

Margaret, I am switching to your stand-alone chapter system, putting the references at the end of the chapter instead of end of the book. This raises the issue of how to handle Part 2, and makes me think the short pieces (too short for a stand-alone chapter) should be moved into Part 1. (See below)

Also, a couple of questions for you. Quotation marks for chapter and article titles. APA style? Your Springer 2002 Enduring Issues book has articles in "" while your 2009 Nursing Policy Research has no " ". Which do you prefer?

Newspaper citations. APA shows what to do with an author, but I have a number with no author. So, how about:

(*The Times*, 1869, September 16).

And in the References:

*The Times* (1869, September 16). The Prudhoe Convalescent Home. p. 10C.  
Nightingale, F. (1876, April 14). "Trained Nurses for the Sick Poor," *The Times*, 6.

And do you want *The Times*, *The New York Times*, *The Lancet* (with italics), or the Times, etc.

References, I added all the authors as per APA, to avoid et al, but one Lancet article had 28 authors! (I prefer et al). Okay?

The Timeline has no references in it, and would be very cumbersome if it had. Okay?

Possible Reconfiguration of Part 2 (in view of keeping chapters independent), so that Part 2 would have 3 larger chapters:

Proposed revision of Part 2:

Nightingale's early writing:

Notes on Hospitals, 1858, and Notes on Nursing, 1860

Access to care for the poorest:

Brief on workhouse infirmaries, 1867

Tribute to Agnes Jones, workhouse matron, 1868

Fundraising for district nursing, 1876

Nightingale's last writing on nursing and hospitals

Hospitals and Patients, 1880

Quain's Dictionary articles on nursing and nurse training, 18822

Sick Nursing and Health Nursing, Chicago World Fair, 1893

(Note: her terrific short "Scavenge, Scavenge, Scavenge" letter in the New York Herald could go into this last section, or be moved to Chapter 5 Health Promotion, perhaps renamed: Health Promotion and Disease Prevention

Or, the 3 shortest items could be moved to Part 1 regular chapters, as I mentioned earlier, but I am leaning to the grouping of Part 2 as here described. What think you?

County Record Offices, 1574 pages

Wiltshire County Record Office  
 Liverpool Record Office  
 Derby Collection, Liverpool  
 Derbyshire County Record Office  
 Buckinghamshire Record Office  
 Hampshire County Record Office  
 Leicestershire Record Office, 16 letters  
 West Yorkshire Record Office, 13 letters  
 Gloucestershire Record Office, 1 letter  
 Glamorgan Record Office, 1 letter  
 West Glamorgan Archive Service, 1 letter  
 Staffordshire County Record Office, 1 letter  
 Lincolnshire County Record Office, 1 letter

Wiltshire County Record Office, paper copies, in order as provided by the archive: 2057/F4/65, /66, /67, /68, 494 pages

initialed letter, 5ff, pen {black-edged} 2057/F4/65

1 Upper Harley St  
 1 June 1854

**[8:655-56]**

Dearest

I am sorry that I  
 have little satisfactory  
 to tell you, good or bad,  
 about St. Bartholomew's.  
 But you will find it,  
 as I do, impossible to  
 bring people "up to the  
 scratch" -

**[12:92]**

I think the best plan  
 would be for Mr. Herbert  
 to write a line to Mr.  
 Bentley, the Treasurer,  
 who lives at St. Barthw's,

& is a really honest,  
 industrious Treasurer,  
 & ask him to come &  
 tell him all about it -

Mr. Bentley would be  
 glad to be helped, &  
 whatever he chose to  
 let out, would be of  
 value -

My own feeling, however,  
 is that it is best not  
 to mix up this question  
 of the Nurses with  
 that of Dr. Kirkes - The

latter will not thank  
you for it - & it will do

his Election no good to have it mixed up with the general question of the glaring abuses of Hospitals "en masse" -

I have seen one of the most useful and independent officials of St. B's today - but he retracted almost all that he has ever said before, through fear of its being made use of - He would only say that the subject of the Nurses required a

thoro' systematic revolution, & that it was no use correcting (or enlarging upon) details.

With regard to these details, I find some things amended since two years ago, entirely thro' this Mr. Bentley's influence - The day=nurses still sleep in the wooden cages - but the night=nurses have rooms allotted to them to sleep in *in the day* at the top of the house. The Nurses are still as

-2-

disrespectable as ever -  
 The Sisters are only  
 respectable, not  
 religious - Though there  
 are now 4 Chaplains,  
 the patients are not  
 individually visited. The  
 Chaplain reads prayers  
 between the 2 wards,  
 which is mere mockery.  
 Every time a Patient  
 wishes to be visited  
 individually, he is obliged  
 to send down a printed  
 Card by the Sister to  
 the Chaplain - called  
 the "Chaplain's Card".

And it used to be  
 constantly my lot to  
 hear the jubilation of  
 the R. Catholic & the  
 Dissenter Patients, "Look at *our*  
 Priest", or "at *our* Minister".  
 contrasting his zeal with  
 the Ch. of England's -

The "dressers" do not  
 give any fee to the  
 Hospital, but to the  
 Surgeon, whose pupils  
 they are - & who  
 recommends them every  
 year to the Board,  
 which nominates them

~~With the present staff  
of which~~

If you chose to separate  
the two subjects of the  
Nurses & Dr. Kirkes,  
I would try & see Mr.  
Bentley & different  
people belonging to St.  
B's *promiscuously* &  
ascertain what I could -  
But this the short  
time does not allow -  
And I believe it ~~quite~~/almost  
useless to see people  
officially, because they  
ask What use are  
you going to make of this,

& will never stand to  
their words - I have  
tried it a hundred times.

We have had some  
very bad cases at our  
"shop" & I have not  
been in my bed for a  
fortnight - I am afraid  
it will be quite  
impossible for me to  
rout out St. Bartholomew  
for another ~~month~~/fortnight - & I  
do think the two questions  
had better be treated  
apart - I do not see  
how exposure of the  
general abuses of Hospls

will influence the  
Election of Dr. Kirkes -

Will you thank Mr.  
A' Court for his note  
& his tidings of you &  
the Bab & believe me  
ever, dearest, yours

F.N.

[end 12:93]

unsigned memorandum, undated, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65

The organization of the Sanitary service, (not one step in which has yet been taken,) will consist of

1. Directions for enquiries & inspections
2. Reports  
Application of Regulations
3. General Instructions  
Manual  
Forms  
Instructions for specific cases.  
Directions for specific enquiries  
as to causes of disease  
Recommendations for each  
specific case -
4. Sanitary deductions from  
Statistics.
5. Ascertaining the present  
Sanitary knowledge in  
the Department by reference  
to back reports.  
[This will not take long]
6. Ascertaining the present  
Sanitary practice [nor this]
7. Keeping Sanitary books  
& records -

{in another hand: 1858 - Miss Nightingale - Things to be done to organize Sanitary Service}

initialed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: To Lady Herbert - Miss Nightingale - March 23. 61 - on the question of Ventilation & the new grates} 2057/F4/65 [8:673]

30. Old Burlington Street. {printed address:}  
W.

Mar 23/61 [16:400]

Dearest

Thank you 1000  
times for your splendid  
Amms & Rhododendrons  
& flowers.

==== I am sure you  
will be glad to hear  
that my father is  
coming to see me  
next week -

==== As for Galton,  
if he said *himself*

to P Herbert that  
"the ventilation was  
"of no use without  
"the grates" (and if  
this was not a speech  
made for him by  
Baring) there is no  
meaning in words.

He writes:-

"Baring has stopped  
"all ventilation, till  
"the grates have had  
"another year's trial.  
"It is just what I

"feel will happen as  
 "soon as Ld Herbert  
 "goes. All these  
 "Sanitary improvements  
 "are only skin deep  
 " - and the whole  
 "thing will revert  
 "to what it was  
 "before".

    This is exactly  
 my own opinion -

    But what I  
 want to do now is  
 to get *back* our  
 £10,000 in the  
 Estimates (taken for

ventilation) or whatever  
 the sum is -

    If P Herbert  
 would answer the  
 Minute in this way: -  
     take the £10,000  
 for ventilating shafts  
 & inlets - & wait the  
 result of the trials  
 with the altered grates  
 before putting in any  
 more -

    This is the only  
 common sense. What  
 Baring says, & Galton,  
 (if he did say it), is  
 not common sense  
 ever yours F.N.

**[end 8:675]**

If P Herbert should wish to act upon the idea of separating the ventilation from the grates, - the rationale of the thing is this: -

Ventilation is required all the year round - Warming (by the excessively hot grates) only in the winter & only in such a very severe winter as the last\*

---

\* It is not pretended that Galton's grates do not warm enough for ordinary winters.

Ventilation can be carried out by the shafts & inlets alone, if properly managed - even in winter.

The shafts & inlets can be closed to any extent - so that, at the worst, in the severest winter, it would be necessary only to close them for a time, while they would be in action all the rest of the year -

Why give the men Typhus in the summer because they *might*

catch cold at Christmas?

The great advantage of the shafts & inlets is that the air is kept *constantly* moving in the room. The essence of ventilation is movement rather than quantity.

Why make the ventilation of every day dependent on warming in exceptional seasons?

It is true that, in summer, when there is no fire, the *grate* inlet will supply air, but it is not requisite for

this, because the shafts & inlets ought to give enough.

The use of the grate is to warm part of the in=coming air in very cold weather, allowing the ventilation to go on without interruption. But why, because partially warmed in=coming air is good in a very severe winter - are we to have no air all the year {printed address, round - & wait upside down:} 30. Old Burlington Street.

W.

for that part of the ventilating apparatus which is adapted for winter? F.N.

[end 16:400]

initialed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65 [8:683]

I loved him. No one  
 ever loved him and  
 served him as I  
 did. Others loved  
 him for himself,  
 but I knew him  
 & loved him for the  
 sake of God and  
 mankind. After  
 you, no one can  
 mourn him as I  
 do. I feel as you

do that no one can  
 know the greatness  
 of your loss

There is no  
 comfort but to  
 know how noble  
 he was, how you  
 and he were married  
 for eternity, how  
 the worst that can  
 happen to you is  
 to be separated  
 for a few years.

But you have a  
 comfort which I have  
 not. For you can  
 carry out his wishes.  
 While I am prevented  
 from his very death  
 itself from having  
 the power to carry  
 out his own wishes.

God bless you -  
 And He will bless  
 you -

F.N.

Aug 3/61

initialed letter fragment, 1f, pen 2057/F4/65 **[8:684]**

returned with  
many many thanks.

I thought of you  
on your wedding day  
& all day.

As for me, he  
takes my life with  
him - My work, the  
object of my life, the  
means to do it, all  
in one, depart  
with him.

F.N.

Aug 15/61

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Aug. 17.  
1861} 2057/F4/65 **[8:684-85]**

Hampstead NW

Aug 17/61

Dearest

I enclose exactly  
what I believe to  
have been his "wishes"  
as to what was "to be  
Galton's position in  
the Office" - quoting,  
as far as I could,  
his own words.

The P.S. is not  
essential - tho' it  
would make it  
more complete.

The reason why I  
could not answer  
yesterday is that I  
had to send for  
some papers concerning  
it.

I hope this is  
not too late for you.

The reign of  
intelligence is gone  
at the War Office.  
The reign of muffish=  
ness has begun -

Lord de Grey is  
the only one (who

*can*) who wishes to  
carry out *his* plans -

The present master  
is a man without  
intelligence & without  
experience who opposes  
all principles  
because they are  
new - & who cannot  
even avail himself  
of the knowledge &  
experience of others.

The "Royal boy",  
as you used to call  
him, appears to  
have forgotten already  
the lessons he had

been so wisely taught.

Lord de Grey  
stands out nobly -  
And, as in this, so  
in other things, is  
active & *obstinate*  
in following up *his*  
wishes.

I wish I could  
hide myself under  
ground not to see  
what I do see -

God bless you  
ever yours  
F.N.

initialed letter, 9ff, pen 2057/F4/65 [8:685-87]

Hampstead NW

Aug 29/61

Dearest, You say, "If"  
I "can think of any  
thing else, only to tell"  
you & you "will  
forward it."

I would have done  
this before & thank  
you - But I have  
not been able to  
write -

Two things which  
lay at *his* heart  
were: (I speak

now merely of small  
administrative things:)

1. He always  
recognised the fact  
that the men had no  
place, either in or  
out of Barracks, they  
could call their own.

*He* considered our  
soldiers as his country=  
men, having home=~~ty~~/like  
English feelings - & that  
they would seek their  
homes, if *he* did  
not find them for

the men, in the worst of places.

You know that one of his last official acts was to call together the Commn on Soldiers' Dayrooms & Institutes -

that the Resolutions were sent to him, as soon as they were drawn up & before the Report was signed

& that, no sooner were these Resolutions sent in, than he immediately instructed

Capt. Jackson, R.A.

(who had had successful experience in founding Soldiers' "Homes" at Gibraltar) to go to Aldershot & report to him on the facilities of forming Soldiers' "Homes" (or Institutes) there immediately.

Had he lived, I am certain (and I believe you are too,) that he would

-2-

immediately have given effect to Capt. Jackson's Report, on forming a "Home" at Aldershot in the *first* place -

He attached particular importance to Aldershot, as you know, on account of the terrible immorality of the men there.

If you could say anything most strong to Lord De Grey, from your own knowledge

of his wishes, greater than mine - I am sure it would be most true, as to his intention with regard to the Aldershot plan - And it would be one of the best tributes to his memory - to *him* who was always thinking how to improve the soldier, body & mind.

The Report of the  
Commn on Day Rooms  
went in yesterday -

Capt. Jackson's  
Report goes in, this  
week, as to Aldershot.

And he had been  
farther instructed  
to go to Portsmouth  
about a "Home" for  
the Garrison there. And  
he has similarly  
reported as to its  
great facility.

Portsmouth, I  
expect, will be done.  
For it entails hardly any expence.

But Aldershot

will not, without  
a helping hand  
from those who loved  
*him* - For it will be  
more expensive.

2. The success of the  
new "General Hospital"  
arrangement at  
Woolwich - begun  
the very day of his  
death - to which  
he looked as a  
school for training  
Officers for "General  
Hospital" service,  
wherever required

-3-

in time of war - in  
order to prevent the  
recurrence of the  
Scutari catastrophe -

He thought that  
this new organization  
would require its  
wheels oiling for the  
first two years -  
But he was certain  
that it would "go",  
if only a little care  
were given to make  
the parts go easily,  
upon which reference  
is certain to be made

to the W.O.

He himself wished  
these references to be made  
to Col. Clark Kennedy,  
who headed the  
Commn, which  
organized this new  
arrangement & the  
Hospital Corps - &  
to whose exertions  
he ascribed its  
having been done  
so well -

I have this in  
his writing - But

I would not risk enlisting Lord De Grey's interest for the new organization, so that references should be made to him & not to Hawes, in case of friction - by mentioning Col. Clark Kennedy's name as a referee, if you judged it better not -

-----

These are the two last points he spoke & wrote to me about.

I need hardly say that there were other more important points which lay still nearer his heart -

In the very letter, June 7, which told me of his intended resignation; - in letters & conversations before & since, - he always spoke of Lord de Grey as looking to him to *re=organize* the office. I can

-4-

scarcely bear to recall what he said & wrote, except to carry out his wish. He said, "De Grey will do it better than I." - and "De Grey understands it better than I." He even spoke & wrote of resigning, as if it were to open the way for Lord de Grey to carry

out that plan of  
 "re=organization"  
 of the Office, dated  
 Jan 1, 1861 - in  
 Ld de Grey's writing -  
 & which he showed  
 me on Jan 9, 1861.

You will know  
 better than I whether  
 to recall these things  
 to Ld de Grey - whether  
 it would be well  
 to tell him how  
 he looked to him  
 only, - to do this -

which he would  
 certainly have done,  
 had he had time  
 given him.

God knows best.  
 By taking back this  
 one of His servants  
 to himself, He has  
 put back five  
 hundred thousand  
 men to deteriorate  
 physically, mentally,  
 spiritually -

It is hard to  
 say, His will be done.

=====

Let me say (for

you alone) that  
 Lord de Grey is  
 working nobly to  
 follow in *his* steps.  
 What Ld de Grey's  
 weight is I do  
 not know - But at  
 all events he spares  
 no work - On one  
 occasion when the  
 "Royal boy" came in  
 to C. Lewis's room  
 to try to upset some=  
 thing which our  
 master had done,

-5-

(it was the new  
Woolwich Hospital)  
Lord de Grey, who  
happened to be  
in the room: (every  
thing *happens* there  
now, is not systematically done, under the new  
reign:) said "Sir,  
it is impossible :  
Lord Herbert decided  
it & the Ho: of C.  
voted it" and  
so silenced them  
both - And many  
similar assertions  
of *our* master's

decisions I have  
heard of Lord de  
Grey making -  
God bless you -  
ever yours  
F.N.

incomplete letter & envelope, 3ff, pen, b;acl=edged paper & envelope}  
2057/F4/65

32 South St  
London W

[8:687-88]

Dec 12/61

Dearest I send you  
a copy of Dr. Farr's  
paper, read at  
Manchester before  
the British Association.

And I was in hopes  
to have sent you a  
paper of mine on  
Hospital Statistics  
& Hospital plans,  
read at Dublin  
before the Social

Science Association.  
 But I have only  
 this day got the  
 first Proof of it  
 And therefore I can  
 only enclose one (the  
 last) ~~sheet~~/page, which  
 perhaps you may  
 like to see -

You know that  
 we have lost our  
 poor Clough. He was  
 dying when I saw  
 you - But I had  
 not the heart to

tell you. He died on  
 November 12 at  
 Florence. His wife  
 had joined him a  
 few months: his  
 sister a few days  
 before - The end  
 was very rapid.  
 He was a man  
 of rare mind &  
 temper - of the highest  
 & tenderest spirit  
 it has ever been my  
 lot to meet - of  
 uncommon genius,  
 worn & fretted by

the necessity of working  
 at hard & uncongenial  
 matters for daily  
 bread. He has left  
 his poor widow &  
 three children, of  
 which the youngest  
~~is~~/was only 3 months  
 old when he died,  
 in a most anxious  
 position.

He was my *support*  
 in life, as my dear  
 master was my  
*object* in life. "The  
 righteous perisheth

-2-

"& no man layeth it  
 "to heart - none  
 "considering that he  
 "is taken away from"  
*the good he might  
 have done -*

The last words I  
 ever had from him  
 were when he  
 heard (abroad) of  
 my dear master's  
 death. I shall  
 never hear such  
 words of sympathy  
 again. He felt  
 so much for us all

& was so entirely  
 overcome when he  
 spoke of us to his  
 wife that I cannot  
 help believing it  
 hastened his death.  
 He was only 41.  
 But death for him  
 was not premature.

He was already  
 worn out in life.  
 He had worked so  
 hard at Oxford  
 that his peculiar  
 impressionable  
 temperament never  
 recovered it.  
 {envelope, black-edged}

The

Lady Herbert

signed letter fragment, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65 [black-edged paper] [8:690]

He was sitting in  
 an arm chair by  
 the fire, with  
 some writing on his  
 knee. He was  
 looking at you  
 who were just  
 leaving the room.  
 When you were  
 gone, he said,  
 almost to himself,  
 "This is what I  
 call heaven -  
*loving love*".

Aeschylus uses  
 the true expression  
 "*unloving love*."

Perhaps he was  
 thinking of the  
 difference between  
 this & *his* love,  
 when he used the  
 words, "*loving love*"

He so seldom  
 spoke of his feelings,  
 at least to me -  
 that I was the  
 more struck -

Florence Nightingale  
 This sad New Year  
 1862

{in another hand:}

*To be kept for my Children* EH  
 Extract from a letter of  
 Florence Nightingale (written by herself)  
 containing a statement of Sidney's  
 feeling regarding the happiness  
 of his married life.

signed letter, 2ff, pen {black-edged paper} 2057/F4/65 [8:700-01]

Sept 10/70

Dearest I feel a more  
 than common union in sorrow  
 with you now that you are  
 so ill - we two who have  
 been so united in sorrow  
 for these last nine years.  
 I know that you have long  
 since been able to say with our  
 Lord, even when your soul was  
 sorrowful, even unto death:  
 Father, Thy will, not mine be  
 done - & that you have not  
 waited till now to offer  
 yourself to seek Him on the  
 cross, & with every cross that  
 He who uses every means to

procure us so great a good as  
 that of His love shall send.  
 You are not one who will be  
 satisfied to hear His voice  
 only from the foot of the  
 mountain - Even where  
 the cup is so bitter that Our  
 Lord Himself says: ~~Let~~/If it be  
 possible, let this cup pass  
 from me: you will hold  
 out both hands for it.  
 It seems indeed as if He  
 would try you in every way -  
 & give you the opportunity of  
 victories in your bed more  
 pleasing to Him than even  
 those of open struggle with  
 evil.

Let us thank Him, even tho'  
 the flesh is weak, that He treats  
 us as He treated His son -  
 Having desired to suffer with  
 Him, let us thank Him for  
 granting our prayer - When  
 we think that *He* has sent ~~it~~/this,  
 we know that *He* will give  
 the strength to bear it. His  
 strength is made perfect in  
 our weakness. Our Lord  
 chose the path of the Passion  
 & the Cross for Himself - O that  
 we may be able, of our own  
 free will, to choose it too!  
 that we may be able to run,  
 not only with patience, but  
 with joy, the appointed course  
 at the end of which *He* waits

for us, *He* is expecting us.

You have now to suffer in  
 everything. Pray for me, now  
 that you are so suffering, that  
 I may never have any other  
 thought, any other feeling but  
 to know & do His will.

For so many years I have  
 every day been 'delivered unto  
 death for Jesus' sake' - would  
 I could add: that 'the *life* of  
 Jesus' has been 'made manifest'  
 in me!- that I feel as if I  
 could unite now in prayer &  
 sympathy with you, so that,  
 like St. Paul, we might esteem  
 ourselves happy to suffer for  
 Him. God be with you always

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

incomplete letter, undated, 8ff, pen {black-edged} 2057/F4/65 [8:688-89]

-1-

The Horse Guards  
have taken quite a  
different tone  
lately - owing, I believe,  
to the "Meeting" of  
the 28th.

Every one said  
that *he* was the only  
man in England for  
whom such a  
Meeting could have  
been held - men  
of all parties, the  
representative of  
the Crown, the  
representative of

Parlt, uniting to  
do him honour.

Mr. Rathbone  
of Liverpool tells  
me that they are  
going to have a  
similar Meeting  
there - as soon as  
the immediate turmoil  
of this terrible  
American business  
has past.

You know that  
Liverpool has always  
stood out prominent  
about *him* & about  
the Crimean War

-2-

For the Statue, I have most earnestly recommended that it should be in Westminster Abbey. He deserves a place there. For he is the initiator of a new era - that of taking the *human* side of the policy as regards the soldier - looking upon him as a man & not as a machine.

After all, politics are ephemeral. And

Westminster Abbey a higher & worthier place than the House of Commons or Palace Yard.

Wiltshire does not think of building yet but of applying the funds to your Charmouth Institution.

The "Herbert" Gold medal will be for the best proficient in "preserving the soldier's health" at the Chatham School. This as a tribute to

*his* particular object.

The D. of Cambridge  
has written to Sir G.  
Lewis to ask for  
the Quarter Master  
Genl to be President  
in *his* room of the  
Barrack Commission,  
(Galton, Sutherland  
& Burrell, you know)  
I was sorry & I was  
glad. But it was  
impossible to refuse  
On the one hand  
it shews that they  
mean to keep on  
the Barrack Commn,

which I never thought  
they would, after *he*  
was gone - & that  
they mean to play  
the game of treading  
in his steps for the  
sake of his popularity.  
On the other hand, to  
have Airey or Percy  
Herbert in *HIS* place  
& with ~~the~~/a President's  
power of putting a  
stop to every thing  
(this Commn has had  
the spending of  
£50,000 a year since  
1857) is very galling.

-3-

Lord de Grey works  
his very best at the  
W.O. [Sir G. Lewis is  
studying the Astronomy  
of the Ancients -  
profitable speculation!]  
Lord de Grey has the  
whole of the charge  
of this expedition  
to Canada. Every  
thing is being raised  
to War Establishmt.  
Lord de Grey applied  
to us to know what  
*he* had done in  
reference to the China  
Expeditionary Force

& followed *exactly*  
*in his steps*. And  
I was very glad  
to be able to shew  
how beautifully *his*  
"Regulations" work  
& meet every emergency.

Ld de Grey did  
exactly what *he* did;  
& we revised the  
Sanitary Instructions.

I have no doubt  
that this American  
business is one of the  
things which have  
made the Horse Guards

turn sharp round  
 & think it might  
 be as well for them  
 if they too would  
 tread a little in  
*his* steps.

The country would  
 never forgive them  
 if they were to lose  
 another Army (in  
 Canada)

But I see more  
 & more every day  
 how different it is  
 having only Ld de Grey  
 in the W.O. He does  
 his very best. But

he has no power.

He cannot remodel  
 the Engineering (Fortifica  
 tions) Department  
 as HE had intended &  
~~writes~~/written to me in his very  
 last letter - And  
 Galton remains *tale*  
*quale*. You know  
 that poor Godley is  
 dead. Had Ld de  
 Grey been powerful,  
 he could have used  
 this opportunity for  
 remodelling in some  
 degree the position  
 - as I am sure he  
 wished.

-4-

Let me tell you  
one thing which I  
think will give you  
pleasure.

The Choral Society  
are going to give  
a series of Performances  
to the Soldiers  
gratuitously. I was  
consulted. And they  
open tonight at  
Exeter Hall with  
a Dirge to *his* memory  
& the Messiah after  
wards. It will be  
a grand performance  
- a great tribute to

for Ld Stanley -  
And *his* work  
was all for mankind!

Ld de Grey will  
I think carry the  
Soldiers' Day Rooms  
*in time*. The  
Commander in Chief  
*had* taken the  
Iron House at Aldershot we  
wished to have  
(for his Officer's  
Club) But I think  
the W.O. will buy  
a house there for

£2000 for us -

I have recommended  
that a tract  
containing the  
account of the  
Meeting of the  
28th & an address,  
with appeal to the  
Soldier, to be ~~got~~/done  
~~from~~/by Dickens,  
shall be sent to  
every Soldiers' Reading Room  
& every Commanding  
Officer by the  
W.O.

{page missing?}  
the more pleasure  
because I send  
them to some of  
his *poor* adherents  
And I always tell  
them they come from  
Wilton; poor, poor Wilton.

I would write a  
great deal more -  
But I have had  
two Doctors' Consultations.  
And they say that, in  
addition to all my  
other woes, I have  
now congestion of the  
spine, brought on by  
sorrow & worry And

Wilt/65 unsigned memorandum, undated, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65

What the Army Medical Board ought to be able to do in this Indian case -

[15:271-72]

Nothing can save the poor troops now from a tremendous loss -

But, if there is to be a Military occupation with Queen's troops, no time should be lost in making preparations.

The first step would be to "make A. Smith a Marquis", - but, if this cannot be, the Sanitary adviser of the Consultative Board should be able to do the following:

*Military* authority ought to lay down all the points to be occupied -

*Sanitary* authority all

the points which can be healthily occupied

Hitherto, the banks of rivers have been the Military base - It is impossible to improve these Sanitarily - But there is scarcely any other situation which cannot be improved -

Military problems are like all other problems - they require common sense to solve them more than anything else - though Military men would fain persuade us otherwise.

England would not be England, if she could not, in India,

make Railways to bring troops down from the healthy positions upon the unhealthy ones which must occupied & cannot be improved - & if she could not improve the unhealthy positions which are capable of improvement.

To make troops, in India, bivouack or to put them in huts *upon the ground* in unhealthy positions is fatal - But put them in huts raised three feet above the ground, & even in unhealthy positions, much disease will be saved -

Calcutta, as far as regards the native part, is now one of the most unhealthy cities of the world - There is not a drain in it - And there is a salt marsh near it which sometimes dries up & leaves putrid fish -

But all these things might be remedied, even in India, & must be remedied, if we are to have a prolonged Military occupation, without fearful loss of European life -

But there is no time to be lost, because Railways & Sanitary works must be & must take time - After these poor troops are dead, our difficulties will begin -

[end 15:272]

signed letter, undated, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale - on proposed Tables shewing comparative Mortality} 2057/F4/65

I think Tulloch's Mountains will be very effective, if he would give us a series of mortalities for the years before & after 1837 in Mountains.

[14:494-95]

I prefer our Diagram for exhibiting Maxima & Minima of Mortality - since Diagrams are to catch the Sparrows -

Tulloch's Mountains

have made me think that it would be a good thing for us to have a series of Mountains, exhibiting for the Crimea -

Mortality per month  
Salt meat (Date & quantity)

Biscuit  
Vegetables  
Clothing  
Fatigues -

If you approve, will you propose it to Farr?

For this purpose,

I enclose a series of Data of this kind, which I once made, & which I could give you more in detail for Dr. Farr -

It would be ~~more~~ very instructive for the Sparrows -

ever faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

unsigned memorandum, undated, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65 [14:495]

*Home Stations*

Upon mean force  
annually  
Mortality  
per 1000

Navy

Marines

From Disease alone

6.8

" Wounds & Injuries

3.8

Total Mortality

10.6 ..... under 8

both on board ship  
& in barracks

The ~~Marines~~ Mortality of the Marines is a little worse than that of the Navy - but very little - not 1 per 1000 -

The Marines do not go aloft, & therefore their total mortality is below that of the seamen, whose deaths from external violence & drowning, by men falling from aloft &c, is 3.8 per ann. ~~(illeg)~~ per 1000, as shewn by Table -

The Total Mortality for Marines only is given, probably because that from Wounds & Injuries is hardly appreciable,

Mortality  
of *Marines* -  
between 7 & 8  
per 1000  
whether on board  
ship or in Barracks.

[end 14:495]

unsigned memorandum, undated, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/65 [14:532-33]

E.g.

*Foot Guards*

Why the strength of the Invalids must be added in adding their Mortality

Aggreg. Strength	Deaths
1844-52 = 44388	891
Invalids	
1845-53 = 1565	210
45953	1101
	[Mortality Per 1000]
	23.9

The aggregate Strength, 44388, of the Guards, '44-'52, yields its own proper mortality of 891. But, besides the Mortality on effectives, there is a Mortality taking place on non-effectives invalided. These Invalids are discharged at any time after the Army strength is taken - which is on April 1. They are included in the strength up to the day the Annual Return is made. But they begin to disappear & their Mortality together with them, directly the day of taking the strength has passed.

~~comes round.~~ They, afterwards, form a distinct class with a special Mortality. It is considered that one year's Mortality among these Invalids may be fairly added to the Mortality of the effectives, because the Diseases, of which they die within the year, may be fairly attributed to causes connected with their Service. In order to add this Mortality fairly, we must leave it out for the first year, & continue it a year beyond the last year, for which the Mortality of effectives is given (- the mortality in Invalids being always taken a year after they have left the service)

To do this, we must add together the *effective* strength & the mortality

for 1844-52 to the *Invalid* Mortality & strength 1845-53.

(The *Invalids'* strength must be added, because it does not exist in the *effective* strength)

It was thought doubtful whether half the *Invalids'* strength should not be added *besides*, because they may be supposed to remain under observation on an average of half the year - But it was decided that the Discharges might very well be told off on one hand against the Accessions of Strength from Recruits on the other, who will be reckoned in the Strength of the next April 1, altho' they may have been on the strength only half the year -

-2-

allowance must be made for the selection at entry, which excludes the sick.

This may be put down as nearly equivalent to half the Deaths among the Pensioners. Thus the true strength & Deaths will be about

	<i>Strength</i>	<i>Deaths</i>
Effectives	22948	454
Pensioners	876	115
Excluded }		
Sick of }	438	58
Dangerous }		
Diseases }		
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	24262	627

The real annual mortality per cent of the Foot Guards, after correction, is 26 annual deaths to 1000 living - whereas the mortality of the male population at the same ages is about 9 annual deaths to 1000 - or one where there would be three in the Guards

**[end 14:533]**

incomplete memorandum, undated, 5ff, pen, 2057/F4/65 [14:533-34]

PRIVATE

The conclusions upon this Table are as follow:

1. that the Army Statistics give no real idea of the Mortality

There is this essential difference between the Registrar-General's & the Army Medical Returns -

The first give the precise per centage of Deaths to Population within Army Ages. The second give no precise per centage of Deaths to Army Population -

Soldiers die to the Army in two ways. viz. by death & by invaliding - The state loses them equally whether they die or are invalided before their term of service is completed.

By the table I enclose, it appears that more than 18 entire Regiments were lost to the service in 5 years -

2. that the Army Mortality, as stated in the Report, cannot be accurately compared with that of Civil Life at the same ages - To say that the Mortality

in the Guards is double that of Civil Life is to make an under = statement of the truth. For the Army Mortality merely shews the Deaths among those staying in the Service long enough to die in it. It does not shew the Deaths among those discharged to die elsewhere -

A low rate of mortality therefore may imply not a high state of health but a high rate of invaliding.

And Statistics thus organized may give all the results which Sanitary measures would give.

For, if every man likely to die were invalided, the Army would appear immortal. For not a man in it would ever die.

The table I enclose adds upwards of 15 per 1000 to the annual Rate of Mortality of the Army. It shews that, in 5 years, nearly 1 ½ Regiments were swept away within 12 months after invaliding.

And all these men were between

30 - 35 years of age - had had an average of 10 years' service. For those invalided after completing their time do not die.

The difference between the different Arms shews the method by which the apparent Mortality in some is reduced e.g. The Life Guards actually reach a Mortality of 15 per cent in the 5 years. the Horse Artillery is as low as 4 ½ per cent.

3. The result is that we have no reliable Statistics of the Army Mortality & that, without some principle in those of Invaliding, we cannot compare the rate of Mortality in our Army with that of any others - For, in some, we know that every man who dies dies in Hospital

Nor can we compare it with Civil Life.

Nor can we even compare Regiment with Regiment.

The real Statistics of the Army, to be at all brought out, must include:

(1) the adoption of an accurate nomenclature & classification of Disease & Mortality.

(2) accurate tables of invaliding, stating the Diseases & Deaths for 12 months, or such other period, if practicable, as would include the termination of the cases up to what would have been the termination of the man's ~~so~~ service - Deaths from other diseases, not contracted in service, should not be included.

(3) tables of the ~~continued influx of~~ healthy lives which at known ages - are continually drafted into the Army.

4. The true Army Mortality would then be calculated as follows:

Mortality in Army Hospitals - *plus* that from all Diseases or injuries for which men are invalided - *minus* that from Diseases or injuries taking place after what would have been the expiration of the term of service - the percentage being taken on the active Force, plus the Invalids.

**[end 14:534]**

	e.g.		{Deaths of Invalids
Strength	Deaths	Invalids	{within term of
			{service
10,000	100	1000	100

The Mortality would, according to present

Mayne {Glasgow [14:495-96]  
 Dr. Borlase Childs write to {Liverpool  
 surgeon to Police Division Inspectors {Edinburgh  
 ? Strand - of Police {Manchester  
 at {Birmingham

1. age of entry?
2. duration of service?
3. amount of night duty & the  
 † manner in which it is performed?
4. mortality per cent per ann.  
 distinguishing total mortality  
     that from fevers  
                   cholera  
                   diarrhaea  
                   dysentery  
                   Consumption  
                   other Chest  
                   diseases

sickness in the Police? Rheumatism

Army

- 
- 5 mortality in different Barracks  
 of metropolis from same classes  
 of disease? & ~~fr~~ total mortality?
  - 6 average strength  
     sickness from these diseases
  - 7 per cent
  - 8 amount & nature of night duty

examine  
 Mayne & Dr. Fisher

Considering Police to be  
 a moveable body,  
 required per centage of  
 mortality from all  
 classes of disease  
 (those of the Lungs  
 especially important)  
 & also current per  
 centage of sickness -  
 required amount  
 of night duty -  
 whether same men  
 always on day duty  
 & others always on  
 night duty

---

examine  
 Dr. Southwood Smith

---

required Mortality  
 & Sickness in  
 Model Lodging houses

---

Report by Waller  
 Lewis

---

required Mortality  
 & Sickness in the Post

Office

Mortality from Disease alone  
in the Navy  
for Seven years' average  
1837 - 1843

Per 1000 Annually

Home - - - - -	6.8	
S. America - - - -	6.7	
Various - - - - -	8	
Packet Service - -	8.6	
N. Coast Spain - -8.5 - - - -		4 years' average only
Mediterranean - -	10.7	
Cape - - - - -	11	
W. Indies - - - -	19.2	} Unhealthy Stations
E. Indies - - - -	34.2	
W. Coast Africa - <u>57</u>		
Annual Average	14.9	Mean Force 33,000
per 1000		<b>[end 14:496]</b>

[this f has a vertical line through it]

It appears from a Return given in Mr. Grainger's Report of ~~of~~ Cholera in the Metropolis in 1849, ~~published by the General Board of Health,~~ that H.M. Troops suffered in a much larger proportion than the Civil Population ~~in which~~ of the Parishes in which the Barracks were situated -

[diagonal lines through the following paragraph]

The Mortality amongst the Civil Population of St. Pancras Parish in that year was

Per 1000

2.2

~~whil~~

facts which prove that the Local predisposing causes of Cholera were of a more intense character in and around the Barracks than among the dwellings of the population generally

They would indicate the existence of effluvia ~~connected~~ proceeding from defective drainage and latrine arrangements - in addition to atmospheric impurity, proceeding from overcrowding & defective ventilation.

[there is a vertical line through the f]  
 [additions in a different hand in bold]

**Cholera**

Proportionate Mortality of Troops & Civilians  
 in the Metropolis in 1849

Civilians	Deaths per 1000	2nd Life Guards
St. Pancras	2.2	<b>Regent's Park</b> 10.7/4
Kensington	3.3	R.H.G 17.5
		<b>Knightsbridge</b>
		1st Batt. Gren. Gds
		1st Batt. Coldstream
Marylebone	2.7	<b>Portsmouth</b> 3.2
& St. Martin's in Fds		<b>Trafalgar Sq.1</b>
-----		
St. John & St. Margt		Coldstream Gds*
Westminster	6.8	<b>Wellington</b> 2
E. London &	5.4	2nd Batt. Colds Gds
Whitechapel		Tower " S.F.Gds.
		10
Marylebone	1.7	S.F.G. 1st Batt.
		<b>St John's Wood</b> 2
		<b>{illeg Cotnam?} W</b>

\*The Wellington Barracks are situated in St. James's Park, the only healthy spot of the whole district, which is a peculiarly unhealthy one.

Assume that the aggregate strength of the Foot Guards was, as in 1842 - 6 - viz.  
 22948

we must add for the strength of the Pensioners

$$\frac{934 + (934-115)}{2} = 934-58 = 876$$

Thus making the aggregate strength for a year  
 23,824 out of which  
 454 effective  
 115 pensioners

569 died in the year -  
 Thus mortality was at the rate of  
 24 in 1000 annually among the effective  
 & pensioners, whereas the mortality among  
 the effective alone was

$$\frac{454}{22948} = 20 \text{ in } 1000$$

But to make the comparison at all fair  
 between the mortality of the Foot Guards  
 & that of the General Population - some

unsigned memorandum, undated 1f, pen 2057/F4/65

*Sunday -*

For your Consideration I have been going over [15:270-71]  
all the men, who served

well in the Crimean War,  
as subjects for your  
MEDICAL consideration in re *Medical*  
branch ~~& Statistical~~ branch .

