "Ganges," to take patients there from Suakim to Suez. How much will have happened to the Army before this reaches you!

Have you your outfit all right? Is there anything you want from here that we could send you?

If you give religious books to the men, please be careful not to give them to Roman Catholics, even if they ask for them, because the R.C. priest steps in, and gets us into difficulties. One of our very best Army chaplains (Church of E., I mean, of course) is appointed to Suakim, I am glad to say.

Are you very, very well? I hope soon to give your "habitation" a "name"; I know not where you are.

God be with you - I can wish no better wish. -

Ever yours affectionately,

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

[end 15:978]

Unsigned copy to Lady Rosebery handwritten, pencil, by FN ff163-65

**f163**

wrote

To Lady Rosebery March 21/85  
 2 Nurses up the Nile  
 2 Sir Allan Young's yacht  
 Mr. Young's object legitimate  
 boats to be a standard of comfort  
 with rest including Nursing  
 N.A.'s small steamer, Q.V. so it  
 has been as to food, cooking  
 comforts. No nursing  
 none wanted

-----  
 correspondts. in Egypt  
 convalescing from Enteric &  
 Dysentery those who come down in  
 boats  
 suffer from the "hard food" provided  
 -had been till they went on board  
 boat (Wadi Haifa) "on food & slops"

**f164v**

need better food, more comforts,  
 better cooking.  
 On the Nat. Aid's small steamer  
 they were "treated just like Officers  
 - private's standard of comfort  
 Cooks & comforts in fact  
 wanted not Nurses.  
 transfer highly trained Nurses  
 to aid in nursing masses of sick  
 & wounded at Souakim & Suez  
 & Ganges  
 instead of nursing from 7 or 8  
 cases up to 25, largest number  
 that can be accommodated a  
 Dahabieh & Small Steamer together  
 & there convalescing  
 or of 40 on board Sir Allan  
 Young's, y compris those on floor.  
 Officer's widow might be found to  
 "superintend comforts" in Dahabieh

Add Mss 45807

880

\* note: there is no f164 or f164v

**f165** [seems same letter]

[2]

Souakim out on Warpath. Ball  
rolling - alas! alas!

2 causes for not getting funds  
1- objects not sufficiently known  
2. thought to be more for Officers  
than men

Is Pr. Fred...}'s Socy. Sick & Wounded "pajamas,"  
flannel shirts &c (County  
Ladies' Committees) for troops  
in camp also?

**F166**

Signed letter/draft/copy to Mrs Wilton Phipps, handwritten pen by Florence Nightingale  
ff168-69

**f168**

July 24/85

10, South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Madam

I beg to thank you for  
your kind answer to my  
letter of the 14th., enquiring  
about a Miss Coates,  
sent to the 'Royal Victoria  
Hospital' at Suez by  
the "Princess of Wales' branch"

You kindly inform me:

The information in your letter of yesterday  
is. "We sent out two cooking  
Sisters, Miss Shiplen & Miss  
"Coates." "No Nurse but two  
"Cooking Sisters"  
You will kindly remember the immense  
pressure that there was for a considerable  
time on the few Sisters at the Suez Hospital

**f168v**

from the great influx of severe cases -  
 that appreciation was made for Sisters [application?]  
 to help them \_ & that you were so good  
 as to telegraph out twice for information  
 in answer to which

~~You will remember that~~  
 you received a Telegram  
~~in answer to yours~~ from  
 the Suez Hospital:  
 "One *Nursing* Sister has  
 arrived".

Letters received from Suez state that  
 the name of this "*Nursing*"  
 Sister was "*Coates*": that;  
~~in consequence of the~~  
~~immense pressure upon~~  
~~the Sisters already there~~  
~~from the severely bad cases,~~  
 she had immediately to be

**f169**

she was of course  
 put on full Nursing duty -  
 with what result may be  
 known -

Could any enquiry be made  
 into the source of this  
 mistake?

Pray believe me  
 my dear Madam  
 ever your faithful servt.  
 Florence Nightingale

Mrs. Wilton Phipps  
 Hon. Secy.

Incomplete, unsigned letter/draft/copy to Lady Wantage, handwritten pen by FN, dated ca. Aug. 1885 ff170-71, original in Wantage

**f170**

*Private* {on diagonal in top left corner}  
 10, South Street, [printed address]  
 Park Lane. W.

Dear Lady Wantage

How can I thank you enough  
 for your kindly sending me  
 Mr. Kennett Barrington's  
 very full & interesting letter-

This however chiefly  
 refers to a time quite anterior to  
 that of the 'complaints', which  
 is subsequent to his departure  
 from Souakim ~ to the  
 departure of the bulk of  
 the troops, when the outside Departments especially are so often neglected  
 as my letter  
 which you have so kindly  
 made use of will have  
 shown.

**f170v**

It is impossible to deplore  
~~too much~~ enough the non-erection  
 (said to be unavoidable/  
 of the Coffee-huts: which  
 Officers & men, ~~many~~ some of  
 whom were teetotallers,  
 alike depended upon to  
 keep the men out of mischief,  
 & to supply them with  
 foods & drinks, almost  
 necessaries in that climate.  
 The men were far from  
 expecting these to be *given*  
 them as 'rations,' either by  
 the N.A.S, or otherwise.



But it has been asked since this (unavoidable)  
~~{illeg}~~ miscarriage has happened in this  
case of the coffee-huts & continued ~~into August~~ till almost the end of summer ~~{illeg.}~~ it  
~~{illeg.}~~  
possible ~~{illeg.}~~ it may have happened in the case of  
others ~~{illeg.}~~ after Mr Kennett Barrington was home

Typed copy of FN letter to Miss Huguenin ff172-74

**f172**

10 South St.  
Park Lane, W.  
Sept. 10/85

My dear Miss Huguenin,

I am very glad to hear of you & your doings, & tho' the Nurses seem by your account at present to be in rather a sleepy state, yet I am sure you will work them up to better things - & "with all *long-suffering* & doctrine."

Pray tell me how I can help you. You ask me to "support" you - Is it with books? Then pray tell me what sort of books you would like - And shall you or shall I consult Miss Crossland besides?

And may all your book-teaching 'aim & end' in making the Ward Nursing perfect in its detail which is, I think, a thing in which we sometimes fail, but I am sure *you* will not.

How many Nurses have you? & what are their grades? and how many Probationers? & from what class do they come? and how many beds?

and what kind of cases?

I hope your own Probationers' classes will be eminently successful - & that the Nurses will begin to practise "bandaging" enthusiastically - (In Paris at the Val de Grace Military Hospital the Orderlies are made to practise bandaging not only till they can do it to perfection but till they can do it in the given number of

f173

[-2-]

minutes - And the French Hospital Orderlies are as good as ours are bad)

I am glad your Medical Staff will give lectures. Will they also give *Clinical* Lectures at the bed-side to your Nurses & Probationers?

Have you Sisters?

Pray excuse pencil.

[6:482-83]

I was rather disappointed, as you know, that you seem to have fixed your career *out of* Workhouse Infirmaries, which appear to me the great want of this generation - I think they are *rather* 'looking up' in London - Miss Styring, Miss Vincent's Assistant at St. Marylebone Infirmary, has the new Paddington Workhouse Infirmary.

Miss Vincent has a promising Training School for Workhouse Infirmary Nurses.

Miss Franks has Kensington Infirmary.

When I think of the enormous change that God has worked in Hospital Nursing in the last 30 years - tho' so much still remains to be done - of the start in trained District Nursing.

I trust that you young ones will see, tho' I shall not, in the next 30 years a yet greater change & progress in Workhouse Infirmary Nursing in Military Nursing, in trained District Nursing, in all Nursing, practical & sanitary. **[end 6:483]**

f174

[-3-]

God bless you & your work;

ever yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Miss Crossland is not very strong: she has returned from her holiday. So has Mrs. Wardroper; but she is not well.

Have you good accommodation, by day & by night. Good cooking & meals for your Nurses, both day & night?

Everything about you interests me.

F.N.

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Miss Huguenin ff175-76, LMA

**f175**

10 South St. Park Lane, W.

Oct. 23/85.

Good speed, my dear Miss Huguenin: you have a great work before you; but I have no doubt you will do it.

I am afraid you will have wondered at my delay. But you did not answer my question what sort of books for teaching the Nurses & Probationers you wished for - nor whether you would consult Miss Crossland. So I consulted her - & this morning I sent for your kind acceptance

Domville's Manual  
Berkeley Hill on Bandaging  
Hoblyn's Dictionary  
Husband  
Carter's Elements of Medicine  
Huxley's Physiology.

Neither Miss Crossland nor I could think of any easier surgical book than "Druitt." And I ordered a "Druitt" - but he is out of print.

Pray tell me if you want other books than these -

And pray also tell me how many beds you have & what sort of cases -

Your letter was immensely interesting to me but rather sad.

However your Residents sound well.

I wish you had the engaging of the Nurses - or at least some considerable power over it & them -

It seems an uphill work.

**f176**

[-2-]

God bless you & the work I should like to hear more of it - as well as of the 'classes' - & whether your 'skeleton' is in order.

I cannot help feeling sorry that your Nurses "get certificates I come in the way of seeing how much harm this does.

Excuse pencil.

Fare you very well - & believe me ever faithfully yours  
with true sympathy

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Lord Reay, handwritten in pen by FN  
ff177-80, a letter in Boston 1/8/105 dated Nov 6/85, some overlap but different letters

**f177**

Private {on diagonal in top left corner}

& Confidential

Nov 5/85

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

Dear Lord Reay

You were so very good as **[10:309-10]**  
to encourage me to write to you  
if I had anything important  
to submit to you especially  
in Sanitary matters. And your  
great kindness makes me  
venture to appeal to you now.

The tenure of appointment  
as Surgeon Genl. H M. Forces  
by Dr. Auchinleck is just expiring:  
And under Clause 2 of India  
Army Circular 1880 the Govt.  
of India reserves power for  
Local Govts. to appoint, subject

**f177v**

to the confirmation of the Sec.  
of State an Officer of the *Indian*  
Medical Dept. if  
qualified as Surgeon General  
of H.M. forces

Though the Death-rate of  
the British troops serving in  
Bombay has been materially  
lowered yet the number of  
men "*constantly sick*" (about  
564 in a small Army of  
some 10000 British troops)  
shows that much remains  
to be done. Bombay & several  
other towns in the Presidency  
rank unhappily high for  
"*admissions*" (from Fever).  
Further work is necessary every

**f178**

where. We must work hard to be perfect.

The Reports from the Surgeon Genl.

H.M. forces show that much of this sickness is preventible, & much would be prevented by greater Sanitary strictness.

We Sanitarians were distressed by seeing in the Annual Sanitary Report that the British Surgeon Genl. had opposed the Sanitary Commissioner's wish to receive necessary returns. And we congratulated ourselves that the Bombay Govt. authorized his, the Sany. Commn.'s, being furnished with a copy of the Admission & Discharge book

**f178v**

from each station Hospital.

Might this not be a favourable opportunity for filling the vacant post with an Indian Medical Officer singularly adapted for the appointment? And that man I believe you will think Dr Surgn. Genl. Hewlett - the best sanitary Officer in Bombay, perhaps in India - exceptionally good in Sanitary experience in the Bombay Presidency.