Army Medical Board Dr. Taylor's Division (3rd)  
was always the best admi=  
nistered - from the time  
you sent him out -

that of Alexander ~~always~~  
excepted, who also bore the  
burden & toil of the day,  
the first winter, which  
Taylor did not -

There are several good  
Regimental Officers, Longmore  
& others - But they are  
wholly untried in admi=  
nistration. And a very  
plausible subject of  
complaint might arise -  
on the parts of Messrs. Dumbreck

& Forrest, & Co, if they were  
passed over for a Regimental  
Surgeon, whereas the  
appointment of Taylor  
who has served in all  
parts of the world, in  
war as in peace, & is a  
tried man in administra=  
tive matters, is unex=  
ceptionable.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale - on the re=constitution of the Army  
Medical Board}

unsigned memorandum, undated, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65

-1-

For your  
Consideration

STATISTICAL  
branch

Taylor is a wholly untried man in this - Algebra is necessary, which Balfour has & Taylor has not. True, ~~if~~ if Alexander is Director General, ~~Taylor~~/Balfour is a very bad adviser for him, for he is opinionated, while Alexander is modest.

[15:270-71]

But Balfour has been working at this for 18 years - and could, with difficulty, be passed over -

He might still hold his position as Surgeon to the "little red men" - just as well as he does now - for he does all the Statistics now -

The real hold you have

on both *Statistical & Sanitary branch*/Heads is only the enactment which you have established your= self, ~~of~~ viz. the Quarterly publication of *Civil Registrar = General of the "deaths"*, with any comments of ~~their~~/his own. The Registrar General's Office is the most popular department of the Service And, if a Barrack shewed, e.g., no improvement in Phthisis, ~~the~~ a remark from the R.G.'s Office would bring public opinion down upon them directly. Of this, Balfour is well aware - & on this account, he kicked - in your Report.

-2-

Qy - whether it would be possible to ask for two clerks from Farr's Office, with a small increase of pay to make it worth their while to go over to the service of the W.O., and to make this an excuse for Balfour to work the first six months at the Civil Registrar = Genl's Office, under plea of Farr wishing to keep his eye upon his own Clerks -

This would start the whole thing in the way you would wish to have it started -

For the fact is, there is not a man in the Army fit for *Statistical* or *Sanitary* branch - And yet, you must have a man in the Army.

**[end 15:271]**

unsigned memorandum, undated, 5ff, pen 2057/F4/65

Note on the Monthly  
~~Quarterly~~ Return of  
 Sickness & Mortality

[9:52]

I. Two important deductions  
 are drawn from this Return  
 by Sir A. Tulloch

1. that acclimatization  
 has "no perceptible advantage  
 "in India, even when troops  
 "are serving under the most  
 "disadvantageous circumstances."

2. that it would be  
 advantageous to send Sikh  
 troops to China.

The second of these is an  
 important suggestion - espe=  
 cially at the present time.

But the first requires  
 to be seriously examined.

1. no satisfactory  
 conclusion can be drawn  
 from 3 months' Statistics.  
 But, as Sir A. Tulloch has  
 used this period, we must  
 do so too - & shew that his  
 conclusion is not borne out  
 by the facts.

2. he acknowledges that

the Bengal Returns are  
for the 3 healthiest mon.  
in the year. And yet  
the Mortality was at the  
rate of 39 per 1000 per ann.

Madras	54	"	"
Bombay	58	"	"

the returns for the two  
last Presidencies being  
for the more unhealthy  
~~Stations~~ Seasons.

This fact alone destroys  
his argument -

**[end 9:52]**

But we find another  
means of comparison in  
the D.G.'s Report. He says  
the Bengal Mortality  
for the Quarter given  
was "nearly one half less"  
than what took place  
during the previous Quarter  
This would make the  
Mortality for the previous  
Quarter 77 per 1000.

In Sir A. Tulloch's  
Evidence before the Indian  
Organization Commission,

[right column]  
 p. 180, he gives the following  
 ratios for 39 years -

*Per 1000*

Bengal -----79.2  
 Madras -----62.9  
 Bombay -----61.1  
 All India ----70

The Bengal Winter  
 quarter, ~~has~~ as deduced  
 from ~~Alex~~ the D.G.'s  
 account, it will be seen,  
 very nearly comes up  
 to Tulloch's average -

The conclusion is  
 that these tables convey  
 no satisfactory conclusion  
 on the subject of  
 acclimatization -

It would be desirable  
 to obtain the Quarterly  
 Ratios for all India  
 during the Mutiny.

II. the ~~Quarterly~~/Monthly Form  
 might be so improved  
 as to give a larger amount

[left column]

of such information as  
the S. of S. requires.

(1) The *Barracks* occupied  
by the Troops in Gt Britain  
& Ireland should be given.

(2) Instead of adding the  
"Remaining" & "Admissions"  
together & calling that  
the "Total Treated", the  
"Average Daily Sick"  
should be given, which  
would shew the amount  
of inefficiency from disease.

(3) The Classification of  
Diseases should be  
exchanged for the classi=  
fication on "No. 1  
"Administrative Form,  
"(Morning State)" contained  
in the new Regulations.

(4) In stating the Per  
centages, the amount  
*per 1000 per annum*  
should be given -  
instead of "1 in 7"  
which is simple nonsense -

[right col]

(5) The Annual Percentage of Death to Strength should also be given.

(6) The columns of "Increase" & "Decrease" "in the month" are useless; because 1. the event to which they refer is past & no conclusion can be drawn from it. 2. they might lead to erroneous conclusions as to the healthiness of a Regiment. e.g. we find in one Column a decrease of 17 Admissions. Sir J. Hall made use of this very fact in the Crimea to congratulate the Commander of the Forces on the "improving health" of ~~the~~/his Army, at the very time an epidemic was pending.

III. The Mortality in China has been enormous & requires strict enquiry.  
2. The returns fully bear out the immense impor=

[left column]

tance of the prevention of  
Zymotic Diseases on  
foreign Stations. These  
Diseases occasion far  
the largest amount of  
sickness, mortality &  
inefficiency.

3. Should not the S. of [S.? side of sheet cut off]  
obtain the Monthly  
Statistics of every one  
of the Foreign Stations  
to enable him to ask  
questions regarding  
any excessive Mortality  
in one or more Stations  
We learn incidentally  
from the D.G.'s Report  
that Dysentery has  
prevailed at Secunderabad  
& yet the Statistics  
give no information  
whatever upon the  
fact - Secunderabad  
being included in one  
General Average sweeping  
[right column]

over the whole of the  
Madras Presidency

Initialed letter, ff1-3, pen 2057/F4/65 [8:694]

Hampstead N.W.

Sept 7/64

Dearest

I thought your note  
to Dr. Parkes just  
what it ought to be.

With regard to Lady  
Bath's Vill: Nurse - - - we  
have quite forsworn  
recommending people  
for that position - we  
train people whom  
their future employers  
recommend - This makes  
the employer responsible

for her Village Nurse -  
makes the employer  
infinitely more wise  
in her superintendence  
- instead of being only  
occupied as often  
happens, in picking  
holes in the Village  
Nurse who has been  
recommended to *her*;-  
& who requires all  
her employer's countenance  
to carry out her most  
difficult task.

If Lady Bath will  
choose (& send us) a

woman, we will give  
her 6 months' Midwifery  
training - if she is to  
be a Midwifery Nurse, -  
at the Lying-in Ward  
at King's College Hospital.  
And she can also  
have *general* nurse  
training, if desired -  
& if special arrang=  
ments ~~have~~ are made.

Already in different  
parts of England we  
have Nurses sent  
out often this fashion.

1000 thanks for game  
God bless you  
ever your F.

Copy of dear Flo's letter Scutari July 9/55 re Athena 2057/F4/65

Note, unsigned, ff1-7, pen 2057/F4/65

[15:427-28]

August 1859

Miss Nightingale

Chatham Soldiers

Institute

Note on the plans of

*Chatham "Soldiers' Institute"*

1. Object approved & plans considered as good, but too costly for the Barrack - If it were intended to rebuild the Barracks on a proper plan, the "Institute" would probably do as it is.

But, considering the miserable construction & overcrowded state of Chatham Barracks, it appears doubtful whether the money would not be better spent in increasing accommodations

2. Or the money might be spent perhaps more advantageously in providing a larger amount of cheaper &

plainer Day = room  
accommodation -

3. The proposed plans  
are very defective in  
warming & ventilation  
arrangements - and  
require revision on  
these points.
4. Looking at the elevation,  
it is very doubtful  
whether the building  
could be finished for  
the sum proposed, which  
moreover does not include

the following order:

1. Increased Barrack  
& Hospital accommodation  
- and plain cheap  
day=rooms in the mean  
time for the men to  
live in thro' the day.
2. Married Soldiers'  
quarters.
3. Soldiers' Institute -  
such as the one proposed -  
- which is highly to be  
approved of in its  
proper place - so much  
so that, were it so

carried out, I should  
gladly furnish it, if  
allowed to do so.

**[end 15:428]**

In conclusion, the "Institute" plans would answer excellently, except the warming & Ventilation, for a new Barrack, built on the best model and complete in its parts.

At so very incomplete a Barrack as Chatham, it would be wrong i.e. out of place.

Money is wanted at Chatham for constructive works in

furnishing.

5. While it is proposed to spend this large sum of money, we must not forget that, in almost every Barrack=room at Chatham, married women & young unmarried women sleep & live among the men. Does not this fact intimate a more pressing necessity for married quarters?

2057/F4/65 initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 1. 1858. Disapproves of Dr. Farr's Weekly Army Return Enclosed. Black-edged paper, 2057/F4/65

Mar 1/58

[14:556]

For this there is no hurry, at least not before you see Farr.

But his Weekly {illeg}/Return (enclosed) is in opposition to the principles of ~~the~~ your Report respecting the Army Medl Board, which principles, together with those

you expounded to me as to the adminis= tering a Board, are set forth in the enclosure with a green string -

{illeg}/A criticism on Farr's Weekly Report accompanies it -

I think it is important *not* to let it pass, as it stands -

F.N.

Would you not  
talk to Sutherland  
about this before  
you come to any  
conclusions with  
Farr?

[end 14:556]

Printed title page; Florence Nightingale, *Notes on the Care and Treatment of Sick and Wounded During the Late War in the East, and On the Sanitary Requirements of the Army Generally*. Presented by Request to the Secretary of State for War. London: Harrison & Sons 1857. Begins with Panmure letter to her 18th Feb 1857.

Preface. Handwritten at top, around printed "Preface":

Dear Mr Herbert. This is the  
kind of Preface I intended to put  
supposing you approved, and if  
you wrote me "the letter" regarding  
the insertion of the Abstracts of  
the Army  
Medical Correspondence.  
Feb 4/58. F. Nightingale

Some time after the receipt of Lord Panmure's letter of the 28th February, 1857, and when considerable progress had been made in drawing up the following Notes, I received from the Right Honourable Sidney Herbert, M.P., three large packets of MS, at three separate dates, containing a great mass of correspondence on the care of the sick and wounded, and on the sanitary state of the army in the East, which had passed between the director general, the principal medial officer of the army in the East, and medical officers of divisions, etc.

Mr Herbert also wrote me the letter, of which a copy is subjoined. [then continues as in Matters affecting.]

Note to Sidney Herbert

4 February 1858

Source: From a letter to Elizabeth Herbert, Wiltshire County Record Office, Pembroke Collection 2057/F4/65, black-edged paper [13:60-61]

1 Upper Harley St.

29 May 1854

My dearest

The chief facts  
I observed, when  
I used to go to St  
Bartholomew's Hl  
were,  
1st, that the Nurses  
(not the Sisters)  
slept in wooden  
cages on the  
landing places  
outside the doors

of the Wards, where  
it was impossible  
for any woman of  
character to sleep,  
where it was  
impossible for the  
Night Nurse, taking  
her night in the  
day, to sleep at all,  
owing to the noise,  
where there was  
no light or air  
but that admitted  
through the glass

doors- & where  
three were together  
in this small space,  
but/tho' only two, it is  
true, slept at a  
time.

2nd, it was *preferred*  
that the Nurses  
(again, not the  
Sisters) should be  
women who had  
lost their characters,  
i.e., who should

have had one  
child, because it is

supposed, in England,  
that these only can  
be made to work  
hard (for the sake  
of the child) & be  
pitiful to the Patients,  
& that no other woman will take  
a Hospl Nurse's place.

3rd, the excessive want  
of personal cleanliness  
of the Patients - they  
could *never* wash  
their feet - & it was  
with difficulty &  
only in great haste  
that they could have

a drop of water  
just to *dab* their  
hands & face.

But these things  
are just the same  
in all the other  
Hospitals.

I have not been  
to St Bartholomew's  
for two years.  
If I possibly can,  
I will go there  
tomorrow or Wednes  
day & ascertain

whether the cages  
& other varieties  
are there still.

The case of Dr  
Kirkes is the most  
flagrant we have  
yet had, for his  
book on Physiology  
is one of our  
text= books in the  
Medical World.  
But these are not  
the only instances

of jobbing in Hospitals.

The "dressers" (who  
 are students) buy  
 their places, which  
 are much sought  
 after, as dressers,  
 so that not he  
 who is most skilful  
 but he who has  
 most money gets  
 on. At Guy's  
 this shameful prac=  
 tice is done away  
 with, but not, I

believe, at the other  
 Hospitals. I will  
 try & learn whether  
 it is still so at  
 St Bartholomew's.

I was overjoyed to  
 see your handwriting  
 again. God bless  
 the little Bab &  
 you, & believe me,  
 ever yours

F.N.

Three years ago, all the  
~~windows~~ front at St  
 Bartholomew's was re=  
 modelled & beautified,  
 while the nurses were  
 [breaks off abruptly]

[end 13:61]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Wiltshire 66, paper copies

69

signed letter, 1f, pen 2057/F4/66

**[14:57]**

1 Upper Harley St  
16 October 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert

I shall be too grateful  
to see you today at the  
time you mention, between  
3 & 5 o'clock, if you can  
spare the time to come  
up here -

Yours very truly

Florence Nightingale

**[end]**

incomplete letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: 7 May 1855} 2057/F4/66

Harbour of Balaclava  
May 7/55

**[14:184]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

There are many  
things about Scutari  
which I have long  
been anxious to say  
to you, though I do  
not know that it is  
of any use -

Not being a soldier  
& being told by those  
who were at Scutari  
that to remedy these  
things was impossible,

I held my peace &  
supposed that these  
were the evils which  
we are informed are  
inseparable from war -

But lately I have  
had the opportunity  
of hearing the opinions  
of officers who were  
the only beings like  
men whom I have  
seen since I came out  
& find that the  
remedies I should  
propose are not only  
feasible but actually  
carried out almost  
everywhere - & that

our Depot at Scutari  
is supposed to be the  
worst managed & our  
Commandant at Scutari  
acknowledged to be the  
worst officer in the  
service (It appears  
that he was asked for  
by Lord Rag/Stratford  
merely because he was  
a man of rank) If  
we had had a man  
like Major Fellowes, on  
Ld Raglan's Staff, or  
like Genl Jones, or like  
many others I could  
name, how different  
Scutari would have been!

The intoxication &  
indiscipline of the  
Barrack at Scutari  
is what shocks, not  
mere civilians like  
ourselves, but old  
Officers - I never knew  
what *dead drunk*  
meant till I saw  
these wretched beings  
brought into our Hospital  
upon stretchers - But  
all the redress we could  
ever get from Ld W. Paulet  
was "These are the  
brutes you spoil" -

[end 14:184]

signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/66

Birk Hall  
Ballater

[14:451-52]

Sept 28/56

Dear Mr. Herbert

Many thanks for  
the enclosed which  
is exactly what I  
expected - If/As no  
Establishment can,  
for Military reasons,  
which I understand,  
be organized at  
Aix La Chapelle or

elsewhere abroad,  
I should question  
the desirableness of  
having a *permanent*  
establishment at  
Bath - I should  
like to see the  
experiment tried there,  
which I have  
proposed to Dr.  
Pincoffs & Lord Panmure

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
with 60 Patients  
for this year on  
the terms which  
I shewed to you -  
But I think that  
the upshot will be  
that it will be found  
better to concentrate  
all our efforts towards  
having a good sea=  
bathing (warm) equip=

72

ment of ~~Baths~~/Douches &c at  
the Southampton Mily  
Hospital - as, for  
*external application*  
(which would be  
all we should do  
at Bath,) equally  
efficacious - This is  
a question however  
for medical opinion  
& not for me to  
decide -

-2-

I had meant to  
have written to you  
this very day to  
claim your very  
important promise  
to meet me, if you  
were in London,  
for "a combined  
attack upon the  
Bison". I have  
found the Queen,  
Prince Albert & Sir

George Grey propitious -  
Yesterday however  
the Queen came  
here & pressed me  
to remain ~~here~~ to  
see Lord Panmure  
(who comes on duty  
here this week)  
with reasons which  
it would have  
been foolish in me

to oppose - though  
I would rather  
have seen Lord  
Panmure with you.  
However the one  
does not preclude  
the other - And I  
hope you will (like  
a Cid) stand up  
for the cause of the  
poor oppressed Army

Hospitals which I  
assure you have not  
won ~~one~~ a step of  
the ground yet by the  
experience of the War -

I have progressed  
so far as this that  
the Queen has asked  
me to write a plan  
for Lord Panmure &  
to send it to her -  
She is interested -  
the Prince is enlightened-  
And both anxious to  
do their best for reform.

-3-

The Prince's prediction for the Horse Guards is however alarming. How odd that they should not understand that the Chelsea Commission has really struck the severest blow at the prerogative of the Crown, because the country will never

trust the Executive again - The cleverest thing which ever was done by an Executive was the appointment of an honest Commission who did their work honestly & neutralized the effect of Roebuck's

Committee - Then Govt throws overboard its own Commission - & the country proclaims again (& this time with truth) that Ministers cannot be trusted to do their own work -

I think the return of the Regimental Officers

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
from the Crimea who  
felt most keenly the  
inconsistency of Chelsea  
will exasperate this  
feeling still more -

75

I shall come to  
London as soon as  
I can, & see Fort Pitt  
& our Home Military  
Hospitals, & I hope,  
yourself before I  
finally assault ~~the~~/your  
"Bison" - Yours ever gratefully  
F. Nightingale

[end 14:452]

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.  
London

Oct 31/56

[14:461-62]

Dear Mr. Herbert

If you come to London  
during the next fortnight,  
will you have the  
goodness to let me  
know that you are  
there? There are  
many things for me  
to refer to you -

Not at all connected  
with these things, but  
still a matter to be

referred to you is the  
following. I have seen  
a letter from one of my  
"Council". I do not  
remember the exact  
words (for it was only  
shewn to me) - But the  
gist of it was that  
I might go to Operas  
& Races - no pledge  
against amusing myself  
existed/ing - but that I  
might not take Govern=  
ment employment -

being pledged to work  
for Civil Hospitals - by  
the Fund -

I can never forget,  
whatever others may,  
for the reason that no  
one knows as I do,  
the *needless* sacrifice  
of human life during  
the late War from  
causes not connected  
with ~~the~~ War - nor  
how the result of  
governing a Hospital  
by several Departments,

(of which the Officers  
are appointed by  
different authorities,)  
is delay, inefficiency  
& irresponsibility -

As you are the  
person who at once  
gave me Government  
employment, & originated  
the Civil Hospital Fund,  
I should wish to  
consult you, as you  
have allowed me to  
do throughout, as to  
whether you consider

that the two things clash -  
If you do,, - as I am  
quite sure that, in the  
events of another war,  
which seems so near,  
I should go, if Ministers  
offered me the opportunity  
as you did - and as  
I am sure that, war  
or no war, I never  
can cease, while I live,  
doing whatever falls in  
my way in the work  
I have mentioned above  
viz. the Military Hospitals

which God & you so singularly put into my hands, - I would ask you whether you would ask "my Council", during this month of November, when no one has much to do, to determine this question.

I am provoked to have to bother about such a question now, when there are such much more important

ones - about which I would so much rather consult you -

Pray believe me

dear Mr. Herbert

Yours very truly & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I have not answered your two kind letters.

But I should have much to tell you about my "Pan", could I see you -

[end]

unsigned note, undated, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

The Newcastle Case would make a very good illustrative case altogether, if we had the invaliding.

[15:274-75]

The outbreak of Yellow Fever in 1856 was exceptional - And it is of importance to ascertain the cause of the exception.

Lawson's pamphlet is a very good Analysis of the facts. He disposes effectually of the theory

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
of Contagion - and shews  
the disease to have  
been of *local* origin.  
He does not however  
account for it satis=  
factorily.

78

Dr. Burrell, who  
was at Newcastle for  
some time, informs us,  
in a long note on the  
Pamphlet, "that Lawson's  
"account of the disease  
"is deficient - But,  
"such as it is, it shews  
"that the Epidemic

"was not the Yellow Fever  
"of the plains but a very  
"modified form of Fever  
" - in some cases without  
"the characteristics of  
"Yellow Fever at all."

The effect of the  
elevation & lower temper=  
ature ~~being~~/were decided  
in modifying the disease.

Dr. Burrell mentions  
one or two important  
illustrative facts on the  
same side. From June  
to November, 1843, the  
60th Regt at Newcastle

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
had 60 cases of sharp  
Fever - And the 77th Regt  
at Maroon Town, also a  
Hill Station, had 80 cases  
- *without a single death*  
(in either Regiment).

79

Dr. Burrell & Sir  
W. Gomm attribute the  
outbreak to what was  
without doubt its  
true cause - viz. neglect  
of Sanitary precautions.

Dr. Burrell even goes  
so far as to hint that,  
in consequence of this  
neglect, they ~~will~~/may be

obliged to take up  
new ground -

The case, in fact is  
the best proof of the  
truth of what you said  
in the Ho. of C., as cited  
by Sir W. Gomm, viz.  
that advantage of situation  
is no security in tropical  
climates where due  
attention is not paid  
to cleanliness & general  
"conservancy" -

It shews the necessity  
of establishing a Sanitary

Police throughout the  
W. Indies & India -  
in order that while  
the one condition of health,  
viz. a selection of proper  
sites, is carried out,  
the other, ~~of~~/viz. what the  
Indians call "conservancy",  
~~is~~/may not be neglected -

Dr. Burrell says "that  
"Newcastle has been occupied  
"from 15 to 20 years by a  
"succession of Regiments" -  
"that the sloping ground  
"has been partially leveled,  
"scooped out & disturbed  
"from time to time". that,  
"on the level spaces,  
"impurities inseparable  
"from a not very cleanly  
"population have been  
"allowed to accumulate" -  
that "*soldiers neither*  
*know nor inquire into*  
*the habits of former*

"occupants" - that "old  
"thatch & other decomposing  
"matters have been thus  
"allowed to accumulate" -  
and that "the privies  
"entered into cess-pits  
"or into the ravines."

The practical point  
of this obviously is,  
that while the occupants  
are constantly changing,  
there should always be  
a resident local  
Sanitary Police.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

81

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W.

Jan 14/56 {archivist: 1857}

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have heard nothing of my Master, except through Lord Palmerston, to whom, it seems, the former had communicated certain things that he & I - and you & I have talked about.

I conceive that he is purposely, - not, as you good naturedly put it, from press of business, putting off your "Commission" -

I have had only a note from him, saying that he wishes to see me when he comes to town -

In answer to your question concerning McLachlan & Alexander, the former, though an able man, is nothing to your purpose. Without the latter, I believe you will do nothing - And Dr. Smith is, I am told, rejoicing at the prospect of this issue of the Commission - Lord Panmure has done nothing yet that I know of about sending for him (Dr. Alexander)

I send you some rough notes of mine upon these points, which please return if you have not time to read -

The upshot of them is this

(I shall not put them in  
bodily into my Precis)

The Duke of Newcastle  
was told there were wants  
in the Crimea, & being a  
feeling man, he was much  
shocked, made that speech  
saying how much he was  
interested & that he had  
sons out there, & finally,  
went ~~out~~ to enquire for  
himself in the Crimea -  
Now there was no occasion  
for him to go to the East  
to enquire - he might simply  
have sent to St. James's  
Place, & asked Dr. Andrew  
Smith 'what supplies  
have you sent out?' Roe-  
buck's Committee did ask,

& Dr. Andrew Smith furnished  
them with a "Return" -

Roebuck's Committee  
did nothing that I know  
of except furnish people  
with breakfast=table  
conversation - But, if the  
Duke of Newcastle who is  
so conscientious, or Mr.  
Roebuck who is so sharp,  
had simply looked over  
that List which Dr. Smith  
put in, they would have  
seen that the Hospital  
Supplies, sent out for the  
whole 8 months terminating  
Dec/54, would last 2000  
sick just 3 weeks -  
whereas it is but too well  
known that our sick in

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
August, September, October,  
were 11,000, in November,  
16,000, in December 19,000.

83

Yet Dr. Smith expresses  
amazement that he cannot  
imagine where all his  
supplies are gone to.

The Duke of Newcastle  
was ~~(illeg)~~/told he must "go out".  
& he went "out", hardly I  
dare say knowing why  
to this day. If he had  
simply brought forward  
that "Return" as a reason  
why Dr. Andrew Smith must  
go out, & he ~~was~~ be justified,  
perhaps that alone might  
have saved him.

And *what must* Dr.  
Smith think? For I suppose

he knows what that "Return"  
means. He must think  
how well he calculated,  
after all, for you are *out*  
& he is *in* -

And Roebuck behaves to him  
like a bear & all is said  
& done -

In the same way, people  
look at the "return" of  
washing (say) done at  
Scutari & they see 3000  
pieces washed per month,  
& they think that is a  
good many - They are  
incapable of the arithmetic  
that where, there is an  
ever-changing population  
~~of~~/averaging 2000 Patients, that makes

Derbyshire Co Record Office

84

1-1/2 pieces per month (per man & not the same man.) &  
a pair of socks is 2 pieces.

The farce of all our  
Commissions, Committees,  
our House of Commons, is this.  
Our people rising up en masse  
& turning out the two men  
who had not done the  
mischief - & then rising up  
the second time, when all  
those who *had* done the  
mischief were rewarded,  
& Lord Panmure satisfying  
them with saying "I am  
very sorry, but I did not  
know these men had been  
promoted," & Lord Hardinge  
saying, "I am very sorry,  
I did know there had  
been sufferings in the Crimea,

but I did not know these  
men had done it" -

Has all this clamour got  
us one single thing altered,  
excepting the one organic  
change the D. of Cambridge  
has made, viz educating  
for the Staff?

When I give my Precis  
to Lord Panmure, he will  
shew it to Andrew Smith,  
& A. Smith will say, "Oh  
the Regimental Surgeons  
have told her this," and  
I shall say, "No, Dr. Smith  
told me himself" - But  
no one will hear -

I have taken one instance  
only, because it was the want  
of "Hospital comforts" which  
made *most* "row". But there are many.

{from the bottom of f3}  
Believe me faithfully yrs

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

85

PRIVATE            30 Old Burlington St        **[16:245-46]**  
   London W.  
   Jan 16/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I think, as my  
professional foster-mother,  
(a curious position, by the  
way for you to stand in  
towards me,) it is my duty  
to inform you that the  
Director General of the  
Navy Medical Department  
is making serious proposals  
to me viz. to occupy  
the position of fulfilling  
the same duties in the  
Naval Hospitals at home

which you assigned me  
in the War Hospitals.  
Sir John Liddell is to take  
me down to Haslar almost  
immediately - I will  
confess to you that, if I  
accept, it will be mainly  
because I think it will  
shame the Army Hospitals  
into doing what they  
require so much more -  
I cannot forget my first  
love, nor marry another  
Department again so soon.  
I was shocked &  
scandalized by the Woolwich

Artillery Hospital when I visited it with General Williams, & longed to be "at it". Lord Palmerston even spoke of giving me (when I saw him) a permanent Commission to visit & inspect the Woolwich & Aldershot Hospitals. But I have heard nothing of it since.

I should consider it by no means breaking but entering into, the spirit of the kind of engagement I am under to your Fund, to

include the Naval & Military Female Nursing in my work - But I will not enter into any engagement without consulting you.

I will only ask you to mention this to *no one* for 2 reasons - Sir J. Liddell is, for obvious causes, anxious to keep it all quiet till all is settled - 2. Mr. Bracebridge & I are almost as wide apart in our courses as Sir J. McNeill & Col. Tulloch. He wishes me to liberate

my soul, as he calls it,  
say as many disagreeable  
things i.e. as I can, &  
then have nothing to do  
ever with Government again.  
I, on the other hand, mean  
to stick to the Army  
Hospitals as long as I  
live, & do not see ~~what~~  
at all how I liberate my  
soul with regard to them  
by "speaking my mind"  
so that it would eject  
myself, even if that mind  
were a true one -

Please to be so good as

to return me those notes  
of mine I troubled you  
with, as I have no copy.  
It does not signify  
about your reading  
them, as I could tell  
it you all in ½ an hour,  
if you have "Your Commission".

**[end 16:246]**

ever faithfully yrs

F. Nightingale

I learn that the Duke of  
Cambridge contemplates  
having Soldiers' Wives as  
Nurses at Netley Hospital.

**[15:148-49]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office

88

And Lord Palmerston told me he saw no objection to the plan - It is very unlikely that he should - But, as the D. of Cambridge has chosen to be Chairman at a Meeting for improving the *status* of Female Nurses, & as the Duchess of Gloucester told me, when she sent for me, that "George" wished to see me, I shall consult you on the most appropriate method of my informing "George's" mind upon the subject. F.N.

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.  
W.

Jan 19/57

[14:476-77]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Thank you very much for your letter & for your hint (most valuable) with regard to using the scissors instead of the pen - The history of my not doing so is curious enough to tell you - When I was in the East, most of the Blue Books pertaining to the War used to be sent out to me - I never read those, or the Newspapers,

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
or any other papers. Sir  
John Hall asked me for  
my copy of Maxwell's  
Commission which I  
lent him & which he  
did not return to me  
for upwards of a year,  
viz. when we evacuated  
the Crimea when I asked  
him for it. When he  
returned it to me, ~~he~~  
~~had~~ several pages  
were cut out. I,  
never having read it,  
knew not what they

89

were, & innocently set  
to work, with the mutilated  
copy, when I returned  
to England. I thought  
there was so little to my  
purpose that a very  
little copying would do -  
especially as Maxwell  
had, I knew, so cut  
down the *Scutari* evidence  
that I reproached him  
with it on the spot &  
he answered "What  
would you have me do?  
I have a wife & 8 children"

However, I sent for  
another copy, & then I  
found that what Hall  
had cut out was the  
whole of *Alexander's*  
evidence, & indeed all  
the most valuable part.  
I ~~sent~~ sat or copied gradually  
thro', instead of doing  
what I ought to have  
done, viz. deciding at once  
on all I should want.  
But I took it, as  
I have said, really "at  
random" -

I know, from Dr. Hall

himself that he believed  
my copy to be the only  
one in the Crimea - &  
the only other one I am  
aware of was not, I  
know, accessible to him.  
I have reason to believe  
that he made use of  
the mutilated copy with  
those in Command - &  
was not detected -

I am glad you do not  
like Lefroy's plan of  
Army Education - The  
Engineers are very  
angry about it.

Col. Lefroy is a really  
high-minded man - and  
as we had not much of  
that growth in the Crimea,  
I clung to him, in the  
prospect of another  
campaign, ~~like in illeg}~~  
to do our business with  
Lord Panmure - which he  
did. But he has a  
singular incapacity of  
distinguishing true  
evidence from false,  
& if he thinks a man  
"ill-used", that man is  
always sure to be a knave.  
Still he has a curious

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
influence over Lord Panmure,  
& the only man I ever  
knew the noble Lord to  
have any consideration for  
is Col. Lefroy. He is,  
however, very unfit to  
have charge of educating  
us -

91

The D. of Cambridge's  
principle seems to be  
nomination, not selection,  
in the Staff Education -  
whereas what has been  
found to answer so well  
in that noble little Army,  
the Sardinian, is selection by  
~~after~~ examination -  
But I suppose that, as

long as a Regiment  
belongs to the Officer  
& not to the Officer to the  
Regiment, we can  
never have anything  
like the Sardinian -

I am going down to  
Haslar tomorrow  
morning with Sir John  
Liddell - When I have  
done my Precis, I shall  
write no more - I will  
work for Lord Panmure,  
or, if he won't have  
me, for somebody else.

But I will write no  
more for him. My  
time is short, & I  
should like to do what  
work I can while I  
am here - the pen & ink  
service I don't call  
one -

[end]

I am sorry that  
Mrs. Herbert is so  
troublesome. Tell her  
from me that life  
is too valuable,  
especially hers, to throw  
away upon what is  
not necessary.

yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jany 1957 on the mutilated Scutari  
Evidence & Col Lefroy's system of Army Education}

signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: 10 Feb/57 Miss F.N. Airey's  
Evidence - Army Mortality compared with Navy or Civilians - Ld Panmure's  
trickiness} 2057/F4/66

22 Albemarle St  
W. Feb 10/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I send you the Résumé  
of Genl Airey's evidence,  
with the References,  
which I said I would  
look out - Please return  
me the paper.

I consider Panmure  
quite as hopeless as you  
do, as Mrs. Herbert will  
tell you - And the more  
civil, the more hopeless.

I had always understood  
that his way was not to

compromise himself in writing, but to approve or propose verbally, & then say, "what proof have you to shew?"

He has played this game now - To all Sanitary proposals, he & Lord Palmerston have always answered "Sutherland is to be made the Civil & Sanitary adjunct to And. Smith." This, at least, they cannot say that *I* proposed. Dr. Sutherland is now going to take other employment, as he will not

~~employment~~/wait any longer - Lord Panmure

He ordered (verbally) Sutherland & myself to make Sanitary reports to him upon the Hospitals of Southton, Woolwich, Aldershot & Portsmouth. And when, mindful of the above & sensible that he would give no effect to any Report we might make, I sent Dr. Sutherland to him to ask for an authority to obtain official Returns, he said he knew the Hospitals were bad &

*therefore!*

did not wish anything  
farther to be done -

The fact is that he did  
not wish us to see the  
Returns - I have *some*,  
which shew that the  
Mortality in the Guards  
at home is 20 per 1000  
Artillery 19 per 1000  
Line 16 " "  
being nearly double that  
of the Navy on home.  
stations. It might be  
brought down to 8 or 10  
per ~~(illeg)~~/1000. The Sanitary  
state of our Army at  
home is worse than  
that of the worst parts  
of London -

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

signed letter, undated 2ff, pen {in another hand: Feb/57 Miss F.N. (two  
Notes) Commission ought not to be delayed for Dr. Alexander, tho' his  
presence essential - indignant at delay - and at Ld Panmure's "healthy  
state of the army" 2057/F4/66

Dear Mr. Herbert

**[14:492-93]**

I have written you  
the enclosed formal note  
& should be really glad  
that you should make  
use of it.

I know you cannot  
come to me today, because  
of the Estimates, but I  
will either wait for you  
or come to you tomorrow -  
which ever is least  
inconvenient to you

All that Lord Panmure

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
has hitherto done (and  
it is just six months  
since I came home)

95

has been to gain time -  
And this Commission,  
I hold it, granting it only  
as he does now, is also  
merely to gain time -

He has broken his  
most solemn promises  
to Dr. Sutherland, to me  
& to the Crimean Commission.

And, on three months  
from this day, I publish  
my experience of the  
Crimean Campaign & my

suggestions for improvement,  
unless there has been a  
fair & tangible pledge  
by that time for Reform.

I do not hold this out  
as a threat, which  
would be unworthy of  
my cause; But I hold  
it a plain duty to go  
on - And I have a  
higher Master than my  
daily task=master at  
the War Department to serve.  
It does not appear, either,  
that any one will go on  
with the cause, if I do not.

I conceive that, if you knew as I do, the promises made by Lord Panmure, you would declare as I do the delay during the recess to be *scandalous* - The men are sacrificed, as usual, to the Officers & the "Department". What Lord Panmure calls the "healthy state of his Army" I should call the *unhealthy* state of our Army. I would not head the Commission, if I were you, without a fair pledge from him that the Report shall be acted upon - faithfully yrs if approved F. Nightingale

[end 14:493]

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.  
W.

[14:493-94]

Feb 13/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am truly glad that, at last, there is some prospect of an advance being made - The time which has been lost is much to be regretted, for there are many points connected with the Commission, which would have been better arranged during the recess than ~~in~~amid the multiplicity of

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
subjects afforded by the  
Parliamentary Session -

97

I accept the promised  
recall of Dr. Alexander  
to serve, & also the  
promise given by Lord  
Panmure as to the  
arrangements being  
entered upon for the  
Commission, merely as  
an earnest of progress.  
The latter, however,  
should in no degree  
be made dependent

on the former. The  
organization & preliminary  
work of the Commission  
will absorb so  
considerable a period  
of time that to delay,  
till Dr. Alexander can  
return from Canada,  
will be virtually to  
sacrifice the whole  
~~period~~ interval, I  
must, therefore, press  
for the preliminary  
work being begun

without delay, & Dr.  
Alexander can take his  
place on the Commission  
whenever it is ready  
to begin its duties -  
The sooner he returns  
the better, for the real  
work of enquiry cannot  
go on without him but  
his absence can be no  
reason why the Commission  
should not be issued  
& organized -

**[end 14:494]**

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

98

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Feby 27.(57 2057/F4/66

22 Albemarle St. W.

Feb 27/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

All your men (save  
one) are for going on - in  
re "Commission" - So, God  
be with you -

F. Nightingale

I am bound to add that  
every one of these men gave  
as his reason for "going  
on" this & this only - that  
it would be placing a  
mass of information in  
the hands of Lord Panmure's

*successor* - but that, as  
far as the present  
S. of S. for War went,  
there could be but one  
conclusion viz, that  
any faithful Report  
would meet with the  
fate of that of the  
Crimean Commission -

To retail this opinion  
farther would be  
unfair to the men -

F.N.

30 Old Burln St.  
London

Good Friday {Apr 10 [1857]}

[16:248]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have had your  
letter of the 31st, and  
you have had by this  
time Sutherland's  
of the 1st, asking  
your orders about  
serving on the *new*  
Netley Commission -

I think what you  
think is probably the  
best - viz. to let  
them have their  
wicked way - and  
to fight the thing  
in the Ho. of Commons  
& before the public.

I have seen Galton  
who allows (a wonderful  
admission for a R.E.)  
that Laffan knows  
nothing about Sanitary  
Construction -

[end 16:248]

2. Having seen a  
second time in the  
"Times" since your

[14:501]

departure that the  
Indian invalids were  
to be *hulk*=ed, I  
wrote to Sir J. Liddell,  
and enclose his answer.  
You will observe  
that the thing has  
been considered - that  
the order is only  
suspended, not  
rescinded - so that  
I suppose it might  
take place any time.

3. Soyer is to give  
a plan for 140 men's

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
cooking in Wellington  
Barracks -

100

I hope you are better  
& not changing your  
plans for your health's  
sake -

Believe me  
ever faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

The "Guards" have got out  
an eminently silly pamph-  
let against your Commission,  
~~called~~ as to the "Causes" of their Mortality,  
laying it upon *their own*  
*misconduct* - It admits of  
an easy answer.

[end 14:501]

Derbyshire Co Record Office

101

signed letter, 6ff, pen {in another hand: Miss N. April 1857 Alexander  
come. revision of Intentions for Commissions} 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St. W.

April 25/57

**[14:504-06]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

I was very sorry to  
hear from Lady Dunmore  
that you had been ill,  
but I trust that you  
are now quite recovered,  
& that Mrs. Herbert is  
pretty well. Your election  
was a miserable shame,  
but, thank God! it is won.

This is only to inform you  
that the Commission, of  
which you have consented

to be Head, is to be out  
in a few days - The  
Instructions have been  
sent to a lawyer to  
"rédiger" - And I have  
this morning entered  
my protest at the W.O.  
against their being  
finally settled without  
being submitted to you -  
- as well as the names  
on the Commission - I  
saw it written down then & there,  
in pencil that it was  
to be so - But such is

my experience of these  
gentry that I "fear even  
their gifts" - And thought  
it better to premonish  
you - You will know  
best how to be on  
your guard -

I see a great deal  
to be done by this  
Commission - I see the  
ground is occupied by you  
alone - The country has  
great faith in the Duke  
of Newcastle's conscien=  
tiousness - none on his  
administrative power -

Lord Grey's temper &  
Lord Dalhousie's health  
close the career to them.

From several speeches  
you have made in the  
Ho. of C., you have assumed  
~~occupied~~ & still occupy  
in the opinion of the country,  
the solitary position of  
Reformer of the Army -  
God knows there is  
enough to reform! - You  
perhaps read Dr. Letheby's  
report in the "Times" on the  
sanitary & moral state  
of one of the Lanes in the  
City. I believe not a

-2-

newspaper in England but  
{illeg}/has had its leading  
Article upon it. I  
thought to myself, "My  
dear friends, reserve your  
consternation! At this  
moment, in H.M.'S  
Barracks at Brompton,  
(as I saw the last time  
I went there), 9 women,  
9 men, & 23 children  
are/~~were~~ living promiscuously  
in one casemate with  
only a window on each  
side the door!"

Now John Bull knows  
nothing of this. His deep  
feeling, in the large

manufacturing towns,  
about what he does  
know, viz. Sir J. McNeill's  
& Col. Tulloch's Report,  
remains unabated -

If a man had no  
higher motive than that  
of making a reputation,  
let him, with accuracy  
of facts, knowledge of his  
subject, & feeling for his  
subject, really state  
a good case on the  
*present* Moral & Sanitary  
State of the Army *at home*  
in the Ho. of Commons, &  
he will find the House

with him, & ready to  
vote any Estimates -

Panmure is incapable  
of doing this or of organizing  
anything - But you  
might have it all  
your own way - if you  
chose - the facts are ready to  
your hand -

The House is zealously  
anxious to do *something*-  
it does not know what.

Dr. Alexander is in  
England - I have seen him  
two or three times. He  
is full of moral energy  
& directness of purpose.  
He knows what he wants

& will go straight at it,  
without any disguise -

Had he been at the head  
of Medical things in the  
Crimea, we should have  
had no Limejuice lying  
unused at Balaclava,  
while the men were perishing,  
nor Quinine left at  
Scutari when there was  
none at B'clava - in time  
of Fever.

I have just had a  
note from Panmure to  
say that the Draft  
Instructions go to you today,  
& that he will bring  
them himself to me on  
Monday - *PRAY* write [und 4 times]

to me *by return of post*,  
& tell me what you  
mean to say to Panmure,  
& what I am to say to  
him, that we may be  
in the same story.

It struck me, on  
re-reading your letter  
to him (for which I  
acknowledge myself  
responsible) & comparing  
what we had asked for  
with the dreadful state  
of the Army *at home*  
that something more  
comprehensive (like  
this) should be added

"To enquire into and  
report on the operation  
of the regulations in force  
respecting the adminis=  
tration,, Medical attendance  
& supplies of Army  
Hospitals & *into the*  
*regulations in force for*  
*securing the health of*  
*the Army, both at*  
*home & abroad, and*  
*into all matters*  
*referring thereto."*

I doubt whether your  
letter covers the entire

ground - whether, e.g.  
Barrack accommodation,  
Rations, Condition of  
the Wives could come in -  
(as it at present stands)  
among the matters to  
be looked into by the  
Commission - Yet  
these things are far  
more important than  
the Hospital system  
to the ~~stre~~ health &  
moral state of our  
Army - And no one  
can look at the  
physical construction  
of the children in the  
Royal Military Asylum,

without seeing what a  
race we are producing  
by our criminal neglect  
in such things as I have  
mentioned, as occurring  
at this Moment at  
Chatham - For these  
things, there is *no*  
excuse at *home* -

If you have "Life of  
Genl Sir Charles Napier",  
please read P.P. 252, 253,  
Vol I

Pray believe me  
most sincerely yours  
(tho' a "turbulent fellow")  
F. Nightingale

[end 14:506]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/66

107

30 Old Burlington St.

W.

April 27/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

Lord Panmure is  
just gone - He consents  
to all your additions -  
& to the additions which  
you will see added in  
pencil on your M.S.-  
Note I. "adding to" ~~will~~/would not  
have included *Statistics*, as  
one less sadly versed  
in the A.M.D. than I  
am, would naturally  
conclude it did - Dr. A. Smith  
would not allow that

*Statistics* formed a part  
of "professional knowledge",  
tho' you & I should.  
Besides, these men know  
only the *Statistics* that  
they themselves give -  
You could not call  
the evidence of Tulloch,  
Balfour or Farr upon  
anything/authority in this ~~form?~~ Commn  
I have therefore added  
the two clauses, which  
Lord Panmure has  
approved, & which  
I hope will make  
sure of our "*Statistics*"

He would not admit  
the corrections in Note II,  
viz - "hospitals", "canteens",  
"accommodation for families  
of married soldiers".

I was in hopes & he was  
in fear that it would  
bring in the whole  
question of "wives" -

Are you coming up  
to town for the 30th.  
The final  $\text{\pounds}$  form goes  
in to the Queen for  
signature on Friday  
week - But it has  
first to go to Andrew  
Smith & then to be

engrossed or whatever  
you call it - And P., ~~he~~  
has refused, which I  
entreated, to let it go  
to you at Wilton for  
final approbation first.  
However, he sends me  
one tomorrow - And I  
shall send it to you,  
unless you will be up  
on the 30th - as I should  
like one more struggle  
for "wives" & "canteens" -

Your men are a good  
working Commission &  
far better than anything  
I expected - in great haste  
very faithfully yrs F. Nightingale

I think your corrections covered all the ground except the Statistics-

P. says that some of the opinions of the Commission may be carried out before the whole Report is ready. And he calls upon you to prepare your course of taking up subjects. I have made a sketch, which may be of some use to you -

{in another hand: 27 Apr/57 Miss Nightingale Ld Panmure Dr. A. Smith Statistics wives & Canteens The Commission

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May/57 Miss Nightingale Commission - Warrant - Ld Panmure} 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.

[14:506]

May 1/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

With regard to your "Commission", I have just heard that my

"alterations" (which I shewed you) "are introduced "except that relating to "the treatment & 'prevention "of disease'" Lord Panmure says that "these words "are unnecessary, as "'professional education' "must include the "cure & 'prevention of

"disease" - This is just  
what it does not do -  
neither in Civil nor  
in Military medical  
life - And the whole  
frightful catastrophe  
of the War=Hospitals  
is one continued  
illustration of the fact.

I keep the note,  
because it is important,  
in that it is Lord Panmure's  
own interpretation of his  
Instructions. And I  
have no fear but that  
you will stretch them

to cover this - It shews,  
however, in what  
complete ignorance he  
sent out his own Sanitary  
Commn, & his act is in  
opposition to his fact(?)

The Queen *has* now  
signed the Warrant -  
& therefore the "Commission"  
has now nothing to do  
but to sit.

I saw Dr. Alexander  
immediately after you  
yesterday - & set him  
to work to "index" his  
subjects - I am doing  
the same - So is Sutherland.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

111

We shall all be ready by  
Tuesday - I think Sir T.  
Phillips ought then to  
see us in your presence.

Sir J. McNeill is anxious  
to see you upon this matter  
& is coming up to town -  
He thinks he does not  
know you - Might I bring  
him to your appointment?

I believe T. Baring is  
not to have Mr. Peel's [?]  
place - But Sir John Rams-  
den, a mere boy.

Lord Palmerston appears  
anxious to do the Army  
Estimates himself -

**[end 14:506]**

ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: 13 May/57 Miss Nightingale  
"Governing Bodies of Royal Colleges} 2057/F4/66

May 13/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

You are quite at  
liberty to quote from  
the "Governing Bodies  
of Royal Colleges", which  
I left with you last  
night -

Yours ever faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Dear Mr. Herbert

[14:508-09]

I have read the enclosed twice through attentively & made no marks, which if I had, they would have been strong ones.

For once, the Medical & Purveying Depts are "d'accord" - The ideas of the former on Army Medical Reform are  
more pay  
more relative rank  
more funeral honors  
less work

The ideas of the Purveying Dept on Purveying Reform are  
more pay  
more relative rank  
less work

It is truly Homeric.

But it is curious how these Purveyors entirely ignore, at least in these notes, the ~~care~~ /interest of the *Sick*, viz. that which they are there for. It is Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out - I see my old friend of Jersey lifting up his head again, & graciously bestowing his approbation. while Purvr Jenner, the man who *best*

did his duty in the War,  
is not there at all -

But what is really  
distressing & not at all  
a joke is this -

Most of these men  
I have served with in  
the war. I know that  
they know the evils, from  
which followed the loss  
of an Army, as well as  
I do. Yet there is not  
one who has habits of  
business, or organizing  
power, or clearness of  
perception, or of feeling  
enough to ~~(illeg)~~/see other than  
what is noted in this  
Paper - The only sensible

suggestion in it is that  
against contracts & this is negatived by Purv. in Chief. This  
Paper is in itself the  
strongest condemnation  
of the whole Department I  
have seen -

I am very glad ~~to~~/you have  
seen it. before examining.  
2. I am sorry, ~~that~~/but not  
surprised, that "my  
Pratt" was not confidential.  
However, four of your men  
whom I have seen,  
unite in saying that  
he made such a  
break-down, or rather  
Exposé, as to condemn  
the system, root & branch.  
My Pratt is a treasure.

And I was quite satisfied with his evidence - I am much more afraid of Robertson, who is a clever fellow - & a plausible - for making the worse appear the better cause -

3. I am glad you have seen the Naval & Military Hospitals - Upon them, I must remark that the Naval are entirely furnished & supplied by the AGENT, *without* Barrack, Ordnance or Commisst Dept. I think

{in another hand: May/57 - Miss Nightingale - Remarks on Medical & Purveying Departments}

however there might be improvements in the two Depts corresponding to our Commandts & Engineers

In the E. Indian Service, the Steward does every thing which I propose he should do - excepting that he is the servant of the Commisst & not of the Governor - Were our Commisst on the same model & with the same military organization as theirs, it might do - But never as ours is now constituted -

Derbyshire Co Record Office

115

I send you Sir J. McNeill's criticisms upon me, which please return.

Should you ~~want~~/wish to see me before Friday, I could come any time except 4 o'clock on Thursday.

[end 14:509]

ever faithfully yrs

F. Nightingale

May 20/57

initialed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

July 15/57

[14:526-27]

I return the Draft Report, because I am sure it must be wanted - I agree & more than agree with it. At the same time, I should like to go over the whole some day much more carefully, as I might be able to suggest some things which might be of use to Mr. Herbert.

Now, however, would you tell him this? viz.

I want the "Report" of

the Army Medical Dept on the Statistics of the War They have been at work at it for 6 months. Lord Panmure told me himself that it was ready but told me, the great oaf!, that he had ordered Andrew Smith "NOT to bring him into trouble by it, as Tulloch had done."

I was told today by a man who had heard Andrew Smith say it this morning himself in the Office - "that the

first part *was out-*"  
that "he had forbidden  
the printing of more  
than 25 copies" - that  
"Lord Panmure & the  
Duke of Cambridge  
were to have two" -  
& that "nobody else  
was to see them" but  
"he, Andrew Smith, was  
to keep them all  
under lock & key" -

Now, it is of the  
utmost importance  
to us to have one  
now - because, they

are keeping it back, in  
order to have the last  
word, after Mr. Herbert's  
Report is out - which  
Andrew Smith says  
"he will never sign!"  
or, "if he does, he will  
fill any Board which  
Mr. Herbert can compose,  
Sanitary & Statistical,  
with his, A. Smith's  
own men" -

If Mr. Herbert could  
get me this Report,  
it would be of ~~so~~  
much use - now -

ever dearest yours  
F.N.

[end 14:527]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 5ff, pen 2057/F4/66

117

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W.

Aug 8/57

[14:527-29]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I enclose Sir J. Clark's  
scheme for a Military Medical  
School. It has been seen  
by Dr. Sutherland & Mr.  
Martin. And they approve  
of the pencil modifications.

The whole point,  
however, is lost by this  
scheme, which is: if  
you are to improve the  
Army Medical Dept, the  
means of improvement  
are not to be dictated  
by themselves, any more

than by any other uneducated  
class - *Independence* of the  
"Director-General", (at least  
of any D.G. you are likely  
to have for the next  
20 years,) would constitute  
the main claim to  
public confidence, the  
main means of usefulness  
of this School - It ought,  
therefore, to depend immediately  
on the S. of S., or, if an  
Army Educational Board  
be constituted, on this  
Board.

There are many  
precedents in Government  
to this -

(It is positively incredible that the young men should have been, up to this time, put under any chance Inspector at Fort Pitt to be educated).

Till the Army Medical Board is educated, it is no use putting the education under it -

Dr. Sutherland has seen the enclosed Draft, which I have made for your approval, & he approves - Should you take this view,

you might either propose it direct to Panmure, who would, otherwise, be left in the hands of Andrew Smith - or call a Sub=Commission of say Dr. Parkes Sir B. Brodie Mr. Ferguson, with yourself at its head, & call upon them to consult with you upon some such scheme for Panmure. It might perhaps come with more force from a lay Authority i.e. under you -

2. The Barrack Commission progresses thus: Dr. Sutherland, having consulted Capt. Laffan, by Lord Panmure's direction, as to a competent Royal Engineer, Capt. Laffan admitted that he had none to recommend - What an admission - that, altho' we had Engineers to build Barracks to kill the men, we had none to cure them - Sutherland has accordingly

written to Panmure asking for a Civil Engineer, besides the Military one, whom Capt. Laffan proposes should be Capt. Galton, Board of Trade, (i.e. for London alone) - and for Dr. Burrell as the only Medical Officer he knows who is Sanitary also -

This complication will make it still more impossible to work, unless you are at the head to decide differences -

Col. Jebb went out of town yesterday. He came to see me, & said he knew of no R. Engineer.

I thought much of what you said as to the necessity of educating the present Army Inspectors for Sanitary Inspection - a vague hint, but too vague was given for it, in the sketch of organization of Army Medical Board. The only practical plan would seem to be to educate them in

connection with the Barrack-Commission Inspections - And I know no man but Sutherland capable of doing it. If Panmure would connect with this Itinerant Commission some such plan as I venture to enclose, *it* would do it.

3. I have looked thro' the Q.M.G.'s Regulations & made notes upon them for you - They are really incredible -

The *Model* Camp gives 248,000 men to

Derbyshire Co Record Office 121

the square mile - The  
lowest is 150,000 - The  
inhabited area for Camps gives 800,000  
men to the square mile!!!!

Now LONDON is 50,000 only. [triple und]  
ever sincerely yours

[end 14:529]

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 8 Aug. 1857 Miss Nightingale on the constitution of the  
Army Medical Board & Army Medical School}

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Aug/57 Miss F.N. The P.M.O. a  
mistake - won't do to place the Sanitary officer in the Field under him}  
2057/F4/66

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. If you have the  
*Monthly Musters*, could  
you send them to me?

2. If it would be  
more convenient to you  
to see me after 5 o'clock,  
it would be better for  
me, because I want to  
do these things with Farr.  
And I would come to you,  
any time after that that  
you are not going for  
a ride.

3. The more I think

about placing the Sanitary  
Officer in the field *under*  
the P.M.O. the more I  
feel sure it will not  
work - Because the two  
have nothing in common.  
The P.M.O. will report  
to your newly created  
Medical head - the  
Sanitary Officer to your  
Sanitary head - The  
P.M.O. is really a  
mistake. He performs  
1. Inspections which  
are of no use - because  
they are upon things  
in which the Regimental

Derbyshire Co Record Office

122

Surgeon is far more interested & has more knowledge than he has

2. he collects bad Statistics -

3. he bungles the supplies of medicine.

These are his occupations & he has nothing to do with the Sanitary Officer -

ever sincerely yours

F.N.

Aug 13/57

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

Burln St.

Aug 15/57

[14:530]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland has written to you - It appears to me that, with such ideas as Lord Panmure has, about the ~~esse~~ "financial limit" of the Barrack Commission, you should hardly allow yourself to be put at their head, as they can only fail in their

object of doing good to the men & disgrace themselves -

Upon a rough calculation I have made, founded upon other building works of a Sanitary kind, I should think 2s/2d per man *per annum* a fair calculation, i.e. a half-penny *per week* per man, as the interest of the money laid out. I should not be at all surprised, if the improvements of the Six

London Barracks cost  
£10,000, instead of  
£600, according to Pan.

But, if your Report  
does not bring about  
an expenditure like  
this, I think Pan is  
reckoning without his  
host.

I cannot see how an  
estimate can be made  
per *Barrack* - it  
must be per *man* -  
(done in this rough  
way without having  
seen the Barracks) -

2. Dr. Balfour brought  
me the "Recommendations"  
today. He has made  
a material alteration, as to Statistics,  
utterly inadmissible, &  
which strikes at the  
vital element of  
Statistics, which is  
uniformity - I send

1. the original substance of the Report,
2. Balfour's alterations &  
some emendations, signed

F.N.

[end 14:530]

between Brackets, which  
I did not suggest to *him*,  
tho' I contended the point  
with him. but, without  
which, I think nothing is gain{ed}

*Balfour's Alterations*

We recommend that a Nominal List of the deceased soldiers & of the births & marriages in the Army be communicated to the Registrar General [in the forms of the Schedules appended to the Registration Acts - (F.N.)] at such periods & in such a shape as may be necessary for the object in view.

That an improved nomenclature of diseases be adopted in the Army

Medical Returns, & such alteration in the classification of diseases as may admit of an accurate [& ready F.N.] comparison with [the National &

F.N.]

other returns of a similar nature, & that the periodical publication of the Statistics of Sickness & mortality among the troops be regularly organized.

[one great object of Army Statistical Returns is to shew to men of science & the public the peculiar diseases from which the Army suffers; & this will be accomplished most effectually by adopting the same classification

as is employed in returning the causes of Death in the civil Population. F.N.]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
*Substance[?] of Original Report*

125

We recommend that the statistics of the mortality of the Army be kept with the same nomenclature & forms, as used by the Registrar-General, & that, ~~during~~ together with a nominal list of the deceased soldiers, they be communicated to the Registrar-General for publication, at such periods & in such a shape as may be necessary for the object in view -

{at top of preceding f, written sideways}  
in great haste  
ever faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Aug 15/57 Miss Nightingale - Objects to the small sum proposed to be spent on the Barracks - also to a change in the "Recommendations" by Dr. Balfour.}

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St  
London W.  
Aug 17/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have always forgotten to say, - would you not, (after comparing individual trades, as you do, (P. 6, Rept) with the Army in rates of Mortality,) compare the *whole* rate of Mortality of the *General* Population with that of the Army, which is drawn from thence?

Something like the

enclosed seems to be necessary, done in your own clear & terse way.

The data are taken from Farr's in the Appendix - and, it strikes me, the case is inconclusive without some such summing up & comparison with the whole Population, from which the Army is taken -

I am afraid this

is too late for the Report. But it might come into the final Report.

People have more faith in the Registrar-General than in Neison.

2. I have got the Returns of Receipt & Expenditure from the Guards' Model Lodging House - It brings in about 2.2 per cent. I think we shall be able to make out a very clear case, both

as to economy & morality, for Lodging Houses for the Line - Government does, you know, already give lodging-money, - 2d per day per woman allowed to marry & to live out of Barracks.

in haste

ever faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 17th Aug/57 Miss F.N. - compare *whole* rate of army mortality with that of general Population - Guards' model Lodging House}

Derbyshire Co Record Office 127  
initialed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/66

PRIVATE

30 Burl St  
Aug 20/19/57

[14:531-32]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have accidentally  
found among Dr. Balfour's  
papers the very data  
we have been asking  
for for 3 months. And  
I send you a Table  
I have compiled, shewing  
the Mortality for 5  
years among Invalids  
~~of~~/during the first 12 months  
after invaliding -

It makes such an  
important difference  
in the Mortality of the

Army that it is  
impossible to leave  
out in your Report  
a more detailed mention  
of it.

I venture to send  
some conclusions for  
your *private* consideration.

To have kept back  
these data shews either  
utter ignorance of the  
importance of their bearing  
~~of them~~, or a wilful  
intention to keep back  
the truth -

Till I get the *Total*

Strength & Mortality  
of the Army, which  
the Adjutant General  
has equally promised  
these 3 months, I cannot  
calculate the addition  
which this Table will  
give to the whole Rate  
of Mortality - But,  
as soon as I can,  
you shall have it.

It cannot be left  
to the Appendix -

Whenever I am  
infuriated, I revenge  
myself with a new  
Diagram & Dr. Farr,

in whose hands I have  
placed a Copy of this  
Table, & who is  
constructing a very  
pleasing "Curve" -

2. Dr. Balfour is  
strenuous against the  
Sub=Commissions on  
*Regulations & Statistics*.  
The fact is, the best of  
these men want to  
keep Regulations &  
Statistics to themselves,  
& they do not see that,  
unless you are there  
to do battle with A.  
Smith & Panmure,  
nothing good will be done.  
Dr. Balfour wants it to be left to the  
Army Medical Council.

Dr. Balfour is going to tell Lord Panmure that he disapproves of the Sub=Commissions. It is incredible how these men will stick to abuses & kick against the pricks.

3. Many thanks for your letter - I thought the Sub=Commissions very satisfactory - The clause about the "necessary things for all Barracks" will neutralize the harm of the £100 - The clause about the Statistics the harm of the alteration in the Recommendations F.N.

**[end 14:532]**

{in another hand: Aug 19. 1857 Miss Nightingale - With Table shewing the Mortality among the Invalids}

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: ~~July~~ Sept 8./57 Miss F.N. - To stop Dr. Alexander's going to Malta.) 2057/F4/66

Great Malvern

Sept 8/57

**[14:535]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

This is only to say that I had a note from Mr. Alexander, dated Sept 2, which only arrived this morning saying:

"On the 10th inst., according to order from Dr. Smith, I am to write to him, applying for my passage to Malta."

You will judge

better than I, whether  
there is anything to be  
done -

I don't well see how  
the Commission are  
to get on without  
Alexander - He is not  
a genius. But he is  
pretty nearly the  
honestest man I know,  
& the only honest man  
in the Department -

Perhaps he has  
written to you -

Don't trouble to

answer this to me -

Should you have  
occasion to write to  
Alexander, I fancy

Preston Pans

Edinburgh

the most likely to find  
him -

[end]

Yours very sincerely

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Sept/57 Miss F.N. - value of the  
Sanitary Papers of the Army in the East} 2057/F4/66

Great Malvern

Sept 20/57

[14:535-36]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I will take your  
advice & not come up  
to town tomorrow. But,  
as I must be there  
soon on business, I hope  
you will be so good as  
to tell me when you  
return from Wilton to  
do "Pan", because I want  
to bother you a little  
more & come too -

I have gone through

all the Sanitary Letters  
& Papers of the Army  
in the East - I have  
Dr. Sutherland down  
here now, helping me.  
Of course he will come  
up whenever you  
want him -

They confirm your  
Report in toto. They  
confirm the supposition  
that there is no Sanitary  
Officer, except Dr.  
Burrell, who will do  
for your Medical Board.  
Cooper, Surgeon to the

4th Drag. Gds, whose excellent  
evidence you may remember  
in the McNeill-Tulloch  
Report, writes the best  
~~letters~~ Sanitary recommenda=  
tions after Burrell -

It will not do to  
print these Papers in  
your Report, because  
it would necessitate  
the printing of other  
papers - They are not  
complete without other  
Published Returns which  
we have - But, when  
compared with these,  
they constitute to me

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
by far the most perfect  
key to the history of the  
War which is in existence,  
& the most complete  
reason for the disaster.  
I will write tomorrow  
to you a little sketch of them.  
We have completed an  
Analysis of them for  
your private information  
only. I question whether,  
if you go over it, you  
will not think it  
desirable to add a  
Resolution to your Report  
for Commanding Officers  
in ~~the~~ Sanitary ~~(illeg)~~/matters,  
besides that already there -  
You will see -

132

**[end 14:536]**

Yours ever faithfully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

Great Malvern  
Sept 26/57

**[14:536-37]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

The papers (sent to the  
Commission) ~~on~~/of the "Sanitary  
recommendations" for the  
"Army in the East" contain  
I find, three classes:

1. the correspondence  
which passed through  
the Director General's Office.

I send you by this post  
a Digest of this, with  
remarks. Please read  
them & send them me  
back by post - unless  
I am to meet you in

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
London first -

133

I can conceive how very painful (& perhaps you will think uselessly so) it must be to you to go over all that time again - to me it was like tearing me to pieces. Still I think it is the most instructive history of the Sanitary part of the war I have yet seen - and the most suggestive for the conduct not only of ~~our~~/that war but of any ~~{illeg}~~/future war -

I must have it back, please, because on the 11 defects summed up in the last ~~page~~ sheet will be founded Regulations for Commanding Officers, which you will perhaps propose in one of your Sub=Commissions -

and also a little sketch must be given on the mode of procedure of the French War De=partment & our own Home Department in Sanitary matters - as a comparison with that of the Horse Guards.

It might be desirable to print in the Appendix to your Commission an ~~this~~ Analysis, ~~&/with illustrative facts,~~ of these "Sanitary papers," without the Remarks - You will judge of this. I do not send you the Analysis, because I have, in my Remarks, given a sufficient one

- The other two classes are
2. correspondence of Medical Officers
  3. extracts from letter books

which contain a vast amount of matter, both as to Scutari & the Camp. I will send you a Digest of each

{on the first f}  
ever faithfully yours F. Nightingale

unsigned memorandum, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale - what Commissariat was ordered to provide - by Ld Raglan's G.O. of May/54; and the system of supply adopted by the Commissariat was found to be insufficient, and consequently the men} 2057/F4/66

The soldier was necessarily **[14:501-02]** dependent upon the Commissariat for every kind of supply - ~~both~~ in Bulgaria & still more in the Crimea.

By Lord Raglan's G.O. in May 1854, forwarded upon Treasury Minute, the Commissariat was ordered to provide, - to be paid for monthly out of the messing -

- Preserved Potatoes
- Chocolate
- Coffee
- Tea
- Sugar
- Rice
- Barley

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
&, to be paid for daily out  
of the soldier's pocket money  
Porter  
Ale  
Tobacco

135

[Coffee, Sugar, & for a  
~~short~~ time, Rice, were  
afterwards made part  
of the regular Ration-]  
The other articles were optional with  
the soldier.

In about three weeks,  
however, the above system  
of supply ceased, in  
consequence of various  
irregularities & was in  
short a failure -

No other system was  
made to supply its place

for a considerable period.

**[end]**

{in another hand: P. 17 Line 4 stoppage actually was 4d ½ P. 332. {illeg,  
illeg}}

initialed letter, lf, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale - Proposing a  
meeting - & that Drewry must produce the Forms} black-edged paper [c1857]  
2057/F4/66

I have just seen Farr.  
He had not then  
got the blessed Forms  
back from Drewry,  
who is as bad as  
any washerwoman  
about sending home  
things on Saturday  
night -

But I do think  
it would be well

worth while to have  
a Meeting tomorrow  
& Drewry MUST  
produce the Forms.

IF you could call  
in Burlington St. today,  
we might talk this  
over, before you send  
your orders to Farr.

The Pundits, I hear,  
are verging against  
Netley site -

Yours sincerely

F.N.

signed letter, 1f, pen 2057/F4/66

[14:537]

Dear Mr. Herbert

These are the "Regulations"  
which seem to flow from  
the Defects I have given  
in the last sheet on the  
Sanitary Correspondence  
which I sent you -

This extraordinary  
correspondence has made  
me put down the usual  
methods of sanitary  
administration which I send as a sort  
of preface to the Regulations.

I think ~~they~~/these all flow  
from your Report, & I have  
touched no other point.

but what is there brought forward.

Please return them to  
me - as I must go over  
them again before I see  
you in London -

You are not "quitté" for  
these Regulations - for there  
are a good many more  
coming.

[end] 14:537]

Yours ever faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Gt. Malvern  
Sept 28/57

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/66

137

Burln St Oct 9/57

[14:538-40]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have nothing to say  
particular, except that  
I have got one Diagram  
& seen three lots of  
Returns, since I saw  
you -

1. The Diagram is  
for the Q.M.G., & will  
astonish our friends  
of the Dark Ages at the

Horse Guards a little.  
I have been asking  
Military reasons for that  
plan of killing people,  
but have, as yet, found  
none - I have not  
shewn those calculations  
to any one but Farr.

2. As to the Returns,  
(1). Tulloch's are very  
valuable. For ~~this~~/these reasons,  
Clumsy as they are,  
they shew what not a

man of the Army Medical  
Dept knows a bit nor a  
scrap of - Yet these  
Returns are made up  
from Andrew Smith's.  
What has *he* been  
about that, for the  
last 20 years, he has  
not ~~published~~/made them  
up every six months?

From these Returns,  
it is quite possible  
to gather ~~what~~/which Stations  
have stood still in

[in another hand} Miss Nightingale 9 Oct. 1857}

Sanitary measures, which  
have made progress, &  
which will want your  
Barrack Commission -  
I guess that Malta &  
Corfu have been stationary.  
The whole result is  
most satisfactory &  
shews that, from the  
improving good sense  
of Commanding Officers,  
~~how~~ much has already  
been done by Sanitary  
means to reduce Mortality.

-2-

And a Paragraph might  
perhaps be inserted in  
the Report pointing out  
what a proof this is  
of how much may still  
be done to diminish Death.

(2). I have stolen a  
whole heap of Recruiting  
Returns, which I ~~think~~/want  
to shew you - You will  
perhaps like to print  
them. The number of  
rejections amounts, in  
some instances, to 63  
per cent. The causes  
(which are specified)

for which they are  
rejected, prove that  
we have a system,  
which must ensure  
for our Army the  
finest physical speci=  
mens in the world,  
(saving, I suppose, some  
of our best aristocracy)  
You will say that the  
ingenuity which  
produces Scrofula,  
Consumption & Premature  
Mortality among such

a physical "pick" cannot have reached its very high ~~present~~ state of perfection without repeated trial. It far surpasses the ingenuity of Majendie & Co. in producing Scrofula among Rabbits, which was less quickly & less extensively done -

(3). The third set of Returns is ~~some~~ on Invaliding & Mortality/ies ~~Returns~~, of which the results are excessively curious. But Dr. Balfour

has taken them away to "cook" them -

It appears that the rate of Invaliding *under* 14 years' service is *lowest* among the "Household Cavalry", but the Mortality among such Invalids is *highest* - that the rate of Invaliding *under* 14 years' service is *highest* among the "Horse Artillery", but the mortality among such Invalids is *lowest*. The sappers & miners give almost the same result as the H. Artillery.

-3-

I have made a quite rough calculation, which must not be used till our Data are less rough, of how much this will raise our Mortality. You will see that the *relative proportionate* of mortality of each arm is much more kept to, than we expected. Your Cavalry will always be healthiest. And the Cavalry of the Line & Horse Artillery will be probably much alike. But we have not yet the Artillery Returns complete.

*Household Cavalry*

Aggreg. Strength	Deaths	Per
1844-52	119	1000
Invalided		
1845-53	45	
<hr/>		
11238	164	= 14.6

*Cavalry of Line*

Aggreg. Strength	Deaths	Per
1844-52	729	1000
Invalided		
1844-53	168	
<hr/>		
57636	897	= 15.5

*Foot Guards*

Aggreg. Strength	Deaths	Per
1844-52	891	1000
Invalided		
1845-53	210	
<hr/>		
45953	1101	= 23.9

*Infantry of Line*

Aggreg. Strength	Deaths	Per
1844-52	3969	1000
Invalided		
1845-53	1832	
<hr/>		
256173	5801	= 22.6

*Sappers & Miners*

Per 1000

With Invalids	18.2
Without "	17.7

I forget whether I ever shewed you a calculation which was verified by Dr. Farr, ~~which I made~~ for the Foot Guards, to shew how their Mortality would be raised by taking into account *both* the Invalids & those excluded in recruiting - I enclose it - But I had not then seen the Recruiting Returns I

now have - I suspect I have *underrated* the "Excluded Sick of Dangerous Diseases" -

3. Those French Extracts you left me are most valuable & should be printed principally for the fact that over=crowding & foul air produced Scurvy among soldiers better fed than the poorly fed population which yet had no Scurvy -

**[end 14:550]**

ever faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

142

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Oct/57 Miss F.N. The  
"Regulations" & Dr. Smith's Blue Book - Her own Evidence - Dr. Hall's  
recommendations} 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W.

Oct 9/57

[14:540]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Balfour desired  
me to read ~~the~~/his enclosed  
to you - And, upon it, I  
have to say that,  
troublesome as it will  
be to us to read through  
a bulk "three times  
the size" of what we  
have already, I don't  
see how we are to  
write "Regulations" for the  
*future*, without knowing what,

in the *past*, the Army  
Medl Dept. have consi=  
dered their functions,  
& how they have  
fulfilled them - Whatever  
comes out in Dr. Smith's  
Blue Book that we  
have not seen, he will  
always say, "This  
overthrows your Report.  
You see we have done  
it all already" - And  
Panmure will take it  
~~all~~ for truth, without  
giving himself the  
trouble to see which is

truth. It would be very discouraging to be overthrown by a mere quibble of this kind - Therefore I say, "Yes, have it all". And I will undertake, (at least before next meeting of Parlt) to have it all analysed - & collated.

2. With regard to circulating my Evidence, I had wished it put off, knowing that it will bring upon me something disagreeable. But perhaps it is

better not to put off the evil day - If Smith wants to cross-examine me, ~~(illeg)~~ - he ought to have the opportunity -

3. Do you remember sending me Hall's own ~~case~~/statement of his Recommendations, (as drawn up by himself,) 2 or 3 months ago, which I returned to you, with observations? If you could let me have that document of Hall's again, tho' unfit to be used as Evidence, it would be useful, to me/us, as shewing ~~me~~ what is Hall's view of the duties of a P.M.O., as to Dietetic matters,

[end]

~~are is~~ Yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 144  
signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W.  
Oct 12/57

[14:541-42]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Farr was called out of town this morning. He had heard, I did not rightly understand whether from you or the W.O., that he was to be employed under you on the Statistical Commission - And he left it in charge to me to say to you that he "should be very glad to do so" & that he "would be at your service any day next week" - He asks you, first, to supply him at once with

1. "Blank forms - Copies of all the forms that are in use in the Army Medl Dept for statistical purposes."

2. "Copy of each Return or Form filled up. To shew the usual manner of doing so-

3. "A copy of all Statistical Reports published by the Medical Dept of the Army" - To this he expects a return of *nil*.

4. " A copy of all Sir A. Tulloch's Statistical Reports .

5. Introductions to the Medical Officers of the Guards' Hospitals in London - to the P.M.O. at Woolwich Artillery Hospital - to the P.M.O. at Chatham, with the view of seeing the working of the present system of Returns.

This he wishes to do quietly & without official fuss -

The sooner he has all these, the better - Tulloch is not expected back till the first week in November. There is no harm in this - For Farr works slowly & is phlegmatic - And the farther on he is with his work, the better, before Tulloch's return - In fact, ~~let~~ you will have to settle it all with Farr.

I entirely see, with you, that upon a proper Statistical organization depends all future progress of the Army - The very publicity alone will enable you

to call these fellows to account, who have made a kind of Egyptian priesthood of their Military mysteries, which are no mysteries at all -

Tell Panmure, who preaches at some Assembly or Convocation of his free Kirk that, if he does not grant the Barrack Commission & the other for the "Regulations", he must propose a day of fasting & prayer for the poor soldiers condemned to die in Barracks - Why not? We have just done it for India.

But I hope better things - For, if they don't give you the "Regulations" & "Army Medical Board" to do, nobody will do them.

However, please try & get your foot into the "Regulations" in this Statistical Commission. You have

pointed out the way in your letter this morning to me. I enclose a few data which, if you thought well of them, might form a part of the suggestions in your Instructions to Farr.

2. With regard to the Medical School, the great thing will be to find the men for the Chairs. For the Sanitary

Pathology &  
Chemistry, it

will be in vain to seek in the Army - Grainger or Parkes for the Sanitary & Aitken for the Pathology would, I believe, obtain most votes among Non-Army men - For the Surgery, it will be desirable to steer clear of Matthew, who has been appointed to the Edinburgh Army Chair - a good Surgeon, but with no one requisite for teaching - It is difficult now to get a good Teacher, for the Pupils are up to their Masters. But there must be good Army

men for this. [end ams]

Derbyshire Co Record Office 146

Sir James Clark is, I think, the only other Commissioner you mention not likely to be in town at the beginning of next week or close of this - You will know best when the Q. comes back -

If you have our Scheme for the Medical School & like to send it me, I will re=consider any points.

Please remember that my Invaliding calculations are on rough & insufficient data - & must not be made use of, till revised - I dare say you may have discovered an error in the calculation too - But the *figures* of the Cavalry & Infantry of the Line are errors -

**[end 14:542]**

ever faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Oct 12/57 - Miss Nightingale - Oct 13/57 - on the Sub=Commissions}

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Old Burlington St.

Nov 2/57

**[14:542-43]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

I hear a great deal of gossip about the Army Medical Board, viz. that Dumbreck & Pilleau are to be succeeded by Logan & Home, two better men - that Hall has bargained for the reversion of the Director Generalship - that Mouat is to have a place &c.

I hope that Panmure moved by idleness and Andrew Smith, is not

going to say that he  
asked you to help  
them, & you would not,  
& so he has done the  
best he could.

You will know whether  
it will be possible for  
you to urge upon him  
immediately the  
appointment of the  
Commission on the  
Organization - and, at  
all events, on the  
Regulations.

If he will not give

up the organization,  
there would be two  
proposals, 1. that  
you should join the  
Commission proposed,  
of himself & yourself,  
A. Smith & Croomes,  
when you could, at the  
worst, refuse to  
sanction what is  
imperfect or useless -  
& have the reply in  
the House

2. that you should  
add to your Report a

Derbyshire Co Record Office

148

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Medical Board Nov 2/57}

sketch of the evils,  
with an existing Regulation  
as an illustration of  
each - and a proposed  
Regulation as a remedy  
for each -

I could, with very  
little trouble, supply  
you with a case & an  
existing Regulation for  
each evil, pointed out  
in your Report, if you  
would compose the  
Code of Remedies -

I do not believe that  
it would be possible for the  
existing Organization to stand  
against such a show=up

**[end 14:543]**

{on top of first f, vertical}  
ever faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

signed memorandum, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

This is the first Proof  
of the Description of the  
Diagrams. If you approve  
of this kind of way of  
doing it, you will  
perhaps return me  
this Proof the first  
thing in the morning  
with your criticisms,  
as I think it might  
be improved - Dr. Farr  
has a Proof too, in

**[14:543]**

order that he may  
say whether the  
inferences are correct.

It is the most  
complete justification  
of all that Sir John  
McNeill has ever  
~~said~~/asserted. They had  
better have cried  
"Peccavi" - For here  
is ~~the {illeg}~~/damning  
proof that he did

not advance a  
statement which  
was not more than  
warranted - I shall  
like him to see this,  
when your Appendix  
is out -

I hope you will  
not think it  
impertinent, if I  
enclose a note of  
his, which refers to

how your present  
investigations in the  
Barracks, of which  
I have told him,  
bear out your state=  
ments in the Report -  
& shews a little  
what his indignation  
has been with the  
Q.M.G.'s & Army  
Medical Departments

ever yours faithfully  
Nov 11/57 F. Nightingale

This is the "Constitution"  
of the Army Medical  
Board, as proposed  
in the Report. It  
is extracted from  
a fuller Sketch  
which you ~~have~~/had,  
giving ~~his~~/its Powers too -  
(This Constitution ~~in~~/by itself, would  
convey no idea to  
Panmure probably, who is

stupid).