Dr. Hewlett comes next after Dr. Moore, Surgeon Genl. with the Govt. of Bombay.

**f179**

First 10, South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane. W.

Sir F Roberts to go to the Duke  
of Cambridge & ask him to  
exercise his power to have Dr.  
Hewlett appointed Surgeon Genl.

The Duke will say that it is  
absolutely impossible to  
appoint an Officer of the  
Indian Med: Dep: to be the  
head of British Medl. Service  
in Bombay.

Sir F.R. will reply that it will  
be in virtue of a Clause  
which said that it might be  
under special circumstances.  
- that Dr. Hewlett was an  
Officer especially qualified

**f179v**

He will remind the Duke that  
H.R.H. said at the Mansion  
House dinner to Sir F Roberts  
"you see this is an instance of  
an Indian Officer who has  
attained to the highest position"

He will tell H.R.H: that  
there is about to be a  
vacancy in the post of  
Surgeon-Genl. to H.M. forces.  
that there is an Indian Medical  
Officer singularly apt for  
the appointment \_

We call upon you now to  
fulfil the promise that  
Indian Officers should hold

**f180**

appointments formerly limited  
to the British  
for you will never have a  
better chance.  
an exceptionally good ~~Medical~~  
Officer, especially adapted  
in rank, standing & fitness -  
the best Sanitary Officer in  
Bombay, perhaps in India  
- eminently good in  
Sanitary knowledge & experience  
in Bombay. **[end 10:310]**

Signed letter/draft/copy to Man Mohun Ghose, handwritten pen by FN ff181-82

**f181**

Nov 10/85  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W. {printed address}

Dear Sir

You were kind enough when **[10:831]**  
I had the pleasure of seeing you  
to give me hopes that Mrs.  
Ghose would do me the favour  
of coming to see me some day.  
Might I hope that she  
would fix some afternoon  
this week that would be  
convenient to her at 5 or at  
6 o'clock to give me the  
great pleasure of making  
her acquaintance?  
I would reserve to-day  
or any day for her,} provided  
*except* Wednesday, }

**f181v**

you would kindly let me  
 know at once-  
 And though I know how busy  
 you are, some afternoon  
 I hope you will fix, as  
 you kindly promised, to  
 see me before you leave  
 England Perhaps when I  
 see Mrs. Ghose she will  
 tell me when.

Pray believe me  
 ever yours faithfully  
 Florence Nightingale

Man Mohun Ghose

**f182**

Mr. Hume & other gentlemen  
 have encouraged me to see  
 Mr. Chanda Varkar & Mr.  
 Mordelliar, if they would  
 do me the honour.

May I hope for it  
 some day?

An answer, please, *now, only*  
 whether I may see *Mrs.*  
*Ghose* this afternoon or  
 some other afternoon this  
 week. *except* Wednesday (to-morrow)  
 when I am engaged.

F.N.

[end 10:831]

Signed letter/draft/copy to W.G. Pedder Esq, handwritten pen by FN ff183-88 (Goldie identifies as to Man Mohun Ghose]

**f183**

Private

& *Confidential* {on diagonal in top left corner}

Nov. 19/85

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I have long wished for **[10:315-16]**  
some excuse to claim one  
of your kind visits\_ and  
doubtful whether you can  
give me your precious time  
I am now using my privilege  
to ask you whether you  
would not give us a  
general Despatch from  
the I.O. with orders to be  
sent out to the Bombay  
Governmt.

first of all to tell them

W.G. Pedder Esq

**f183v**

that their Sanitary Commissioner  
does know his business  
& they must listen to him.

2. to tell them that his (Sept 5 1885)  
instructions to Village Patels  
must be translated &  
circulated

the Village Police Act of  
1867 extended to a larger  
number of Patels

& the people taught what  
to do & what not to do by  
their Patels & Panchayats

Do you approve Mr.  
Crawford's Draft Bombay  
Village Conservancy Act,

**[end 10:316]**

**f184**

tho' not going as far as we  
might wish?

Then please forward it -

And please tell the  
Bombay Govt to provide  
suitable areas of ground  
&c &c in the neighbourhood  
of villages

& to give increased powers.  
to Panchayats, as Mr. Crawford  
says, to protect their  
water sources

& to provide facilities for  
the people protecting  
themselves from local filth,  
as Mr. Crawford says -  
in short, tell the Bombay

**[10:316]**

**f184v**

Govt. to do what you would  
do yourself.

3\_ a matter which is, I  
believe, before the I.O.,  
& in which it would be  
an impertinence of me to  
interfere

That opinion of the Bombay  
Govt. regarding Cholera  
Contagion is read here with  
dismay. Could not the I.O.  
put pressure on the Bombay  
Govt. & tell them that  
they will cause serious  
embarrassment. The whole  
contention of British Sanitarian  
for years past has been

**[end 10:316]**

**f185**

that Cholera is not a contagious disease, & that therefore Quarantine is useless & absurd. But when we see the Bombay Govt. itself not convinced of the non-contagiousness of Cholera, how can we hope that foreign Govts. will allow the truth of English assertion?

Better to have left out all reference to it than to have made an admission that foreign Govts. are sure to take advantage of.

[I was reading Dr. Hewlett's last Annual Report\_ & in the Govt. Resolution upon it, found this in Para. 14.]

**f185v**

May I go on? or am I too tiresome?

4. Bombay has been foremost in making a grand first step towards executive organization by appointing a Sanitary Engineer as part of the Sanitary Staff of the province. This is the important lesson taught by Bombay. And we trust it will be learnt elsewhere in India \_ from *your* Bombay, always the first to Col. Ducat's appointment is a real advance. And after experience it will lead to more.

[10:316]

**f186**

Will not the Bombay Govt.  
give every facility to  
Municipalities to take advantage  
of Col. Ducat's services as  
Consulting Sanitary Engineer?

**[end 10:316]**

5. Would you press the  
advisability of Indian Engineers  
being encouraged whilst  
at home on furlough to take  
every opportunity of studying  
Sanitary engineering as a  
speciality?

[This again I think I have  
nothing to do with]

6. Would you not urge  
the Punjab system of utilizing  
services of the Zillah  
Civil Surgeons as Sanitary

**f186v**

Officers which has been  
found successful?  
The Bombay practice of  
having all sanitary reports,  
submitted by Civil Surgeons  
to the Sanitary Commissioners,  
sent thro' the Surgeon Genl.  
does not work well \_ does it  
It prevents, does it not?  
proper control. As in the  
Punjab, Civil Surgeons in  
their quasi Sanitary duties  
should correspond direct,  
should they not? with the  
Sany. Commr., & be solely  
under his control, as regards  
their Sanitary duties.

**f187**

[3]

The Zillah Civil Surgeons,  
as Sanitary Officers, are  
as much a part of the  
question as the Sanitary  
Commissioner himself. [If  
this system entails additional  
expenditure, would not the  
improved Sanitary organization  
amply repay?]

Bombay should lead the  
way in putting Sanitary  
organization on a proper  
footing.

**f187v**

Is not Mr. Ritchie again  
in England? Do you  
remember being so good as  
to arrange that I should  
see him before?

How I should like to ask  
him some questions again -

I am quite ashamed to  
ask it - but Lady Dufferin  
has given me rather a  
hard sanitary task.

If I could see a capital  
Sanitary dialogue prepared  
by Dr. Bellew of the Punjab  
& published in a Report

**f188**

about 1882, it would  
answer one of her questions.  
Might I ask for this Report?

Might I also as for Dr. [10:316]

Hewlett's *last but one*  
Annual Sanitary Report? [end 10:316]

Now it is only your extreme  
kindness which will  
prevent you from thinking  
that you have to do with  
the most troublesome person  
in the world in  
yours ever faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Sir William Wedderburn ff189-92, original Mss Eur A 151  
[10:832-34]

**f189**

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

Nov. 27/85.

10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dear Sir William Wedderburn,

Many thanks for your Reports of the Bombay Asscn. Meetings -  
for your kind letter, & for the (Private) Poona "Land Bank" paper.  
Success to the right.

But, our prospects are bad. You will have seen long & long  
before this reaches you how the Borough elections have gone. And  
you will know long & long before you read this what we do not yet  
know whether the County Elections have in any way retrieved our  
fortunes; which we yet hope.

We have lost, as to Indians, 'all along the line;' except-  
ing dear old Mr. Bright who *is* India. But he will not work alone.  
Mr. Slagg is gone, & - & - &.

About Mr. Lalmohun Ghose's defeat, it is deeply to be re-  
gretted as being that of the first educated Hindoo we have had as a  
candidate. But not otherwise. It was well known, I believe to  
Mr. Bright himself, that, as soon as he was safely elected; he would  
play the game of the Zemindars.

When I saw him, he appeared ignorant, with clap-trap phrases,  
& nothing sound about him. He knew nothing, tho' he pretended to  
know, of what had been done in Bombay, & could have been convicted of

ignorance, even by me. But I carefully kept his secret.,  
There is a man here, ManMohun, his brother, worth 50 Lalmohuns.

**f190**

[-2-]

And his wife, whom I have also seen, might vie with a well educated English lady.

Thanks for your introduction to Mr. Chanda Varkar whom I had a long talk with.

I believe their Meetings have been very successful throughout the country in attracting attention. We rather regretted that they had fallen so entirely into the hands of Mr. Digby, who has lost his Election - & is no great loss to our cause - & who used them merely as his Electioneering agents.

Mr Hume who brought me a letter from Mr Ilbert was so good as to give me a good deal of his time. This "National Liberal" Union, if it keeps straight, seems altogether the matter of greatest interest that has happened in India, if it makes progress, perhaps for a century. We are watching the birth of a new nationality in the oldest civilization in the world. How critical will be its first meeting at Poona. I bid it God speed with all my heart. I could wish - (but you know my opinion is worth nothing in this kind of *political policy*) - that it might not make personal attacks - that it might not, e.g., ask for the recall of Mr Grant Duff. This will have no other effect than that of strengthening his position. His time will soon be 'out.' And it would be so much more dignified & *telling* if the new "National Liberal" Union, especially in its first Session, would lay down principles, & not try to throw down men;

Also: might I say that the enormous harm which the "Times" has done us - by its Telegrams - has been done by publishing them on

**f191**

[-3-]

*Monday*, because it was enabled to have those long Telegrams by the Sunday wire - & during the Parliamentary Session people will only read those long Telegrams on India on Monday, because there is no Ho. of Commons report on that day. I could wish that the "D. News" matter of tactics my opinion is worth nothing.)

Lord Randolph - the "Boy with the Drum" - is doing untold harm - literally untold - because the India Office is a 'secret Society' - by attacking Ld. Ripon & Sir Evelyn Baring at the I.O. Council. (This is strictly *between you & me*)

I am afraid we have lost all chance of having Ld. Ripon at the I.O. at least at present. It would have been a difficult matter to manage at the best. Now it looks as if it were impossible. *That* would have been the best way to heal all our woes.

But I trust in God and the Right - tho' I may not live to see it. Perhaps before you receive this, there may be better news. God grant there may!