It should be  
accompanied by a  
sketch of the Powers.  
Mr. Alexander would  
do those of the  
Medical branch -  
Those of the Sanitary  
we could extract  
from the Sanitary  
regulations, now  
going to press, in

which a Sanitary  
branch is pre=  
supposed, & ~~They~~/which  
must be compared with  
it, for the sake of  
consistency - The  
Statistical branch  
we must wait  
to see Farr's forms,  
~~f~~ in order to do -

Perhaps, if you  
approve the  
"Constitution," which

is almost copied  
from yours, you ~~filed~~/might  
send it to press, &  
we could draw up  
the Powers, whenever  
you ~~desire~~/direct it.

[end 14:543]

F. Nightingale  
Nov 11/57

Derbyshire Co Record Office

151

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale - Purveyor -  
15 Nov 1857} 2057/F4/66

*Regulations*

Nov 15/57

**[14:543-44]**

Regulations Proof -

Dear Mr. Herbert

You only can judge  
about those Regulations -  
I shall of course obey  
orders - Unquestionably  
they must agree with  
the Report -

I think it may  
be managed very easily.

The point, in calling  
the *Pay Master* Treasurer  
& the *Purveyor* Steward  
(in the General Hospitals)

is that the Treasurer  
takes one of the functions  
of the Commisst (Banking)  
in addition to being  
Paymaster - the ~~Purveyor~~  
Steward takes another  
function of the Commisst,  
& one of the Barrack Master,  
in addition to his  
Purveyorship - The real  
difficulty however of  
the name "Purveyor" is  
that it brings him  
under the Purveyor in Chief,  
in London

Derbyshire Co Record Office

152

whereas ~~we~~/you want to  
centralize the power in  
the Governor, vide Report.

However, I think  
all this may be managed,  
& the names *Paymaster*  
& *Purveyor* kept -

The case of the Regi=  
mental Hospls is different.

And, as your Report  
says that the Purveyor  
must be under the  
Principal Medical Officer,  
so must the Regulations  
say - Ever yrs faithfully  
F.N.

[end 14:544]

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 O. Burl St  
Dec 19/57

[14:547-48]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have seen Tulloch's Diagrams.  
They merely give the state of the Army  
before & after 1837. Your Diagrams  
take up its condition at precisely the  
point where Tulloch says the  
improvement begins & shew how  
bad it is - It reminds one of Miss  
Austen's young lady who had bought  
an ugly bonnet & said there  
were much uglier in the shop -  
Or of Tulloch's own just indignation  
with the Crimean people at the  
Chelsea Board who said It might  
have been worse. Tulloch & Balfour  
seem to think that they will be in

some way to be blamed for the Army not being better - instead of our being very much obliged to them (which I am sure we are) for what they have done - The thing is however now to guard the future progress of the Army -

Would you think of putting some Note into your Report (after the Table of Mortalities before & after/37,) of something of the following purpose?

"The numerical results in this Table are well illustrated by the Diagrams, supplied by Sir A. Tulloch, shewing the diminished Mortality from different Diseases among troops serving on foreign Stations after the year 1837.

The improved condition of the whole

Army since that period is represented in contrast with the Mortality among Civilians of the same ages at home on the coloured Diagrams C & D.

An inspection of these two Diagrams will shew how much yet remains to be done for improving the health of the Army on foreign stations, while they also enable us better to estimate the almost incredible Annual loss of life on that Service in the years preceding 1837".

Dr. Farr was anxious that something of this kind should be put in.

Do not trouble yourself to answer this -

I do not hear a very good account of Dr. Greenhow's Sanitary Lectures at St. Thomas's Hospital - Mr. Whitfield, of St. Thomas's, whom you

Derbyshire Co Record Office 154

know a little to be a good man, says  
they give dry statistical facts & not  
practical knowledge - He says of Mr.  
Tufnell of Dublin that, altho' a  
superficial man, he is a first rate  
Lecturer for a Surgical Chair  
more for that than for Medicine  
So that is "bien trouvé"

[end 14:548]

I hope Mrs. Herbert is observing  
absolute "recumbency", (a Hospital  
word,) till 2 P.M. daily -

Believe me ever most sincerely yrs

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Dec/57 Miss F.N. Tulloch & Balfour - Diagrams - note to  
be added - as to Dr. Greenhow - and Mr. Tufnell of Dublin.}

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/66

30 Burl St.  
Xmas Eve

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have gone thro'  
Ewart's "Colonization in  
India" 4 Reports,  
(which are only  
Evidence) & marked  
all the passages  
which refer to Sanitary  
business - If you  
would like to have  
the marked copy  
rather than the  
trouble of doing the

[9:50-51]

same thing, I will  
send it you -

The impression it  
leaves upon my mind  
is, through much  
evidence, often contra=  
dictory, generally  
clumsy, & flimsy &  
always vague, that  
the thing can be done -  
i.e. the Sanitary Reform  
can be worked - that  
practical insight  
in the details is  
utterly wanting - but  
that there is a prima

facie case, which is  
entirely irresistible,  
that men may live  
in India as well  
as in England, if  
people will set  
about it but that  
nobody has set ~~it~~  
about it.

An immense  
number of other  
subjects is treated  
in the Report -  
supply, revenue &c

The impression it  
leaves is that the  
only persons who

understand any of  
the subjects are the  
Civil administrative  
people - & that all  
the rest are idle  
bunglers -

I have besides  
(thro' Mr. Arthur  
Mills) certain India  
House returns of  
mortality - very good  
or rather very BAD -

And Balfour is  
going (as a Xmas  
present) to make  
me up some returns  
of diseases -

One curious fact  
I have got at - that  
at Dugshai, Subathoo,  
Kussowlie, stations as  
healthy as any English  
climate, the troops  
suffer intensely from  
Diarrhaea - Why?  
Because in the plains  
the skin does the  
whole eliminating  
function - And then  
they are sent up to  
these hill stations  
- without a rag  
more clothing. Why,

if they did *not* have  
Diarrhaea, every man  
of them would die.  
Oh how poor Nature  
is abused, and  
blamed, ~~for~~/who is only doing  
her very best to  
save us from our  
own folly! which  
ought to be the  
thing blamed -

There are/A very good  
useful popular  
Sanitary ~~work might~~  
~~be made even out~~  
materials even in

~~of~~ Ewart's Report -  
But I am more &  
more convinced that  
no real good will  
ever be done except  
by a Report calculated  
to carry weight  
with it - & compel  
observance by  
regulation -

Please don't  
suppose that I am  
staying in town on  
account of the  
business. Williams

Derbyshire Co Record Office

158

is very recalcitrant  
(& was when you  
spoke to me) about  
my going to Malvern  
at all. I have  
not made up~~on~~/my  
mind - but if I  
stay here, it will  
only be on account  
of my own health.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Martin's evidence (in said  
Report) is all good, & sound  
on general principles - But  
like the man, there is not  
a single practical suggestion.

**[end 9:51]**

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

Great Malvern

**[14:550-]**

Dec 29/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

Your behests shall  
be observed as to the  
"Coxcombs" - No one has  
seen them but yourself,  
Dr. Farr & Dr. Sutherland,  
not even Dr. Balfour.

It is our flank=march  
upon the enemy. And it  
leaves them not a  
word to say - "This is  
what you have done  
with the Army". They

cannot answer it. They  
can only deny. There  
will be plenty of that,  
as there was at the  
Chelsea Board -

I could wish that  
it were out, before fools  
are thinking of the  
Princess' marriage, &  
wise men of the coming  
"row" in Parliament -  
The gigantic business  
of organizing the India  
Army makes all you

are doing only the more  
important.

It is doubtless also  
the more important to  
avoid even the shadow  
of a risk of the mere facts  
in the Diagrams  
forestalling the great remedies  
in your Report -

2. I venture to send,  
for your consideration,  
a few remarks I have  
just put down, in  
which I have helped  
myself largely from

Derbyshire Co Record Office 160

Sir J. McNeill, to whom I wrote, as to  
the absolute necessity  
of separating the  
functions of Banking  
& Supply, the Offices  
of Paymaster & Purveyor  
in General Hospitals.  
When Mr. Croomes said  
it had never been done,  
he did not know how  
fearfully we had  
suffered from its  
"never having been done".

There is no hurry  
about it- But you  
would perhaps take  
it into consideration  
before you finally pass  
the "Regulations". ever yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

{from the first f, written in the left margin}  
I saw a book once in the Wilton Library, of the time  
of Cromwell, called "God's Revenge upon Murder".

This is what  
you should  
call the  
Coxcombs.

**[end 14:550]**

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

Gt Malvern  
Dec 31/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

You received the  
Copy of the "Regulations"  
this morning. So did I.  
And I have gone over  
those for the "Nurses"  
carefully - and made  
the following Remarks,  
which I send -

I am really very  
sorry to worry ~~for~~/you -for  
all that is written in  
that long story might

have been *said* in  
10 minutes.

If you would just  
glance over it ~~illeg~~ however, &  
if you approve my  
emendations & their  
reasons, send on the  
M.S. to Dr. Sutherland  
to be worked into  
the "Regulations" - before  
you meet at Wilton -  
If you don't approve,  
perhaps you will remit them back  
to me with your

objections "for re=consi=  
deration" -

The same thing I  
would say about the  
*Paymaster, P-22, General  
Hospitals, P. 22, "Regulations."*  
If you admit the principle,  
perhaps you would send  
my M.S. to Dr. Suther=  
land to be worked into  
the "Regulations" - If you  
don't, perhaps you  
would remit it back  
to me with your  
objections -

I am afraid I shall  
have to worry you  
again, now you have  
received the "Regulations".  
But it shall be as  
little as possible.

I think '57, poor  
old year, has been a  
good year's work for  
the troops - But I hope  
'58 will be a better -  
And so it will, under  
you -

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 31 Dec 1857 -Miss Nightingale - Paymaster}

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/66

162

Gt Malvern  
Sept 19/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

In order that you  
may see that I have  
not been quite idle  
in your absence, I  
send you a few News=  
paper Articles on  
Netley - [These are not  
all.] In the next  
debate on Netley, I  
should like some  
M.P. to get up, unroll

[16:313]

these, & a great many  
more, & remark  
upon the beautiful  
unanimity of the  
British press &  
the *common* sense  
of the public.

Please return me  
this curious literature,  
as I have no other  
copies of my works.

I hope you will  
come here & look  
at this place - a

very handy place,  
when one can't go  
abroad - & I don't  
at all "want *not*  
to be seen" -

But I hope you  
will not dispute  
my coming to London  
too -

Among other things  
I have to do there is this.  
They want a Regimental  
Hospital for 60 men  
for the Hut Camp at  
Woolwich - And they

Derbyshire Co Record Office

163

are so obliging as to  
say that Galton may  
furnish them with  
plans - I want it  
to be a Model of  
Regimental Hospitals  
for unborn ages. ~~We~~/It is  
a fine opportunity -  
We have the plans  
sketched out, but  
cannot go on with  
them till we all  
meet in London -  
Galton's draughtsman  
has sent down the  
first draught to me  
here. yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

[end 16:313]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: 4 Feb 1858 - Miss Nightingale -  
Upon the Notes} 2057/F4/66

164

Gt. Malvern

Feb 4/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

The enclosed are  
the Abstracts (completed)  
of all the three Packets  
of Army Medical  
Correspondence I have  
had at three different  
times, from you -

(That is to say, these  
proofs are not corrected -  
But there is no more  
"matter" to add.)

There is a good deal  
intercalated here & there  
as P.XVIII to P.XXVI Preface to Section I  
& P. XII to P. XVIII appendix to ---- -  
from the last Packet  
you sent me - But  
Appendix II to Section I  
P XXXI to P XLVII is the  
only entirely new  
"matter" (from this last  
Packet) which you  
have not seen -

You proposed to  
write me a letter, such  
as I could print,  
(immediately after

Ld Panmure's letter  
of Instructions to me to write a Precis) - accounting  
for the way I came by  
this correspondence -  
And I thought some  
thing like the enclosed  
Draft Heads would do - *put*  
*in your own way* -  
For, altho' we have  
been in the habit  
lately of writing  
"Instructions" to ourselves,  
I am afraid I am  
not successful in  
writing a letter to myself -

I have written a very  
few lines of Preface  
(which of course I shall  
send for your criticism,)  
saying that this Ay. Ml.  
Correspondence had  
thrown so much light  
on the causes of the  
"Sanitary ~~filed~~/condition of the Army  
in late War" & on the "Sanitary  
~~filed~~/requirements" necessary to be  
made that, &c, I forgot  
how it is put. The fact  
is that nothing ever  
enlightened me so much  
as the reading of these  
Papers - ever yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Heads of a letter

to myself -

[It must be ante=dated  
say August/57]

1. The accompanying packets of Papers relating to the Hospitals & Sanitary arrangements for the Army in the East having been sent to me i.e. to you by the Army Medical Dept, I forward them to you as they appear to me ~~(illeg)~~/essential for the preparation of such a

Precis as you have been instructed to make respecting the "Sanitary condition of our soldiers, especially with reference to their treatment in Hospital"

2. You are at liberty to make such use of them in your Precis as may best advance the object in view, viz. the improvement

3. I would suggest  
that short Abstracts  
be made of them,  
setting forth the  
contents of the papers,  
and ~~that~~ any remarks  
with regard "to the  
Sanitary requirements  
of the Army generally"  
such as you have  
been instructed to make,  
& that these be

appended to your  
Precis.

S.H.

-----  
I am entirely ignorant  
of the way these things  
are managed - And I  
need not say that you  
will probably see some  
better way -

All these Abstracts  
have been through Dr.  
Sutherland's hands -

F.N.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 168  
signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/67

Gt Malvern [14:551]  
Dec 30/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I hope you will not  
be alarmed at the  
infliction - It is not  
going to go  
on - I have  
thought much of what  
you said the last time  
I saw you of what is  
still to be done - And  
I have tried to sum  
up what you have done  
& what you have still

to do.

The "little Celt" & Farr  
will be your best  
practical hands,  
(under you.)

I have finished the  
"Army Medical Corres=  
pondence" during the  
War. And I ask  
myself, What was  
the result of it all?

The sending out  
of Lime Juice, which  
was not distributed

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
till too late - & of Peat  
Charcoal, which was  
not wanted -

169

The practical result  
of all that "Correspondence"  
may be fairly summed  
up thus -

What can one say  
more in condemnation  
of a Department?

Lord Raglan was  
the primary cause of  
Andrew Smith's  
appointment - Never  
was there a more  
fatal act. It cost  
him his Army & his  
reputation -

Believe me

ever most sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

The only letters in the whole  
collection which mark  
a Sanitary genius are  
Cooper's, Surgeon, (4th  
Drag. Gds - I think) But  
he had the credit of a  
most impatient spirit.  
Though every one who  
saw him was struck  
with him, with his inde=  
pendence & genius. He  
is now at Manchester,

I believe - And it  
might be worth while  
to make more  
enquiries about him,  
though his temper  
would unfit him for  
the "Sanitary Member  
of Council," I fear -  
Dr. Sutherland was  
much impressed with  
the correctness of his  
Sanitary views.

There is no hurry  
about reading me -  
It will do at any time

[end 14:551]

F.N.

{in another hand: Dec/57 Miss F.N. "Army Medical Correspondence" her  
opinion of it - Surgeon Cooper - his sanitary genius - ~~Army Medical Board~~}

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale (Jan. 58 -  
Medical Council} 2057/F4/67

170

Gt. Malvern

Jan 9/58

[15:272-73]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am very sorry  
you have lumbago -  
I hope it is not  
very bad & that  
it is nothing worse.

I only write a  
line to say *in re Hawes*  
- (you know I am worse  
than 7 idiots at Politics,  
& therefore I have no

idea how this will  
do) - your reply  
is a complete one to  
Hawes's proposal -  
but, if Alexander  
gives way, you  
should have no  
act or part in  
Hawes's scheme -  
better, then, to connect  
the Sanitary element  
*with W.O., or Horse*  
*Gds,* & throw the  
D.G. overboard -

The prestige of his  
Office is then gone.  
The "Regulations" must  
be remodeled - for,  
without your  
"Instructions" to  
Medl Council, the  
whole thing is  
worthless - Better  
to keep your principle  
intact & lie by till  
better times than  
fall in to such a  
slough-

If the Medical Council is, on the other hand, won - (you gained the School) - I can't but think you will gain this too) - still Burrell must be had. What Alexander says is all nonsense. The Warrant does not apply to the Council. Even if it did, which it does not, there must be

*exceptional* departures from ~~principles~~ rules for the sake of a cause - [The old Medical Board consisted chiefly of Civilians] ~~Genl Peel should make Burrell a Depy Insp.~~

Without any paternal fanaticism for one's own inventions in organization, I

think you may safely say that Hawes has no invention at all (in that line of organization). He is the genius of *dis*-organization. Two men it would be cheap to the country to pension off on full pay - Hawes & Laffan.

[end]

yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

"Mrs. Dr. Blackwell"  
is in England for a few days. I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of seeing whether she would do for the "N. Fund" & have asked her down here. She is come but I have not seen her yet - I shall report to you & whatever she is or says, shall make her no proposal, which pledges us, before that.

signed letter, 9ff, pen {not in FN's hand, except signature}  
2057/F4/67

Great Malvern  
Jan 10th/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I will only now answer your question about the proportion of Nurses to Patients -  
1 - a Ward of 40 Patients might be efficiently served (but it would be hard work) with

1.40 Bed Ward  
minimum size  
for Regulation  
number of 4  
attendants

1 Head Nurse-Female  
3 orderlies -

With *no* number of Patients to a Ward *under 40, can the Regulation proportion of 1 Attendant to 10 Patients* be adhered to.

2.20 Bed Ward  
requires 3 ½  
Attendants -

2 - With a ward of 20 Patients (cut, ~~the~~ scheme & arrange the hours and duties as you will) you cannot efficiently serve it with less than

½ Head Nurse (Female)  
3 Orderlies.

& the other Ward of this Head Nurse must be very near too, and the Female Superintendent must have power to monopolize her to one ward, if necessary.

N.B. the same number would quite as efficiently serve a ward of 25 or even 30 Patients: but, in the latter case, there must be one Head Nurse ~~must superintend~~ to each ward

3. 10 Bed Ward  
cannot be  
served by  
1 Orderly plus  
1/5 Nurse

3 - The Army system of 1 Orderly to 10 Patients, with a number not exceeding 10 Patients to a Ward, is upset as immediately by one bad case among the 10, as by 9 in the 10 -

For, ~~is~~ is the same Orderly to be on duty for the 24 hours?

The difficulty is practically got over by the Army with a permission that any "bad case" may select

any one he likes of his comrades (out of the Depôt) to be "told off" to attend upon him

This extraordinary regulation is equivalent to (& affords no other practical result than) granting opportunity for any quantity of spirits & "grub" to be smuggled into Hospital.

4. Female nurses  
not to be sub-  
stitutes for Order-  
lies.

4 - The introduction of Female Nurses into Military Hospitals is not intended to supply the place of Orderlies - but to perform a class of duties which never has been performed at all in the Army - the only Hospital duties, hitherto performed, of those generally called such, ~~have~~/having been (in Military Hospitals),

Diet=carrying

Sweeping

Every thing which is "writing"

5. Naval Hospitals Regulation No. of Attendants, 1 to 7 Patients  
5 In all Naval Hospitals, the Regulation number of Attendants is 1 to every 7 Patients: & this is, in dependent of Female Matrons & the overseeing class.

Civil Hospitals have even 9 Attendants to 44 Patients -  
In Civil Hospitals, the number is far greater of Attendants to Patients, - & is more determined by the size of the ward, than by the badness of the cases - e.g. in one Hospital where there are quadruple wards of 44 Patients, (11 in each compartment) the number of attendants is from 7 to 9 to the 44 Patients -

i.e.	1 Head Nurse	}	{1	_____
	4 Day	- }	or {4	_____
	2 Night	- }	{4	_____
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	7		9	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

And in another Hospital, where there are 40 Patients in one Ward,

-2-

- 1 Head Nurse
- 2 Day -
- 1 Night -

are found to do the duty efficiently - (though it kills the Head Nurse, if she is a trustworthy woman - but, with one more, she might do it well)

6. Same number of men will not do same amount of work as an equal number of women would

6. One woman does the work of three men in a Hospital - speaking of the duties discharged by Under Nurses in Civil Hospitals - for men are unaccustomed to those duties from their childhood up (in England) this is not to say that women of the class of *Under=Nurses* in Civil Hospitals should be employed in Military Hospitals, which unquestionably they should not, but it is to say that you will not get the work done (efficiently) with a smaller number of men than you would employ of women -

7. Hospital attendance an entirely new Subject in the Army-

7. The question of attendance has never been intelligently considered in the Army at all - & if you ask any Army Medical Officer what he would do in such cases as the above, he can give you no *practical* answer

I conceive it to be practically impossible to serve 4 Wards of Netley with 1 Head Nurse  
4 Orderlies

for, as I have said *one* bad case in each ward ~~makes this~~/upsets the economy as ~~unmanageable~~/much as nine would.  
do -

II.

---

8. Female Superintendent must practically modify the proportion of Female Nurses to cases according to circumstances, & not be tied up to 50 -

8. The Patients are not laid out, one bad case to every other, - bed & bed alternately, - as ought to be the case to work the proposal of 1 Head Nurse to every 50 cases.

Therefore I adhere to the Regulation, as amended by Sir J. MacNeill, Page 26 Art. 53,

"Nurses shall be selected & appointed by the Superintendent-General of Nurses for each Genl Hospl in a proportion *not exceeding one* Nurse for every 25 cases"

as being better than either my proposition or Mr. Alexander's  
Because it must *practically* be left to the Supt (Female) to decide, &, in either of the other two proportions, an ill-inclined P.M.O. might make her duties almost impossible.

9. Sir John MacNeill

9 - Sir J. MacNeill did not "argue on the supposition that the Female Nurses are to be the only Nurses"  
He wrote with the Draft Regulations before him - how indeed could one Female attend alone "to 25 (or even 20) men"?

10.Desirableness  
of separating  
the Convalescents

10. If the ultimate effect of the Regulations is to make Army Medical Officers separate the Convalescent from the sick, & have convalescent wards, it will have practically the most beneficial result that could be. & There are strong reasons for not allowing Female Nurses to Convalescents at all - any Female Supt would know this - & would, at most, give one to 100 cases, (if desired by the P.M.O.) merely to serve out wine, medicines & The *amended* Regulations would allow of this latitude

11.Hospital  
Wards in the  
Army nothing  
better than  
Barrack Rooms  
at present -

11. A Ward in a Military Hospital now is nothing but a Barrack room, with an inspection by a medical officer twice a day. You want to

-3-

make it (by your new Regulations & your Female Nursing) into a place where the sick are *attended*. But this cannot be done by such a scheme as 1 Female Head Nurse }  
6 Orderlies } to { 50 Patients, in, say,  
6 (Netley) Wards,  
though this would be more than sufficient for 50 cases in *one* ward.

But ~~this~~ wards of more than 25 beds would be, (SANITARILY) too large.

12.Regulation  
as to 1 Orderly  
to 10 Patients  
requires modifying

12 - Art. 8. P. 30. Regulation about orderlies might require guarding. Practically it is broken every day, & in the extraordinary manner I have mentioned, which is much as if a Surgeon were to say "This operation is too much for me. I'll call out of "the window to a "Navy" to help me"

For the *most serious* cases are left to the *rawest* hands to nurse.

I should like to look over the Nurses' Regulations very carefully again, before they are finally passed

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/67

177

Gt. Malvern  
Jan 17/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

**[15:273-74]**

1. I will send you  
the rough estimate of the  
difference of total cost  
in attendance on wards  
differently distributed,  
as you have sketched  
them - If you could  
send me, from Genl  
Storks, the present  
rate of pay of the  
new Hospital Corps,  
it would be less rough -

(What you gave me  
in London did not  
contain the pay.)

But it will be but  
a piece of special  
pleading on our sides,  
after all, grounded  
on a false assumption,  
viz. that these people  
wish the soldier to be  
well nursed - They  
will always answer,  
"we can get a man  
out of the Depot to do  
all these duties of  
yours for nothing, who

is eating his head off  
at our expence."

2. I am very glad  
you are going to "convert  
the bureaucracy" to the  
"Treasurer" question in  
General Hospitals. For,  
if they are against it,  
it will fail - But,  
practically, if 300 Mr.  
Kirbys were to swear  
that there never had  
been ~~one~~/a Treasurer, and 600 Sir B.  
Hawes's that there  
never ought to be one,  
it should not make an

iota's difference in  
your opinion - which  
is formed upon the  
mischief arising out  
of this very defect  
under the Hawes & Kirby  
administration. It was  
not upon their expe=  
rience that you invented  
General Hospitals -

If all the 600 Army  
Surgeons were to swear  
that Cholera was an  
"inscrutable decree of  
Providence" & it was

-2-

no use to drain, it would make no difference in your opinion. But, unless the Army Surgeon can learn to say this, he cannot enter into the kingdom of the A.M.D., as at present constituted. And so is it with the Hawes & Kirby kingdom.

3. By the way, did you see a capital letter of Dr. Rigby's in the "Times" of the 14th, on the constant ratio of ventilation to mortality in his Lying-in Hospital - There has been an appearance & disappearance of Phagedæna, according to ventilation, in the same way, in the Military Hospital you sent me an account of at Winchester - Many thanks for that long letter -

4. I hear, as I dare say you have, that Col. Macdougall is ~~to be~~ the Chief of the Staff College at Sandhurst -

There is to be one more Examination at Burlington Ho. under the present system, for Admissions to Woolwich - after which they become extinct animals. I suppose the entrance to Woolwich

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
will be exclusively  
thro' the Sandhurst  
Junior School now -  
a great pity, don't  
you think so?

180

5. I think I shall  
have to submit to you  
some modifications in  
the "Nurse Regulations",  
before they are finally  
passed - And it might  
be as well if you thought  
well to send me back  
my paper on Nurses Pay  
& Pensions.

**[end 15:274]**

My aunt S. Smith's address  
in London is 6 Whitehall still -  
ever faithfully yrs F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

181

signed letter, undated 3ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale on the terrible state of the Army in India} 2057/F4/67

Malvern

Wednesday

**[14:552]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

This is only to say that, having heard from General Storks this morning that Panmure was expected tomorrow, *Thursday*, I shall come up to the old place, 30 Old Burlington St., tomorrow *night* -

This is not, of course, to be a gêne to you in your Manchester plan in any way - but only to signify that I shall be there, if you will be

good enough to come & see me, whenever you go & see Panmure -

**[end 14:552]**

The Indian news is terrible, or rather the goings on of the War Dept, with regard to it. We have seen terrible things for the last three years - but nothing, I think, like Panmure's unmanly & brutal indifference - What are the murders committed by these miserable Bengalese, compared to the murders committed by the insouciance of

**[9:49]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
an educated & ~~illeg~~/cultivated  
Englishman?

182

However, you have  
begun at the root of  
the matter - the physical  
& moral efficiency of the  
Army - And, by carrying  
your Reforms, all the  
rest will follow, &  
the Indian matter,  
indirectly, too -

[end 9:49]

I have read Hall -  
It seems to me that  
he & I have been  
doing the same labor  
of love - without the  
knowledge of one another -  
viz. exposing the  
Sanitary system of the

[14:552]

Army -

I have a mass of  
Regulations ready for you -

Also, the letter press  
for the Diagrams is ready.  
These, I think, should  
be printed in such a  
form that they can be  
re=printed for private  
distribution, with the  
sanction of a Government  
Commission upon them.  
They speak to the eyes  
of the nation & will  
carry its feeling with you.

Perhaps you will let  
me know, ~~when~~/before I see you,  
at what time ~~illeg illeg~~ you will  
come - ever yours faithfully

[end 14:552]

F. Nightingale

You will not, of course, adopt any of the Suggestions, verbatim et literatim, which I have ventured to make - They are only medical facts, about the correctness of which I have consulted Farr & Sutherland, for your consideration -

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/67

Gt. Malvern  
Jan 20/58

[16:257-58]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I sent you this morning, "as directed", a rough estimate of the comparative cost of attendance on wards of 30, 25, and 9 Patients respectively -

But, for fear it should be made use of "to our disadvantage", I pray you to listen to what I now want to say, (*not* "as directed",) upon the different alterations of Netley in your letter.

Any alterations you may see fit to advise, with regard to the wards at Netley, must, in the first place, provide for the *direct* lighting & ventilation

of every part of every ward - This is not the case - No throwing of wards together, no causing parts of wards to project behind will compensate for the evil produced by ill-lighted & ill ventilated *other parts*, left in doing so.

The chief ward=improvement made, by the first Commission, on the old plan consisted in clearing out ~~odd~~/all corners - And, in attempting to improve the new plan, the old defects must not be restored.

Again, the back buildings are much too close to admit of any projecting wards or parts of wards being thrown out behind - You would have two wells or "culs=de=sac", with stagnant atmosphere, on each side the corridor leading to the back buildings.

If you throw out wards behind, you would require to pull down all the kitchen & dining room buildings & remove them to a greater distance. If left, they would hinder ventilation & light - Also, in such a plan, every ward projected out behind would interfere materially with the lighting & ventilation of the whole building.

The projections in the old original plan of the Chapel & Dining Rooms across the line of lighting were bad, and every ward projected would make it worse - unless indeed the distance between each projection were at least 101 feet, as at Aldershot, which is impossible ~~to get~~ at Netley.

If, Plan 2, the adjoining wards are thrown together so as to produce

long wards with beds along the back & front - then the Ward windows into the Corridors would have to be altered from the present plan, (in which these windows are in reality glass doors,) so as to leave a sufficient wall space between each two windows for two beds -

The plan of joining two wards by excavating a dark passage through the Orderlies' room would not do.

These seem to me the principles to be kept in view in making the alterations. To some of them I should say directly, if I were you, *I won't have it*. Of others, I should like to see the plans, as you have kindly proposed, *VERY* much - The cost of attendance must also be considered - I see no alteration of plan which will not involve sacrifice of bed=space - And the Hospital will not accommodate the number its vast size ought to do - this will be another source of outlay. **[end]**

{from the first f, written vertically at top of page}

ever faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

186

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss N. Times} 2057/F4/67

Gt. Malvern

Jan 21/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Pray excuse my  
impertinence in the  
enclosure - You will  
not feel it so much  
as I do -

Of course the only  
value of Mr. Dasent's  
speech is

1. that the "Times"  
means to do your  
Report justice

2. that it wants  
to have time for an  
analysis

3. that to send  
it a copy, *as soon*  
as you feel you can,  
would be worth while.

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

letter signed A. Clough, 2ff, pen {printed address:} Education Department,  
Council Office, Downing Street, London 2057/F4/67

18 Jany 1858

Dasent of the Times

[14:975]

spoke to me on ~~yester-~~  
~~day~~/Saturday about Mr. Herbert's  
Report & the subject  
of Barracks - As  
soon as it appears,  
he said they would  
put into good hands -

only they must try &  
get an early copy:  
for which it seemed  
to be his purpose  
that they should  
apply to Mr. Herbert  
himself. Of course  
I could say nothing  
to that, all my  
discourse having  
been the importance

of the subject & the  
necessity of waiting  
for the information  
contained in the  
Report -

He spoke very  
highly of Mr. Herbert,  
but their information  
appears to be that  
Lord Panmure has  
no sort of intention

of resigning for the  
next two years -  
Nothing came from  
the Printers on Saturday,  
but I hope something  
will come to go with  
this.  
Have the Sp Tr  
arrived?

**[end]**

Ever Yours  
A H Clough

Gt. Malvern  
Jan 23/58

[16:258-59]

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. The glass in Netley Corridors is intended *to open* double - not to be removed at all - (It would be impossible to remove it) - Such, at least, was the last plan I saw, sanctioned by the Comtee upon it.

2. It is better that there should *not* be an architectural correspondence between the arches of the Corridors & the doors of the wards, for Sanitary purposes. The piers are so thin that neither light nor ventilation are impeded.

3. The Hospital would not now be *unhealthy*. At least, it would be more healthy than any London Hospital. But it is quite behind the

day. It is most expensive for administration - It is not at all what the Great Military Hospital of the British Empire should be -

It would make a model Barrack for 2000 men -

4. To propose a GOOD Hospital plan ~~would~~/will be the key note to your Report - giving *plans, details, estimates* - This would, in itself, condemn Netley & prove your case. Otherwise, the Govt would find fifty Architects to swear that Netley is the best Hospital they ever saw, which is true now -

5. The site cannot be other than unhealthy.

6. In regard to the principles to be kept in view in alterations, you cannot afford to sacrifice any of those which

we have laid down together -

I send you a plan for the illumination of your Commn, provided they will not sacrifice the site:

1. Propose to provide for 800 sick.

You will never have more.

2. Keep your foundations

3. Have your corridor one story, with open terrace above.

4. Throw out 4 pavilions, 100 feet apart, behind the Corridor on each side. The pavilions to contain 3 wards in tiers

101 ft long

25 " wide

16 ½ " high

5. Remove the kitchens altogether from the centres of the square & place them behind - The

dining=rooms\* will be on the ground=floor between the Pavilions.

\*Or they may be made room for in the front of each Pavilion-  
*middle* floor.

Part of the foundations will come in for this. The rest must be laid.

**[end 16:259]**

#### Rate of Pension (Nurses)

Jan 23/58

I cannot conceive how Dr. Sutherland could have made such a mistake as to the Nurses' Pensions - or how I could have so mis=expressed myself as to mislead you - The increase of the Pension *after* it has been awarded was never contemplated either by Dr. Farr or me - Nor did Dr. Sutherland understand it so, when we three talked it over in London - Unquestionably the only principle in pensioning is what you state - and "the 2 per cent (to increase annually till it "reaches 70 per cent)" was intended to be *upon the rate of wages received PREVIOUS to retirement*, - not upon the pension which, once

awarded, is to remain always the same -

Send me back my paper, of which I have no copy, (that I may correct it to make this clear,) at your own convenience.

It should be - "rate of pension to be *fixed* according to *rate of wages* received in year previous to retirement - 2 per cent being added ~~illeg~~/upon &c" for each year of service at &c  
{in another hand: 23rd Jan. 1858 - Miss Nightingale}

Rate of Pension  
(Nurses)  
to ~~illeg~~/be fixed according to rate of wages received year previous to retirement

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/67

Gt. Malvern  
Jan 31/58

[16:259]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I do not see that you could say less - or more than what you propose about Netley -

For it is the exact truth -

I cannot help hoping that they will adopt your Barrack suggestion for it.

Sir Harry Verney's  
fear of large Hospital  
wards, because the  
French have small  
prison wards, reminds  
me of the argument  
used by the first  
Netley projectors  
against light (in  
Hospitals) because  
Col. Jebb found  
small windows good  
for solitary prisoners!!

I had heard that  
Panmure is very mad

about Netley. It does  
not much signify,  
I suppose - If God  
*would* make Sanitary  
laws, we are not  
responsible for them.  
We are not the  
inventors or even the  
discoverers of them.

But I really have  
nothing to trouble you  
with, except that  
I am very sorry you  
still have Neuralgia,  
& glad you are going

to Paris & not by  
night.

**[end]**

ever faithfully yrs

F. Nightingale

If you can lay your  
hand upon my Nurse  
paper, send it me  
here, please - But it  
does not signify.

{in another hand: 31 Jan. 1858 - Miss Nightingale - Netley}

Derbyshire Co Record Office

192

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: 4 Feb 1858 - Miss N.- shd try  
Malvern for Neuralgia} 2057/F4/67 [8:658]

Gt. Malvern

Feb 4/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am very, very  
sorry to hear that  
you have your old  
enemy.

I think it is  
mere quackery to  
advise a man to  
come down here for  
a few days - or to try  
water=treatment in

London, when going  
on with all his  
Ho. of C. business  
&c &c -

The causes which  
brought ~~it~~/the thing on must  
be suspended, in order  
to send it away  
again - And I think  
both Homœopathy &  
Hydropathy when they  
says otherwise, are  
quacks -

But I do very much  
wish you could give  
this place & the man  
here a fair trial of  
4 &/or 6 weeks, if it  
were possible, - I believe  
it is the only cure for  
Neuralgia - & that  
it would destroy your  
liability to its recurrence,  
which surely is worth  
while -

I asked the man here,  
who is *not* a quack -

- in a general way  
your question - And  
he said the same  
thing -

Without pretending  
to judge about the Ho.  
of C. business, surely  
such a lull as this  
might be managed -  
some time soon  
And, about our  
business, we would  
disinterestedly do *all*  
*we could* in your  
absence, viz. the detail,  
leaving the management  
of the principles till you  
could come back - ever yours  
F.N.

signed letter, 6ff, pen {in another hand: Fb 9 '58--commission returned from Paris--correspondence of Hall & Smith--shall it be published?}  
2057/F4/67

30 Old Burlington St  
Feb 9/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I really trust you  
are better - as I saw  
your name in the Ho.  
last night - That is  
the first thing.

**[16:259-60]**

2. I dare say you  
have seen all your  
Paris Commissioners - They  
seem to have come back  
strengthened in the  
"Pavilion" view of the

Hospital question -  
thinking that no  
further alteration  
can be made in  
Netley - & that all  
that can be done is  
to recommend it as  
a Barrack -

3. I am come  
back, as you see -  
I did not write to  
you, because I was  
afraid you would say,  
"Don't - we don't want  
you", when it would

have been sheer  
impertinence in me  
to have come.

4. I think it is  
curious in the "Times"  
Article of this mornng,  
to see A. Smith  
coming out in the  
character of a  
*complainant* - & a  
reformer, about the  
Barrack & Hospital  
question - And I  
wish ~~they~~ it would not  
attack P. Albert  
& the D. of Cambridge,  
which sets them

against us - ~~&~~/men who both,  
are certainly far more progressive than  
A. Smith. **[end excerpt 16:260]**

But this brings  
me to what you say  
about the Abstracts.

5. There is a **[14:554-55]**  
great deal to be said  
upon the whole  
question in your  
letter - But I will  
only take up your  
time with one thing -

I adopt gratefully  
all your amendments.  
- except, - I *think*  
I see a principle  
at stake where you  
see only a "fine dis=

-2-

inction" in the administrative question -  
(1) But the point about the publication of the ~~papers~~/letters is, as you say, the important one - & one on which you only can decide -

My own feeling is, ~~it~~/the public is now occupied about other things - but it is quite upon the cards that, if it takes interest some day about this Barrack

& Hospital question, all that can be learnt about the deficiencies of the Army Medl Dept may be called for - And I think it in the highest degree important that A. Smith should be allowed to tell *his whole case now* - If I were Pres. of the R. Commission, I should therefore write to him to ask him if he

has any more papers  
he wishes to produce,  
(have his answer in black & white)  
& print them in an  
Appendix with a  
Prefix by yourself.

I do not think as  
you do, the Public  
would read them -  
I do not think you  
would find two other  
people who, like Dr.  
Sutherland & myself,  
would have the  
patience to "*diagnose*"  
them -

And therefore I think  
it the more important  
that the whole case,  
as told by A. Smith  
himself, should ~~be~~/come  
out - while it *can* still  
be "*diagnosed*" -

This brings me to  
answer one of your  
objections - We have  
given the case exactly as  
they have given it  
to us. We have even  
~~actually~~ used Hall's  
own Abstract, verba=  
tim, of his own  
recommendations  
& not ours -

-3-

(2) I *have* a feeling  
about historical justice.  
History, right or wrong,  
is written in a very  
different way now  
from what it used  
to be - Macaulay &  
Lamartine do not  
write, (as in the  
Egyptian hieroglyphs,  
of the reign of Bocchoris,  
of Victoria's reign,  
"In this reign a  
lamb spoke" - The  
whole Crimean story

will be carefully sifted  
some day -

Surely, the justice to  
our poor men, who  
are lying forgotten  
already in their  
Crimean graves, is to  
let blame rest  
where blame is  
due - *not* in order to punish  
the offenders but to  
prevent a recurrence  
of the offence -

Let the truth be  
known that, with  
the Medl Dept & the  
Military authorities,

*not* with the Home  
Govt is the, I will  
not say fault but,  
ignorance - \*

If you like it, I  
will take out every  
stricture upon the  
Divisional Doctors,  
who don't deserve  
much -

But it *must* lie  
with Smith & Hall.

And I will ~~modify~~/blame  
~~about~~/a little more the Military  
authorities - Altho'  
I do think Hall  
\*You will defend Ld Canning,  
but you won't defend yourselves -

acquits Lord Raglan  
(most unconsciously)  
out of his own letter  
to Smith  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

I hope your Netley  
report will give, once  
for all, all that is  
known of Sanitary  
principle regarding  
Hospital Engineering-  
WE are sadly behind  
the rest of the world.

[16:260]

Sir H. Verney came  
to Malvern to see me  
about it. He is ignorant  
but agog.

[end 14:555]

[end 16:260]

signed letter, 3ff, pen {in another hand: Feb/58 Miss Nightingale who shd  
review the Report.} 2057/F4/67

30 Old Burln St  
Feb 11/58

[14:976-77]

Dear Mr. Herbert

If you have regard  
for the different styles  
of the Reviews, you  
should not have Ld  
Stanley for the "West=  
minster" - Lord Stanley  
will write so as to  
make people *think* -  
Only Chadwick will  
write so as to make  
them *do* - Ld Stanley  
will take your facts

& ~~put~~/reproduce them *out of*  
their proper proportions,  
and though he will  
make a good popular  
Article, he will never  
make a good practical  
one.

The Westm. handles  
these subjects & disposes  
of them practically.  
The Quarterly only  
munches them as  
an ass does thistles.

I know nothing  
against Chadwick

as a publicist - As an  
administrator he is  
detestable - But he  
is the only man in  
Europe who could  
handle your Report  
as it ought to be  
handled -

I *had* written to  
him as soon as I  
received Mrs. Herbert's  
note last night -  
And though I do not  
think that compromises  
you to anything, I  
should be very sorry

I confess to see Lord  
Stanley in the Westm.

Do not have *Winter* -  
He is a mere medical  
man & will produce  
a mere medical Article.  
If Farr can't do it  
himself, which he can,  
have Ld Stanley for  
the Quarterly, & Farr  
for the Medico-Chirur=  
gical Review -

Howell shall be  
seen tomorrow for the  
Edinburgh - he *is* in  
town -

Kingsley has been  
written to tonight  
for "Fraser" -  
J.H. Burton for the  
"N. British" -  
Southwood Smith  
for the "British Quarterly".

Do not forget  
Dickens for the comical  
side for the Household  
Words -

Please send me your  
final behests early  
tomorrow morning -  
As Chadwick may  
come in the course of

the day - And I must  
not compromise you -

I have not done  
any of the others  
myself, as it is  
better that your  
name should be  
used in all.

**[end 14:977]**

ever yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/67

-1-

30 Old Burln St.  
Feb 12/58

**[14:977-79]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. I have not yet  
heard from Chadwick -  
And I think he might  
be got to write in  
the "National" - a very  
rising Review, which  
has taken the same  
ground, as to social  
questions, as the  
"Westminster," & is  
not so dogmatic on  
the religious question.

I think, therefore, if you have not yet done anything about Lord Stanley, I would let him stand, if such is your opinion, for the "Westminster", Farr for the "Quarterly", & Balfour for the "Medico-Chirurgical" - Balfour, as you know, is no authority at all on Sanitary questions - And, therefore, could you give him a hint

to take it up on the *Medical* question, viz - shewing the Medical profession how much your Report does for them, instead of being against them.

In that case, I think he will do - Otherwise, he is stupid.

2. I enclose you a note from Howell - I think, if you would write to Reeve *today*, it would be best. But if you can't

shall I? I know him.

3. There is the "Quarterly  
Edinburgh Medical &  
Surgical Journal", -  
much read by the  
Army Medl Dept -  
Shall I write to Sir  
J. McNeill to manage  
that ~~for you~~ and  
recommend Dr. Begbie,  
who would do it  
well?

4. I think, if you  
would write to the  
Editors of the "Athenæum"  
& "Leader", it would  
be best, merely

asking for an early  
notice?

5. The "Foreign Quarterly"  
is extinct -

---

I would rather have  
one of my old  
soldiers to defend me  
than any of you all  
a great deal. The  
only answer to the  
"Guardman" is in  
the ~~old~~ "Private soldier's"  
letter this morning -  
"Touchstone" & is no

answer at all &  
might be picked to  
pieces by any body,  
who knew any thing  
of the subject, of whom  
fortunately for us  
there are very few -

The arguments

1. about the Police
2. " Canada
3. " the Tower
4. " Cavalry

are all fallacious &  
blunders, & might easily  
lay us open to objec=

tions from those who,  
as I say, are  
fortunately few -who  
can see a blunder -

The Cavalry question  
however brings us to  
Gymnastics - and that  
must be looked to soon.

---

I hope you are  
better & will not  
go out today -

I enclose an "official  
letter" to you which  
I have long felt to  
be necessary.

ever yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale  
The common sense of

the last paragraph of  
the "~~Old~~/Private Soldier's letter  
beats us all.

The "National" has  
been writing Military  
articles lately.

I have just seen  
Lord Stanley's note.  
I will think of  
somebody else for the  
"National" & keep  
Chadwick to the "Westm."  
Chadwick just come!

1. I think Ritson would be worth writing to - Because he carries the Manchester local Press with him - which is of more value than London imagines - Let him put an Article in the "Manchester Guardian" -

2. I think the "Athenæum" should be treated respectfully - And the Editor asked to do it. It is the only paper of many professional men.

3. For the sake of the Drs, the "Medico=Chirurgical" must also be treated respectfully - And Farr or Carpenter (the Editor) would do it well -

4. I don't think Chadwick can be offered any Review but the "Quarterly", if he does not have the ~~Edinbur~~ "Westm." He is a dangerous enemy - And he carries with him all the Shaftesbury

Sanitary party. If he does not write *with* us, he will write *against* us, especially if neglected - And he is much more read in Europe than any one ~~else~~/Sanitarian - Some of his things have been translated into every language -

5. If J.H. Burton fails, Sir J. McNeill might be asked for the "N. British" - Not otherwise, I think - His name has become a watch=

word of a party, by no  
fault of his -

Would Mr. Herbert  
send today by post,  
with W.O. stamp,  
copies to

1. John Hill Burton Esq  
Advocate  
Edinburgh
2. Southwood Smith Esq  
M.D.  
St. George's Hill  
Weybridge
3. Rt Honble Sir J. McNeill G.C.B.  
Granton Ho.  
Edinburgh

These people ought to have  
it, whether they write or not.

**[end 14:979]**

F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 3 1858  
2057/F4/67

This is in re "Constitution  
Army Medl Council" v.  
"Weekly Statistical Return" -  
& refers to the two  
papers sent on Monday.

There is no hurry -  
But the thing stands thus.  
All this last month the  
"Regulations" have hung  
fire- Because Farr  
would not write the  
*Statistical* ones till  
Sutherland had written  
the *Sanitary* ones.

And Sutherland would not write the Sanitary ones till Farr had written the Statistical ones -

Farther than this, you will find the "Report", the "Regulations" & the "Weekly States" all at variance -

This will not do -

I have therefore written the enclosed Draft Regulations for

*Sanitary* reporting, which Sutherland has condescended to endorse -

And which, if approved by you, ~~may~~/might go into the reprint of the "Regulations".

Farr should be requested to write *his* Regulations for *Statistical* Reporting in accordance with them, *IF* approved by you -

And one line ~~in~~/by you in your own Report ~~of~~/for the *Sub=Commn* on Statistics will arrange

the matter -

The *weekly* Report for *Statistics* is important (for reasons I have given) at least in the United Kingdom -

And the *third* Draft Regulation, (see Draft enclosed), will, if carried, give the most valuable assistance to *civil* reporting on health, which ought to bribe Farr's assent.

F. Nightingale  
March 3/58

Wilt67: is this letter in?  
signed letter, undated 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale India},  
black-edged 2057/F4/67

I wrote to Lord Stanley [9:50]  
a letter, (in my usual  
temperate terms & with  
the moderation which  
is my characteristic,)  
about the affair at  
Dum=dum, where  
1800 women & children  
having been packed  
into a space for 300,  
500 of them died  
of Dysentery - And all  
within 5 miles of

Calcutta - And the Govt  
Officer, instead of  
dispersing them imme=  
diately, drives back  
to Calcutta & makes  
a Minute. Really  
I can remember nothing  
in the Crimea, (for a want  
of all organization) to  
compare with this -  
And then people say,  
"It's all the climate.  
What can you expect?  
Women & children  
WILL die in India"

I wrote to Lord Stanley,  
pointing out how urgent  
such facts make a  
Commission of Enquiry.  
He answers:

"I can only say at  
this moment that the  
Dum=Dum affair  
shall be fully enquired  
into." [I hope *not*  
by *old Indians*] "I  
had seen it, but  
thank you none the  
less for reminding me" -  
If it has "reminded" him  
to do it the old way,  
it will be no good - I  
hope "at this moment" means

that *another* "moment" is coming.

Martin & Tulloch  
were not examined  
yesterday before the  
Re=organization Commisssn,  
as intended - but Genl  
Franks & Major Holland were.  
Martin & Tulloch are  
to be examined on  
Monday - And I have  
written a sentence for  
Martin (which he has  
inserted into some written  
Evidence of his to be given in)  
as to the necessity of  
a Sanitary Commission -  
The Dumdum enquiry, if  
fairly gone into, must bear so  
heavily on somebody, (possibly Linton  
who is at Calcutta,) that I should *hope*

{from the bottom of the first page}  
it would initiate a real & searching

Sanitary Commission ~~Enquiry~~

[end 9:50]

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 16 1859 -  
on the delay in printed the Forms.} 2057/F4/67

March 16/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Farr complains  
that the printers at  
the War Office are so  
very long. [I think he  
is also very long himself]

1. His Statistical  
FORMS are still, he  
says, in the Printer's  
hands - And we  
cannot finish our  
"Instructions" in the

"Regulations" without  
them. He promised  
to write to you to  
ask you to "touch up"  
Mr. Drewry - But,  
in case he does not,  
I do -

2. He has finished  
his part of the  
Statistical Report -  
which is very able,  
but omits all mention  
of the defects which  
made ~~it~~/the Commission necessary.

{the following paragraph is crossed out}

He wants an order  
~~for~~/from you to print it,  
before discussing it in  
the Commission. I  
hope he has written  
to you -

3. The only point  
(among the enclosures  
I send) for your  
immediate consideration  
is that about this  
bundle of "Sanitary  
& Statistical  
Regulations" -

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 18 1858 On Capt Jervis' Article for the Westminster. & on Dr. Farr's "Admission & Discharges Book"}, black-edged paper 2057/F4/67

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. I cannot help saying  
(with regard to Capt.  
Jervis) that Sutherland  
& I were *appalled*  
by his letter - It is not  
only a stupid letter -  
It is a bad letter -  
It is fifty years  
behind the age - It

supposes that Medical  
Officers are to be made  
efficient for the health  
of men by having a  
little more pay - And  
it has every Military  
& exploded prejudice  
about Military authority  
which nobody wishes  
to attack -

I have great hopes  
from your interview

with him this morning.  
But I don't think  
even you can make  
even a "worsted  
purse" out of such  
a "sow's ear" -

Now the Westminster  
is quite sound on  
all these Sanitary  
questions - Both  
Sutherland & I  
know Dr. Chapman-  
And, if you fail

in educating Capt.  
Jervis in half an hour,  
you must let us try  
our hand with Dr.  
Chapman to make  
him exercise his  
Editorial power upon  
the Article, which is  
an important one -

2. I saw Farr last  
night - And he brought  
the Proof of his  
"Admission & Discharge  
Book" - It is one of the

simplest & most  
beautiful things I  
have seen, & shews  
the man's ability -  
But it will necessitate  
some additions to your  
"Statistical Regulations,"  
of which I sent you  
the mangled M.S.  
yesterday - for Press -

If Mr. Drewry could  
throw off Proofs of those  
& of the "Nurses' Regulations",

(sent you last night,)  
we might then finish  
~~your~~/the "Regulations" for  
your criticism this week -

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale  
March 18/58

Please make Mr.  
Drewry send us back  
all our M.S.S. It  
saves our time -

Have you heard  
from Mr. Elwin?

If you can lay your  
hands upon the "Army  
Medical Correspondence"  
Proofs without trouble,  
the Bearer would bring  
them back -

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/67, see 43395 f34

30 Old Burlington St. W.  
March 23 1858

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have been some time  
hesitating as to the course I ought to  
take, with regard to the large Fund  
which is called by my name, and  
which was so generously placed in  
my hands for the purpose of being  
applied to a most useful and  
beneficent object.

After allowing a time to  
elapse fully sufficient for  
forming a judgment, I find my  
health so much impaired and  
I am consequently so unequal to

begin a work which, to be  
properly performed, will  
require great exertion and  
unceasing attention that I  
feel it incumbent upon me  
and due to the contributors to  
beg you to communicate to the  
Trustees and Council my  
inability to undertake the task.

This communication is very  
painful to make, for I hoped  
by my exertions in the work  
proposed to me, to mark my  
deep sense of the confidence  
reposed in me, and I looked

forward to the attainment of an object which has always been nearest my heart.

But I strongly feel that the realization of these objects ought not to be indefinitely postponed, nor a large sum intended for a benevolent purpose to be allowed to lie useless, because I am incapacitated by illness from undertaking its application.

I must therefore under these circumstances ask you and the Council to consider in what way the objects contemplated by the Contributors may now best be

effected -

I remain

dear Mr. Herbert

most faithfully & gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale

Rt Honble

Sidney Herbert MP

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 29 1858 On the Netley Report being referred to Laffan, Mapleton & Co} 2057/F4/67

March 29/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Genl Peel has referred your Netley Report back to the "2nd Netley Commission", which means, I suppose Laffan, Mapleton & Co. Perhaps this was unavoidable - Perhaps you knew it - Any how this requires no answer.

Yours ever faithfully

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale to keep back  
Instructions to Medical Board for conduct of business. April 23 1858}  
2057/F4/67

April 23/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I hope that you  
are better today.

This is only to say,  
will you keep back  
the "Instructions to  
the *Army Medical*  
Board" till I see you?

A very important  
Instruction, which  
I omitted, has occurred  
to me to submit to you -

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

incomplete letter, undated 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale  
Netley} 2057/F4/67

I had a long letter this  
morning from that  
Princess of pompous  
old women, Sir Harry  
Verney. It is not worth  
troubling you with -  
But he details at  
great length a conver=  
sation he has had  
with the Bison - in  
which the only thing

that strikes one is that  
the Bison is prepared  
to defend Netley in  
the Ho. of Lords *with*  
*evidence*, of which he  
has plenty & too much.  
But *not* prepared  
to resist its being  
turned into a Barrack.

If this is so, to shew  
what a Hospital *ought*  
*to be* & then condemn  
Netley  
as a Hospital, ~~not~~ as a Barrack  
it is princely, is the plan.

2. Winchester Military  
Hospital is the worst  
possible form of  
construction - It  
combines the outside  
corridor covering one  
front with the  
inside staircase -  
The result is that  
every ward commu=  
nicates with every  
other ward. And  
the top has all the  
foul air - Netley  
is much better  
than this as a Hospital.

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/67

April 24/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am greatly  
delighted to see the  
Barrack Report.

And I send in  
return what that  
unspeakably wicked  
Drewry - beside  
whom Orsini is  
an ass - has sent  
here, after keeping

both a whole week.

The enclosed  
are the Instructions  
(for the Regulations)  
on Farr's forms.

I think, if you  
please, the sooner  
Burrell & Galton  
have their copies  
of the Barrack  
Report, the better -

Although I dare say  
they will not  
"refresh themselves"  
on Sunday with  
it as we shall.

Would you like  
any figures relating  
to

ventilation  
cubic space  
kitchens  
as to Croyden &  
Chatham for yourself

before they are put  
into a Report?

Drewry has  
caused a frightful  
waste of time -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: F. Nightingale April 24./58 Enclosing Instructions for  
the Regulations on Farr's forms.}

signed letter, 7ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale May 3 1858 on  
Dr. Sutherland's Claims} 2057/F4/67

30 O. Burln St.

May 3/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I will answer your  
question in the way of  
business - And you will  
extract what you  
judge best for the W.O.  
I suppose they will  
take your word for it.

Sutherland has  
given the full number  
of Office hours to the  
Barrack Commission  
every day since it

began - And he has only charged his "days" at all since the day you *first [illeg]/summoned* your Barrack Commission at Wilton.

But, besides that, he has given his "extra" hours to your two other Commissions, upon ~~he~~ which he was requested\* & consented to serve. He might have charged for these beyond his £3.3 a day, but did not - because

\*by the War Officer  
(viz. the "Regulations" & the "Medical School" Commissions)

he considered it a labour of love - had these Commissions been the emanations of *different* Govt. Offices, he would have charged the *different* Offices, & charged beyond the £3.3 per diem. He has given more time to the Barrack Commission alone than Burrell has - But Burrell has always shewn his face at the work=shop, and Suther=land has done most

of his work here -

Sutherland's name is still on the Home Office books - And he has occasionally had matters referred to him by the H.O. since his return from the Crimea & answered to the reference & done the work. but he has never charged the H.O. a single day's work, altho' entitled to £3.3 a day, *since his return home*, because

-2-

he considered that he could not serve two masters - the Home & the War Office -

During the whole of the time that your Royal Commission was sitting, he was therefore receiving no pay at all - altho' keeping himself out of other (paying) work for the purpose -

Till Oct 26/57 you will observe he has

not charged a day

[He gave up a permanent appointment to go to the Crimea - And he might be earning, and has earned £7.7 a day & his expences, on private Sanitary business]

Since Oct. 31/57 I have seen him every day, with the exception of five weeks at Malvern, & I could assert upon my honor that his whole time, not only Office hours, has been given to Govt business -

And, during the week he was with me at Malvern, we did nothing else all day & every day.

He is very silly in saying, as he always does, that "he comes here to help me", - as if we were "refreshing" ourselves

with a general view  
of civil cess=pools,  
instead of confining  
ourselves to *Army*  
cess=pools, as we  
always do!

I have always  
considered his time  
as Govt time, bought  
& paid for - and  
have never asked  
him to do a single  
thing, in ~~the~~/any general  
line of business, except

once, when

Sir J. Liddell

referred his Woolwich Hospital plans to me, &  
Sutherland  
helped me. He comes here,

-3-

and dines & drinks  
tea here, & has done so  
every day for the last twelvemonth;  
because he is so queer  
& such a hypochondriac  
that, if he did not &  
had not me to help  
him, he says and I  
believe it, he should  
be in bed - That is, I  
believe it, after the  
fashion of a R. Catholic  
Bishopric *in partibus*.  
For Sutherland is a  
man incapable of  
determining to do any

thing but what he  
likes & incapable of  
determining to day what  
he will like tomorrow -

For all that, he has  
more brains than all  
your other men put  
together, ~~he~~ and has been  
absolutely essential to  
the business - and when  
I compare the work  
we have done with  
the work which was  
done by the Board of  
Health or by the ~~Public~~  
Health of Towns Commission,

I think there is cause  
to be well satisfied -

At the same time,  
we are losing *now*  
much precious time  
in some of the things-  
owing to the necessity  
of employing excessively  
occupied men, like  
Dr. Farr & Capt. Galton.  
I hope we are not  
thereby losing our opportunities  
or wasting the  
impression made on the  
public.  
But I do wish we

could get Farr's Forms  
passed - He has not  
yet received them from  
the Printer -

I hope you are better -

Believe me

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I must just add  
that Mrs. (not Dr.)  
Sutherland told me  
that he "had done  
"nothing at his private  
"affairs since October  
"last - he had been  
"so busy with his public  
"ones."

-4-

I think we shall be  
beaten at the Netley  
affair by dishonest  
management - Mapleton  
sees each of the Pundits  
separately, as he says,  
to give "information" -  
Not one of them all,  
either old or new,  
not Mapleton himself,  
defends the Netley site.  
But there seems to be  
a *parti pris*, an  
understanding to get  
the Govt. out of the

scrape -

If this is the case,  
the only way will be  
to give them the go-by,  
and for the Aldershot  
plans & the Aldershot  
site to be referred  
to you for your proposed  
General Hospital &  
Medical School -

F.N.

signed letter, 5ff, pen, black-edged paper 2057/F4/67 [8:659-60]

Gt Malvern

Sept 28/58

Dearest

I write to you to trouble you with this, because I suppose you will hardly have been able to make that melancholy journey North.

I will say nothing about her - whom you have lost - Because praise of her, as of Lady Pembroke, would seem almost sacrilege from me to you - I

write but little & only on business, knowing I can say nothing you will not have already felt, & believing you understand me sufficiently to make it needless -

I had a few lines from Mr. Herbert yesterday - a few of his kind, manly words of deep feeling such as he only can write -

What I want to say is only this:

1. will you, when he

resumes his guardianship  
of your Infirmary, tell  
him that, of the three  
"Schemes" I sent for his  
consideration, I think  
that marked (I) in the  
second letter is the  
best - & that I would,  
upon further thinking,  
quite decidedly, give  
the discretion about  
"Patients' exercise" to the  
"Sister" - and ALL the  
"Stair-cases" to the  
"Matron" - I think this  
will prevent some  
collision - the wards  
& all their appurtenances  
remaining to the "Sister",

responsible to the "Matron"  
- the "Patients' exercise"  
remaining to the "Sister",  
responsible to the Surgeon. **[end 8:659]**

2. would you tell **[16:314-15]**  
Mr. Herbert ~~that~~/sometime that  
Neison has read a  
very mischievous Paper  
at the British Ass. at  
Leeds, reproducing in  
full his fallacies  
about overcrowding  
having nothing to do  
with Consumption &  
condemning the conclusion  
of Mr. Herbert's Report.  
I have written to Farr

-2-

about it because, if not answered, the matter will do us much harm.

To be as short as possible:

Mr Neison adduces the Reg. Gen. Statistics as to overcrowding. Some one in the Reg. Gen. Office has totally mistaken the question of overcrowding & has produced great mischief to our cause, on account of these Population Tables being quoted as authority -

Thus:

{two dotted circles with solid circles inside and the words Liverpool, Manchester, in the latter case the solid circle is much smaller than the dotted one}

Dotted circles - Registration districts of which the population is given by Reg. Gen.

Black circles - actual densely inhabited parts.

Now *Greenhow* compares the density within the dotted circles & *not* within the black ones & shews that, inasmuch as the Manchester one is much less densely peopled than the Liverpool one, & yet has the same Mortality from Phthisis,

therefore density does not influence Phthisis, *therefore* overcrowding is rather a healthy thing - the real fact being that the density for Man=chester & Liverpool is very nearly the same.

*Neison* seems to have done the same thing.

But the worst part is this - Surface density has in reality nothing to do with the matter & Mr. Herbert never said it had. It is density *in rooms*. Our Barracks have a smaller surface density generally than any town or perhaps village population in the king=  
=doom, but they have

generally a far higher *room density*. And this it is which does the mischief -

Dr. Farr ought, on public grounds, to correct this public error, as far as the Reg. Gen. Statistics are concerned - And the best way would be for him to address a correction to Mr. Herbert, as Chairman of the R. Commission -

I am going up to London on Saturday, because I don't want them to do anything about some Regimental Hospital plans without me -

[8:659]

[end 8:659] [end 16:315]

-3- When Mr. Herbert  
has anything to say to  
me, perhaps he will  
write to me there -

I hope you are  
pretty well.

Believe me, dearest,  
ever yours anxiously  
& sorrowfully

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 28 Sept 1858 Salisbury Infirmary Neison  
doing mischief at Leeds - Fallacy that overcrowding does not produce  
consumption}

Signed note, fl, pen Written on the back of a folio in another handwriting:  
Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

11 May. 1858.

Suggest that Alexander be present at the Commission

Dear Mr. Herbert

This big parcel is only  
Farr's tools.

Would you think  
well to have Alexander  
to help him at your  
Meeting, as otherwise  
Tulloch will bayonet  
him with some  
technicality, which  
will delay business -  
& which Alexander,  
(who is always to the

front), might be able  
easily to meet?

Alexander is at  
home, 64 Ebury St.,  
as I dare say you  
know -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

May 11/58

Signed note, 1f, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:  
Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67  
Farr's Table  
recalculated  
upon Tulloch's

undated letter 2057/F4/67

Dear Mr. Herbert

It occurred to me  
that, to convince the  
Unbelieving, you might  
require Farr's Table  
re-calculated upon  
Tulloch's, P. 31. I there=  
fore enclose it, with  
the fractional problem  
stated for your Infidel,  
but which you will  
put in your own words.

F. Nightingale  
Thursday mornng

[possibly this is where fragment should go]

P VIII

Some Note necessary  
to explain difference  
between Tulloch's Army  
Numbers in this  
Table & Farr's Army  
Numbers in Table  
in your M.S. (a)

Part of a document, undated fl, pen 2057/F4/67 written on back of folio in another handwriting [with above, needs alignment]

Miss Nightingale

Cost of Nursing

<i>Sick</i>	<i>Attendants</i>	
(1) Ward for 9	----- 2 1/3	
3 "s " " = 27	----- 7 } viz	
	} Orderlies	
	} 6	
	} Nurses	
	} 1	
(2) Ward for 30	----- 4 ) viz	
	} Orderlies	
	} 3	
	} Nurses	
	} 1	
(1) Cost of 27 sick		
at £50 per ann	} 7 X 50 = £ 350	
per attendant		
(2) Cost of 30 sick	} 4 X 50 = £ 200	
Capitalized	} £ 350 = £ 8750	
at 25 years' purchase	} £ 200 = £ 5000	
Capitalized	} £ 8750 = £ 324.1.6	
cost per patient	27	
	} £ 5000 = £ 166.13.4	
	30	
Cost of nursing	} (1) £ 324000	
per 1000 sick	(2) 166000	
Difference	£ 158000	

Signed letter, ff4, pen, on back in another hand: May 29/58 2057/F4/67 Miss Nightingale O. Burrell Sanitary Commission {illeg} of O. Sutherland

May 29/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I was going to mention the enclosed to you the other day, in order to submit to you a scheme, but Sutherland was here & I was afraid he would hear.

You must have seen enough of Burrell by this time to see that, altho' the best

man we have, he is  
absolutely incapable  
of organizing &  
initiating a new  
Department -

Unless some man,  
like Sutherland, who  
would, I know, add  
this work to that  
he has already on  
the Barrack & Hospital  
Commission, were  
called upon officially  
to do it, (which also

would, while that  
Commission lasts,  
add the weight of  
your authority into  
the scale,) the  
Regulations would,  
believe me, be a  
dead failure.

Burrell's ap=  
pointment should  
be made conditional  
upon some such  
measures as this -  
And if he resists,

put in Cooper. But  
he will not.

We have the estimate  
& scheme of the new  
Army Medical Board  
nearly ready for you.  
But there are some  
vexed points which will  
require your own  
direct decision,  
before you can  
"instruct" Genl= Peel  
with it.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

1. The Sanitary Regulations, as they stand now, presuppose an amount of administrative experience in the Army Medical Council which absolutely does not exist.

2. The Army Medical Council will have to be *guided* in this matter until every Regulation is in full working order, & the whole

Service in a state of thorough completeness

3. It will take several years to do this for England, India & the Colonies

4. The transitional period will have to be got over just as it is in any other new Department

5. The Secretary of State for War would have to write a letter commissioning some competent

Sanitary person to organize & initiate the new Sanitary Department, & also to inform the new Director General that he had done so

Derbyshire Co Record Office

234

Signed note, undated, fl, pen Written on the back of a folio in another handwriting:

2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale

Netley

I send you the third **[16:314]**  
Article I wrote in the  
"Builder" because it  
contains the *canons* of  
Hospital construction,  
& is therefore more  
suited to the practical  
Cheetham than the  
Liverpool papers  
which contain only  
its *defects* -  
Moreover it is the  
only one not out of  
print -

F Nightingale  
There are one or two

things in the Netley Appendix  
you had which I  
think we have rather  
altered our minds  
about. as concerns  
at least a small  
Hospital -

**[end]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office

235

Signed letter, fl, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

May/58

on proposed

Medical

Board

Dear Mr. Herbert

For your interview  
with Alexander, I  
send  $\mp$

No 1. Proposal after  
hearing all that  
Alexander & Farr  
have to say

and amendments  
on "Instructions" consequent

No 2. Alexander's  
own proposal, his  
last, nearly the same  
as ours, & considerably  
modified from his three  
first.

Please let me see  
all these again  
when talking over  
the matter with you

No 3. Smith's  
proposal in your own  
Report, modified  
according to your  
"Instructions" enclosed -

No 4. some  
miscellaneous informa=  
tion -

Present state of  
Board & Smith's  
proposed Board are  
included on this & on  
Alexander's Paper No 2  
& ~~this No 4~~

F. Nightingale  
May 31/58

Derbyshire Co Record Office

236

Signed note, 1f, pen Written on side of the folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

June 1.1858

on Sidney's

Letter to the

Treasury

I have made no suggestions, for I think it is *quite perfect* from your point of view.

May it only incline the hearts of the Treasury towards us!

F. Nightingale

June 1/58

Signed letter, ff2, pen Written in another handwriting next to the date:

June 1858 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale

Thomson's report

Netley

Transcriber's note: continuation of last sentence of letter onto 1st page: be a very suitable one - 2057/F4/67

F. Nightingale

June 5/58

Dr. Sutherland has stolen the enclosed for your benefit - a practice I learnt from the Army & taught him.

After having read this, I am at a loss to conceive how Thomason could have signed the approval of the site sent to Gen=l Peel, except upon a principle set forth by Dr. Menzies at

I once saw a letter  
of his to Dr. Smith -  
denying the want  
of stores & addressing  
as his evidence a  
letter of Werford's  
the Purveyor, petitioning  
the Ambassador for  
stores & saying that  
the smallest contribution  
would be acceptable.

Thomason's appears  
to me a better Report

on your side than De  
Witt's.

He shows a larger  
amount of fresh water  
in the Estuary than  
you bargained for.  
His mud is upon  
the whole rather  
worse than your  
mud. And the only  
practical difference  
between you & him  
is this - he considers  
the mud healthy  
though it is, might

be advantageously covered up - while you think it better, on the whole, to remove away from it.

In some Sanitary points, Thomason's is behind the existing knowledge - But it will certainly do us no harm.

Oh for a little common sense which would shew any body that a site which requires all these Analyses to clear, cannot

[at top of left]  
be a very suitable one.

F. Nightingale

Unsigned letter, undated, ff2, pen, 2057/F4/67

I applied to Sir J. Liddell  
to give me data for the period  
*after* 1843. He cannot,  
but will send approximate  
data, if he can -

**[16:247]**

The result of my examination of his Blue Books up to 1843 is astounding. (( The Mortality is even lower than we thought. For, (*excluding* the unhealthy Stations,) while the highest mortality at a foreign

Station is 11 per 1000-  
that at the Home  
Station is under 7 -  
Now a ship is more  
difficult to ventilate  
than a Barrack -  
What can make the  
Mortality of our Guards  
in Home Barracks  
nearly 3 times as much?

These are quite  
authentic & fair to use.  
At the same time,  
while abusing Tulloch

for his unfairness in  
getting at his Results,  
it would hardly be  
right not to say that  
these are almost as  
bad.

Upon looking in  
Tulloch's Blue Book  
for what you pointed out to me, it is  
obvious that his way  
of calculation may  
tell any way.

For, unless the  
proportion is *constant*

between the Mean Force  
of each period of two  
different populations,  
you may bring out  
a perfectly identical  
result - (by adding  
the Deaths & dividing  
by the number of periods) from  
data which tell exactly  
the other way, & vice  
versa

[end]

Derbyshire Co Record Office

240

Signed part of a letter, undated, f3, pen 2057/F4/67

one great comfort is  
that there is nobody  
at the War Department  
who can understand  
them - F.N.

This is the state of  
the matter in regard  
to the "Regulations".

The Statistical  
Regulations & Instructions  
have been gone over  
with Dr. Farr, whom  
I have asked to come  
here tomorrow morning  
for a final Revise.

Dr. Alexander has  
gone over the whole  
of the Regulations ~~with~~  
~~a view of~~ making his

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
final working corrections

241

The Diet Rolls are  
now completed & are  
in Mr. Drewry's hands  
for final printing off  
- after which they  
can be sent to Genl  
Peel, in answer to  
Lord Harding's letter  
to you.

Matters being thus,  
would you prefer  
authorizing the  
"Regulations" being directly sent to press for  
which they are now

ready with the  
view of submitting  
proofs to the  
Regulations Comm=ns  
in the course of (say)  
two days? or would  
you think it  
necessary to meet  
here for the  
purpose of revising and authorizing  
the few corrections,  
before the Proof is  
sent to press?

I do not think  
the corrections involve  
any of your principles,

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
and it would just  
depend upon your  
own time.

242

If you wished  
to have only the  
formal Regulations=  
Commission Meeting  
before you go, I  
would send the  
things tomorrow morning to  
Drewry, as soon as  
Farr has seen them  
finally.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale  
Sunday night

*Evils of the Present System*

- I. Tendency to fritter away responsibility
- II. Delay

I. All this minuting does away with all responsibility.

It was devised to instruct the newly appointed Head of the Office in the details of which they were ignorant, but did not like to ask of those over whom they were.

System of minutes  
does not draw out  
all the points of a  
case.

Minute put upon  
a paper by A (asking  
for decision) states  
certain points - B &  
C raise other points  
to shew their acuteness -  
A who knows the case

[Questions 3218 etc  
bear on Minuting  
System.  
Sir J. Graham

which B & C do not,  
has no opportunity of  
answering B's & C's  
points. If the decision  
of the S. of S. Be  
against, A time is  
lost & the whole  
paper has to be  
brought ~~out~~ forward again  
with A's reasons  
against B & C.

Moreover A's

Responsibility is gone,  
because he knows  
beforehand that B  
& C are going to  
revise him.

==

Personal intercourse  
Between the S. of S. &

The heads of Branches in all important matters  
should be the rule,  
instead of the  
exception, as now -

II. Delay.

Delay is owing to the

Minuting System &  
to the Registry

To get a paper from

the Bk Dep. to the  
S. of S. & back with  
his decision occupies  
never less than *two*  
& generally *four* days.  
*Registry.*

Bk Dep. Never gets  
a paper till the  
day *after* it is  
received & often not  
for *three* days.

Then time is lost  
by sending the paper  
*back* to Registry  
to have previous  
papers annexed.

This takes two  
or *three* days more.  
Registry decides whether  
the paper is to have  
a green cover -  
*often* decides WRONG.

When a really pressing  
case is shewn -  
[So Registry is S. of S.  
virtually.]

Registry often mislays  
the paper in its  
custody - & when  
asked for, send back  
to ask *what*. from  
the Letter Books of  
the Dep=t

Each branch keeps  
letters it *writes*, but  
sends to the General  
Registry (for custody)  
the letters it *receives*.

[It always takes  
*more than a day*  
to get papers back  
from Registry.]

And good Officials  
act on their own  
former replies in  
their own Letter Books  
rather than wait]

Concentration without  
proper sub=division  
is only confusion.

The excellence of a  
Register depends upon  
the Index. The excellence  
of the Index upon  
Subdivision &  
Classification.

Without subdivision  
the Head of Branches  
cannot fix responsibility  
on the Registrar.

Business of each  
branch is distinct  
enough to allow each  
to have its own registry  
& custody of papers.  
[Their business is quite  
as distinct from  
each other as  
C. in C.'s from them]

A paper always  
relates *mainly* to  
one branch even if

connected with another.

It should be kept in the branch to which it mainly relates & be borne on the Registry of the other branch to shew where it is.

Replies should be kept with letters received.

All the registries *might* be in one room, but the distance would probably make it more convenient to separate them. There should be a Superintendent of Registration to press uniformity.

[A list of all letters received might be kept with a note of the branch to which they belonged, if judged necessary]

There is neither responsibility nor publicity - neither economy nor punctuality in the present system.

should be framed  
solely on the principle  
of making Heads of  
each Branch directly  
responsible to S. of S.  
===

--General principals  
upon which duties  
of each branch are  
to be conducted  
should be accurately  
laid down  
===

Questions of *principle*  
Alone would have  
To be submitted to  
S. of S. for decision.  
and, as a rule,  
by *personal* intercourse  
with S. of S.  
===

Check No 1  
Upon responsibility  
Of each Head of  
Branch

As a check upon  
this responsibility,  
the results of the  
working of each Dep-  
should be periodically

Brought before S of S.  
To effect this, it  
might be necessary  
to establish a Dep=t  
of Control or Audit -  
Or this might be  
done under *Under*  
*S. of S.*; or under  
Acc=t Gen=l; or each  
branch might  
exhibit it.

There should be  
exhibited a Classified  
analysis of the  
Expenditure, shewing  
under each necessary  
heads, as Superintendence,  
Housing &c  
the cost incurred  
per man maintained  
or per article manufactured.  
- the comparison being  
carried on from year  
to year.

This Analysis could hardly be made under the present system of Acct Genl's Dep. In framing a remodeled system of accounts (said to be much wanted) some first-rate City Accountant conversant with the management of large Public Companies should perhaps be Consulted. But whether this be done or no, it should be

==

Kept in mind that one of the objects to be attained is the exhibition of the *results* of the Expenditure.

This would shew the RESULTS of the expenditure & would lead to economy by shewing where saving might be effected.  
[Well managed Railways (not many English!) shew cost per passenger or ton transported - divided under expences of management, maintenance of road, fuel consumed, repairs of engine & carriages stations &c &c etc  
There is no reason Why the W.O. should Not make out its Expenditure to exhibit The results of its working]

==

Check No= 2

upon responsibility

*Of each Head of Branch*

*Every complaint*

should be brought

before the *S. of S* or

*Under S. of S.*

not dealt with

by Head of Branch

against whom it is

made.

*Note.* There appears to be no advantage in the Minuting System for any matter which concerns two or more branches. Were the heads of such to meet, consult together & come to a decision *before* the matter is referred to the *S. of S.*, or were they to meet in his presence, the matter would probably occupy as many minutes as it does now *days*. If there was a reference needed to some branch not under the same roof, (as the *A.M.D.*,) the papers would be sent to him & an interview requested.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

250

Signed note, fl, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

June 24th

1858

Asking for the  
order of Copies  
of Dr. Farr's  
corrected Report

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Farr sent in  
his corrected Report  
to be printed yesterday.  
would you tell Drewry  
to have it done as  
soon as possible and  
would you order the  
number of copies  
you think is fit?

We shall want  
12 copies ourselves

to append to the  
Regulations *for the*  
*Sake of the Forms*  
which are necessary  
to explain the  
Regulations.

Yrs sincerely

F Nightingale

June 24/58

Derbyshire Co Record Office

251

Initialed letter, ff3, pen Written upside down on last folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

June 30

1858

On the Netley

Report

June 30/58

Enclosed is the Netley  
Report & Sutherland's  
Protest - both of which

I must have back  
by 10 o'clock in the  
morning, please -

If you have time to  
read them & to  
criticize the Protest,  
So much the better.

As to the Report,

I don't see what  
a sensible Peel  
(if there is such  
a man) can have  
to say to it - but  
"this is not a  
Report at all -  
it does not  
answer anything  
in Mr. Herbert's  
report - nor is  
there anything

in it he can  
answer - the best  
thing I can do  
is to ask *him*  
to report now upon  
*their evidence*"

F. Nightingale

Simon's quotation of  
The authority of the  
Quarantine Officer  
at Southampton is  
disgraceful - a

miserable little  
official, whose  
~~one~~ existence at all  
is a disgrace to us.

F.N.

Signed letter, ff4, undated, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

Exam-n of

Mil-y Purveyors-

Civil Hospitals -

Dr. Farr -

{illeg}

Sutherland

Alexander

Sterks

to Cook at Fort Pitt

Dear Mr. Herbert

As you are going to

examine Purveyor=in=Chief

Robertson on Monday, I

would anxiously suggest

that you should also

examine the

House Governor, Mr. Hill

London Hospital

Superintendent, Dr. Steele

Guy's Hospital

Resident Medical Officers

[added in another hand] Treasurer & Whitfield &

Steward

St. Thomas' Hosp=l

Perhaps also other Treasurers.