Mr Pedder lost his brother in law, killed in "suppressing that fanatical outbreak at Broach." He is in great trouble - his wife can scarcely bear the shock.

Lord Reay, I hope, is indeed fulfilling our expectations.  
God bless you & your work -  
ever yours faithfully,  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

It is a pity that Sir H. Maine & the I.O. persist in refusing to

**f192**

[-4-]

raise the limit of age (among Indian C.S. candidates), on the ground that they have granted the "optional" 3rd year. About one in six, not more, has availed himself of the provision (at Oxford in the last two years.) But I will send you the figures.

I think, in recommending "Capt. Verney" as a "candidate to be supported", his younger brother, Mr Fred. Verney, was intended. Both are good. But it is the younger, who has written for India.

**[end 10:834]**

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Sir William Wedderburn ff193-94

**f193**

Dec. 4/85.  
10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Sir William Wedderburn,

**[10:852]**

I snatch a moment before the mail goes to tell you that, tho' friends have lost & foes have won, you must not think that your Delegates have made a failure. Far from it: they have fought a good fight: they have kept the faith: they have made a great impression in favour of India, or, what is better, in favour of looking into & learning the case of India. On the whole, tho' we have lost some good men, tho' we could ill spare the great majority we were hoping for, yet still this Election must be considered a victory. It has been fought so fairly & purely on our side by some. NO flattering of the people: but instructing & enlightening them, the new voters - answering their questions, not evasively & smoothly, but showing them where they deceived themselves, & what alone could really raise their lot in life, could really "save" them, body & soul & mind.

And to return: I am sure a great interest has been aroused for India. And Associations will be formed in different towns, besides London. I have had a second long talk with your Mr Chandavarkar, since I wrote. He is full of interests, Religious (Theistic), Social, Political, & labours hard for the good of women, among others, & Mill hands, & all sorts of benevolent schemes. More of that another day. Mr Mudaliya, of Madras, is also full of plans for the improvement of his people. Altogether your Delegation

**f194**

[-2-]

has been most successful. More about them another mail.

But, as to the victory even in defeat, of our Elections, it has been a Holy War on our side. I take my nephew, F. Verney, in S.W. Kent, as an illustration merely. The constituency was more than trebled. Nearly 9000 came to the poll. He did not ask a single man for his vote. But he held 32 meetings in about 6 weeks - instructing them in politics & social things. While on the Conservative side the ladies went about as primrose leaguers to every cottage, & were concerned in many mean & dirty things. F., Verney's minority, (he, tho' a new man, was only 300 behind his opponent,) was composed of railway men, workmen & labouring men. And they escorted him who had not been worth a penny to them, to the Station, cheering to a man, with as much enthusiasm as if he had won, & promised them "three acres & a cow" a piece. So I say: I give them joy. they have fought a good fight. They have kept the faith. **[end 10:852]**

Sixty polls are to be decided to-day: my other nephew's, Capt. Verney, among them.

Fare you very well - *success to India.*

ever yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Sir William Wedderburn ff195-96

**f195**

*Private.*

Dec. 11/85.

10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

**[10:853]**

Again, dear Sir Wm. Wedderburn, a hurried line about the Elections and your Delegates. By this time you will have seen that the Liberal prospects are looking up. The Counties have done their duty. But still, as far as regards India, we are a good deal disappointed. It is a real misfortune that the representatives of India should be Sir Jas. Ferguson, Sir Lewis Pelly & Sir R. Temple, & worst of all, an Indian Conservative - who is to an English Conservative like a mad dog to a noble retriever - a man brought in by Zemindars' money - that is, Sir Roper Lethbridge, which is a disgrace to us.

But your Delegates have made a great impression in England - pray be sure of this - & Mr Bright's Meeting at Birmingham was thoroughly successful. I was a little sorry that he went into a thing so very far ahead as the "United States of India" - & did not dwell more on the immediate practical measures to be carried of vital importance. But still it was a noble speech.

Do not let the Indian people think that your Delegates have failed. It is no such thing.

Mr Chandawarkar [varkar], the second time I saw him was so full of interest. How much he has done and is doing in Bombay that we English know nothing of - I should like to have heard more of his

**f196**

[-2-]

religious Theistic Association - & of their schools for Mill-hands & women.

You will hear that he saw Lord Ripon & that they, the Delegates, had an interview with Mr Chamberlain. Likewise Mr Mudeliar, the Madras delegate, was most interesting. I wish they had published more leaflets with figures & facts. This is what political men asked me for.

There ought to have been, and I hope will be, a leaflet of what Mr Mudeliar told Mr Chamberlain were the measures to which they in India attached most importance - e.g. indirect representation by members elected by Town Councils &c. - not by the direct vote of the people *yet*. representation on Legislative Councils &c.

May the Burmese War be well over - All the Liberal candidates

I knew carried on their

{large curly bracket (}) b/w text canvass with unexampled  
on left, and text on right} purity - those who failed &  
those who succeeded.

God bless you & your work

Yours ever faithfully

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Do what we will, the majority of the Liberals over the Conservatives never exceeds the number of the Parnellites. The Parnellites & the Conservatives together are always equal to the Liberals. There are two "Independent" members. And a cousin of mine says: the Government of the Empire is now vested in these two Independent members! **[end 10:854]**

ff197-200 letter to FN Dec 17 1885 from Eleanor Patteson, N Home, re her kind letter enclosing Miss Oberbeck's paper recd last week. Your kind letter enclosing Miss Oberbeck's paper I recd duly last week. I am glad you liked my friend's account of her work; if she has a high ideal of what a district nurse shd be, she herself tried to live up to it as few do to their own ideals.

I often think of what we talked about the evening I was with you and I do thank you very much that when you might have blamed you only very kindly reasoned. Forgive me if I still maintain that a true man or woman must be his or herself even whilst striving hard to know and be what God meant they shd be. Our friends love our individuality and only our friends can help us to get rid of what deforms and disfigures ourselves, it cannot be done by coercion. It is difficult to imagine circs out of which no good could be extracted by a reasonable being. But you can imagine a plant in soil utterly unfavourable to its growth being a failure. It is sometimes hard to decide which is at fault, the plant or the soil or possibly both in as far as one is unsuitable to the other. People may fail to extract good

from someone or bit of eternity from much the same reason. But if we happen to be placed in unfavourable circs and fail to be as good or to do as much good as we fain would have been and done do you think that will be all loss eternally? I cannot think so. Experience and self knowledge will (if nothing else) have been dispensed [?] for anyone who has begun to know God and himself. Our "prospects" may be injured by such failure but not our real welfare. I must long ere this have wearied you with these subjects but I needs must answer your kind note I remain yours sincerely Eleanor L.J. Patteson

**ff201-02** letter to FN Dec 14 1885 from J.C. Bird from Winchombe, Gloucestershire, has resigned post of matron at Cray Valley Cottage Hosp, fearing result of another winter there

ff203-04 letter to FN Dec 26 1885, from Lizzie Hordmars [?] on embossed Belfast Children's Hospital thanks for generous remembrance of their work and kindness to matron

Incomplete unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, dated ca. 1884-1885, handwritten pencil not sure if FN or not, shaky

**f205**

[2]

placed under a really efficient Supt.

It has occurred to me there if such a staff of Nurses *were* needed, he might think it feasible to move Miss Airy from Cairo to take charge of such a Hospl. as I am well acquainted with her. I wd. then feel confidence in doing what I could to find Nurses that cd. be placed under her. I think it wd. be a very great advantage that

[15:976]

**f205v**

any Nurse to be sent out by the N.A.S. shd. be placed under the control of a lady Supt. appointed by the A.M.D

{rest of text on vertical, largely illeg only contemplating what might occur

N.A.S are applying  
to me to recommend more  
Nurses It appears to me  
quite undesirable that they shd.  
be employed in existing circumstances  
except at a base Hospl. {written on vertical} **[end]**

**f207** FN letter ink on brown note paper

Dear Miss Cox You have my very best wishes for your success as a Military Nurse- In answer to your question, there is no training to be had at any of our Military Hospitals which can at all fit your for the career. They themselves take their Nurses from the Civil Hospitals. Our Training School is at St. Thomas' Hospital- & they have some of ours. You know probably that

f207v

two staffs of trained lady nurses have just started for the Military Hospitals.

Signed letter/draft/copy, handwritten pencil by FN ff208-14

**f208**

10 South St. Jan 6/86

My dear Beatrice Thank you  
very much for your most  
kind letter.

It is a thousand times more  
important for A. Hepworth  
to go about *with you* even  
to one School, even if needle-  
drill exactly were not going  
on, than to come & see me.  
So if any one of the answers  
from the Head Mistresses,  
to whom you have been so  
kind as to write, is propitious,

**f208v**

will you not be so good  
as to *take her on "Thursday  
"or Friday morning"*?  
But I fear that holidays &  
snow are against it\_

I could make it 5 instead  
of 6 on Friday, I fear  
not earlier. [I did not  
know or did not remember  
that she returned to Lea  
on Saturday. She will  
scarcely wish to come here  
the last evening. If you will  
kindly send me her address  
in London, which I have

**f209**

mismaid, I will send her  
the books (for Lea) on  
Friday, if I do not see her.  
2. About G. Dexter, I feel  
rather repentant for having  
even glanced at a  
comparison between her &  
A. Hepworth who has  
certainly done thoroughly  
good work among the Infants  
You know we preferred  
Butler to Norris, tho' we felt  
almost sure that Norris was  
the better nature\_ Then Butler

**f209v**

gave us a fright. And  
now after all he seems to  
be the right man in the  
right place, tho' Arthur C.  
says he is still 'fractious  
& quarrelsome'.  
3.[This reminds me: no  
doubt Butler has had to  
drive & cram to bring  
the School up to Inspector's  
pitch. But there cannot  
be the same necessity now  
And he has, thanks to  
Aunt Mai, now abundance  
of help in teaching.  
Do you think it would

**f210**

[2]

be possible to 'even' *to him*  
that he might *overlook* now  
*the teachers in giving*

their lessons a little more?

& especially in *introducing*  
*the nice lessons* which do  
not 'tell' directly for an Examn.

- & which they practise  
at Thomas St\_ for which  
there might *now* be "time",  
and "time" for him to look  
after it -

- e.g. little moral tales which A  
Hepworth used to tell her  
scholars once a week at  
Thomas St

**f210v**

- object lessons which  
of all others most want a  
Head Master's eye

- religious morning instruction  
in *talk*

- now & then the Head Master  
asking the teacher: now how  
do you mean to give such &  
such a lesson?

----- drawing maps on floor.

[I was rather appalled  
to hear from G.D. the quantity  
of learning by heart \_

the children's lessons *at*  
*home* were chiefly learning  
Scripture by heart \_

A. Hepworth in the Summer

**f211**

gave me very much the  
 same account of *all* this  
 as G.D. does now - } each  
 adding there was "no time"]

One can quite believe  
 that there *was* "no time"  
 this last year but to  
 bring the children "up to time"  
 for the two Exams.

But now perhaps  
 there might be \_

& especially for him to  
 overlook G.D.'s *teaching*:  
 & A. Hepwth.'s *geniality* - i.e  
 her talking-classes to the  
 Infants. &c.