All that you will "get"  
out of the Military  
Purveyors will be that  
they think everything  
admirable - altho'  
Purveyor Pratt, Fort Pitt,  
told me that he made  
indents on the Barrack  
Dep=t & never got any  
thing - which he  
desired me never to  
tell, which is the reason  
why I tell you -

I think the Purveying  
of the Civil Hospitals  
far from perfect, but

it is suggestive -

The only improvements  
of Robertson, (who, you  
will remember, did  
not come out till  
April/55 to Scutari),  
upon poor old Wreford,  
was a violent expenditure  
& the relaxation of all  
rules & discipline -

But the study of our  
"Purveyor's Regulations" -  
a model of that system  
which consists in throwing  
responsibility from one  
man to another, till  
the last throws it out  
of window, is the only way

to judge. If you will  
allow me, I would come  
down to you on Sunday  
about 5 o'clock, & go  
over them with you -

I feel very strongly  
as to the desirableness of making the  
Purveyor's a mere Steward's  
Department, whose  
business shall be that  
of merely keeping the  
stores always full - and  
of ~~to~~ separating the  
Attendance Department  
entirely from the Steward's  
& putting everything, as

soon as it comes out of  
store, under charge of  
the Sup=t of Attendants,  
the latter having, in  
all ~~reason~~ practice, the only &  
real care of it -  
The Governor head over  
all.

The present indiscipline  
of Military discipline in  
a Hospital is indescribable.  
It is impossible for the  
Medical Officers to look  
after the attendants -

The Steward ought however  
to look after the repairs  
&c subject always to the

Governor -

I would, however, if  
I were you, send down  
three of my best men,  
Sutherland (Sanitarily)  
Alexander (for system)  
Storks (for supply) to  
look at Fort Pitt. One  
inspection of the system  
*at work* will tell more  
than all the evidence -  
As I have said, all  
that you will get will  
be that "everything  
works admirably" -

Will you not examine  
Dr. Farr *statistically*?  
He would be your best  
evidence - And would  
you not desire him  
before hand to draw up  
a List of the questions  
to be asked himself,  
in order to bring out  
the real thing?

Ever faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

Friday night

No. 2  
Netley

Vide Plan

The long ward for the 24 men is an administrative improvement, which might very well be carried out over the whole length of each side.

But it is not a *Sanitary* improvement

1. The surface area of the ward is too large in proportion to its height

The height of a ward should be *two-thirds* of the breadth -  
Netley wards are 15 ft high -  
- But 33 ft. from back to front.

There is no question but that, for the ward here proposed{?} you must have additional Height.

2. The distance between the windows is 6 or 7 feet too great for good natural ventilation - though if there were additional height, this would be compensated.

3. Excrescence No=3 *must* be lopped off -
4. Each of the smaller wards must have only 8 men - the number agreed to by the former Comm=n to atone for defective construction. 10 beds is inadmissible, and bring back the cubic space & average distance between the beds almost to our present heinous "Regulation Book" -
5. There is no room for more water closets in the Excrescences than exist in the original plan - Crowding, filth & foul air go together -
6. 12 ventilating shafts must be provided in the long ward, viz. one for every two beds - if it is approved.

7. Pulling down the partition-walls between wards *diminishes* ventilation. For these were provided with ventilating shafts. Now air ascends by the walls. Ventilating shafts in the ceiling away from walls do not act, therefore, so well as those in the angle between wall & ceiling.
8. Unquestionably, ~~therefore~~ the large ward could not be ventilated by ~~natural~~ doors & windows alone -
9. Insist upon all the fire-grates being MUCH larger - for the sake of ventilation -
10. With regard to the "excavation", the amount of light is not the only objection. For this might be increased by ground glass in all the upper parts of doors opening into it.

But the disciplinary disadvantage is greater than those not used to Military Hospitals can at all estimate, viz. of the number of doors & corners communicating with the wards & with the Nurse's room - *To see at once where every body is* is a first rule - or at least to know where he is, if you do not see him. The present construction of Netley has a great advantage, in this respect. [The swing door is less objectionable]

Derbyshire Co Record Office

257

Signed letter, ff3, pen On last page written in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

On the Netley's

Remarks

I send 6 wet copies  
of the Netley "Remarks",  
with every correction  
in. The only important  
one is the note added,  
P. 3.

Could you ask Mr.  
Gladstone (or somebody)  
to watch the thing  
in the Ho.?

If Peel says what  
you tell him, good :

we will hold our  
tongues: if he does  
not, could Mr.  
Gladstone (or somebody)  
move for these  
"Remarks', with  
your Letter to Peel,  
which is necessary  
as suggesting the  
solution, and which  
ought not to be  
"private".

Unless the "Remarks"  
become a public  
document, we can  
make no use of it,  
in case Peel does  
does not do what he  
is bid.

And I mean to  
devote my remaining  
days to putting to  
death Simon & the  
7 Pundits. You  
will see me  
breaking out in

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
the Daily News,  
Examiner  
Builder  
Lancet  
Medical Times

258

& all sorts of  
unexpected places.

F Nightingale

July 10/58

Signed letter, ff2, pen 2057/F5/67

Dear Mr. Herbert

Enclosed is a  
Proof of the "Regulations"  
ready for the press - which,  
as I mentioned in  
my last note, has been  
gone over by Farr,  
Alexander & Sutherland.

If you thought  
well to send it  
to Drewry, with  
a stringent order

to send it back  
in two days, for  
you then to have your  
Commission to sit  
upon it, it would  
save time.

And it is  
important that  
the new Director  
Gen=l should begin  
administering with the  
new Regulations &

not with the old  
ones -

Yours sincerely  
F Nightingale

June 21/58

Derbyshire Co Record Office

259

Draft of a proposed letter, ff9, pen, at least two handwritings  
On back of folio not in FN's handwriting: (with comments by JS)  
Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

July 9. 1858

Enclosing a Draft  
Of a proposed  
Letter to Genl. Peel  
A Report of  
Netley Committee

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dou you think  
Gen=l Peel would say  
in the Ho. (when the  
Netley vote is brought  
forward) that he  
has received such  
a proposal from you as  
the one I enclose a  
Draft of, & that  
H.M. Gov=t has  
accepted it?

We should then get  
all we want -

Your object being,  
not to fight them,  
but 1. to get your foot  
into Aldershot &  
2. to save a few  
of the poor "sequels",  
If, with possession  
of some of the "sequels" we  
had a General Hospital  
& a Medical School  
at Aldershot, we  
should do -

They have a grant  
for Aldershot Hosp=l,  
I believe, have they  
not? It is in the  
Estimates -  
They must send you the Aldershot  
plans.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

July 9/58

Practically, I think  
the eventual result  
would be that all  
the incipient  
Consumptives from

home would be sent  
to Netley and all  
the "sequels" from  
abroad to Aldershot.  
And the Director=  
Genl would be the  
man to determine  
this which  
Alexander would do  
in the most sensible  
& satisfactory manner.

(SH) 49 B. Sq.  
July 16  
1858

[not FN:] My Dear Peel

[FN:] I enclose a Copy of  
Remarks we have  
thought it necessary  
to draw up on the  
Report of the Netley  
Hospital Committee -  
It appeared to us to  
be necessary to send  
you these Remarks  
because, ~~in our opinion~~  
~~you and {illeg}~~  
~~to }illeg}~~  
~~{illeg}~~ points  
(1)

at issue (SH) between  
them & us are lost sight of in (FN) ~~from~~ the  
Report of the Netley  
Committee. The case,  
as regards Netley,  
appears to stand as  
follows:

1. the climate  
will not be suitable  
for ~~certain~~ those classes of  
Invalids, ~~for whom~~  
(SH) require (FN) a ~~more~~ bracing (SH) climate (FN) ~~one~~  
~~will be necessary~~

2. not (SH) having drawn a distinction between a  
Hospital and a depot for Invalids to which the  
Committee attach great importance but  
to its capabilities as a Hospital  
and not solely as a depot (FN) having  
considered the building  
at Netley with relation

~~to its accommodation~~  
~~solely for Invalids,~~  
we are not called  
upon to give any  
opinion ~~per~~ of its  
~~adaptation~~ fitness for such  
a purpose.

~~But after the~~  
~~favorable opinions~~  
~~which have been~~  
~~given, we may~~

3. both the  
Commission & Committee  
agree that it is not  
suitable for a General

Hospital for sick,  
to which a Medical  
School is to be  
attached & where  
~~a~~ General Hospital  
administration may be  
(SH) practiced and (FN) learned.

4. it is understood  
to be the intention  
of Government to erect  
a large Military  
Hospital at Altershot  
on a suitable plan -  
One of these elements  
it appears to me  
that an arrangement

(SH) 2

(FN) might be framed  
which would meet  
all the requirements  
of the case

as follows:

1. if ~~H.M.~~ the Gov=t is  
satisfied (I am not]  
that Netley is suited  
for an Invalid Depot  
let it be restricted  
to that use, so far  
as the local climate  
is found to agree  
with the cases, (SH) and let  
the unused portion of it which in peace  
will be very considerable be used as a  
consumptive Hospital for which the Climate fits it.  
(FN)2. Let the Hospital

at Aldershot be  
proceeded with. We  
have seen the plans  
& think them, on the  
whole, very good; -  
with a few modifications  
which we shall be  
very glad to point  
out, these plans can  
be made suitable  
for all the purposes  
contemplated by the  
R=l C=n.

3. let the Medical

School & its buildings  
be attached to the  
Aldershot Hospital -  
This plan would have  
the advantage of  
bringing the candidates  
into immediate  
contact with  
Regimental & Camp  
duties. ~~Having we  
examined into the  
French Military  
Medical School~~ we  
should be ~~very~~ glad  
to render any assistance

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
(SH) in the organization  
(FN) ~~with the plans~~ of such  
a school.

263

4. there is only  
one disadvantage  
and that would be  
the absence from  
Aldershot of cases  
of chronic disease  
coming from abroad.  
But such cases could  
as easily be sent  
to Aldershot from  
any port of arrival  
as to Netley - And  
cases might even be  
sent from Netley to  
Aldershot.

An additional  
advantage to the sick  
would accrue from  
this: For the climate  
of Aldershot is the  
very one to suit those  
cases (SH) (especially {illeg} Indian-tropical) (FN) which that  
of Netley would not  
suit. By such an  
arrangement as the  
one proposed, the whole  
question would, as  
it appears to us,  
receive the most  
satisfactory solution  
~~possible~~ (SH) of which it is capable. (FN) Government

might (if satisfied,  
on the point) complete  
Netley as an Invalid  
Depot - Aldershot  
Hospital could be  
made suitable for  
the objects required  
by the R=1 Commission,  
while it would  
afford accommodation  
for the Invalids,  
~~with~~ for whom the climate of Netley  
~~did not agree~~ (SH) is  
likely to prove disadvantageous.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
(FN) These are, in fact, all  
the points at issue  
between the Gov=t & ~~the~~  
~~Public~~ — and between  
The Barrack & Hospital  
Commission & the Netley  
Committee.

264

Derbyshire Co Record Office

265

(SH) I make this proposal  
for your consideration, as I  
know your only object is the  
furtherance of the public service  
and the adaptation to the  
most useful purpose of which  
{illeg} found already done  
at a great public out lay

and in this with  
everything clear  
I need not tell  
you that I am  
glad to give you  
any assistance I  
can.

Believe me  
{illeg}

(FN)  
Draft  
of proposed  
Letter to be  
sent to Gen=l  
Peel with a  
Copy  
of the Remarks  
on Report of  
Netley  
Committee

Signed letter, ff2, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:  
July 11/57. 2057/F4/67  
Miss F. N.  
On the Police  
Returns

Dear Mr. Herbert

As to what you say  
of the Police Returns, I  
have to say the enclosed.  
If you like me to give  
it in evidence, I will.  
But I think it would  
be much better for Dr.  
Sutherland to do so -  
Because I have a kind  
of nondescript reputation,  
in dear John Bull's  
imagination, like the  
Unicorn or the Dodo

And he does not know  
whether I am a  
fabulous animal or  
a real ~~sound~~ Sanitary  
opinion, to be consulted  
as to facts.

I could give you all  
the Returns, on which  
the enclosed are founded.

Please send me the  
Evidence from p. 241

yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

In regard to Promotion,  
I send you a very curious  
Diagram, which I should  
like to explain.

I would come to you  
tomorrow, if you have time.  
July 11/57

Initialed copy of a document in FN's handwriting, undated 2057/F4/67

*Copy*

*Wanted*

1. The best India House map of India
2. The trigonometrical survey, as far  
as completed
3. List of all Military Stations - to be  
marked also on the maps.
4. Copies of all periodical reports of  
Medical Boards in Presidencies  
which have been published.
5. Copies of all published Army  
(Indian) Statistical tables.  
Same - Queen's troops
6. Lists of all places where there are  
permanent Barracks & Hospitals
7. Access to catalogue of documents  
at the India House & to all documents  
there, bearing on the enquiry.

Note. The above data being obtained,  
upon them might be constructed  
Forms of Returns or printed questions  
to be sent out to India, filled up  
there & returned.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 267

This should (?) be the construction of the Commission. This I have NOT sent to Lord Stanley

Chairman - Mr. Herbert  
Sanitary - Dr. Sutherland  
Mr. Martin  
Medical - The Director General  
A.M.D.  
Engineering  
& Topographical - (Indians)

Military (Indians)  
Statistical Dr. Farr

I don't know what Mrs. Herbert will say to me for even "evening" of such a thing to you -

I hope you will give Gastein time -

FN.

Copy of unsigned document in FN's handwriting, undated, ff2, pen. 2057/F4/67

*Copy*

1. Altho' the subject of enquiry is in India, the enquiry itself would be best conducted in England & extended to India if necessary.

2. The best means of contorting such an enquiry would be by constituting a special Commission, composed of people, conversant with the various matters connected with the enquiry

Sanitary  
Medical  
Engineering & Topographical  
Military  
Statistical

3. The Commission should have ample powers of obtaining information & documents. It should have access to all documents in the India Ho. relating to Topography

Diseases & Mortality  
among the troops  
Supplies &c

of every district in India, where Military Stations have been or are likely to be placed. Likewise to all documents relating to Hospitals.

4. It should examine retired or acting Medical, Engineering & Military Officers, conversant with the stations in each of the Presidencies. It should enquire into the Sanitary condition of existing stations, with a view of recommending improvements. It should recommend improvements in existing Stations, Barracks & Hospitals & in the diet, drink, dress, duties & exercises

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
of soldiers.

268

5. It should point out the best of positions for Sanatoria & the method of using them, so as to be most conducive to the health & efficiency of the troops.

6. It should enquire into the whole question of Hill Stations, & recommend the best positions available for troops in a Military & Sanitary point of view.

7. It should, further, indicate the special provisions necessary for Field Hospital & Field Sanitary Service, suitable to the different Presidencies.

8. Also, any specialties in the organization of General & Field Hospitals to make them more suitable for Indian Service.

9. Also, the organization of Medical Boards for regulating the Medical & Sanitary service in the Presidencies.

10. The Commission must have power to extend its enquiries to India & to appoint persons for the purpose, subject to the approval of the Minister.

Initialed document, ff5, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:

20. Jan. 1858. 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale

Netley

Gt Malvern

Jan 20/58

The plan of Netley, with its wards for 9 sick, is by far the costliest for administration, v. the following facts-

1. It is proposed to provide the Hospital with Orderlies & Nurses to conduct the Nursing, in wards of 9 sick.

2. Wards may accommodate 25 - 30 sick - & the sick be better off, on Sanitary grounds, than with 9 - We may therefore choose the larger, being guided only by the cost of the Nursing.

- 3. A ward of 9 sick would require
  - 1 day Orderly
  - 1 Night "
  - 1 Nurse
  - 3

(i.e. a Nurse would Nurse 3 such wards)

4. Orderlies & Nurses cannot be counted at a cost of less than £ 50 per ann. including lodging,

rations, wages & not including pension. This, when capitalized at 3 per cent - (33 years' purchase) would amount to £ 1650 for each -

5. A ward of 9 sick would cost in Nursing £ 1650 X 2 1/3 = £3850 or £ 427.15.6 per bed

6. A ward of 30 sick would cost for Nursing in perpetuity £ 1650 X 4 = £ 6600 = £ 220 per bed

7. The cost of the two plans relatively for a Hospital of 1000 sick would stand thus

Wards with 9 beds = £ 427,775  
 " " 30 " = 220,000

Capitalized difference  
 of cost in favor of } £ 207,775  
 large wards

Netley has cost already Land = £ 30,000  
 Works = £ 89,000  
 £ 119,000

It hence appears that, if works & site were both sacrificed & fresh land purchased, & wards for 30 sick built on it, the country would actually save the difference between the two sums of = £ 88,775

## II.

But the best number of sick to a ward, for *Sanitary* purposes, is 25. The cost of attendance would then stand thus:

For each ward of 25 sick

3 Orderlies at £ 1650 = £ 4950

If two such wards are built in line, close to each other, with the Nurse's room between them, one Nurse could superintend both wards or 1/2 Nurse =

£ 5775

\_\_\_\_\_825\_\_\_\_\_

Or cost for each bed 5775

25 = £ 231

Wards with 9 beds

= £ 427,775

" " 25 "

= £ 231,000

£ 196,775

Deduct cost of Netley {already incurred} ..... 119,000

Saving from abandoning Netley £ 77,775

Derbyshire Co Record Office	272
Cost of administration per 1000	
at Netley & Aldershot	
Netley	£ 427,775
Aldershot	
pavilions with 3 super=	
imposed wards & 25 sick	
in each would require	
3 orderlies }	
1 Nurse       }to each Ward	
& would cost £ 264 per bed	
in perpetuity, or per 1000 sick	
	£ 264,000
Difference in cost	£ 763,775
in favor of Aldershot}	

As there are few wards,  
with 16 or 18 sick, at  
Netley, some abatement  
of cost would have to be  
made, on this account,  
as regards Netley -  
    F.N.

*Cost of Nursing*

I will generously make Panmure  
a present of the difference of 1 per  
cent in cost of administration.  
But he will not be much the richer.

Wards of 9 beds { 2 Orderlies }		
{ 1/3 Nurse } £ 50 per ann. each		
money at 4 per cent		
for 1000 sick	=	£ 324,000
Wards of 30 beds { 3 orderlies		
{ 1 Nurse } per 1000 = £ 166,000		
Cost of Netley		119,000
Saved by abandoning		
Netley }	£	39,000

Derbyshire Co Record Office 274  
Signed letter, ff4, pen {black-edged paper} 2057/F4/67

30 Old Burlington St  
Oct 4/58

[16:315-16]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland is writing to you - And I think he will give you reasons why it is *not* essential to the progress of the business that you should be troubled to come up to town *just now* - All that is necessary can be sent down to you -

I am very sorry to trouble you either with the reply to Neison at this time.

~~{illeg illeg}~~ Nor do I think there is any great hurry about it. You can consider it later - But Farr & Sutherland met here this morning. And they concluded that two things were necessary  
1. & least important -  
-that Farr should make a Statistical indirect attack on Neison's figures at the Liverpool meeting - for which we have furnished him with Barrack & other data.  
2. that some sort of official

reply should be made  
by you, sent to the  
different late Royal Commis=  
ioners for their adhesion,  
& a copy sent by  
Balfour to the "Times"  
for insertion, & another  
to Owen, the President  
of the British Association  
Meeting at Leeds for  
insertion into the Annual  
Vol= of their Transactions  
with Neison's paper.

I enclose what  
Farr & Sutherland ~~suggest~~  
~~for you to~~ for your reply - These are  
merely heads & very  
diffuse - If you, in  
your own terse way,

could some time  
write a Reply of this  
kind (which Sutherland  
tells me you think  
is needed), it would  
set the question at  
rest - We would have it  
put up in type -

Believe me

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Neison's paper reminds me  
of Lardner's famous paper  
which proved incontrovertibly  
by figures that the "Great  
Britain" could never cross  
the Atlantic. The Bristol  
people answered it by  
sending her across the  
Atlantic - And Neison's  
paper will be answered by  
your curing or at least diminishing  
{written vertically in left margin of 1st folio}  
Consumption in Barracks. **[end 16:316]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office

276

Signed note, ff2, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

July 10/58

Enclosing Proof

of Letter on

the Regulations

Dr. Sutherland is at  
the Office. So I opened  
your letter to him.  
He will, I believe,  
bring back with him  
here the Portsmouth  
Report in question (*signed*), if  
Galton, as well as  
Burrell, is "to the fore".  
And I will imme=  
diately send it to you.

I enclose the Proof

of your letter on the  
Regulations, only  
premising that the  
War Dep. do not  
seem at all inclined  
to pass anything  
~~which~~ because they  
cannot understand  
it, & that therefore  
leaving them in  
ignorance has not  
attained the object  
in view.

Yrs sinclly

F Nightingale

July 10/58

Derbyshire Co Record Office

277

Signed note, undated 1f, pen, black-edged paper, Written on back of folio in another handwriting: [May 1858]

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

sends {illeg} fresh {?}

Memorial of Middl{illeg}

Hospital v. Netley

Monday

Dear Mr. Herbert

I think it my duty, (as the South Africans & the Ho. of Commons say), to send you the Draft of a Memorial, which the Middlesex Hospital - who have "gone & done it again", - sent in on Saturday to Gen<sup>l</sup> Peel anent *Netley Hospital*.

F. Nightingale

Signed letter, ff4, pen Written on the back of a folio in another handwriting:

May/58 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale

Netley could

{illeg}

{illeg}

appointment of Dr.

Alexander {illeg}

{illeg}

30 Burlington St.

May 24/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

It is in the United Service Gazette (but as "news", not gazetted) that Smith is placed on the Retired List with £ 1200 a year & that Alexander is to be Director General.

With regard to this question of his appointment, what

would you think of  
desiring (?) General Peel  
to appoint Alexander  
*immediately*, in order  
to make sure of that  
event, - which would  
set a great many  
obscene birds to flight  
*immediately* from the  
Army Medical Board,  
where they have been  
collecting there five  
years - ~~But~~ Gen=l Peel

further to be *instructed*  
(?) that you will not  
be ready with all  
your "Regulations" &c &c  
for three months, (which  
I am afraid, will be  
the time necessary) &  
that therefore Smith,  
who cannot be turned  
out neck & crop,  
may hold his office  
for that time, after  
which Alexander &  
Council will be ready  
to move in bodily.

2. What would you  
think of *instructing* (?)  
Gen=l Peel to give you an  
order upon H.M.'s  
Stationary Office Spottiswood  
printing upon your  
own order, i.e. at  
your own time? as  
you are anxious to  
present these things  
to him within a  
reasonable space of  
time - and they are  
not strictly what is called  
"Secret" Printing. The

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
instruction to Drewry  
is to print *secretly*  
the practice is to  
print *slowly*\*

279

3. Gen=l Peel has told  
the Netley Committee to  
send in their Report  
to him on Thursday  
to be ready for him  
on Friday in the  
Committee of Supply -  
But they say they can't -  
Babington, the oldest  
of their Pundits thinks

---

\* As the time (*three months*)  
mentioned in No. 1 depends very  
much upon the printing, it might  
become, if you carry No. 2, six weeks.

Netley the "nicest"  
thing he has seen -  
both as to "site" and  
construction".

I have asked Dr.  
Sutherland to write  
to you about this -

Believe me

sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Chadwick has just been  
here. He says he is very  
busy about some  
Manchester Sanitary  
thing - he has engaged to

write for the N. British  
for your Report - &  
if Elwin does not  
answer by Friday,  
he should like to  
write to him to with=  
draw his Article for  
the Quarterly, being  
~~thus~~ much pressed for  
time

F.N.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 280  
Signed letter, ff3, pen, black-edged paper 2057/F4/67

May 21/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I scarcely know  
whether it is worth  
your while to look  
over the enclosed  
Farr's Report, in  
which I have  
written in pencil  
all Balfour's  
objections -

Balfour says that

he cannot get ready  
before Saturday night  
his Memorandum  
for you on the subject  
for you on the subject,  
altho' it contains  
nothing more than  
this - & a few Forms,  
which he wishes  
to do himself -

I hope you will  
then be so good as  
to send them back  
to us, for Farr's

consideration.

I think it is  
well Balfour's objec=  
tions are no worse -  
He is come on  
wonderfully in his  
education this last  
twelvemonth -

He & Tulloch  
frighten one out of  
one's wits with  
their mysterious "It  
won't do." One thinks

one is going to have  
the Quadrature of the  
Circle explained to  
one in Sanskrit - &  
to be obliged to  
give in without a  
struggle - And there  
are only these few  
innocent objections -  
which Farr calls  
*"nice little amendments"*.  
The real struggle will  
be about the publication  
of the Weekly State.  
Please let me have  
back *this* copy of Farr's  
Report. Yours sincerely F. Nightingale

Signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/67

Great Malvern

Aug 4/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Thank you very much  
for your letter. I sent one to  
you from Alexander, addressed  
to Hamburg; which I hope  
you had.

As to what you say  
about the Indian Sanitary enquiry,  
I entirely agree as to its  
difficulty, but not as to its  
impossibility.

1. I think it must be  
conducted in England, because  
in India there are not the  
men (to do it)

2. I think there are only  
a few men in England who  
can do it ~~with any profit~~ so as to be of any use  
because much of the informa=  
tion which will have to be

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
obtained from India will be  
erroneous - or rather it will  
consist of opinions, not facts  
& ~~have~~ will have to be sifted  
by those who can sift.

282

The Netley enquiry is most  
alarming - not because we  
have lost Netley by it, though  
that is a great loss - but  
because it shews what  
ignorant or dishonest opinions  
can do - & what an amount  
of mistaken information is  
always at Government command.

The conclusions of the  
Netley Report & of almost  
all Sanitary Reports, existing,  
excepting yours, are like  
Mrs. Nickleby's, who, when  
she found that Cardinal  
Wolsey's & Defoe's fathers were  
butchers, supposed that  
there was something in the  
suet. There will be great  
danger in any Indian enquiry

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
of conclusions being offered to  
Government entailing perhaps  
an expenditure of half a million,  
like Netley, founded on  
something in the suet.

283

3. Again, I think this enquiry  
must be carried on, if under=  
taken at all, in something  
like the way your R. Sanitary  
Commission was, altho' I  
acknowledge the greater  
difficulty. Because you had,  
on that, some people whose  
conclusions were all ready  
made in their heads founded  
on experience of their own,  
which nothing could alter  
& nothing could take away  
from..

Still, had the India  
Bill passed before your R.  
Sanitary Commission sate you ~~it~~  
would have necessarily had  
to include the Indian enquiry  
in it & it is only an extension &  
continuation of that Commission.

4. There are, I assure you, in England people from India who have *both* "livers" & "heads". And there is an immense deal of accumulated documentary evidence at the India House which if sifted by those who are capable, would give a great deal of information not open to the objection which would attach to the information received at home from an enquiry instituted in India, which would transmit home opinions, not facts.

At the same time, this Commission if Commission there be, must have power to institute enquiries of its own in India - And the most valuable part of this information would probably be derived from Forms of Returns which it would itself construct & send out, to be returned to it filled up.

2

But these must be read by people who are capable of reading them.

I have just seen an instance of the reverse.

I have just seen Burrell's Notes on the S. Eastern Barracks enclosing ~~the~~ Returns filled up, Galton's Notes, who had not seen the Returns, & Sutherland's. Burrell has written his, as if he had not seen the Return - And nevertheless the ~~facts~~ readings from these will make the most important part of the South Eastern Inspections Report.

To sum up -

I think

1. that the enquiry as to Indian Sanitary things must be instituted in England & by a Commission
2. that this must consist of a few men of great experience in this way, or it had better not sit at all
3. that it must follow much the course of the former R. Sanitary Commission
4. that it must have power to institute enquiries & to issue Circulars of printed Questions to be filled up in India

I assure you that I  
have not been so good  
as to offer your services  
to Lord Stanley - which  
I am afraid you will  
think I have -

But I enclose copies  
of suggestions I have  
made to him this day.  
[I had a second letter from him saying "only  
show me how we are  
to set to work," & offering  
& asking for "information".]

My belief is that, if  
he has a Commission  
with any other Chairman,  
he will ~~make~~ bring together a great  
mass of blunders instead

~~of~~ of information - as  
the Commission for the  
Indian Army is, as you  
say, a blunder - You call Hawes  
an "inconvenient little  
dolt." But that Commiss=  
will prove an  
inconvenient large dolt.

Believe me, I do not  
even wish, much less  
hope, that you will  
undertake this. I only  
think Lord Stanley  
had better let it alone,  
if you don't.  
Pray excuse, dear  
Mr. Herbert, what may  
seem impertinent to you  
in this I did not mean  
to be impertinent - & believe  
me yours sincerely F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Signed letter, 10ff, pen 2057/F4/67

287

30 Old Burlington St.  
Sept. 15/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

As I dare say you are only going through London to one of Your "numerous seats", (the expression is a borrowed one from Mr. S.C. Hale) I am just going to make you a *Compte Rendu* - & have done

I did not come up to town to intercept you - I did not indeed. I came up on the 4th, because Lord Stanley himself fixed that time (of his being crowned head of the Indian Council) to turn his mind to the Sanitary matters, & he now very naturally finds he has too much to do, & adjourns it

- I. 1. Gen=ls Peel & Storcks are gone out out of town this morning to Plymouth on an Expecting Expedition -
2. Your Barrack Commission is gone to Ireland only today (Galton was detained on B. of Trade business till today), will do the S. of Ireland only, & will be back in 12 days - about -

3. I enclose *their* business first

1. *Woolwich Report*

This has been corrected by themselves & awaits your consideration - Some of the Woolwich Estimates have been obtained (for Ventilation of Barrack Rooms only) & sent in - to the amount of about £ 3000 The improvements begun. The other not yet come in - will be about £ 10,000 altogether, - independent of accommodation.

*2. Chatham Report*

corrected as sent in. A part of the Estimates (for ventilation of Barracks & drainage of Fort Pitt only) have been obtained & sent in to the amount of about £ 5000 - some of the work begun - The Estimates altogether will be about £12000, independent of accommodation But none other of the Estimates than the above are yet to come in.

*3. South Eastern Report*

First Proof enclosed - not yet considered even by your Commissioners. Estimates not yet received from the Command=g R. Engineers - will be something quite enormous - it is so bad -

*4. Portsmouth & Winchester Report*

corrected as sent in. Estimates & all NB *Woolwich & Chatham* are the only ones for your consideration, therefore

I do not enclose

1. *Maidstone Report* - in printer's hands. Estimates not yet come in from Comm=g R. E.

2. *Manchester, Bury, Ashton Stockport, Preston, &c Report* - in printer's hands - Estimates will be very trifling- perhaps not above £3000 altogether

3. "General Orders" as to improvements, in preparation concerning 1. ventilation - size of apertures &c

2. drainage etc

3. lavatories & how to make them

4. kitchens & what to have in them -

for all Barracks -

~~The~~ Gen=ls Peel & Storcks have been hard at work inspecting Barracks, (taking the bread out of your mouths, in fact) & very much to their surprise as to results.

They have been at Dover, Chatham, Portsmouth, & do Plymouth to day. They say that two millions will be required to complete the Barrack reforms, including Hospitals - But that they will get the money.

I think the danger will be (not that they will not be foreword enough but) that they will take "leaps in the dark" & do ignorant things, if you are not Dictator to them.

Mennie is consulted about every thing, & with his 25 years' traditions of the R. Engineers Dep=t, does many foolish things, besides Netley. (2)

II. About Alexander's affairs -  
I hope you will see him before long & he will then tell you himself -

1. The *Warrant* is not yet out
2. *Medical School*

*Regulations*

might be advantageously inquired about -

Of the *Regulations* he has not heard a word - And you will remember that you desired Gen=l Peel to refer them to him. I don't believe they have even been looked at -  
Of the *Medical School* he has -  
It has been referred to him.  
And he has written an excellent letter about it.

So has the *Warrant*. It was sent back to him, with "*improvements*" (?)  
And he wrote a first rate letter about it. He thinks it is safe

But it is not out as I understand.

You ought to see his two letters on these two subjects.

I don't think you at all over-rated the use Alexander would be of. He is determined to carry out the *spirit* of the R. Commission & he is doing it with great judgment. I should think the War Dep. had never received two such letters before - They amount to a censure, without being in the least impertinent - Certainly old Andrew never told them anything of the kind. The letters & minutes I have seen from the ~~War~~ Officials (of Alexander's position) in the War Dep. would do, with the alteration of a word or two, to put in "Punch". Have you seen Punch's "Scentral Board"? {sm.caps on S of Scentral}

I wish those Regulations, though, could be *heard of*. It is like the

search after poor Franklin.

4. They have been "adding insult to injury", as the parrot said when he was made to learn English, for, after having crammed Netley down our throats, they have referred it to Alexander to organize - an unorganizable place - I think this has been done as little badly as it can be done.

III. About the Indian matter, I think it is "as well as can be expected"-

[9:68]

Since you were so very good as to say that you would undertake the matter, the chief fear has been that Lord Stanley would say his "Organization" Commission could do it. He is however convinced 1. that it has neither men nor "Instructions" to touch it at all. "The best means

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
of securing the efficiency "of troops  
raised for Indian service - is the  
only sentence in their Instructions  
which can be construed to mean  
Sanitary Reform at all. And Lord  
Stanley says it does *not*. I am glad  
of it.

291

2. he is convinced that the  
subject *ought* to be dealt with  
& "separately" & "fully" & "urgently".  
These are all his own words.  
He says he cannot do any thing  
*directly*. But I do not think  
he will do anything without  
consulting you - And that is the  
main matter - And as he will  
do no mischief, which is satis=  
factory, I hope in a few weeks  
he will be able to do good.

He has not "committed" himself  
to any thing either way.

(3)

I am going to Malvern tonight,  
because I know, if I were to stay,  
I could not keep my hands off  
tormenting you -

But I hope you will be so very  
good as to let me know when  
you come to town - I suppose  
you may perhaps be "looking up"  
the creatures in a fortnight's  
time? Please don't deceive me.  
Because it is nothing to me to  
come up -

[end 9:68]

I hope you are quite well

Believe me

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{on back of last folio, not FN's hand:

Miss Nightingale

Sept. 15. 1858

Containing

Woolwich Report

Chatham Report

Portsmouth & Winchester

& South Eastern Reports etc.

Also

Inspection of Barracks

by

Genls Peel & Storks

Gt Malvern  
Sept 23/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have had (not a letter but) a volume from Sir J. Clark about the Army Medical School. I don't think there is anything in his letter new to you or different from your own opinion. And therefore I only send you an Abstract of it.

I think he must

exaggerate Alexander's opposition - as we have always found him so very reasonable - And I have seen him since he saw Sir Jas Clark. All the rest that Sir J. Clark says is very true & what we have always thought. There can be no harm in Sir Jas= Clark poking Gen=l Peel, I

suppose, nor perhaps much good.

If you wish to suggest or alter any thing, perhaps you would write yourself to tell Sir Jas= Clark at Balmoral.

I have simply written, saying that, as far as I knew, you would agree with all his views.

Yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

{on back of last folio in another hand:

Miss Nightingale

Sept. 3. 1858

Enclosed a Letter from Sir J. Clarke about the Army Medical School}

Derbyshire Co Record Office 293  
Initialed note, 1f, pen, black-edged paper, 2057/F4/67

30 Old Burlington St  
Oct 5/58

Dear Mr Herbert

I send you the Leader [16:316]  
with Guy's answer to  
Neison. It is good -  
much what we  
would have said  
ourselves - if taken  
not on the Statistical  
but on the Sanitary  
ground - It will  
bring Neison out -  
And there will be  
a "row" - Yrs sincerely

F.N.

The Barrack Commission

are in their vanity  
very angry. Because  
all the Military  
Newspapers attribute  
your excellent system  
of Ventilation to  
Gen=l Peel

[end 16:316]

F.N.

{not FN's hand, written on back of folio:  
Miss Nightingale Oct 5 1858  
on Neison's paper on  
density} of population} &  
it's fallacious

Derbyshire Co Record Office 294  
Initialed letter, ff7, pen, black-edged paper, 2057/F4/67

30 Old Burlington St  
Oct 6/48 [yes it is 48]

Dear Mr. Herbert [16:316-17]

Neison has not  
only made the mistake  
you mention in your  
note, viz. of estimating  
the population of the  
great city of Wilton  
as extending over  
a large area of  
Salisbury Plain -  
But he has confounded  
together *surface* over  
crowding & over crowding

in *cubic space*, which  
are quite distinct  
things. E.g. the Metropo=  
litan Model Lodging=  
houses exhibit a larger  
amount of surface  
over crowding than  
perhaps any part of  
the Metropolis - But  
they have a much  
larger amount of  
cubic space than  
the working classes  
usually have - And  
they are well ventilated  
& otherwise rendered

healthy. Hence, in  
spite of their surface  
overcrowding, they are  
the most healthy part  
of the Metropolis -

Neison's whole  
enquiry is simply  
a stupidity & nothing  
more - But he has  
some countenance  
for it in the fact  
that the Reg. Gen.'s  
densities of population  
refer (not to inhabited  
areas but) to empirical  
boundaries of all  
kinds - To correct

Neison thoroughly therefore,  
it would be necessary  
to shew that the Reg.  
Gen.'s method of  
estimating densities  
was incorrect.

If you think it  
necessary to take this  
line in the Reply,  
we had better consult  
Farr, & get him to  
give an explanation.  
We have been going  
into the Barrack part  
of it to which you  
allude - And we find

on a superficial examin=  
ation

1. that the largest  
surface area in Barracks  
is possessed by the  
Cavalry & Household  
Cavalry

2. that the Infantry  
are somewhat more  
crowded on square  
area

3. that the Guards  
are most crowded  
of all

As regards cubic space  
we find

1. that the Cavalry

have much the largest  
amount

2. that the Infantry  
come next in order

3. that the Guards  
have least cubic space  
of all

Next, as to the  
external ventilation  
of Barracks, we find

1. that the Barracks  
of the Cavalry

Household Cavalry

Infantry

are generally free  
from surrounding

buildings - & mostly  
in the open country -  
thereby exposing  
them to the free  
action of wind

2. that the Guards  
Barracks are so  
constructed & situated  
as to be extremely  
deficient in external  
ventilation -

Lastly, that the  
existing ventilating  
arrangements of  
Barrack rooms are  
very nearly equally

deficient in all arms  
of the Service.

We have not as yet  
accurate Statistical  
data - But if you  
think it necessary,  
they can be obtained  
from the Returns -

In regard to the  
Reply, you will see  
by the "Leader" sent  
yesterday that Dr. Guy  
has confuted Neison  
generally. Perhaps you  
would think it  
better to wait till  
we see if Neison

replies to Guy - which  
he probably will -  
And then Your Reply  
will be the more  
victorious -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Dr. Balfour has just  
been here & says that  
he was requested by  
the Editor of the Medical  
Times to write a leader  
for next Saturday in  
reply to Neison. He  
has done so & sent  
it in. From what he  
says he has taken very

much the same argument  
as Guy - only he has  
shewn up Neison more  
completely from his  
better knowledge of  
what the Commission  
really said. I will  
send it you - [It is  
of course *unofficial*]

Balfour says that  
the Warrant is gone  
to Balmoral for signa=  
ture & will be gazetted  
in about 10 days -  
that they have made  
some alterations not  
of great importance -  
They have cut out the

[end 16:317]

full pay retirements -  
which, as being  
intended to meet  
special cases, they  
say should be specially  
provided for when the  
cases occur -

There is only one scale  
of pay instead of two -  
And they have extended  
the period of service  
of the Deputy & Insp=  
Gen=l from 25 to 30  
years - giving an  
increase of retirements  
of *2/6 per diem* after  
25 years' service.