Would this be possible?

**f211v**

4. To return to G.D.,  
 if dear Aunt Mai is to see  
 my notes about her, Grace  
 Dexter, I am anxious to  
 explain: -

It *may* be that G.D. &  
 A. Hepworth stand in the  
 same relation as we  
 thought Norris & Butler did  
 - G.D\_ the finer nature -  
 - A. Hepwth. the more finished  
 School mistress \_ Do *you*  
 think this? [*We know*  
 hardly anything for or against  
 G.D.'s teaching.]

I think we can hardly be  
 mistaken in thinking G.D.

**f212**

[3]

a most desirable & rather  
 rare element in a School.  
 I never saw a Barker I really  
*wished* to keep. I think  
 with horror of poor Mien  
 going as teacher into *any*  
 School \_&c &c caeteris paribus with other P.T.'s -  
 If G.D. could be thoroughly  
 trained - & she *wishes* to  
 make School-teaching her life,  
 which A. Hepwth. does not,-  
 the odds are that she would  
 make a famous Asst.  
 Mistress for Lea School -  
 & her love of the place &  
 the children is a great thing.

**f212v**

Do you think this? \*

I think you think it better for her to be in a Girls School  
 Of course it is not my business  
 to judge about keeping her  
 after Midsummer.

And, after all, my conversation  
 with a girl is not a thing to  
 judge by

-----  
 \* She did not appear to  
 have any special call to be  
 an Infant School mistress \_  
 I *think* she said the same  
 thing that a "Special" (Lady)  
 Probationer of ours said to me  
 about taking a Children's Ward:  
 viz 'that ~~children~~ infants did not  
 occupy the *mind* enough'-  
 Both will probably live to  
 change their opinion.

**f213**

5. Another thing I want to explain:

I think I used the foolish expression that G.D. was like an educated "lady's" child. in my Notes -

You who saw her would understand that this was not because of anything we call "lady-like"- & if she has nice manners, it is by dint of having no manners at all -

But it was a sort of natural unconscious unrestrained interest in interesting things \_

**f213v**

'Oh I do so want just to go inside the Ho: of Commons some day - just to hear Mr Gladstone speak once - I know it is difficult - & I know the Ho. of C. is not sitting *now*!

And

'may I just look round the books to see if there is a Tennyson?' [We did find the Tennyson afterwards.] 'to look at'.

And

'oh! I'm not a bit tired now'.

**f214**

[4]

I think I should like to  
explain to dear Aunt Mai  
that it is not a mere charm  
but the evidence of something  
larger that impresses one  
in her, if you feel it too -

    May she develop & grow!  
And may it not go off, the  
young promise, as too often  
happens!

    Pardon this explanation:  
& believe me ever, dear  
Beatrice, your affectionate

        F. Nightingale

I hope dear Aunt Mai is getting  
rid of her cold.

Incomplete signed letter/draft/copy to H.E. the Countess of Dufferin, handwritten pen by FN, dated ca. Jan 1886 f216

**f216**

[3]

We hear with hope & admiration  
of your intended Meeting  
on "Female Medical Aid" this  
month \_ May it prosper  
as it deserves.\_ May good  
speed follow all you do  
for India - may what  
you allow us to do be not  
quite in vain for you  
is the warmest wish of  
Your Excellency's devoted servant

**[10:740]**

Florence Nightingale

**[end 10:740]**

H.E.

the Countess of Dufferin

&c &c &c

Incomplete? unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten pen by FN, dated ca. Jan 31-Feb 3 1886 ff217-18

**f217**

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

The state of the case is this: **[10:834-38]**  
 the people in India, the  
 educated people, whom we  
 ourselves have educated  
 & who are beginning to educate  
 the masses in constitutional  
 methods, are only restrained  
 from demonstrating strongly  
 on the subject, (that is, of  
 "having Lord Ripon as the  
 next liberal Secy. of State")  
 from fear of embarrassing Mr Gladstone & perhaps  
 defeating their own object.

Is there any way in which

**f217v**

this strong feeling in India  
 can be effectually brought  
 to bear in the proper quarter?

That is our question.

If Lord Kimberley has the  
 India Office, we are almost  
 if not quite as much defeated  
 as if Lord Randolph were  
 there. For Lord Kimberley,  
 tho' he does not know it  
 himself, is hardly more  
 than a tool in the hands  
 of the India Council.

We are restrained, like the  
 India people, from agitating  
 for Lord Ripon, & for the same

**f218**

reasons. Otherwise we could  
get any number of letters  
& articles into the Liberal  
papers.

Would you advise us to  
do so?

I would that England knew  
the considered convictions  
of the people, of authority &  
education in India - & their  
self-restraint & sense of responsibility \_ "New India"  
has accepted our constitutional  
principles as her own. And  
thinking men in England  
will understand that those  
natives who formed the  
"Congress" at Poona Bombay are

**f218v**

heart & soul with us  
in all our best aspirations  
for India.

The Principles of these men  
would do honour to the  
best educated men in  
India. England

[end 10:834]

Signed letter/draft/copy to Col. Yule RE, handwritten pen by FN ff219-22

**f219**

Private

& *Confidential* {written on diagonal in top left corner}

Sept. 14/86

10, South Street,

Park Lane [printed address, crossed out by diag. line]

My dear Sir

The point ~~on~~ which I wished **[9:660-61]**  
 to consult you about which  
 comes out of your kind note  
 of Sept. relating to Dr.  
 Sutherland's "intended retirement".  
 is: would you think  
 it possible or desirable to  
 try to re-organize the Army  
 Sanitary Comm. when this  
 event takes place? so as to  
 give it more Executive power\_  
 not indeed directly, but by public opinion &  
 Secretaries of State. Do you contemplate the  
 Army San: Comm: as a part  
 of the *India* Office with

**f219v**

say Dr. Hewlett, of Bombay  
 or Dr. Cunningham as Dr.  
 Sutherland's successor?  
 and do you think it would  
 thus have the weight of your  
 present Army Sany. Comm: ?

Might I ask what you  
 think of the possibility of  
 so re-organizing the Army  
 Sany. Comm: as to obtaining a  
 living force to be exerted by  
 the highest authorities at  
 the War & India Offices -  
~~so~~ so that it should be strong  
 enough to strengthen their

**f220**

hands - by having public opinion at its back - in giving money & Executive reality to what it - i.e. you recommend?

As you are good enough to think that I could help in obtaining a successor to Dr. Sutherland at the "expense of "the India Office", & back you in your good "fight", I would write you a short note in the sense of what follows, if that is what your kindness means.

**f221**

[2]

Dr. Sutherland did so much work viva voce with Executive Officers coming to consult him that it is difficult to find all the evidence in the Department of his utility & of the absolute necessity of a successor to him.

The reviews & criticism of Indian Sanitary matters furnished in the Annual Blue Book of which Dr. Sutherland has hitherto been the real author have been of the greatest importance. But it is little known how

**f221v**

native authorities in India,  
 e.g. the native heads of  
 Municipalities attach such  
 value to these reviews that  
 they actually obtain the  
 Reports from London  
 before they are sent even  
 to us in England, & use  
 them literally & to the best  
 effect \_

What is required is no  
 doubt executive work -  
 but without the criticism  
 the Executive work would  
 have gone on upon wrong  
 lines - or not at all.  
 And there never was a time

**f222**

when so much activity has  
 been awakened in India,  
 more especially among the  
 natives \_ And therefore  
 when the continuance of  
 the work done hitherto by  
 Dr. Sutherland was so  
 important, or abandoning it  
 would be such a serious  
 evil.

**[end 9:661]**

**f222v**

Pray believe me  
 my dear Sir  
 ever your faithful servt.  
 Florence Nightingale  
 Col. Yule RE  
 &c &

f223 letter to FN Oct 21 [1886] from Janet Clarke, Alexandra Hotel,

How can I thank you for your most letter and the books. Truly I cannot allow you to think there is anything about me to admire or think well of, I do really nothing at all & when I think of your whole life I feel most humbled & ashamed of my idleness. I shall study the

books all at sea, and think of you often. Today

f225 letter to FN Nov 24 1886 from I Huguenin, Northern Hosp, has sent in resignation for second time, re many problems of nursing, looking for post

Unsigned letter/draft to Lord Cross, handwritten pen by FN ff227-32

**f227**

10 South St. Park Lane W  
 Private Dec 2/86  
 & *Confidential* {on diag. top left, below address}

Dear Lord Cross

In your extreme kindness, **[10:186-87]**  
 you asked/desired me to write to  
 you privately when anything  
 should occur where your [line on diag. through 'where' to 'needed', as if to cross out  
 text]

all powerful help was  
 needed in ~~about~~ in our/your Sanitary  
 affairs. And you kindly said  
 that you ~~would~~ were writing to  
 Lord Dufferin by this mail  
 about them.

It occurred to me to suggest  
 whether you would think  
 well to tell him your views  
*against* the measure proposed  
 by the Finance Committee  
 in one Presidency at least

**f227v**

- viz. that the Sanitary Commissioners  
 should be abolished or rather  
 amalgamated with the Surgeons  
 General, which is worse:  
 [the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners  
 have had repeated hopes  
 held out to them by the Secy.  
 of State for India that the  
 Sanitary Commissioners would  
 be chosen from among them.]
2. that the Dy. Sany. Commissrs.  
 salaries should be cut down,  
 in which case it would be  
 impossible to keep good men  
 in the Dept. would it not?
  3. that the number of Dy.  
 Sany. Commissrs. should be

**f228**

reduced, when there are  
too few already for the work:

As the present remuneration  
has secured good Sanitarians,  
& inferior men would be  
worse than nothing, you  
might think well to say  
that you did not wish  
salaries to be cut down.

There is the other point, connected  
with this same subject, which  
was mooted already in Sir  
Jas: Ferguson's time in Bombay but  
negatived by him: viz. to  
take away the Sanitary  
Supervision of Barracks &

**f228v**

troops from the Sanitary  
Commissioner & give it to  
the Surgeon Genl., H.M.'s Forces  
who has neither time nor  
knowledge for it. It is most  
important, as you said,  
that the Sanitary condition  
of Barracks & troops should  
be reported on by the Sanitary  
Commissioner.

But you will know better than  
I do whether these/these last Presidency  
matters of administration  
comes enough under the  
Governor-Genl.'s cognizance  
for you to think well to  
call Lord Dufferin's attention  
to ~~them~~ it

**f229**

3{in pencil} [2] put off Dec 9/86 {pencil}  
till next mail {pencil}

2. The second thing for which I  
plead is:  
for the village local agencies

& I ventured to bring before you  
two illustrations

(1) that they are cutting down  
the Bombay Village Bill-  
revived from the Bombay  
Village Police Act of 1867 -  
so that a village should signify  
only a place of more than  
500 inhabitants. Now, of  
24598 villages in Bombay Presy.  
15601 have less than 500 nikts.  
8997 therefore only would  
have cleanliness

(2) in Lower Bengal also  
the people are crying out for  
an Act to enable the villages  
to do their own conservation work

[entire folio is crossed out with one diagonal line through page]

**f229v**

You will know better than I [10:187-88]  
whether legislation for a  
Presidency has to be approved  
of by the Governor Genl. in  
Council: & whether you  
would think well to  
impress your views on Lord  
Dufferin in this matter.  
[writing is crossed through with one diagonal line]

**f230**

About the other matter which  
you were kind enough/so good as to  
desire - viz. that I ~~should~~  
~~convey your~~ the Sanitary  
Commr. of Bombay should  
communicate with you,  
might I request you to allow  
me to write to you by next  
mail?

**f231**

[3]  
Would it be deemed an  
impertinence if I were  
again to ask as a favour  
that any enquiry for  
information ordered by  
you, any expression of  
your views, or any steps,  
made or taken by you should  
be *entirely in your own*  
name, without any  
reference whatever to  
poor me, or any mention  
whatever of me?

**f232**

[4]

But as the Sanitary Commissioners  
 have shown, for nearly 200  
 millions of our fellow subjects  
 nothing of much consequence  
 has been done, & India suffers  
 enormous death & property losses  
 from epidemics. The executive  
 is wanting, & the present  
 function of the Sanitary  
 Commissioners is really to tell us  
 how many people die of  
 preventable diseases.

Still the union of the two  
 Offices, Medical & Sanitary,  
 would be the first step  
 downwards to non-entity.

It would be better if they  
 would discuss whether a  
 Sanitary *Executive* could not  
 now be appointed

The step downwards would be

**f232v**

that there would be no necessary  
 Sanitary knowledge among the successive  
 Principal Medical Officers  
 appointed\_ And there would  
 be no continuity of knowledge.  
 Every new man would have  
 to learn not only Sanitary work  
 but its peculiarities in his  
 district\_ And so little money  
 would be saved, while the  
 people would be swept away  
 And there would be increase  
 of epidemics among the troops.  
 And every life lost would  
 cost India £ 100.

But the Sanitary Engineer

**[end 10:188]**

Typed copy of FN signed letter to Miss Anderson f233

**f233**

Dec. 27/86.  
10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Miss Anderson,

So you are appointed to the Northern. And you have my very best, my most fervent wishes that you may have success in the highest sense - It is not now a question whether you shall go or not: therefore let us only think of the future even tho' it may be a difficult one, let us trust our Heavenly Father who wishes the welfare of the Hospital & your own, more even than we can do ourselves, that He will make it a prosperous one as He calls prosperity - a blessed one in His sense of the highest blessings. It is His Christmas gift to you - And I hope you will kindly let me know from time to time how you are going on, for I shall be most anxious -

I do not know when you go.

I am so grieving with Miss Gibson for her great trouble & grief.

And I am so very sorry for poor Workhouse Infirmary losing you.

Now I will say no more but loving Christmas Greetings & let me be ever affectionately yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

F234 letter to FN from Katherine A Greenfield, printed Vera, Barclay Road, Croydon. I do not think it wd be impossible to be ready in ten days on a fortnight, the only question wold be as to the heat, which wd be so much greater now that a month later and might prove trying to nurse a patient, though possibly delay would be worse for him. Thank you for the telegram as to ages, had the student been older I cd not have undertaken it. Can you tell me what terms are offered? There are many reasons why I wd not remain in Siam, want of training being a principal one, besides the fact that I would (if in the East) prefer the Punjab where my sister is carrying on her work. I suppose all arrangements for the journey would be made by the Siamese Legation? I have written to my brother asking his advice as to the heat and will let you know as soon as possible.

Unsigned undated draft/copy to W.H. Smith, with FN notes to self, handwritten pencil, ff236-38

**f236**

write to W.H. Smith

hopeless thing his leaving the W.O.  
wd. he impress on his successor

use of A.S.C.

induced him to think that it  
would be a good thing to have  
a working Ctee. This is just  
a case in point

**f237v**

There has been a great  
question mentioned in the  
Times about the Sanitary state  
of the Barracks in Dublin  
& the Typhoid fever - & the death  
of Major Gomm, D.A.A.S - from Typhoid  
It was stated that  
&c Commee. from the W.O went  
over to examine the Barracks -

That was just a case for which  
the A.S.C. was created  
& yet this Cee. consisting of some  
of the best Sanitary authorities  
in England - at hand & at the  
absolute disposal of the W.O \_  
without any expence to them  
was completely ignored.  
what is the meaning of administration?

**f238**

yourself  
even tho' no longer S. of S. for War  
~~as First Lord of the Treasury~~  
to look into the matter which  
you so kindly started with me  
If perhaps something might be

done for Garrison towns (where  
 as at Aldershot the evil is said to be positively  
 increasing.) Something After the fashion  
 of Glasgow if that is successful - a thing which if I might say so  
 no one could do like yourself.  
 Possibly a Bill might be brought in  
 But it is not for me to say

100

~~Might I hope~~

I end as I began. Our hopes are centred  
 in you.

**f238v**

Might I ~~hope~~ repeat my trust  
 not to be quoted in this matter,  
 not because I ~~am~~ of cowardlyice, but  
 because ~~an~~ enquiry is only  
 efficient if the Cabinet Minister  
 or authority undertakes it from  
 himself?

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to W.H. Smith, handwritten pen by FN ff240-47

**f240**

Private

& *Confidential* {on diagonal in top left corner}

Rt. Honbl. {in pencil} Jan 10/87

W. H. Smith {in pencil} 10, South Street, {printed address}

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

Your extreme kindness to me **[9:663]**

and the favour you did  
 me in desiring me to  
 write to you on subjects  
 connected with our conversation  
 make me bold to obey  
 your desire, notwithstanding  
 that the event we most  
 dreaded has happened,  
 & you are no longer at the  
 War Office.

1. *Army Sanitary Commn.*

You were so good as to

Add Mss 45807

932

say to me that you desired

**f240v**

- (1) to reconstitute the Army  
Sanitary Commn. so as to do  
its work as a Commission
- (2) to give it work to do \_  
Would you think well to  
impress on your successor  
the uses of the Army San: Comm  
which induced you to think/consider  
that it would be wise to  
have a *working* Commission?

**[end 9:663]**

A case in point has just  
happened: there was a  
great question about the  
Sanitary state of the Barracks  
in Dublin, (reported upon

**f241**

upwards of 25 years ago by the  
Army San: Comm., but all  
whose recommendations had  
not ~~yet~~ even now been carried out).  
The outbreak of Typhoid Fever & Major Gomm's  
death ~~of~~ from Typhoid ~~gave a~~ made it sadly  
necessary to renew ~~filed~~ to the subject. And  
a Committee from the W.O. or H.G.  
went over to examine the  
Barracks.

That was just a case for  
which the Army San: Comm:  
was created. And yet this  
Commission, consisting of  
some of the best Sanitary  
authorities in England -  
at hand, & at the absolute  
disposal of the War Office

**f241v**

without any expence to the W.O.,  
 was completely ignored.  
 The importance of re-vivifying **[9:663]**  
 & utilizing the Army Sany:  
 Comm: & the facts of its  
 not being utilized could  
 be illustrated ~~to you~~ by  
 many more instances, if  
 you thought well to ~~impress~~ it speak of it  
 on to your successor\_ But you  
 yourself are the best advocate,  
 & illustration are needless & only  
 troublesome to you **[end 9:663]**

**f242**

Soldiers' drinking & vice  
 10, South Street,  
 II Park Lane. W. {printed address}  
 2 You were kind enough to  
 desire that I should see the  
 Chaplain-Genl., mainly about  
 the drinking & the vice  
 of our poor young soldiers.  
 And he came.  
 His conversation & the  
 clearness of his insight  
 are very striking  
 Only its Barracks [line in pencil, not clear where fits in]  
 In his opinion the causes  
 of these great evils lie now outside the Barracks in the  
 public-houses - the drugging  
 of the beer, which renders the  
 men (who do not go out for  
 a bad purpose) incapable  
 of resistance -

**f242v**

Portsmouth has in the town  
very bad public houses - the same evils  
as Aldershot just outside the Camp.

So have other Garrison towns {from 'Portsmouth' to 'towns' in pencil}  
& (2) the harbouring of prostitutes  
in these public-houses.

This evil appears to be even increasing. {sentence in pencil}

Taking Aldershot first:

there is a row of public-houses  
actually on the other side of  
the road skirting the Camp.

The men who would not perhaps  
walk half a mile to go into  
these public houses which  
are notoriously used for bad  
purposes have only just  
to go across the road.

Now no one can say that five  
public-houses in a row are  
necessary for the purposes of  
the public's refreshment.

Portsmouth

**f243**

## 2. Inside the Barracks

Government has done a great  
deal in providing Recreation  
rooms. in Barracks. it is quite  
a different thing from what it  
used to be.

Still there is no doubt that  
there is drinking to excess in  
Canteens.

Coffee-rooms & providing  
variety of food at or under cost-price  
(paid for in part out of the Canteen fund\_-  
"noisy" & "quiet" day reading rooms, as  
the men call them, games for one &  
libraries for the other, smoking in all, are wanted, & are  
generally provided.

Whether they answer or not

depends almost entirely on the

**f243v**

Commdg. Officer or on one  
 man taking them up \_  
 In one Regt. you are told: a  
 Coffee-room never answers.  
 the men won't drink coffee.  
 In the Regt. alongside you  
 are told: the Coffee is the  
 greatest success. Why?  
 Because one man, perhaps  
 the Quarter Master, has  
 taken it up & works it well.  
 As to books: the Librarians are  
 sometimes "grumpy" - ~~Unless~~  
~~the~~ a Librarian ~~will~~ must enter into  
 it with spirit, look into what  
~~the men~~ book a man likes to read, & ~~arrange~~ take pains  
 for his having it. ~~unless~~ & the  
 Library & Librarians must have sufficient accommodation  
 & pay. ~~it does not answer.~~ [But

**f244**

everywhere it is the same story.  
~~again they may have all this~~  
~~& still it may not answer.~~  
 In fact, all depends everywhere  
 on the Commandg: Officer \_  
 or on the "one man".  
 And a C.O. if he had only  
 two years to run, ~~will~~ would rarely  
 take the trouble. Because his  
 first two years are generally  
 spent in 'hot water', if he  
 is a reformer: & he must  
 have his other two or three  
 years to carry out his reforms  
 This will now be remedied, will it not?  
~~Also~~ the N.C. officers are  
 too young under the present system They have ~~no~~ small control  
 over their men: They don't  
 make the men's work "jolly".  
 They are too often stilted & imperious -

'clothed in a little brief authority'.  
{policies.}

**f244v**

The steady old serjeants are gone when they  
 were a good ~~one~~? they *were* a indeed  
 good good fathers - Godfathers to their men?  
~~As for oth~~

There must be library in the "Homes" {from here to end of folio in pencil}  
 - no "button-holing" as the men call it-  
 space, warmth & light -.  
 & amusement - good & various  
 & cheap food & drinks -

**f245**

Thus far I should like to say  
~~a great deal~~ much more about the  
 inside of Barracks might be  
 said.