These are the chief  
alterations - And  
upon the whole  
Alexander is satisfied.

F.N.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 298  
Signed letter, ff8, pen, black-edged paper, 2057/F4/67

30 O. Burlington St [16:318-19]  
Oct 8/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Surface density has  
nothing to do *per se*  
with disease - but  
the conditions to which  
density gives rise.  
Distinguishing surface  
density from density  
in cubic space, the  
surface density of  
towns is not known,  
*in itself*, to exercise  
any influence whatever

upon health - But  
wherever there is  
surface density there  
are in unimproved  
towns Sanitary  
defects which give  
to surface density  
its power of producing  
disease - defective  
cleansing, drainage, &c -  
Even Neison assumes  
(what is contrary to  
fact) that, in towns  
of all densities, these  
defects are to the same  
amount - Thus just as

the effect of overcrowding depends within limits on defective ventilation, the effect of Surface density depends on the accompanying Sanitary conditions.

No correct Vital Statistician would ever adduce surface overcrowding on overcrowding in cubic space as *per se* forming an element in his calculations -

It is consistent with experience that two-storied houses may be

so crowded as to give a higher surface density than that of five or six storied houses - Into such a comparison, the width of streets is not made to enter.

We can get out accurately the Statistics of overcrowding in the Guards - The Barrack Returns in the R. Comm-Report ~~by~~ (imperfect as they are,) shew that the overcrowding is greatest in the Guards - In cubic space - And the numbers

2

of Barrack flats shews  
that the density is  
also greatest in surface.  
The Barracks at  
Chatham are only  
occupied about 6  
weeks by the same  
men. They don't, like  
the other Barracks,  
enter into the system  
of rotation.

The Infantry Barracks,  
hitherto examined by  
the Barracks Commission,  
comprise the most  
overcrowded in the  
U.K. The average  
space in the Irish

Infantry Barracks is  
much larger. Until  
the average is corrected  
for the Irish Barracks,  
we cannot get the  
proportionate over  
crowding for the Infantry  
generally - With this  
proviso, ~~they find~~ the  
deficiency of accomo=  
dation at 600 cubic  
ft per man ~~to~~ stands  
as follows:

Household Calvary +7 per ct  
Infantry Barracks}  
*excluding* Chatham}

-- 25 per cent

Foot Guards -- 26 per cent

so that, ~~even excluding~~  
exclusive of

Chatham, but including  
all the other worst  
Barracks, (which are  
the S. Eastern ones), the  
Infantry are still 1  
per cent better off than  
the Guards - *all* the  
Guards' Barracks being  
taken & *not* the best  
Infantry Barracks -

We are however going  
to ascertain the amount  
of cubic space in the  
3 classes of Barracks  
accurately - & will  
send it you

The Warrant has been  
signed at Balmoral  
& will be in print  
tomorrow -

The Regulations have  
traveled *as far as*  
Robertson (Purveyor  
in Chief) at the War  
Office - There they have  
stuck - He "can't under=  
stand them at all."  
To us it sounds like  
finding out where the  
hitch is in the Atlantic  
Telegraph = But I am  
not sure that the

3

bottom of the Atlantic  
is not a less hopeless  
place than the  
bottom of the W.O.

The Diet Tables  
have also stuck,  
in the same manner  
& at the same place.

The Council has  
stuck, but *not* at  
the same place - They  
will let us have the Officers  
but not as Councilors.  
This will not do -

**[end 16:319]**

They have notified  
that the Medical School

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
is not to be at Netley.

302

One of Alexander's **[9:68]**  
best men, Muir, has  
been appointed  
Sanitary Officer at  
Bombay. He reports  
to his Chief that  
the Sanitary abominations  
there are quite enough  
to account f  
or our  
Mortality.

The same at Calcutta -  
I had a note  
from Lord Stanley this  
morning - But not a  
word about the  
Commission. The wretch  
is at Knowsley. How  
dare he be at  
Knowsley? Is he  
persuading his Papa? **[end 9:68]**

I have seen Alexander,  
who seems to hold his  
ground well - The  
*Atlantic* information  
comes from him.

ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

303

Signed letter, ff8, pen, black-edged paper, on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

Oct. 11. 1858

Sending her

book on

Nursing

30 Old Burlington St

Oct 11/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I send you a  
thing about Nursing  
which I wrote, fearing  
that I might never  
again be able to give  
personal active help  
in Military or in  
Civil Nursing. It  
is very imperfect -  
And a Manual  
about Nursing is in

an impossible  
itself ~~a useless~~ thing -  
But it may give  
some Cautions to the  
Superintendent of  
Military Nurses, if  
such there be, &  
to her of the "Fund"  
Nurses, when they  
exist - in matters of  
organization -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

304

Signed letter, with above, ff?, no date, black-edged paper In another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

Contagion

[16:308-09]

*Army Medical Contagion*

Your *Canterbury* Report is gone in - but none too soon - Fever had broken out in the Barracks - In a very proper Report, the Medical Officer referred it to the right (& very obvious) local cause viz. the abominable drainage.

The Deputy Inspector, *Mouat*, comes over,

& to please the Commandg Officer, refers it to "*Contagion*"! "The men had caught it in the town"!! But, with marvellous inconsistency, he recommended an improvement in the drainage.

Why so? *either* let us have Contagion & Cordons, -- or Local Causes & Sanitary improvements.

The whole matter was referred to your Commission -

And very sharp I should have pulled up Mr. *Mouat*, if I had been Sanitary Councilor (in the future office).

I know that Dr. *Sutherland* has told you all this & the *Croydon* business. But could you not say something about it

(in your own pointed way) in your Article, to the effect that, had logic prevailed, Canterbury Barracks would have put Canterbury town under Quarantine, & Croydon Barracks, would themselves have been put under Quarantine by the Croydon town - But fortunately common sense stepped in, & saved us from the effects of logic, & from such a catastrophe

3

in the unimproved Scutari Hospital to have been (proportionately) double what it was in the Regimental tents of the Crimea exposed to every kind of want & hardship. And this is surely enough -

So much for the General question - But now that "Anonymous" has started this particular

point, I mean to set to work tomorrow with Smith's big Blue Books & work out (by the process of exhaustion) taking Smyrna, Abydos & all of the Hospitals, *how much* the Total Deaths, now stated to the Ho= of Commons, exceeded month by month *all & each* of the conflicting Statistics

which Anonymous  
states to be  
exaggerations &  
which are really  
*understatements*  
of the truth -

If you do write  
a Note upon any  
of these subjects  
in your Article,  
please let me see  
it before it goes  
to press. I think,  
if you notice the

Guards' attack & its  
result, (not forgetting  
the man who died  
of "old age" at 60)  
this pamphlet might  
form a suitable  
pendant - in a  
Note-

**[end 16:309]**

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Hall has written to  
Alexander to recommend  
him Hall as one of H.M.'s  
"Honorary Surgeons"!!

Unsigned letter, pen In another handwriting at top of the page:

Miss Nightingale

Oct 24/58

APPENDIX LXXIX

Dear Mr. Herbert

I don't know whether  
you will think it wise  
to look back to the old  
Crimean story -

But the height of  
absurdity in that  
Correspondence (of  
App. LXXIX of your  
Report) has never  
been surpassed. You  
might treat it a  
*la Rabelais* in your

Article -

What was the  
practical result of all  
that bulk of letters?  
The sending out of  
Lime Juice, which was  
not distributed till  
too late, & of Peat Charcoal  
which was not wanted.

This was all -

What can one say -  
More in condemnation  
of a Department?

What was it there  
for?

There is nothing in  
Molière to compare with

this.

Lord Raglan was the  
primary cause of Smith's  
appointment - Never  
perhaps was a more  
fatal act committed  
by a more honest  
man. It cost him  
his Army & his  
reputation -

If you, as an  
administrator, were  
to touch it up, as  
you well know how,  
so as to extract the  
ha'porth of bread out

of all that abominable  
deal of suck, I think  
it might do good. It  
is Weston all over - [?]

The good advice,  
whenever the advice  
is good, always comes  
a month too late.

And the kernel of  
those 212 (double column)  
pages is ---- what?

If you want an  
Abstract, that, (which  
you have seen already)  
is a faithful one, Preface  
& Appendices to Section I  
Preface to Section III, Preface  
to Section X, Part 2, in my big Vol=

Signed note, fl, pen, black-edged paper, In another handwriting on back of a  
folio:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

14 Oct 1858

Sent with the  
Warrant

*Signed & sealed*

Here comes the Warrant,  
without any change  
to negative it, & with  
a sentence at the  
beginning satisfactory  
as admitting from  
the Head of the State  
that you were right -  
It takes force, you  
will see, from the  
1st of this month -

Please return it  
to Alexander, who has

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
no copy.

309

The Medical School  
is NOT gone in to the  
Treasury.

Storks, Hawes &  
Godley are to "sit  
upon" the Regulations  
& Army Medical  
Council after this  
week - & I believe  
upon the School also

F Nightingale  
Oct 14/58

Signed letter, ff5, pen, black-edged paper,  
on back of folio: 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale  
25. Oct. 1858.

on Neison's  
Fallacy

30 O B S

Oct 25/58

[16:319-20]

1. I *am* glad you did  
not answer Neison -  
because now we  
shall have all his  
say out, & be able  
to answer it in a  
lump-  
Neison believes  
man to be solely  
influenced by what  
he *does*. He is quite  
guiltless of all Phy=  
siological, Climate, or

sanitary knowledge - was  
himself a working man  
& thinks work the  
only element in our  
lives & healths -

2. *The Pamphlet*  
which Neison asks  
after *is* the Pamphlet  
I sent you last night.

3. *The Guards are*  
about to build a  
General Hospital  
for the three Regiments

on the site of one of  
their Regimental Hospitals  
in ~~the~~ Westminster -  
Nothing is settled yet.  
They would be very  
glad to receive  
hints, *provided* they  
may have all the  
credit of them, (which  
you have no objection  
to,) & provided they  
are not lectured  
officially - We were  
only waiting for you  
to come home to

ask you to ask them  
to put the plans  
onto your hands -  
when, if you would  
send them to us,  
Sutherland & I  
would do our best -  
They are quite incapable  
of doing it themselves.  
But it must not be *official*.

4. I have gone thro'  
all the figures in  
Smith's Blue Big  
Book today. And  
the result is simply

this - (a result which I must say has astonished even my old mind) -

In the 6 months Oct/54 to Mar/55 there are 735 Deaths - (unaccounted for - not included in any of the Medical Mortality Statistics which have yet been presented to Parliament - ) which

which agrees (within 2) with what Smith says himself

Smith - regardless of exposure, as it seems,- has plastered on with a trowel upon those 6 months thus: Oct 211

Nov	9
Dec	151
Jan	239
Feb	122
Mar	3
	735

upon Scutari & Sick Transport promiscuously

This, if calculated into the Rate of Mortality will raise it considerably above what Farr calculated & the "Anonymous" complains of.

I must say I feel inclined to do it - heart=sick as I am of the subject - if you feel inclined to put a Note to your Article

Yours sincerely,  
F Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

312

Further, the "Anonyous"  
has taken the Head  
Roll of Burials from February which  
I stated expressly to  
be for Scutari *alone*,  
& substituted it for  
the Medical Returns  
which are for Scutari  
& Koulali (the most  
unhealthy of all the  
Hospitals) together,

See P. 362

& P 391, Table IV

Rep. R. Commiss=n  
add the Koulali deaths to the Burials at Scutari  
and, so far ~~therefore~~ from  
the Mortality having been  
over=stated it has been  
under=stated by 124 Deaths **[end 16:320]**

Signed letter, ff3, pen, black-edged paper, all 3 pages, 2057/F4/67  
on back of folio:

Miss Nightingale

5.Nov.1858

article in

West Rev

Aldershot Statistics

Anonymous writing

Burl. St.

5/11/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

**[16:320-23]**

There are 73,000  
letters in 32 pages of  
West Rev. type - and  
54 000 letters in what  
you have written already  
or about 24 pages of Westm Rev.  
(I assure you I have  
not done this by  
counting like a  
"learned pig") The  
consequence I am very  
sorry for - We do not

find any "Medical heresies", or anything which require re=con=sideration, except Mr. Chapman's space-

If we could see the whole at once, I think we should be able to consider better what must be left in & what cut out. As it is, I incline to resuming about 20 (written) pages of controversy with Neison

into 3 or 4, & curtailing the rest as little as possible - I wish we could see the second half - before suggesting any curtailment in this however.

We have got the Aldershot Statistics from Alexander. They are very favorable & (when calculated) may be inserted in this Article, we think, with good effect as an illustration. Mortality from Phthisis about 2 per 1000 only -

I have taken advantage of your condemnation of anonymous newspaper=writing to indulge in an unrestrained course of the same of a vicious nature - As it is only in the Builders however I am not incurably outrageous. I shall send you the course = [They attacked us on Contagion]

I *did* not agree with you about anonymous writing - But the Times

has put itself so  
completely in the  
wrong that I think  
most people will  
agree with you now.  
However the Times  
never can give up  
anonymous writing -  
In a mere mercantile  
speculation, which  
such a paper is,  
how could it?

[end]

Believe me

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Signed letter, ff5, pen, black-edged paper, all pages,  
on back of folio in another handwriting: 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale

10.Nov.1858

"B.A." Surgeons

do not require

further exam?

presses for the

Statistical returns

Bad Plans for

Malta Hospitals

30 Old Burlington

10/11/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. I think, if you  
could write all you  
have to say & then  
see what room Chapman  
has, it would be well.  
Some of the subjects  
you enumerate are  
so much more impor=  
tant even than  
ventilation - I still

think, if something  
must be abridged,  
it had better be the  
Neison controversy -  
I have written an  
abrégé of some 20  
of your (written)  
pages from your approval,  
trying to shew up his  
statistical blunders  
& strengthen the  
statistical case for  
the Army Med. Council

2. I like Brodie's  
**B.A.** idea & yet quite  
agree with what you  
say - Could there not  
be a supplementary  
Warrant (or something)  
saying that a man  
who is a **B.A.** may  
pass Surgeon (from  
Asistant - Surgeon)  
without the additional  
Examination you have  
(justly) exacted in your

Warrant? I think the  
**B.A.** (General) education  
quite an equivalent  
to the (special) Medical  
examination - Of the  
20 Surgeons gazetted  
today as Surgeons Majors  
I am quite certain  
there is not one who  
is or could be a **B.A.**  
But the Civil profession  
is so enchanted with  
the Warrant - it looks  
upon it as such a

2.

prize for the Medical  
profession - that there  
will be little difficulty  
in future of getting

**B.A.s**

3. I do so wish  
the Statistical Forms  
could be out for the  
New Year - Would not  
Gen=l Peel let the  
Statistical Scheme  
begin with Jan 1/59 -  
If so, he must be  
quick.

4. Malta is to have  
a new General Hospital  
for 500. Plans have  
been granted for 300.  
They are come to England  
for approval - Mennie  
has them in his hands.  
Burrell has seen them.  
He says they are atrocious.  
They must be bad  
indeed, if my old  
Burrell says so -  
It is eminently  
legitimate for you to

**[16:324]**

ask for them, because  
you have recommended  
a General Hospital at  
Malta. Both Burrell,  
Sutherland & I are  
well acquainted with  
the intended locality  
at Malta - Would  
not you ask for these  
pestilential plans  
to be submitted to  
you?

**[end 16:324]**

5. Sir James Clark  
was here today, hunting  
about for a President=  
(M.P..) for the new Medical

Council. They want to have you. I suggested Headlam, Wm Cowper, Ld. Elcho, Shaftesbury, G. Hardy. I don't want them to have you. It's nothing but a Registration Council, for the prosecution of interlopers. I think doctors are like insects, of no earthly use but to be killed - In medicine I think

3.

the State is like the Confession, doing every thing it ought not to do & nothing it ought to do. It does not prevent us from being poisoned - But it gives to certain Schools the right to poison us - I think you would have to give a great deal of time to do a very little good - as President of that Council. They want you, because they want the

"prestige" of a great man -

6. I do wish Gen=l Peel would give us some of our things now. We have not been troublesome. The Regulations have been "in" since July. Could he not give us one of our "little ones"?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

318

Signed letter, ff2, pen, written on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

24.Dec.1858.

on the subordinates

of the W. O.

reporting upon

the Chiefs

30 Burl St

Dec 24/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

What original  
ways the War Office  
has - a remark, not  
new but true - If

Anything ~~could~~ were wanting to convince  
one that it wants  
clearing out entirely,  
I think it is this -

To put a set of  
subordinates to report  
upon the doings of  
their immediate

chiefs seems the  
method of doing  
business in that  
Department

Thus:

Mr. Herbert

Sir R. Airey..... Belfield

Mr. Alexander ..... Beatson

Dr. Sutherland

Mr. Croomes ..... Milton & Robertson

are appointed subordinates

to draw up in the same

the Regulations office, are

appointed

to report

upon said

Regulations

They have adjourned

themselves

till 10th Jan

A Military Officer is  
is then to be joined to  
them - & they are  
to report all over  
again -

What does the  
War Office expect  
to come at by this?

Laffan is still  
ill & does not  
return till March.

Galton says  
the Medical School  
buildings will not  
cost above £ 1000  
& might be ready  
in 2 months.

I think I have  
achieved a great  
victory in convincing  
Balfour of the superiority  
of taking the  
Constantly Sick  
instead of the  
Admissions - He  
promises (but  
"promises are like  
pie crust") that  
he will give me  
these for at least  
the Bengal Stations  
in *classes* of disease

Your sincerely

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

320

Signed letter, ff5, pen, Written on back of folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

27. Dec. 1858

Indian Sanitary

Commission

30 Old Burlington St.

London W

Dec 27/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

On Friday I took  
my courage by the  
fore lock & wrote to  
Lord Stanley to ask  
him to come & see  
me - The reason of  
my doing this wild  
act was that I  
thought, if it failed,  
it would only pass  
for a foolish woman's  
love of being busy,

& if it succeeded it  
would succeed - I  
took care to let  
Lord Stanley know  
when he came that  
you were not particeps

He came today -  
There are so many  
things that both he  
& I could say which  
it would not be  
fair upon him to  
ask him to write  
& which it would  
not be fair upon you  
to ask me to write.

Bref, he says he will write to you *directly* to ask you to be Chairman & to select your own tools.

I confine my eloquence or my stupidity to these three points -

I confine my reasons to merely showing him an Indian map which I have now completed with the mortality of Queen's & E. I. C. troops

written under each station - & to telling him the practical results which you have given to your first R. Sanitary Commission -- also recapitulating to him what you had said in your letter from Gastein - the substance of which he had seen before -

Altho' you never think of your own dignity, I have a little which indeed is not necessary feeling that

2

it should never be compromised through my foolishness -

Lord Stanley says that he was only waiting for the end of ~~Organ~~ Organization Commissionrs - but says that he will not now wait for that. "At all events" he added "the work of that Commission will be finished by the meeting of Parl=t" -

I hear from Sir A. Tulloch & Mr. Martin

that the bounty "row" among the E.I.C. troops  
has made a great  
impression upon the  
Commiss=n [the  
bounty question has  
~~made~~ been sent  
in for decision to the  
Crown lawyer] On  
Jan 11 the Comm=rs  
decide upon series  
of resolutions  
regarding whether  
the Army is to be  
Royal or local -  
Lord Stanley it is  
supposed. will carry  
the day - But the

whole Report, Ld. Stanley  
says will be ready  
by the meeting of Parl=t.

Of course I was  
very careful not to  
be "spearing" impertinent  
questions at Ld S.  
Therefore I kept  
rigidly to the matter  
in hand -

By the way, I  
must just tell you  
that Lord S. shewed  
my letters to Sir Geo.  
Clerk & Sir G. Clerk  
spoke of them to Martin  
who told me - In  
these cases, the poor

woman always goes  
to the wall. It is  
always supposed  
it is she who has  
prated - But,  
curious way of  
doing business as  
it seems to me  
for Sir G. Clerk to  
tell these kinds of  
things, I wish you  
to know that it  
is not I -  
It is an immense relief  
to me that Lord Stanley  
has promised those  
three things - In fact  
it was all I wanted  
Sincerely yrs F. Nightingale

Lord Stanley said  
that he must speak  
to Lord Derby first.  
So he has not done it yet  
I am afraid I am  
a bad ambassador  
I am too anxious.  
But if Lord Stanley  
will just write to you,  
& put the matter  
into your hands, I  
shall be satisfied  
& leave you to fight  
your own battles -  
And I promise,

as the old Prussian  
General said in his  
prayers, Only give  
me this this once,  
& I never will  
pray to you again.

Please write  
to me at Malvern  
F.N.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

324

Signed letter, ff3, pen, Upside down on bottom of last page in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67

June 30. 1858

Relating to the

Correspondence

Between Farr &

Tulloch

June 30/58

I saw all the  
correspondence, which  
you have now in  
your hands, between  
Farr & Tulloch -

Both Farr & I  
are anxious, for  
Tulloch's sake, that  
he should NOT print  
his objections. They  
are weak, & not

what he would have  
written 5 years ago.  
And, if he would  
but hold his tongue,  
he might have the  
credit of the Report.

Farr is anxious  
that you should tell  
Tulloch privately  
to withdraw them,  
or to send them in

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
privately to the  
Director General, who  
is with us.

325

I doubt whether  
even you could  
move that obstinate  
old square head -  
(an obstinacy which  
stood us in good  
stead at the  
Chelsea Board)

The main point

however, is that the  
printing of these  
objections should  
not delay the  
sending in of the  
Report, which it  
must not be  
allowed to do -  
F. Nightingale

Great Malvern

Aug 19/ 58

Dear Mr. Herbert

At the risk of annoying you, I think I had better tell you how Lord Stanley is going on - He wrote to me thus: *Private* "Ind. Bd.

Aug 14/ 58

"How would this do? Drs. Martin, Sutherland, Simon, to conduct the enquiry: here: without Royal Commissions or any such pompous delays, without compulsory powers, but with all the aid we could give them in collecting evidence from Indian witnesses: special instructions to them not to produce a last Blue Book, but to embody in their Report whatever facts they thought worth preserving: the subjects of enquiry to be, health of troops in first instance and next, the sanitary conditions under which European life is possible in India: their report to be in size, style & subject,

such that it might serve as a manual to engineers planning cantonments, to Officers in charge of troops & to intending settlers in India. Tell me if you approve & I will speak to the Chairs & get the thing in train at once".

He enclosed a long letter to himself from Sir G. Clerk, approving of a "Commission of enquiry", but giving all the arguments of the "old Indians" to prove that India *must* be unhealthy, as it was from the beginning, is now & ever shall be, world without end.

Lord Stanley concludes "I have heard the same things propounded by others - Possibly you may know whether it is a vulgar prejudice or a scientific truth".

---

Fortunately for you, I have no copy of my answer - But unfortunately for you I think it expedient to recapitulate my arguments viz. I. that from experience it may be found that 1. it will not do merely to collect evidence in England. Sir G. Clerk's letter

Derbyshire Co Record Office 327  
confirms this, for, althou' it states facts  
it grounds opinions on them, now known  
to be untenable. Present knowledge tells  
us the very unhealthiness of which he  
complains might be prevented.

Before such a Commission as that  
named by Lord Stanley similar statements  
would be repeated without end, & the  
practical result would be what every  
"old Indian" will uphold that India is  
essentially unhealthy. Hence

2. The Committee would have  
to make personally or to direct to be  
made on the spot by practical persons  
enquiries to test the truth of such  
allegations.

Considering the supreme importance of  
the subject, it would be necessary to give  
the Committee or Commission as wide Scope as possible

#### II. As to the constitution

1. it would not do to exclude  
every element except the Medical. The  
subjects of enquiry, Engineering, Military,  
Sanitary & Medical must be exhausted  
before the Report is drawn up. People  
acquainted with only one of these subjects  
would never be able to draw up either

Report, Regulations or Instructions involving  
the duties of Engineers, Military & Sanitary  
Officers.

Whether Committee or Commission, it  
should have

1. Indian Military Officer of high rank
2. Indian Military ENgineer & topographer  
? Col Goodwyn or Bengal Army  
or ? " Greene or " "  
or ?? Capt. Wichterlony or Madras "  
or ?? Lt. Col Grant - - -Bombay "  
[Col. Waugh, I suppose, could not be  
had for the asking.]
3. Indian Medical (Sanitary) Officer  
Mr. Martin
4. Civil Sanitarian conversant with Camps.  
Dr Sutherland
5. Civil (Sanitary) Engineer  
Mr Rawlison  
(by far our best water Engineer)
6. Statistician  
Dr Farr  
(There must be some one to "read"  
the Statistics)

## 2. &amp; MOST IMPORTANT.

There must be a Chairman over all to *direct* the enquiry, to give consistency to it & to prevent differences of opinion. He must not only have experience in this special subject, but be of such a position as will carry weight with ~~the~~ public opinion.

3. The enquiry must not be hurried & the men who undertake it will have to work at it long & hard.

To conduct the enquiry by the three men named (alone) & in the manner named by Lord Stanley would be to arrive at nothing more than an abstract of existing opinions, an aide-mémoire, or manual- very useful. But Regulations which must be followed would be much more useful. Also, Lord Stanley might be out of office before the Report or Manual was ready- And then, what influence would it have with a Council of "old Indians"? There *MUST* be a Chairman to carry weight with the country.

Also, if Lord Stanley wants an abstract of existing opinion, one of the persons he names, Mr Simon, has no opinions at all, & has had no practical experience of Army topography whatever.

The object of the enquiry should be, certainly, to obtain the practical results Lord Stanley mentions.

In order to do so, however, there must be competent Engineering assistance & evidence, because the result should not be *only* to point out positions for cantonments, but precautions to be taken I making sites more healthy. Such precautions being for the most part engineering works, they must be recommended by capable Engineers, & a manual for Engineers must be stamped with engineering authority.

But the Committee or Commission must also draft Regulations for consideration - and such Regulations involving military, engineering & medical points, it must contain all these elements.

Sir G. Clerk's letter contained the substance of the objections generally raised against India - founded on the

*assumption* that there is something deadly inherent in all tropical climates & that, somehow or other, disease & death must be the penalty of subduing the earth.

The discovery of the reasons for local unhealthiness is often difficult. And when people unaccustomed to such enquiries come in contact with these problems, they are very apt to take refuge in fatalism. We used to have ague here, till draining was discovered. And Sir G. clerk mentions fevers as growing in gardens in India. And so they will, till man has learnt how to use water in tropical climates.

The very last Report which proceeded from the defunct Bd of Health (by Mr. Simon) only a few days ago lays the blame of the excess of infantile mortality which, since the first Board was broken up, it has taken no means to prevent, on infection & contagion, two exploded superstitions. And it puts forward a scheme of statistics (simply trash) to prove that Sanitary precautions have been greatly over valued, that epidemics are inevitable, & that Quarantine is to be substituted for Sanitary improvements.

Mr. Simon's publications must be considered in the light of a "prospecting" expedition, as they call it in the gold countries. His work may fairly be called "scampish," in the language of the trades.

So far from blaming the "old Indians," they are a green tree compared with the dry one of our old Board of Health. But the Indian question will not be solved by them & we must do it for them.

If Ld Stanley does not like a Royal Commission, it will be more "distingué" (as Ld Castlereagh was without any orders) to have none. And it does not matter much, provided the enquiry be conducted by men specially suited for all departments of the work, by a Chairman who can give unity & precision to it, & with power to extend it to India, if found necessary.

I hope you are better-

ever yours faithfully F. Nightingale  
I have heard nothing whatever of the minute-making process having been begun on your "Regulations." *That* Peel might have done just that. I wish his memory could be refreshed. He sent for Capt Galton & said he was very anxious to have the Sanitary

works of Woolwich & Chatham begun  
& spend the money. Capt. Galton has  
asked for parts of the estimates, in  
order that the Report may be sent in  
with them - the remainder to be supplied  
afterwards. Capt. Galton suggested a  
premium for the best cooking apparatus  
for Barracks - to which Genl Peel  
listened agreeably. The Barrack Co=  
will have to lay down the principles.

The Barrack Co: has inspected  
Manchester, Preston, Burnly & all  
those Barracks. It finds some of  
them on much better plans  
than the new Aldershot ones.  
So we have made progress backwards.

F.N.

Mrs. Herbert will say that I  
give you the best possible argument  
for not coming back to England,  
which I acknowledge.

[envelope, stamped, Malvern Au 20 58]

Austria

Rt Honble Sidney Herbert MP

Bad Gastein

Salzburg

[in another hand] Aug 19 1858

Mss Nightingale

3r letter on India

Army Health Commn

Ld Stanley

Derbyshire Co Record Office 332  
Fragment, needs to fit after "differing from"

Part of a signed letter, no salutation, ff6, pen  
Written on the back of a folio in another handwriting:  
Miss Nightingale  
June 28. 1858  
Relating to  
The Warrant  
& mistakes  
made by  
Milton

had been re=cast  
by Milton, (about  
the last person in  
the world who could  
know anything about  
it - It was like  
asking him to cut  
off a leg, because he  
belongs to a War  
Office).

I never was in  
the kitchen at the  
War Office before -  
and whenever I  
am chief cook in

that Dep=t, I will  
not do the business  
in that way.

Upon this infor=  
tunate Warrant  
there were lengthy  
minutes by cooks, 1, 2, 3,  
-Acc=t Gen=l Kirby  
-Ass=t Under Sec=y Godley  
-Chief Clerk Roberts  
smaller minutes by  
-Under Sec=y Hawes  
-Mil=y Sec=y Storks  
et id gemus omne,-  
the whole of each  
differing from every

body's else, & no one  
of them having the  
most distant  
glimmering of the  
practical working  
of the Warrant, as  
intended by you-

The three principal  
mistakes were all  
~~made~~ however by  
Milton - and I made  
Alexander put the  
original all in  
again - But whether  
he will carry it;  
neither he nor I  
shall know - And

The object of this  
note is

--would you think  
it well to tell Gen=1  
Peel to shew you the  
Warrant again before  
it finally goers in  
to the Treasury?

Yours sincerely

F.Nightingale

The THREE MISTAKES were  
at "examinations in  
Military Medicine,  
Surgery & *Hygiene*"  
they had substituted

for "*hygiene*" *Medical  
Science*, which makes  
it nonsense - & is  
just the opposite of  
what is meant -

2. they had  
abolished the value  
of Assistant Surgeon's  
service and had  
made to 20 years  
service which was  
to raise to the rank  
of Surgeon Major  
to be 20 years *full*  
Surgeon's Service

they had made  
the Surgeon of whatever  
rank junior in  
that relative rank  
to all the relative Military  
Officers - whatever  
the date of Commission.

II. Alexander tells me  
That the famous  
Crimean Blue Book  
(of Smith & Hall)  
is lying all ready  
in his Office. He  
is anxious that you

& I should see it -  
but says very properly that, without  
Gen=l Peel's authority, he  
has no right. If you  
would write a word,  
he would send it.

III. Gen=l Peel has directed  
the Netley Comm=n to send  
in its Report by Friday.  
Phillips's *Section* is  
entirely in support of  
you - and this *Section*  
they *will not* send in.  
Also, they mean to  
bring the Hospital out

of the domain of  
your "Regulations" by declaring it not to  
be a General Hospital  
at all - Then what  
is it?

I trust that Gen=l  
Peel understands  
that he is not to  
lay the Report on the table  
of the House *without*  
*your having first*  
*seen it.* It is so easy  
to answer -

F.N.

Poor Howell is dead, who wrote  
your Review for the Edinburgh.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
incomplete letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

336

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise  
April 30/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I told Sutherland your wish  
that he & Martin should immediately  
draw up the paper of questions to  
send out to the Indian Stations.  
He will have to look at ~~the~~ any  
documents, which the E.I. Ho: has  
to shew, first. And, as there was  
not time for you then to get them  
the authority before he started  
for Ireland, he put it off till he  
came back.

[9:81]

Do not you think that it  
will be adviseable for a good deal  
of this preliminary work to be done  
before the Commissn meets for  
business? Because whereas, in

the Crimean case, we had all the experience on our side, in the Indian case, *they* will have all the experience on theirs.

It will not take long to do a good deal - If you would get ~~them~~ us access to all the information at once by asking Lord Stanley to put Dr. Sutherland & Mr. Martin (& if you thought well, Dr. Farr,) into communication with the India Ho:?

The two first ~~They~~ would then prepare the Forms of questions as soon as they ~~have~~/had abstracted the documents necessary -

Farr, I suspect, would find no Statistics but what we have already.

I. 1. Dr. Sutherland & Mr.

Martin might be asked by you at once to examine all records &c & to abstract the information already available, for you as Chairman -  
- to draw up forms for local enquiries: questions for getting local information from all the Stations in India.

perhaps to ~~accompany~~/cause these forms to be accompanied by skeleton maps & plans, which Dr. Sutherland could do very well.

2. Dr. Farr might be asked in the same way to do the same thing as to the present state of Indian Statistics - for you - {There are Reports of the Statistical Socy which he can consult {at home, for this. [end 9:81]

3. Mr. Martin ditto as to the present Sanitary state of Indian Stations & position of Indian Medical service in regard to it - (a short abstract for you) - [9:81-82]

It would not do to be (from want of experience) in the power of the India Council men.

- II. The Commission-work will include (according to its Instructions) Topography Barracks Climate Camps Productions Stations Diseases Hospital Localities Sanatoria Waters Strategic Points Statistics Enquiry into possibility of organizing a system of registration

- 1 Selection of healthy sites
- 3 Sanitary improvements required in existing Stations [9:82]
- 2 Enquiry into causes of sickness & mortality in unhealthy Stations [end 9:82]  
Diet -Drinks  
Clothing - Duties  
Occupations of troops  
Changes of Stations  
for health
- 4 Organization of an Indian Sanitary Department  
[It is very evident that  
Messrs Mapleton & Logan  
are wholly incompetent  
for this - that it would  
never to do put the health  
& hospitals of the Indian Army  
into such hands - At home  
public opinion will check  
their stupidities - In India not -  
Perhaps each of the three  
Presidencies must have its  
own organization - At all events,  
the D.G. at home must have

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Balfour is not to leave Chelsea Asylum - Sir R. Napier Bengal Engr as witness before Indian Commission}

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise  
N.

May 6/59

[15:283-84]

Dear Mr. Herbert

The Governors (or whatever they are called) of the R. Mily Asylum held a Board today, at which H.R.H. and Staff presided, & decided that Balfour was not to be spared from dosing the little boys, "and

"they cannot therefore  
"sanction the  
"appointment of  
"Head of the Statistical  
"Branch of the Army  
"Medl Dept being  
"held by the Surgeon  
"of this Establishment."

Probably you may  
have heard from  
Balfour - So I say  
no more -  
Had Alexander  
taken his stand firmly

upon the foundation  
laid (by the Report  
which he signed)  
for this Council,  
probably all this  
botheration *scompiglio*,  
would not have  
happened - As it is, Balfour  
will neither leave the Asylum,  
nor accept the other thing, cut down  
as it is. Yours sincerely **[end 15:284]**

F. Nightingale

I am very glad, on **[9:82]**  
the whole, that you  
have Sir E. Lugard -  
I wish Ld. Stanley  
would give the word

to Open Sesame to  
his treasures for  
the beginning of ~~the~~/our  
three.

The Irish inspections  
terminate today.

Do you know Sir Robert Napier, Bengal  
Engineers, (?) who made  
the roads in the  
Punjab for Sir J.  
Lawrence - He is now  
on his way home - is  
a good Sanitarian  
& will give capital  
information as a  
witness. **[end 9:82]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office 341  
initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May /59 Miss Nightingale Indian  
Commission as to Col. Alison} 2057/F4/68

Highgate

Dear Mr. Herbert

It occurs to me, [9:82-83]  
do you know Col.  
Alison, late Mil. Secy  
to Lord Clyde? If  
we cannot have the  
bird, at least the  
stake the bird sat  
upon may taste of it.  
Col. Alison has the  
credit of being a  
highly educated man.

& very good Officer -

I don't know what  
more we shall  
get than good sense  
& local knowledge  
in any *Queen's*  
Officer - Because  
H.M. has no  
Sanitary Engineers  
in India at all.  
poor thing! Col.  
Alison was to be

at home from Italy

about this time -

I will send you  
every word I can  
gather about  
Greated or any body  
else tomorrow - [end 9:83]  
yours sincerely

F.N.

May 9/59

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 2.61 as to the illicit sale of Beer by Serjeants.} 2057/F4/68

I am coming to a use  
of my proper senses  
as to the "Royal boy."

I think this is a  
work of genius -  
putting down the  
Artillery porter.

Certainly poor  
Sir Wm. Codrington's  
letter is not.

All he says is  
that it is a practice  
which he has  
allowed to continue

under his government.  
And therefore it  
must be right.

Why not turn  
every Serjeant in the  
Line into a beer=  
Shop keeper then?  
If it is right for the  
Artillery, it must  
be right for the Line.

But how can  
a N.C. Officer  
arrest a man for  
riot, with the money

in his own pocket  
for the drink which  
made the man  
riotous?

I consider H.R.H.  
one of the greatest  
of men - He has  
"put a stop to  
"so improper a  
"proceeding" - which  
it is.

F.N.

March 2/61

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

343

{printed address:} 30 Old Burlington Street.

W.

April 24/61 [15:153-54]

I back Dr. Sutherland.  
I have had the largest  
experience of the worst  
(illeg)/kind of cases - and  
am not a hard-hearted  
sort of Nurse - And  
I consider the "extras"  
in the enclosed papers  
perfectly preposterous.

I am thoroughly  
experienced in the  
Civil Hospitals - And  
the Military Diet-table

is infinitely superior,  
both in variety &  
capacity of nourishment,  
to every Diet-table  
in London - far more so,  
to every one in Edinbro' -  
most of all so to every  
one in Paris.

I consider both the  
expece & the composition  
of the Diets in "Left  
Wing", Woolwich, as  
monstrous - & calculated  
to bring discredit upon

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
the whole system of  
liberality which has  
been adopted in  
British Army Hospitals.

344

It is not necessary  
to tell us that the  
"Patients did badly"  
in this "Left Wing"

F. Nightingale  
The Average Cost per  
Diet is in this "Wing"  
nearly 19d - Speaking  
from experience, I assert  
that 13d covers the very  
highest expence that  
need be gone to  
for the most fastidious  
& desperate cases  
as an average cost  
per diet. **[end 15:154]**

F.N.

{in another hand, upside down: Miss Nightingale April 24, 1861 agrees with D.  
Sutherland as to the Extravagance in the Woolwich Hospital Dietary.}

unsigned memorandum, undated 6ff, pen 2057/F4/68

*Old Woolwich Hospital*  
*GENERAL Hosp. scheme.*

All hands concur that Col. Clark  
Kennedy would be the best *Governor*,  
if he will accept it.

that Major Buckley is too old  
& wanting in mental activity.

that, if Col. K. would accept it,  
the best way would be to leave *him*  
to select all the minor appointments, x  
(which are all S. of S. appointments,  
vide Regns.)

that, if he will not accept, the  
best way would be to remit the  
whole question back to the  
Hospital Corps Commn, of which  
Kennedy was Chairman, & to  
make *them* recommend to the

x Captain of Orderlies &c &c &c Steward &c

Derbyshire Co Record Office 345  
Secretary of State the names of the whole staff.

~~S. of S.~~ [Otherwise we know how  
the thing will be and it  
will be months before any  
Commission is procured. Because  
all the Commissions will have  
to go thro' the Horse Guards]

The building is now ready.

Col. Yolland, R.E. Board of Trade,  
Capt. Tyler, R.E.

are both said to be very  
good men for Governors -  
[But perhaps a R.E. would  
not do among the R.A.s.]