But the men *will* "go out- & I return now to "outside Barracks  
 And tho' there are outside Barracks some  
 excellent Soldiers' Homes &  
 Institutes, we/they have not yet  
~~been able to compete~~ succeeded in competing with the  
 public houses in attraction And ~~many~~ there are  
 more "Homes" are Garrison towns  
 & Homes & places without  
 Soldiers' Homes - And these Home  
 too depends upon one man,  
 not necessarily a C.O., taking  
~~them~~ it up & working it.

In one Garrison town, an  
 Officer said to me quite recently:  
 The soldier has ~~nothing~~ nowhere to go but the  
 Barrack.room which is dreary

**f245v**

the Canteen where he drinks,  
~~to excess~~, & the public-house,  
 which is a brothel.

The public houses in Portsmouth  
 are very bad - on both the  
 scores mentioned as regards  
 Aldershot

Another said to me: if I were a soldier  
 I should always be in prison. {sentence in pencil}

And other Garrison towns  
 could be cited. [diag. line crosses text out from "The public..." to here]

The various Temperance Societies seem now to have  
~~not~~ done so much good as  
 they ought. They are said to  
 have a great many abstainers  
 -but how often do the men  
 take the pledge & go straight  
 out & get drunk -  
 unlike the one great Temperance  
 Union in India all over India  
 set on foot by ~~Mr illeg. Prepi?~~ one man,  
 a Baptist Minister,†

**f246**

[3]  
 10, South Street [printed address]  
 Park Lane. W.

You were so good as to desire  
 me to write to you about  
 these matters which are of  
~~the most acute deep intent~~ the deepest interest to me  
 And I do.

*Would not the best course be  
 to have a Report called for  
 from the Chaplain-General?*

**f246v**

But I venture to ask, tho'  
 perhaps I only show my  
 ignorance in asking:  
 Could not the War Office  
 suppress illegal doing at  
 the Public- houses of Aldershot  
 & elsewhere?

It is absolutely illegal, I  
 presume, to adulterate drink  
 under the "Sale of Food &  
 Drugs" Act

Would the War Office choose  
 to act in the matter?

~~Probably~~ Possibly it has done so  
 provision for the sick. These two Institutions  
 are ~~supposed~~ maintained by voluntary contributions -  
 In Glasgow the whole movement was supported  
 by public opinion  
 Could anything similar be done here?

**f247**

It is absolutely illegal to  
 harbour prostitutes under the  
 "Criminal Law Amendment Act"  
 1885, "Suppression of Brothels.'

~~Has not~~ Is it true that

Glasgow ~~has~~ has cleared itself of  
 prostitutes: ~~has it not?~~  
 & ~~has~~ has closed any houses  
 which harbour prostitutes?

"The essence of" its ~~action~~ movement is  
~~is it not?~~ said to be \_ "that any citizen

"can set the police in action

"& point out any house they

"believe to be used for bad

"purposes, & the result of the

"proceedings is that all such houses

"in Glasgow have been put down which

"means the removal of a great deal

"of the temptation from young soldiers"

In Glasgow the effort was supplemented, as it

always must be by 1 Magdalen Homes & 2. special  
{from 'is that all...!' to end of folio in pencil}

**f247v**

At Aldershot the Chaplain Genl.'s  
 case seems to be that the closing  
 of these public-houses ~~close~~ adjoining  
 to the Camp, or even the  
 driving them farther off,  
 would make a great change  
 for the better\_

The case of Garrison Towns  
 is more difficult: & there it is {from '& there...' to 'another' in pencil}  
 little use driving the poor bad women from one street to another  
 But what the Military authorities  
 might perhaps do in the  
 Aldershot case \_ could not  
 a treatment like that of  
 Glasgow do in the latter case?

We are ~~asking~~ hoping for in the midst of our fears at your leaving the W.O. two things: one  
 that  
 you ~~would~~ might think well to impress on your successor  
 what could be done by the W.O. - in a  
 camp like Aldershot. & possibly elsewhere  
 the other which indeed excites our most  
 ardent hopes but which I scarcely venture to suggest is  
 that you ~~would~~ might think well

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Chatfield Esq., handwritten pen by FN ff248-49

**f248**

London Jan 1887

*Chatfield Esq.*

My dear Sir

I have not forgotten your [10:708]  
great kindness in years  
past in furnishing me  
with so much valuable  
information about the  
elementary education of  
ryots' sons - the proportion  
in primary schools &c &c

Your terrible accident  
was a matter of great  
sympathy with us: but I  
trust you have long since  
ceased to feel its effects  
Indian Sanitation & Agriculture  
& popular education have

**f248v**

always been matters of the  
deepest interest to me.  
Some one says that "la  
reconnaissance n'est  
qu'un vif sentiment des  
bienfaits futurs". I am  
afraid you will say so  
of me. I feel it almost  
impertinent to ask whether  
it would not be a great  
advantage to India if  
information regarding  
agricultural subjects could  
be given in the Text books  
used *in the Primary Schools*  
of India, that is in the  
Bombay Presidency -

**f249**

I would fain add - on  
Sanitary subjects also - but  
am afraid of asking too much. **[end 10:708]**  
It is a curious thing that  
educated natives who do  
not often care much about  
agriculture have been  
anxious about this - viz.  
the insertion of 'bits' on  
agriculture in the primary  
Text-books \_ because if a  
separate Text-book is  
put forth on ~~these~~ any such subjects,  
it is optional whether it  
be studied or not  
But I feel so sure that  
whatever can be done you  
will do that it seems to

**f249v**

me a sort of trespassing  
to suggest.  
Otherwise I should go on to  
ask whether people  
conversant with Agriculture  
could not be sent about  
who would lecture on  
Agricultural subjects  
& tell the farmers themselves  
what they ought to do  
- encouraging local  
Landholders' Associations

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to E.C. Ozanne Esq., handwritten pen by FN ff250-51

**f250**

London Jan 1887

*E.C. Ozanne Esq*

Sir

Sir William Wedderburn has **[10:708-09]**

encouraged me to write to you,  
Indian Agriculture having  
always been a subject of the  
greatest interest to me - & "bones"  
& night soil of cities - & lotus plants in tanks,  
as manure.

I have read your Annual Report  
for the year 1884-5, the only  
one with which the India  
Office could furnish me, with  
the greatest eagerness.

Where you have done so much  
in prizes for Fairs & large  
Agricultural Shows, it seems  
impertinent to be making

**f250v**

preferring a request, suggested  
to me by educated natives from the  
Bombay Presidency interested  
in agriculture, which most  
educated natives are not,  
are they? One of them is  
a member of the R. Agricultural  
Socy.

It is this: to take advantage  
of all the fairs of India,  
that is of the Bombay Presidency,  
by awarding small prizes,  
even if only medals, first,  
second & third, to the best  
breeds of cattle & the  
best agricultural produce.

Then, tho' the medal be

**f251**

of the lowest pecuniary value,

the natives get the seed of  
the plant or crop which  
has won its medal, or  
take care to feed up their half-starved  
cattle.

**[end 10:709]**

Signed letter/draft/copy to Hugh Owen Thomas Esq. M.R.C.S, handwritten pen by FN f252  
**[6:652]**

**f252**

10, South Street, [printed address]  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
London  
Feb 1 1887

Sir

May I trust that you will  
excuse me, tho' a stranger,  
for writing to you & enquiring  
about one of your former  
Patients, *Faith Schofield*  
of "Top o' the Brow," Breightmet,  
Bolton le Moor, a cripple,  
& as I understand without  
any means.

After having been under  
your kind care for some  
time & having "greatly improved", she went to you from  
Bolton again in the week preceding

Hugh Owen Thomas Esq.  
M.R.C.S.

**f252v**

last December 7. You told her  
that she was "getting on very  
nicely", such is her account  
to me; you "altered the iron  
"splint, made it longer, replaced  
"it, then told me to have the  
"flesh brush applied to the  
"spine every day, & that I  
"was to come again in two  
"months," which are now  
nearly elapsed.

F. Schofield has applied  
to me for assistance in paying  
for her stay at Liverpool  
(& journey) for the sake of thus  
being under your kind care.

Add Mss 45807

949

again.

**f253**

Might I ask whether you  
consider that there is any  
*reasonable prospect of  
further benefit?*

[I may add that all that  
I know of her is that, 3 or 4  
years ago, I had her, at her  
own request, admitted into  
St. Thomas' Hospital, London.  
But she was in such a  
very bad state of health  
(which has since "greatly  
"improved", she tells me)  
that it was not thought  
desirable, after 2 or 3  
months, to try Surgical apparatus,  
or to keep her in Hospital.

**f253v**

I will not take up your  
valuable time further than  
by these few remarks  
intended to remind you of  
the case, of which you must  
have so very many,  
& beg you to believe me  
Sir, your faithful servt.  
Florence Nightingale

[end]

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to W.H. Smith M.P., handwritten pen by FN ff254-55

**f254**

Private {on diag. in top left corner}

& *Confidential*

Army Feb. 26/87

Sanitary

Commn. {one large } next to Army Sanitary Commn.}

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

Only your extreme kindness **[9:664]**

could pardon me for asking  
a question now of your over-  
burdened time. I hesitate  
very much to trouble you.

But the time is passing; and  
steps practically irrevocable  
may be taken to make a  
future for the Army Sanitary  
Commission impossible

The India Office will do  
nothing or perhaps worse than  
nothing till the War Office  
does *something*

Rt Honbl.

W.H. Smith M.P.

&c &c

**f254v**

You will remember that you  
most kindly said to me  
that you desired

1. to re-constitute the Army  
Sanitary Commn. so as to do  
its work as a Commission
2. to give it work to do.

Might I ask whether you  
thought well, as you so  
kindly wrote about the middle  
of January, to impress on the W.O.,  
on your successor, the uses of the  
Army San: Comm:, & to  
influence him to make it a

**f255**

*working* Commission -

or whether you would think  
well now to say anything to  
interest him in it.

If you would wish it, I should  
be glad to save you trouble by  
discussing it with Mr. Stanhope.  
But any word to be powerful  
with Mr. Stanhope must of  
course come from yourself, &  
yourself

**[end 9:664]**

f256 letter to Dearest Sister [Crossland?] 17 March 1887 from Luise Fuhrmann, Städt. Krankenhaus Berlin, in English re Frl Victoria Gervinus successor to Frl Isachsen, has not heard to contrary suppose may consider the affair settled. Frl Gervinus will start here so as to arrive in London on April 1st, and suppose Frl Isachsen will leave on that day, will have holiday before starts here May 1. I think you will like Frl Gervinus, she is a thoroughly good and earnest girl, always cheerful and pleasant and quick enough to learn. She has been six months with us and we are all very fond of her. I think there is not one who does not think well of her as a fellow worker. The crown princess takes a great interest in her as well as the princesses of Hesse Darmstadt, as I dare say she will get high visitors in June when our royal people come over to England on account of the anniversary of your queen. I shall be a good long way nearer to England in summer again as I have to accompany our nurses again to the children's conv home at Norderay? On the German Ocean and I am afraid I shall not be here again till October. Could you not come to Norderay to stay there with me, as I am not at Berlin the whole of next summer. It is very simple there, but the sea splendid and in June the sandy dunes are even lovely as they are all covered with little roses and other spring flowers..

F258 letter to FN April 4 1887 from Mrs Roscorla, née Lemon, Mill Bank, Stanley Park, Liverpool re death of Miss Notcutt, pneumonia

Signed letter/draft/copy to Miss Huguenin, handwritten pen by FN f260

**f260**

10 South St.     May 7/87

My dear Miss Huguenin I am so sorry that you have as yet no post Will you tell me what you have tried for & what you are trying for? Did you try for the new Workhouse Infirmary at Dulwich Pray give me a little of your news. I sympathize with you with all my heart. But I have no power to help, I am sorry to say.

**f260v**

With regard to Mrs. Wardroper's proposed portrait, Mr. Schmiechen has written to me asking to see me & to "arrange" for my seeing his pictures \_ I have answered that I am wholly unable to do either, from pressure of illness & overwork - & that I regret that there must be some mistake, as the proposal cannot be said yet to have an serious existence.

God bless you, Let me hear of you. ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

**[12:385]****[end 12:385]**

ff261-62 letter to FN June 29 1887 from H. Philippa Hicks re an accident in hosp, man said last nurse who touched him was FN, sons in army. Something so nice happened in the West Kent Hosp last week that I am writing to tell you about it. An accident was brought in, and I as accident nurse had to attend to the man; while getting the case ready for the house surgeon, the man said "the last nurse who touched me was Miss Nightingale," when I told him I was one of your nurses he became almost wild with excitement, saying he did not mind the pain of the accident as it had been the means of bringing him in contact with someone who belonged to you, he also said he had three sons in the army, and it was their rule as well as his to always obey both doctors and nurses "*for your sake*". I hope you do not mind me telling you this, but It was such a bright instance coming in the midst of suffering I wanted you to hear it.

f263 letter to FN Aug 6 1887, from Lord Roberts, Snowdon, Simla with enclosed papers, re Lady Roberts, nurses, enclosure Lady Roberts' "Homes in the Hills" for Nursing Sisters employed in the British Military Hospitals in India, with FN note on re unfav time for making appeal, people exhausted by jubilee year

f267 printed paper signed by Nora Roberts on absence of skilled nursing in mil hosps in India 29 July 1886

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Sir F. Roberts, handwritten pencil by FN, dated 1887 ff275-76  
**[10:785-86]**

**f275***Homes for Sick Nurses*

Sir F. Roberts

~~I am~~ We are advised ~~on all hands~~ that, as a matter of policy it this is an unfavourable time for making any great appeal. {appears that sentence to go as "as a matter...we are..}

people are exhausted by the  
Jubilee Year  
& that the

~~Had not~~ the Nursing had better  
be established so as to show  
the public what is the  
benefit (proposed) to the Hospitals  
before any general appeal is made

Should we have Homes for  
sick Nurses before there are  
Nurses to fall sick?

And would it be possible

**f275v**

that the Convalescent Depots  
for soldiers at Murree &  
Dugshai might be used  
as Convalescent Homes for  
the Nursing Sisters?

[from "illeg. And.." to end of f275v struck through with diag. line]

**f276**

What to say about  
Dr. Payne's mission? [this sentence struck out with one diag. line]

Dr. Payne who is evidently a most able man has laboured most  
zealously, as you well know he would,  
about the ~~Nursing Sisters~~ scheme for Lady Nurses you desired,  
so generously ~~started~~ ordered.

~~in communication with the~~

under the orders of the  
S. of S. for India - But I am  
afraid it must still be some  
time before they can be ~~started~~,  
on their way from England

As you say, everything will depend on your  
getting the right stamp of Nurse. And Dr. Payne  
is most carefully at work

May I beg my kindest regards to Ly. Roberts

As she has been so good as to send  
hers to me

**f276v**

{text written in vertical direction, rather than horizontal}

presumptuous thing for me to write  
openly to the C. in C.

but ~~he~~ great men always wishes to hear from all the  
truth **[end 10:786]**

Signed letter/draft/copy to Col. Yule R.E., handwritten pen by FN ff277-80

**f277**

Private {on diagonal in tope left corner}  
 & *Confidential* Sept. 15/87  
 10, South Street, [printed address]  
 Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

First, allow me to send you **[9:668]**  
 the letter of Mr. Cunningham  
 on Sanitation in India

in the "Times" of June 9 **[end 9:668]**  
 (you asked me for the *date*)

& the leading article upon  
 it. If you should  
 have a file of the "Times"  
 to which you can refer,  
 & do not want my cuttings,  
 please return them to me.  
 But if they can be of any  
 use to you, *pray keep them.*

**f277v**

2. Let me thank you for  
 your exquisite Tea. It  
 was very kind of you to  
 send it. It is delicious

May I ask whether that  
 Tea is to be had in England  
 And if so where?

3. Let me thank you again **[9:668-69]**  
 for your most useful  
 & magnificent present  
 of the Glossary of  
 Anglo-Indian words.

But I always wish you  
 had been kind enough to  
 write my name in it.

**f278**

4. You are making progress with the subject of our conversations. Lord Cross, if I understood him aright, has given orders for the preparation of a kind of draft Despatch, to be forwarded to him in a week or two; but has not yet quite made up his mind what is to be put in it.

You of course know a great deal more about this than I do.

Lord Cross was good enough to ask me to write

**f278v**

anything for his consideration within the next week or two - anent particularly the personnel, the powers (& where the funds were to come from) of the Executive proposed Sanitary Boards for the three Presidencies-

He staggered me very much, tho' he was more than well disposed towards the Boards, by saying that the Government could not borrow *in India* except at enormous rates of interest that if they

**f279**

[2]

borrowed *in England*, there was the depreciation of the rupee to reckon with\_ & that he did not suppose the Municipalities would be willing to pay. the difference of the Exchange.

This is so very different from what the Anglo-Indian world supposes\_ & especially from what Mr. Cunningham rest upon that we must rather alter our line of argument.

*What are we to say?*

**f279v**

Upon all other things connected with our wishes he was most favourable.

[You will understand, I am sure, that all this is strictly between you & me & indeed the fact of Lord Cross having been here at all]

Kindly tell me what it is desirable that I should know. if I am to write to him. **[end 9:669]**

And I hope also to see you before you go North.

Mr. Cunningham's address is:

Redcar: Yorkshire

**f280**

I trust that you feel  
stronger than when I saw  
you.

And pray believe me  
ever faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale  
Col. Yule R.E.

*Burn* {written on diag.}

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to Lord Cross, handwritten pen by FN ff281-90

**f281**

Private {written on diag. in top left corner}  
& *Confidential* Sept. 1887  
10, South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Lord Cross

You were so good as to **[9:930-34]**  
desire me to write to you on  
the Sanitary evils persistent  
in India owing to the want  
of a Sanitary Executive which  
you intended, you kindly told  
me, to make the subject of a  
Despatch to the Govt. of India

-----  
p. 6 2 These evils are undoubtedly  
we fear increasing evils; for the  
Epidemic Death-rate is undoubtedly  
increasing - in the villages  
especially which form 19/20ths

**f281v**

The increase of epidemic deaths in 1884 over 1883 was nearly 600,000 & they were still increasing up to our last reports.

of the whole population of India. ^

And as far as we yet know it would seem as if this year 1887 would bring us the highest Epidemic Death-rate of all p.6 1{circled} *And now know that if every town were put in the best Sanitary state possible the outside villages would go on supplying the epidemics.*

We have lost in 10 years 38 millions of our fellow subjects in India from Epidemics, in addition to all other disease-losses,

**f282**

owing to the Government having no Executive \_ & apparently thinking that the terrible & practical information with which the best of the Sanitary Commissioners have never ceased to supply us is an end & not a mere means.

Does not the protection of life & property from preventable epidemics rank next to protection of life & property from criminals, as a responsibility of Govt., if indeed it is not even higher in importance? For since the world began, criminals have apparently not destroyed more life & property than do Epidemics *every year* in India. Yet we certainly should not think crimes to be merely a subject for statistics, without taking any Executive action

But while the Sanitary evils have been increasing, the Sanitary intelligence of the people has also been increasing tho' at present its good influence is perhaps but little felt beyond the larger towns. *And* But *where* the English District Officer or

Sanitary Commissioner or British  
Raj *has taken them into his  
confidence*, has brought them

**f282v**

into consultation with him, they  
 have begun, most salutary  
 change {!?!}, not only to cease helplessly to "submit to [see?]  
 fate," because "the Goddess of Cholera"  
 or of "small-pox" has done it  
 but/& even to cry aloud upon the "Sirkar" ~~to Government~~  
 or to the Sanitary Commr. to  
 "bestir themselves": Don't you  
 see we are all dead? Some  
 have gone farther still \_ even  
 Brahmins of high caste - & in  
 places where notoriously nothing  
 has been done by us have  
 put their own (sacred) hands  
 to the plough, & bestirred themselves to do  
 their part in the matter of cleanliness & pure water

The last 5 years have seen a  
 notable change in the temper of

**f283**

p. 7 [2] Ld. X  
 some of the peoples of India -  
 fruit of the education you have  
 given them & perhaps of their ill temper too \_ & of their attention  
 having been turned to local self-  
 government \_

And if there is still resistance  
 & great reluctance to tax  
 themselves, for their own health,  
 it is not so very long since the  
 same thing has been exhibited  
 in England - not so long since  
 Sanitation now so popular &  
 'fashionable' was a bug-bear  
 to the people. And they would  
 have nothing to do "with they  
 "fou' things," meaning drains & sewers

**f283v**

You who have done so much for the housing of the working classes must remember this.

But anyhow, whether we will like Self Govt. or not, we *must* carry the people with us in any Sanitary action\_ Or whatever Act we may pass will remain a dead letter. Engage the educated natives on your side, as has been so well done, especially where you have native Associations.

~~The ex~~ Money is not the only or even the chief thing wanted in the state of the villages. Enforcing the ordinary rules of cleanliness is the chief thing - 'simple cleanliness is all we want'

**f284**

The Central Provinces, out stripping Bombay, have already their Village Conservancy Act, providing for the removal of all sweepings & all night soil to appointed places outside - insisting on the conservation of water & on other good Sanitary rules {from 'providing...' in pencil}

Bombay, making friends of its Native Associations, is bringing out a Village Conservancy Bill. p. 7a, to embrace/& is prepared to first give pecuniary aid towards a wholesome water-supply & for providing manure fields yards outside the villages. ~~to which it is hoped will be added:~~

But daily scavenging & removal of street sweepings &c must also be enforced.

And this brings us, tho' our facts are so terrible as to appear almost hopeless, & things seem going from bad to worse, the "valuta" of the hereditary scavengers the more hopeful view:

work, more than money, ~~seems wanting in the villages~~ - & tho' work means money, yet it is

or if it is the money which can for a wholesome water supply it may be met partly or wholly from local Funds,

[shd read: bad to worse, to work, the "valuta" of the hereditary scavenger, the more hopeful view: work, more than money, and though work means money, yet it is partly or wholly from local funds, and does not need an enormous loan to be repaid by a heavy rate.] hard to follow

**f284v**

& does not need an enormous loan to be repaid by a heavy rate.