The appointment is not looked  
upon at all, as you expected -  
i.e. as "shelving" a man -

On the contrary, the object being

to train a complete General  
Hospital staff for the event of  
war, a war would make the  
Governor's fortune. He would be made  
Bt Colonel, K.C.B. &c &c &c -

Smyrna & afterwards Scutari  
made Storke's fortune -

Now Major Buckley is too  
old to train for war -

Again, a R.E. w/could take  
a Station afterwards & be in  
no wise "shelved."

P.S. It is said that "Col. Kennedy  
is so exceedingly fond of the  
organizing this sort of thing  
that it is not unlikely, as  
he is a married man, he  
might accept it.

General Hosp.  
organization  
Old Woolwich Hospl  
Staff

{in another hand, at the side: Miss Nightingale Appointment of Governor and Staff  
at Woolwich General Hospital May 1861}

Derbyshire Co Record Office 346  
{in another hand: Miss Nightingale}  
{in FN's hand:} Governors [15:308-09]  
of  
Hospitals.

*Governors of Hospitals*

Col. Wilbraham } recommended  
Ass. Adj. Gen. Northern division } by  
Surgeon Riach } Sir J. McNeill  
Major McCrea R.A. } by Col.  
Capt. Theod. Webb R.E. } Lefroy  
h.p.  
Lt. Col Clifford }  
Ass. Q.M.G. Aldershot } by the  
Col. J.C. Kennedy } D.G.  
Mil. Train. }

note:

These two Dr. Gibson  
wishes to propose to you.  
We might as well ask  
the great Storcks, I am

afraid - to be our Governor  
More names are  
coming to you -

It will make the  
difference of having  
the Cape Sanatorium  
well or ill governed.  
If it is to be ill  
governed, have a  
Commandant. If well,  
a Governor -

Derbyshire Co Record Office

347

unsigned memorandum, 7ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale July 3.1961 on Mrs. Shaw Stewart's first answer to the Proposal that she shd become Superintendent} 2057/F4/68

{printed address:} 30 Old Burlington Street.

W.

July 3/61

The ~~answer~~/course you propose

**[15:157-58]**

viz "that you might  
"persuade her to take  
"the place *till* her  
"paragon is found -  
"if not, that she is  
"bound to produce  
"a live woman to  
"take her place, or  
"at the least to  
"suggest one" - this,  
in civil & official language,  
is the *only*  
answer.

I am not surprised

at Mrs. Shaw Stewart's  
letter - rather, at the  
moderation of length  
& language it puts on,  
which is not customary  
in the writer -

If she fails (after  
such an answer as  
you propose), I have  
no other string to  
the bow -

1. Her vision of the  
Officer's widow is  
purely ideal. I have,  
of course, the largest  
acquaintance in  
wives & widows of

Officers, Medical,  
Military & Ecclesiastical,  
(with whom Scutari,  
Constante & the Crimea  
were crammed)- that  
any one ever has had  
or is likely to have  
again. One would  
have thought such  
a time would have  
"called out" some of  
them. It is notorious  
that not one of them  
ever "did a thing,"  
or was capable of  
"doing a thing". Lady  
Canning was the

laughing=stock of the  
whole Army for  
sending out poor  
Mrs. Moore, the  
widow of Col. Moore,  
to "nurse the Officers."  
She was well known.  
~~And~~ She killed herself  
by going out boating  
at night with the  
Officers she was sent  
to nurse -

          You know that I  
look forward to the  
Nursing Service being  
ultimately performed  
by Officers' & men's  
widows as Supts & as Nurses -  
But it would be well

-2-

to find ~~the~~ ONE first.

2. "Three month's at St. Thomas's" would *not* prepare any woman to be Supt. altho' excellent as an accessory.

No Civil Hospl service would entirely prepare any woman *by itself*. The one difference, in the Military Hospl, viz that the Nurse is in charge of a large ward full of men, *herself the only woman*, (the other attendants being men,) necessitates changes

which the best Civil Hospl Matron might make the most serious mistakes about. But a Civil Hospl training is *also* necessary, of course.

3. Mrs. Shaw Stewart, as an *inferior*, is not capable as she supposes, of giving hints to her Superior. I am the only person who was ever able to receive such from her. She has actually been (since) obliged to leave a Hospl, because her Superior could not bear her ill-timed interference - She *must be Superior* in the Mily Hospl *while* she is training the ideal. But the ideal

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
may have Civil Hospl training too.

350

I would by no means  
write to HER these  
remarks in my language which are  
~~only~~ intended for your  
information - I would  
simply write to her  
what you propose,  
reiterating the hint  
that the Female Nursing  
IF it waits till the  
ideal Supt is found,  
will wait *for ever* -  
but that the ideal  
Supt may be found,  
she Mrs. Shaw Stewart being once in -  
[You will put this  
more shortly than I.]  
I mean that the

ideal Supt, even if  
found, will not be  
appointed by a *future*  
S. of S.

*This should be  
very strongly stated -  
as also that you have  
very sufficient knowledge  
of what is to be expected  
of the widows of Officers;  
and that you know  
of none & have never  
heard of one whom  
you would entrusting  
with such an Office.*  
{printed address:}30 Old Burlington Street.  
{upside down} W.

I think I  
would say this  
pointedly. Because

-3-

she has no business  
to be advising you  
on a point you  
*must* know better  
than she -

Would you think  
well to add that  
~~this~~/Woolwich is a very small  
beginning - (4 Nurses  
and a Linen Nurse) -  
As she has always  
advocated small  
beginnings, this would  
be a point in its  
favor to her -

There is some  
coquetry in her letter-  
And she wants to be

urged.

[She thinks it very  
fine to decline being  
a Supt for a Nurse.]

If she refuses again  
the 2nd time, I would  
trench the matter thus:

"will you come then  
"as Nurse? i.e. as  
"Head Nurse -with  
"4 Nurses under you -  
"And we will provide  
"otherwise for the  
"Linen. Meanwhile  
"we will look out for  
"the Supt while you

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
are thus laying the  
ground"

352

P.S. I do not overlook  
that she says also  
"widows of *professional* x  
men". "We ~~±~~/have not  
~~know of~~/found one such  
yet: we will  
look out" -  
I would  
say to her -

x as well as "widows of  
Officers"

**[end 15:158]**

unsigned letter, 2ff, pen, {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jul 4.61 on the  
Instructions to be given to Galton for Devonport} 2057/F4/68

{printed address:} 30 Old Burlington Street.

W.

July 4/61

Lord Herbert will

remember that he  
ordered Col. Kennedy's  
Committee to report  
on turning into  
*General Hospitals*  
Woolwich  
Devonport  
Portsmouth

& that these Reports  
were made -

Woolwich is done  
Capt. Galton could

go on with Devonport,  
if some such  
instruction as the  
enclosed were  
given him.

It appears from what Dr. Farr said this morning that the chief object he has in view in having a Weekly State, *printed* is publicity & the Weekly State being accompanied by Notes pointing out the most important results of the Weekly Statistics, as regards the health & efficiency of the troops, he expects, would direct the attention of the Commanding Officers more pointedly to the Sanitary State of his Regiment, while the Public will be kept fully informed on the Sanitary State of the Army.

[9:866]

Without giving any opinion either on one side or the other, it may be well to consider how far the Horse Guards would permit this publication. A Weekly Return is *indispensable* for the working of the Sanitary Department & *must be had*. Consequently all the Forms & Books required for this Weekly Return are indispensable

[end 9:866]

The only remaining question of importance is the one alluded to, viz. the Weekly *publication*.

The experience of the great loss to the Troops from Tropical Diseases shews the extreme importance of studying carefully the whole subject of Army Hygiene & tropical epidemics, with special reference to applying such ~~local~~ Sanitary measures as may remove the local sources of Malaria. Whether as regards Garrisons, Stations Barracks and Hospitals - upon which such epidemic outbreaks depend - and diminishing as far as practicable the circumstances of ~~personal~~ exposure which tend to augment the individual predisposition of the Men -

[end 9:867]

Derbyshire Co Record Office

354

Initialed letter, ff1-11, pen written on envelope:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/68

**[8:666-68]**

Dec=br 27.1860

on Sydney's

leaving the

House of Commons

note in margin on ff8

To Mrs. Herbert

Dec 27, 1860

Hampstead NW

Dec 27/60

Dearest/ I think

Your account -a very

favorable one -

Thank God for it -

and thank you for

sending it. It is

favourable, and

favours the idea

that the disease is

more functional

than organic, when

the albumen diminishes

with sleep, exercise

& fresh air - altho'  
of course it is liable  
to return with any  
exhausting cause -

I am sure that  
Mr. Herbert could not  
have felt himself  
his leaving the Ho=  
of C. more than I  
did [You know how  
you & I have  
always quarreled  
on that point] and  
yet I am thankful  
that all that is over  
& settled -

Of all exhausting causes  
the Ho= of C. is the most  
exhausting.

Yet I know that  
Mr. Herbert will feel  
without his Ho= of C.,  
as I feel without  
my men - now that  
I have only Regulations  
& not human beings  
to deal with. But  
it is not true in  
his case.

I am quite ready  
to sing an Io paeon  
now to Lord de Grey,

as much as you like  
- to his goodness &  
his disinterestedness -  
Also, I will say if  
you like, that his  
Minutes have always  
been the only good  
ones (*not* excepting

Godley's ) in that  
blessed War Office.  
I am very sorry  
to lose him.

I don't at all  
undervalue his  
sacrifice in being  
willing to give up

Office under Mr.  
Herbert, which  
I am sure was  
very great. But he  
is quite certain to  
be able to get Office  
again if he likes it,  
by & bye.

Altogether, I am  
very thankful-

You may have  
a whole wilderness  
of Hawes's now, if  
you like - keep them  
in the park at Wilton,  
if there is room for  
them - though I

still think my  
Netley plan the  
best -  
ever dearest yours

F.N.

I am not "wedded"  
to Lowe. If he has  
been sounded, there  
is, as you say, "No  
more to be said"-  
But, if he has not,  
he told Clough,  
(his Private Secy,)  
some time ago,

that he did not like  
his present post  
it ennuyéd him -  
there was nothing to  
do.

And generally I  
have always heard  
men say that the  
Under Sec=y ship of  
the War Office was  
so interesting that  
men would give  
up more independant  
places for it - if  
asked.

But I will not  
bother you with  
another word about

that-

Will you tell  
Mr. Herbert that  
the Lisbon Hospital  
plans, about which  
he spoke to me  
some time ago  
from the Prince,  
have come - They  
want a deal of  
re=arranging. But  
the wards will be  
the *finest in Europe*.  
the proportions are  
beautiful.

F.N.

Every "Man=Jack"  
of my belongings is or  
have been at  
Embley for my  
cousin Bertha's  
marriage to William  
Coltman, (son of the  
late Judge.) You have  
always been so  
kindly interested  
about Bertha that  
I meant to have  
told you of it -  
especially once  
when you said

to me something  
"en l'air" about  
her marriage -  
But it was not  
settled then.  
And last times  
I saw you, you  
know why we  
could not speak  
of anything else but  
one thing.  
It is a very happy  
concern, except  
that they are to  
live with his

mother, Lady Coltman  
- always a great  
mistake, I think.  
People may have  
the tempers of angels  
as in this case -  
But it never  
Answers.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

359

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise  
N

May 7/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland is **[9:82]**  
here - And he meets  
Dr. Farr here tomorrow  
for the purpose of  
talking over together  
some of the preliminary  
work of the Indian  
Commission - On Monday  
he calls upon Mr.  
Martin for the same  
purpose - But the

work which could be  
done between this  
& Thursday, (if, as  
at present arranged,  
the Barrack Commissn  
go to Scotland on  
Thursday,) would  
be very much facilitated  
by having the permission  
for the India Ho:

You know, of course,  
that the Barrack Commissn are  
planning a ten

days' Inspection in  
Scotland from next  
Thursday - And you,  
I believe, mean to  
meet them ~~our~~/yourself at  
Edinburgh on the 17th.

Much of the  
Indian preliminary work  
cannot therefore  
begin effectually,  
(if this plan is  
carried out,) till  
Monday fortnight.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

We have been going over

the Heads of questions

to be sent out to

the Stations in India. **[end 9:82]**

{in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale preliminary work of Indian Commission}

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

May 10/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

All the enquiries I  
have made tend only  
to prove that there is  
no (Indian) "Queen's  
Officer" at all who will  
not be worse than  
useless - And if H.M.  
made the condition,  
She did it to embarrass.  
I will send you  
tomorrow all the  
pros & cons. I hope

you can wait a day  
longer. For I have  
nothing satisfactory  
yet - The answers,  
such as they are,  
tend to

1. Col. Alison but  
merely because  
old Colin is  
supposed to  
have a good  
eye for a man
2. Brig. Greathed  
but merely  
because there  
is nobody better  
at home -

Such a beggarly array  
of empty benches or  
rather heads!

I hope to have some better recom=  
mendations tomorrow

Farr, it appears,  
has some difficulties  
with Major Graham,  
his chief, about  
accepting to be on  
the Commissn. And  
he asks you to write  
to Major Graham saying

you want his (Farr's)  
services.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale no Indian Queen's officer fit  
to be on the Commission - as to Col. Alison & Col. Greathed. Major Graham to be  
written to about Dr. Farr.}

Derbyshire Co Record Office

362

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Sir John Lawrence for the Indian Commission} 2057/F4/68

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise

N

May 11/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have a promise **[9:85]**  
of Sir John Lawrence's  
answer on Friday,  
(about a Queen's  
Officer for the  
Commissn) if you  
thought it worth  
waiting for. Unfor=  
tunately he was from

home - when I wrote  
to his friend -

Do you think  
that, now at the  
11th hour, you could  
have him too on  
the Commissn &  
fence the Queen's  
Officer by him, as  
they have forced a  
Queen's Officer upon  
you -

I feel that all

these men whom  
we have got (or  
have lost) are such  
children, rogues, or  
asses by the side  
of him - and he  
is the founder of  
anything that is  
Sanitary in India.

But you will  
be a better judge  
of this than I.  
I don't see how

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Lord Stanley or the  
Queen could refuse.  
Sir J. Lawrence  
might -

363

I ought to remind  
you perhaps about  
Alison of the  
extremely bad  
reputation as to  
want of judgment  
that hangs about  
his family in Scotland. **[end 9:85]**

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/68

May 11/59  
West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise  
N

Dear Mr. Herbert

It's choice o'mislikins  
"is all I'n got in this  
"world."

I The substance of **[9:85]**  
the information various  
as it is, may thus be  
summed up. There are  
no superior Queen's  
Officers in India -  
therefore superior  
Indian Queen's Officers  
cannot be had -

Except in the late War  
& those are not come  
back.

I am just where  
I was, after having  
got all this information.

1. Col. Alison
2. Brig. Greathed.

tho' nothing favourable  
or unfavourable is  
to be known as to our matters about  
this Officer - He can  
give information  
about strategic points  
& positions & is a  
most efficient man.

3. Sir W. Colebrooke

This man appears  
to have far more  
general ability &  
experience than any  
one else mentioned.  
But he is old & his  
experience is not  
recent- He is  
however a genuine  
Sanitarian & a  
very remarkable  
man & admirable  
reformer. He is an  
Officer of the R.A.,  
served as such in  
Java & India - was

A.D.C. to Lord Hastings  
in the Mahratta War  
1816-7 when Cholera  
first appeared -  
Q.M.G. with Sir W.  
K. Grant - & many  
years in India -  
always in tropical  
climates. Governor  
of N. Brunswick,  
recently of Barbadoes.  
He is a man of a  
much higher class  
of mind & character  
than any one ~~else~~  
we have had  
recommended.       **[end 9:85]**

4.    [but a long way  
      behind Sir Colebrooke]  
      M. Genl Boileau  
      (late 22nd Foot) now  
      in England - great  
      local experience  
      in Bengal & Bombay,  
      Punjab & field Service.
5.    Major Gall 14th Drags.  
      Though a Cavalry  
      Officer, long in  
      India, both in  
      Bengal & Bombay,  
      very active &  
      able Officer  
      (now in England)

Now I am come to **[9:86]**  
an end.

Martin strongly  
praises Col. Alison  
(No 1)

Sir J. McNeill  
has often told me  
of Sir Colebrooke's  
high character &  
abilities. (No 3.) The  
Senior U.S. Club  
would be sufficient  
address -

Every body  
speaks well of  
Greathed. But then

they say nothing that  
would not do for a  
man like Gen. Windham  
just as well -

Boileau & Gall  
are men a good  
way lower down -

The worst of it  
is that Sir W. Colebrooke  
is the only man who  
has been the least tried  
in our line  
of business - The  
others may be  
geniuses or  
altogether wanting.

I have asked Sir  
John Lawrence to  
recommend (through  
a common friend)  
but have not yet  
his answer -

What would you  
think of asking Sir  
E. Lugard to send you  
(not one but) several  
names for you to  
choose amongst?

-3-

II Laffan has at last  
resigned on account  
of ill health - They  
will not do any  
thing in the way of  
change in that  
Office till your  
Committee has  
reported - perhaps  
not for a twelvemonth.  
It would be well  
worth while to  
get Galton in  
for a twelvemonth.  
The office is very  
troublesome against

the Barrack Commission.

- Galton might  
not accept it, even  
if offered to him,  
because of the  
B. of Trade -

This is what  
I hear from the  
Whitehall people -  
Of course many  
things may happen  
between this &  
then -

III The only *definite*  
& *positive* information  
I have obtained  
from the united  
researches of Drs.  
Sutherland, Farr  
& Martin (relative  
to beginning the  
Indian Sanitary  
Enquiry) is that  
there is a Clerk  
who has been  
150 years (sic)  
in the India Ho:  
who will know  
all about the

documents there when  
we have got the entrée. **[end 9:86]**

Yours [illeg] sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission as to Col. Alison,  
Col. Greathead, Sir W. Colebrooke, Genl Boileau, Major Gall - Laffan resigned -  
suggests Galton}

signed letter, 2ff, pen

May 13/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

At the last moment **[9:87]**

Sir J. Lawrence's  
answer has come -  
He evidently thinks  
that you might as  
well "ask him to  
"dance, having tied  
"up his legs" - (In fact,  
he says so) - as choose  
a Queen's Officer.

He would choose,  
he says, if he must, Col. Campbell

of the 52nd, or Col.  
Orlando Felix,  
who has been 18  
years in India.  
He does not know  
Col. David Russell,  
he says - He does  
not like Greathed  
or Alison.

He does not *highly*  
extol even his  
Col. Campbell - [He  
knows him by  
character only.] ~~He~~  
but calls him "the only  
officer he would name". He

puts Col. Felix, ~~however~~,  
second to Campbell.

I am afraid  
this kind of  
information will  
only offuscate you.  
But if Airey or  
Lugard have sent  
you lists, it may  
help to have  
Sir J. Lawrence's  
imprimatur -

in great haste  
sincerely yours  
F. Nightingale

Lawrence is of course

very careful not  
to commit himself  
in any general  
condemnation of  
the Queen's service.  
He only speaks "of  
these matters"  
"for this purpose"

&c **[end 9:87]**

{in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission Sir J. Lawrence's  
opinion of Col. Campbell, Col. Felix, Col. Greathead Col. Alison}

Derbyshire Co Record Office

370

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Indian  
Commission Ross Mangles' opinion of Col. Greathed} 2057/F4/68

Highgate

May 14/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

This is the last: **[9:87]**  
vero ultimo.

Ross Mangles, a  
poor judge you will  
say, says Greathed  
is a man of great ability

But do you know  
old Martin says  
that, when he was  
Presidency Surgeon &

Mangles Secretary at  
Calcutta, he (Mangles)  
was the only person  
who ever gave him  
help in improving  
(illeg) that sink of all  
un=Sanitary abomination,  
viz. our capital of  
India.

Greathed is about  
50 - a nephew of  
Glyn, the banker -

Probably you have  
decided long since.

I only report my last. **[end 9:87]**

yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

371

signed letter, 3ff, pen {in another hand: Army Medical School Miss Nightingale  
May 19. 59} 2057/F4/68

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise

N

May 19/59

**[15:371]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

Sir Jas. Clark is  
in great tribulation  
about the Medl Sch.  
And I advised him  
to write to you direct.  
Enclosed is the  
effusion - I have  
no doubt Sir J. Clark  
is a fidget - And his  
preference of Panmure  
over Peel & of A.  
Smith over Alexander

is the oddest choice.  
Still I have no  
doubt, because I  
hear it from Martin  
too, & very venomously, that Alexander  
thinks to win the  
Army Medl Chairs  
for his men, (as  
he has done the  
Council,) by working  
on Genl Peel - &  
that you will have  
to interfere -  
Alexander is really  
too bad - in this -  
Martin ~~he~~ says he is  
quite impenetrable.

**[end 15:371]**

As Greathed is to [9:88]  
be only ornamental,  
it is a good name  
to have - And Sir  
E. Lugard's letter is the  
letter of a man of  
thought & feeling,  
tho' not of a man  
of the world. [I wish  
he would not appeal  
to Hawes.]

I shall not break  
my heart about  
Sir J. Lawrence. Tho'  
he is a much better  
Sanitarian than Lord

Stanley. What he  
seems to have said  
is absurd enough -  
But whatever was  
done in India by  
him or his brother  
was good Sanitary  
action. However, it  
does not do to have  
a man of that  
weight second on a  
Commissn who, if  
he were to go wrong,  
might go & write  
a Report all to  
himself, which  
would be awkward.

I had another  
 reason for wishing  
 Sir J. Lawrence  
 to become intimate  
 with you - But that  
 you can do ~~all~~ any  
 way, if you like.  
 He says that things  
 may ripen for  
 another uproar  
 in India - that  
 there are seeds &  
 that he cannot get  
 Ministers in England  
 to attend to him. **[end 9:88]**

Yours sincerely  
 F. Nightingale

signed letter, 3ff, pen {in another hand, Nightingale Fund 1859} 2057/F4/68

Highgate  
 May 24/59

IN RE N. FUND

*No hurry.*

Believe me, I have not  
 been neglecting this. And,  
 during March & April,  
 in town, I saw or  
 corresponded with  
 pretty nearly all the  
 Hospital authorities  
 & female Superinten=  
 dents in esse or in posse  
 that could be applied  
 to the Fund.

I will not tell you  
 in writing (tho' I could  
 any day ~~in~~ viva voce)  
 all the pros & cons of  
 the different plans  
 I have successively  
~~tryed~~/tried to initiate.

The most promising;  
 that of the "London", qua  
 Hospital, & of Miss  
 Blackwell, M.D. qua Superintendent, has  
 fallen thro'. And I am  
 bound to say the  
 Hospital shewed itself  
 far more accommodating  
 than the lady. [She is

going back to America.]

Miss Erskine, who  
was Supt. of the Naval  
Hospital at Therapia,  
I have wooed in every  
way. She will not be  
won to leave her own family  
again. It is in vain  
to try her any more -

The grasses are green -  
So I will not deplore  
these two & sundry  
other schemes - one  
of which was to tack  
ourselves on to St.  
John's House at King's  
College Hospital. For

various reasons, that  
will not do -

I have talked  
over the matter at  
great length with  
Sir John McNeill

For some months  
past, I have also  
discussed it with  
some of the authorities  
of St. Thomas' Hospital.

The Matron of  
that Hospital is the  
only one of any *existing*  
Hospital I ~~sh~~/could  
recommend - to form a  
"School of Instruction" for Nurses -

It is not the *best*

CONCEIVABLE

way of beginning. But  
it seems to me the  
*best* POSSIBLE. It will  
be beginning in a  
very humble way -  
But at all events  
it will not be  
beginning with a failure  
i.e. with the possibility of upsetting  
a great Hospital - for  
she is a *tried* Matron.

Sir John McNeill  
leaves town on Saturday.  
So that he will not  
see you again. I have  
therefore asked him  
to write to you about  
some business matters

relating to the  
appointment of an  
Executive Committee  
&c - & a Secretary,  
a kind of man of  
business, with whom  
I could communicate,  
to settle all the  
*details* with the  
Hospital authorities,  
which it would be  
unreasonable to  
expect any of the "Fund"  
=Council to undertake.  
I have written a  
kind of Programme,  
which I will shew you.  
Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Highgate

[12:123-24]

May 26/59

PRIVATE

*In re N. Fund*

Sir J. McNeill shewed me the ~~letter~~/draft he was writing to you & which you will have today - I agree so far.

1. The proposal of a Secretary & of Mr. Clough as Secy, which originated from Sir J. McN & not from me, I think quite essential not only to the success but to the very starting of the scheme -

I don't know whether Mr. Clough would take it. But if *he* does not, I can't conceive who else would do -

I think the Secy must be the servant of the Council & not mine, & that he must be a paid

Servant -

I should therefore wish to leave £10000 to the Fund, (the income of which is now about £1344 per ann.) which would increase it to about £1700 per ann. This would provide for the pay of a Secy. And I cannot conceive that, for the first 3 or 4 years (*afterwards* a mere Clerk would do) a Secy who undertakes so troublesome a business ~~should have~~/could be found for less than £300 a year - I might easily have managed this privately between Mr. Clough & myself, (if he will act, which I don't know-) But I think, as I said before, he must be the Secy of the Council, in order

to act at the Hospital with their authority in their name,; & *not* as my friend - certainly.

2. Sir J. McNeill's little Executive Committee of three I think is quite necessary - But Mr. Clough thinks that he, Sir J. McN., must be fourth on it himself - ~~for~~& that, even with him at Edinbro', it will act better so than with any one else in London - Because he is almost the only man on the Council with an organizing head. Why did you name them then, you will say. And I have often asked myself why. But I have known, ~~durin~~ since I named that Council, a *great many* men under the most singularly favourable circumstances for finding out organizing talents - And I could not name a

better Council now if I were to try -

As for Doctors, Civil & Military, there must be something in the smell of the medicines which induces absolute administrative incapacity. And it must be something very strong too, for they all have *opportunity* for developing administrative capacity, (almost more than any other profession) if it were but there -

The three Civil Doctors on the Council are perfect infants in this respect - And Mr. Clough expressed his perfect repugnance to bringing business before them, if they were to form alone the Executive Committee -

Dean Dawes & Col. Jebb (oh why does he call himself Sir Joshua) ~~are~~/have both great power of organization - but both are such very busy men -

F. Nightingale [end 12:124]

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand, Miss Nightingale June 26.1859. On the Army Medical School at Fort Pitt} 2057/F4/68

June 26/59

We have put a complete copy of the Army Medical School inside your own letter in the India rubber band -

We have pinned in some slips into your own letter giving rather fuller answers to the letter of June 3.

The mistake of the whole Correspondence

is referring back questions regarding the School, not to the Commission entrusted with its organization, but to the D.G.

Alexander's letter assumes for himself the very position (in reference to the Chairs) which the R. Commission guarded most carefully against any D.G. occupying.

For otherwise the School would be subordinated to the Army Med. Dep.

Longmore or Trench would do very well to fill both Chairs (Medical & Surgical)

But, as there must probably be two men to do the Hospital work, (Medical & Surgical Divisions) why not both Professors?

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Army Medical School  
July 4 59} 2057/F4/68

July 4/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

About the ARMY

MEDICAL SCHOOL?

How would this do?

To have three Professors

(as once proposed) viz

1. Surgery -----*Army man*
2. Medicine-----E. INDIAN
3. Hygiene -----*Civilian*

These to form the Senate:

-then 2 Teachers

{Army men

1. Pathology {would yield
2. Chemistry {these to the  
{Civilians

You see the E. Indian  
service is so incomparably  
superior, in point  
of good men, to ours,  
that it would be  
an absurdity to put  
their men to School  
to ours - if, as  
is most desirable,  
you carry out your  
plan of having ~~the~~  
E. Indian candidates  
to your School.

I am sure that,  
if you had read one

half of the E. Indian  
Medical Reports which  
Sutherland & I have  
been reading up, you  
would at once say  
- that Alexander  
is not fit to be an  
Assistant Surgeon to  
these men - far less  
that Alexander's men  
should be their  
teachers.

The *non*=sense of it  
is in calling it an  
Army Medical School  
at all - Now, if an

E. Indian were *one*  
of the Professors, it  
would break down  
the delusion at once.  
And, if the E. Indian  
candidates (& possibly  
the Navy candidates)  
were admitted &  
passed too ~~together~~, the  
true sense of the  
School would  
appear -

The fact is that  
*you* must make  
the school, *you* must  
constitute the school,  
*you* must govern the

-2-

School yourself. The  
Army & the Director  
General must have  
nothing to do with  
it - And the blind  
must not be put  
to teach the blind -

Alexander has  
been boasting that  
he has got five  
prizes for the *Army*  
in the 5 Professorships.

Now his arguments  
are so easily replied  
to.

1. "Parkes has had  
no experience of

campaigning - *his* men  
have" - But what have  
they made of it? There  
is not one who has  
made himself capable  
to teach Sanitary  
campaigning or indeed  
has learnt it.

2. look at all  
your experience of  
Barracks & Hospitals.  
Why there is not an  
Army Medical man  
concerned with them  
who ought not to  
have been brought  
to a Court=martial  
for having them in

a state which, - bad  
as the Civil Hospitals  
are, - represents what  
~~they~~/Civil Hospitals were 150 years  
back. There is not  
one of these men who  
has known what ventilation  
is. Is not this a  
disgraceful fact?

But about the E.  
Indians

I think you will  
find a general  
conviction among  
scientific men that

Army Medical men  
occupy (except in  
Surgery) a rank in  
the profession equal  
to that of the *bassi*  
*chirurgi* of Rome &  
Naples - that the  
E. Indian men occupy  
the very highest  
rank in the profession.  
higher than the Civilians.

*Bird*, a man at  
the E.I. Ho: (whom I  
have mentioned to  
you) is by no means  
one of their best men,  
but he would fill

-3-

the Chair of Medicine  
with about 6 times the  
efficiency of any of  
Alexander's men -

[He is now in London  
& lecturing gratis  
at St. Mary's +/Hospital]

But, if you *should*  
think of having an  
E. Indian Professor,  
let us, please, inquire  
for you whether there  
are not better men  
than Bird -

You see it would  
be a great thing to

have a man  
conversant with  
Indian diseases -  
as we are always  
talking about our  
poor "sequels" - &  
to have a man  
practised in teaching.

And the E. Indians  
never would send  
their men to your  
School without  
such a man being  
Medl Professor. He would also  
teach a certain amount of Indian Hygiene

I have been  
talking over the whole

matter with Sutherland  
to see what the  
fruit of his cogitations  
(after reading at the  
India Ho:) was - And  
~~his~~/this is exactly his  
opinion -

The E. Indian men  
would just "envoyer  
promener" the whole  
*boutique* of Alexander  
& Co.

Sutherland strongly  
urges that the School  
should be delayed  
a year rather than  
make the irretrievable

mistake at first of  
choosing a teacher  
among the men you  
wish to teach.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

~~Excuse length.~~

We don't care about the  
Chemistry at all, if  
you like to give that  
to an Army man - Let  
them burn their fingers  
& blow themselves up.  
So much the better

~~Martin is quite behind hand~~  
compared to some of these E. Indians.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

385

30 Old Burlington St  
July 27/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have read thro'  
all your Regulations &  
Sutherland part - To=  
morrow we shall go  
through them line by  
line -

The Revise is divine.  
It is just putting back  
every thing "as you were".  
It is, as far as in it  
lies, re=establishing  
what has so often all

but lost a British  
Army.

All the discoveries  
& conclusions which  
Sir J. Graham's  
Committee will make  
will not display the  
nature of the W.O.  
half so well as these  
Minutes & alterations  
do -

You say Job was  
not in the War Office.  
No: nor Hercules either  
What were *his* Labours?  
Nothing at all.

The two most important points struck out, viz. 1. the appointment of a Governor to General Hospitals by the S. of S.

& 2. the recommendations in writing by the Medical Officer

will have, however, to be decided by you, with reference to the new changes, before we can do anything.

And I enclose a Memo on these points - to say why

otherwise I should not have troubled you till we had done the whole -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 29 July/59 {illeg{ 1859 Miss Nightingale on the regulations as revised by the WO Comee}

unsigned memorandum, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Memo on the Regulations

The Regulations, as amended by the Committee, are as good a representation of the state of the W.O. as one would wish to have -

We have gone over the alterations cursorily & will do so in detail -

So far as we can judge, with the exception of a few alterations, the Regulations will have to be restored nearly to their original form -

The chief point of importance they have raised is about the Governorship of a General Hospital. And their difficulty is in bringing together the two jurisdictions, viz. the Military & that of the War Office.

The necessity of a direct connection between the Governor & the War Office

is clearly shewn at P. VI of your own letter prefixed to the Regulations & which they have left entire.

They, on the other hand, conceive that the seniority of a Military Officer on a Station gives him a thorough knowledge of Hospital organization -

If their plan be carried out, it puts the Military Hospitals back to what they were at the beginning of Scutari -

At all events, the Governor *must* be appointed by the S. of S. for War. & hold his office during the pleasure of the S. of S.

The only point is to prevent any jarring in the jurisdiction of the S. of S. over the Hospital & of the Commander of the Forces over military discipline.

This we must ask you about - Because, will it not depend very much on the conclusions you come to as to the relations between the Horse Guards & the W.O.?

II. They object to the Medical Officer reporting in writing in all cases.

The number of recommendations will depend materially upon the course taken in re = organizing the *Barrack Dep.*

The Barrack Commission has arrived at the conclusion that the Barrack Dep. should be charged directly - in any Barrack Regulations, - with keeping all Barracks & Hospitals in a good Sanitary state - Were this done, the interference of the Medical Officer would be seldom called for - except as regards diet,

dress & duties -

Medical Officers' representations would then be complaints against the Barrack master, to be redressed thro' the agency of the Commandg Officer, who, of course, will be willing to see his Barracks placed in a good condition, & will refer the complaint to the Barrack master - A good Barrack system will save reporting - to a very large extent -  
July 27/59

Regulations

{in another hand: July 27.59}

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: qualifications for candidates}  
2057/F4/68

30 Old Burln St.

Aug 3/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

We have read thro' your documents on the Army Medl School.

They are the most extraordinary documents that ever were issued on the subject - shewing such a total ignorance as they do of the state of Medical education at this day,

and in such direct  
opposition to the views  
of the Commission on  
the Army Medl School  
& to what they require.

In a day or two,  
we will send you a  
paper with the objections  
to it - and a plan  
for your own consideration,  
with the form of a  
letter to Alexander -

What Alexander  
has done is this: he

has not only required  
a License & Diploma,  
but he has dictated  
to the Schools & Colleges  
upon what conditions  
such certificates  
should be granted.

The printed paper,  
dated 1859, is a  
reprint of Dr. Smith's  
paper, given into the  
R. Commission of 1857.  
- and which Dr. Smith.  
as a member of the

Medl School Commission  
practically set aside.  
- ~~And~~ the M.S.  
memoranda are  
merely aggravations  
of the original sin.

They should all be  
sent, according to  
their own arrangement  
"to a \_\_\_\_\_ Hospital  
"for Mental Derangement  
"for \_\_\_\_\_ months."

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

390

30 O. Burlington St  
Aug 10/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

We have made a **[9:94]**  
List of Stations in  
the three Presidencies  
to which to send  
copies of the Indian  
questions -

We submitted this  
List to Col. Baker  
at the India Ho:  
And we have just

received it back  
as correct - [Col Baker  
was informed what  
was the object]  
There are no fewer  
than 166 !!! of which  
there is accommodation  
for *Queen's* troops  
at 82  
for *Company's European*  
troops at 97  
& for *native* at  
148

About 6 are

occupied by *Queen's*  
troops alone.

Will you tell us  
how we should  
send out the 82  
copies for *Queen's*  
troops?

We would rather  
they should go out  
thro' the *War Office*  
by your ~~(illeg)~~/orders to  
the *Queen's* Commanders  
in the Presidencies.

Or must they go

Derbyshire Co Record Office

391

with the others through

the *India Ho*:? [end 9:94]

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 10 August 1859 Miss Nightingale has made list of stations in India to wh. to send queries -}

signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Montague Grove

Hampstead

Sept 2/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. we think that it would be adviseable to print & bind up Alexander's "bouquet" - But, before it is done, we should like to collate the "Queen's Regulations" with the new Regulations - in case that there should be any deficiencies or discrepancies. Could

you tell them to send us a proof of each? The great Pan told us, you know, to oversee the "Queen's Regulations" -

2. Sir C. Wood must "pay the Doctor." because the R.C. has power to call for any information or documents. And if they can't give them, they must get them. & pay the cost.

3. Ld Stanley is quite as troublesome ~~in~~/as Achilles in more matters than "sulking". But his declining is very serious - We want a man not only of great weight of *position* (~~this~~/which is quite essential) but a hard worker & he must have some practical knowledge of the subject. It is such an opportunity of doing a great work -

greater, I think. than the other - We will think & think & send you word -

4. I don't remember any Purveyor at Scutari who was madder than the average - I remember two or three who were rather less mad than the rest - *Tucker & Toller* are the only Purveyors I remember who were in the East, of names at all like "Turner" - [There is an ~~Asst.~~ Deputy *Commissary*=Genl named

"Turner"] On the whole,  
I incline to think  
that your correspondent  
is romancing. Jenner,  
I rather think, was  
the best Purveyor out  
there - But he was  
in the Crimea - and  
nothing very *extraordinary*.  
I can't at all remember  
the man in question.  
I think he must only  
have been a super=  
numerary clerk -

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 1859 Sep. 2. Miss Nightingale wishes to compare the "Queen's"  
with the new Regulations & asks for a Copy}

signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead

Sept 15/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

The old original "cow  
& snuffers" represented  
in ~~the~~ Mapleton's Netley  
Committee has re=appeared  
with Mapleton in the  
D.G.'s Board - [I recognise  
his hand in all these  
papers.] They shift &  
shift. They can't read  
~~recognise~~ an Act when  
they see it. And they

stick to old A. Smith's  
predilection for a little bit of power  
& try to dictate from  
the A.M.D. to Bodies  
far before them. They  
have not the most  
elementary knowledge  
of what is going on  
in Medical Education  
now -

At the same time,  
Alexander is right in  
quoting against us  
the first ~~two~~ pages  
of the "Organization  
School" Report. ~~They~~/That

does the same thing. It  
~~are~~ is wrong & ought  
not to be there at all.  
A. Smith put it in and  
Sir J. Clark modified it.  
Had the new Medical Act  
been in force then, you  
would never have allowed  
it. It is a handle for  
Alexander against us  
& the only principle now  
is compromise - But  
he fancies he is progressing  
& he is retrograding.  
He sees exactly where  
he "has" us -

The last page of  
Alexander's reply is all

one muddle in his head -  
He thinks himself a  
Licensing Body.

The real proof of a  
man's competence is  
not in the "School" he has  
been at, not in his  
"certificates of attendance"  
&c at all but in *what you are  
going to exact*, in his  
examination -

The most provoking  
part of it is the time  
wasted by you in reading  
our Explanations & by  
us in writing them -  
because there is really  
no principle involved.

It is only a controversy.

To prevent further  
muddle, whenever any  
thing like a written  
agreement is come to,  
we should be glad to  
go over the Scheme -

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

If you send what we  
have now written to  
the "cow & snuffers", it  
will only lead to further  
controversy. The elements  
for coming to an agreement  
are in the last two pages,  
from "To sum up." The only

other thing to be done  
would be to re=Summon  
the Organization Commn  
with Alexander instead  
of A. Smith -

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 15 Sep. 1859}

Montague Grove  
Hampstead N W  
Sept 22/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

We have gone over the "Regulations", with reference to the various alterations that have been proposed by the D.G. and Dr. Balfour -

The D.G. has made a few verbal changes which we have adopted. He has also sent two additional Forms and five Lists, which we have also put in.

We have consulted Dr. Farr about Dr. Balfour's proposed alterations. The most important of these is the substitution of a *Weekly Return of Sick* to be abstracted in his Office, instead of yours sincerely

a series of Returns, on which the Regimental Officer virtually made the Abstract before sending it to the Army Medical Dept. Balfour's plan diminishes the work of the Regimental Surgeon, while it increases the work of the Statistical