9 It means the careful maintenance, & this most especially in the large towns where the most costly works have failed in usefulness from want of maintenance - & not being kept in an efficient state {from 'not...' in pencil} And it means a technical Executive to overlook on the part of Government.

& consolidation of present law as regards nuisances & offences in the villages {from '& consol...' in pencil}

This is what it means, rather than a large outlay:

    a clean surface

    water supply

        reform of wells

There is nothing the native understands better than the necessity of a pure water-supply.

Then when he sees that, thro' this, {'thro' this,' in pencil} fever is diminishing, ask him

**f285**

Ld X p.8 [3]

for the rest back to 9 {'back to 9' in pencil}

    It means probably, the appointment of an advising Sanitary Engineer

        [we know of only one]

[from 'It means...' to end crossed out with one diagonal line thru it]

**f285v**

III If other arguments were  
 wanting to show the urgency  
 of the case, the truly vital ~~fatal~~  
 urgency, for it is a matter  
 of the life & death of millions  
 of our fellow creatures under  
 our own Government, there is one  
 with which the Secretary of State  
 for India is too familiar:  
~~we~~ are we not by - word to the nations ~~of Europe~~  
 for our management of India  
 where Epidemics begin, or our  
 no-management. They say:  
 you, England, at once ~~oppose~~ resist  
 & ~~prevent~~ Quarantine, which  
~~we believe in:~~ one is glad to hear the recent Vienna decision  
 {written in pencil, some written across to f286} against the utility of quarantine  
 & you keep us in constant  
 terror, under a perennial threat

**f286**

of disease & danger, by keepinging  
 India as a pest &/or{'or' is written above &} a nest of  
 Epidemic pestilence which  
 justifies & more than justifies us  
 & our Constantinople Board in  
 putting on Quarantine against  
 your endemic-Cholera ports  
 of India.  
 Is not Europe is against us: to put  
 hindrances on our trade &  
 commerce, because of the way  
 we behave ourselves in India.

**f286v**

‡ IV But more, far more than  
all these considerations is:  
~~the~~ Humanity compelling us:  
our responsibility as a Government  
which holds, far more than  
any European Governmt. does,  
the lives & health & happiness  
of its Subjects/ our 200 millions of fellow-  
subjects, in its hands - a  
fifth part of the human race

A high Epidemic death-rate  
means feeble health to those  
who survive/  
lays up the whole population for weeks or months *every year*  
with the corresponding loss of productiveness &  
degeneration of the race - for its  
want of power to cultivate the  
land so as to give more than  
a bare sustenance. And so  
they go on *more* deteriorating:

**f287**

Ld X p.8 [4]

A Brahmin of high caste in a  
fertile district neighbouring  
the district of the capital of  
Bengal & the seat of Government  
said to me:

well, you see me I have lost  
my whole family from Enteric fever:  
for two months in every year  
the whole population of my  
district is laid up with fever;  
& incapacitated from doing anything.  
We know quite well what it arises  
from. It arises from 1. foul water -  
supply. The tanks for drinking water  
are used for every purpose.  
2. rank & rotting under-growths ~~under the great~~ remaining uncleared  
trees & stagnating the air -  
growths which in many some cases  
might be articles of trade with England  
3. muddy bad roads  
well, you see me: you know that

**f287v**

in my country we Brahmins are  
next to God - [forgive this out burst  
of pride - it is often said that  
Hindoos will say anything they  
think will please the ruling race  
\_ I do not find this.] I like their  
incivility] {from 'I like..' in pencil}  
we Brahmins must not lay our  
hands to manual work \_  
well, such was the need that I with  
my people set to work  
[& he then detailed what they had done]  
with their own hands.]  
And why, he said with the natural  
dignity of an Oriental, why does  
the Government do nothing? If  
there were only a short Act  
about tanks, we would see it

carried out.

Enlist the Brahmins \_ & you  
enlist the people.

This is not a solitary instance.

**f288**

Many such could be given from Bombay other Presidencies where the people are more advanced.

Anglo.Indians rave against the resistance of the people (of Bengal especially), the danger of unpopularity if an Executive were to put compulsion on them - at the same time acknowledging that little or nothing has been done by the Government to bring them people into our Counsels. Possibly the danger may soon be the other way. the danger of unpopularity *because* we do *nothing* {from 'the danger of...' in pencil}

**f288v**

IV. Finance - Always of course: the Finance question, the Revenue problem must come in . 'India is such a poor country'.

An Epidemic country is *always* a poor country. Nothing is so expensive as an Epidemic country. {from 'Nothing..' in pencil}

If the health of the people could be improved, enabling them to ~~cultivate~~ work the land ~~better~~, in a country where 90 per cent., or is it more? of the population are agricultural, if they were not a hot-bed of Fever & Cholera (Fever is always with them - and besides following famine & Cholera. if they are down with Fever, how can/they cannot cultivate the land properly.) would not the Revenue be raised?

**f289**

[5]

A That sad instance has just  
 occurred of a most valuable man, /the man you most value  
 Sir M. Melville, losing  
 his life from Cholera directly from  
 his own disbelief & neglect of  
 sanitation **[end 9:934]**

I had the whole sad story from his friend/  
 the spot

The absolute necessity of the  
 Government making a step,  
 even if only a small one,  
 seems obvious.

If all that is desired cannot be  
 done now, from financial &  
 other difficulties,- if an  
 Executive with full powers,  
 including that of authorizing

**f289v**

the borrowing from Governmt.  
 at low rates of interest,  
 cannot be given .

may there not be an Executive  
 with modified powers?

If all that is wanted cannot  
 be done with the Municipalities  
 at present, owing to the  
 great cost of works - may  
 not the villages be taken in  
 hand, where the cost is  
 certainly *comparatively* small,  
 the gain enormous, - sanitary,  
*economical, sanitary;*  
 in enabling the people to have health to work,  
 European.

& taken in hand immediately  
 not all India at once -  
 but choosing your field.

**f290**

For an Executive there must  
be a Sanitary Engineer  
& a Sanitary Commissioner -  
There is an extremely limited  
number of Sanitary Commissioners  
from whom to select -  
probably only *four* -  
of Sanitary Engineers  
only *one*  
or possibly two  
I am not neglecting the cause of the  
cities {this sentence in pencil}

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten pencil by FN, dated ca. 1886-1887 ff291-92?

**f291**

[3]  
3  
You have now done your duty [10:707-08]  
wisely & well by the Peasant  
Proprietors - or rather  
against them  
Will you not go on & tell  
us *what* to do, if not  
Peasant Ownership, by  
Agriculture?  
This is what I am trying  
to do for Indian Agriculture  
where we have  
1. Peasant Proprietors, directly  
under the Owner, the State  
2. Zemindars who as a  
rule do absolutely nothing for  
their tenants \_ who constantly

**f291v**

raise their rents\_ whose  
own rents are never raised  
by the State -

The two great wants are:

1. Capital
2. Manure, improved agriculture.

The two great defects:

3. Periodical Re-settlement  
generally after each 30 years.

[Lord Hobart used to call  
the Settlement Department  
the *Un*-settlement Dept.]

4. Want of Irrigation -  
where there is irrigation, it is, no  
consequence of our destruction of  
the village communities, in the

**f292**

hands of ill-paid corrupt native  
petty officials, instead of the  
decent villagers .

There are of course many others.

As to capital, the system  
of advances by Govt. having  
totally failed,

**[end 10:708]**

**f292v** {written on vertical of page}

58/

£2 18 Louisa  
for Rosy

Unsigned letter/draft/copy to unknown recipient, handwritten pencil by FN, undated ff293-96

**f293**

My dear

The first attempt to convey real  
trained Nursing to the bedsides  
of real cases to be nursed/wanting Nursing  
of the sick poor in London.  
in the only form in which it  
can be so conveyed:  
that is by providing a Home,  
for the Nurses to live in:  
where any mother would be  
willing to let her daughter,  
however attractive or highly  
educated live:  
a home where all her meals &  
lodging are provided for her:  
where she receives chaperonage,  
direction, sympathy & support,  
sympathy in a common work.

**f293v-94** - FN writes straight across page)

skilled supervision, proper rest & recreation,  
 & further training & instruction  
 in this noble work \_ .

If a woman has to care for

herself, to cook for herself, when she comes home tired to death  
 from her Patients: {written across to f294}

to do everything for herself.

She cannot be a real Nurse:

for Nursing requires the most  
 undivided attention of anything I know:  
 the m̄ best health of mind & body:

If she has to provide for herself,  
 she is only half a Nurse .

& one of two things must happen, more or less:

either she is of the level of her Patients or/she is of the level of her Patients:

& actually makes excuses for their dirt & disorderliness.

instead of remedying them:

nay, as the old Hospital Nurse, 30 years ago, used to do, she  
 may actually live upon her Patients.

or she breaks her heart -

But *the* thing which always does happen is that  
 no woman really fit for the work  
 will or ought to take it.

**f294**

What a Nurse it to do -

A Nurse cannot  
 be a cook, Relieving Officer,  
 letter writer, upholsterer

**f294v**

How do you raise the tone &  
state of Hospital Nurses?

By More than by anything else, by  
making the Hospital such a home:  
as good young women, educated young women  
can live in: & secondly by ~~making~~ raising  
it into such a profession ~~for~~ as there ~~to~~ can earn  
a livelihood in

If this is the case for Hospitals

Now much more so for  
district Nursing - where the  
Nurses have to be out in all  
weathers: & where there might  
be but is not the same  
esprit de corps as there is  
in a good Hospital to animate  
them

The Hospital Nurse requires  
more & gets less or used to get  
less of the helps, moral, material  
& spiritual than the woman at home

**f295**

[2]

or in service

The District Nurse requires  
more than the Hospital Nurse,  
for it is a harder life  
& gets none .

Man cannot stand alone:  
women can yet less stand alone.

Every body who knows life,  
hard life, knows ~~how~~ the tendency of all to easily it & often  
~~is to one~~ sinks to the lowest:  
it is all the way downhill: as I  
once heard an old man say:  
that is why it is so easy:  
~~how hardly & rarely one~~ not to rises  
to the highest:

Religious Sisterhoods: secret. they  
always give a good home:

**f295v**

But all this costs money:  
 more than 5 or 6 District  
 Nurses with their Superintendt.  
 who initiates & supervises their  
 work cannot be placed  
 in one Home: for they would  
 be too far from their work.

cess £ 20000  
 £ 5000 a year

3. A District Nurse must be  
 of a yet higher class & of a  
 fuller training than a Hospital  
 Nurse because she has not  
 the Doctor always at hand.  
 nor ~~the~~ any Hospital appliances  
 at all: & because she has to  
 take notes for the Doctor

**f296**

2. But a Hospital must  
 first of all be a place  
 which shall do the sick  
 no harm.

How much more this is  
 true that the sick poor man's  
 dwelling must be a place  
 which does not render his  
 recovery impossible.

This is what the London  
 District Nurses do: they  
 nurse the room as well as  
 the Patient: ~~& it requires~~  
 & teach the Patient's family to  
 nurse the room .  
 & it requires a far higher stamp  
 of woman who will thus  
 combine the servant with the

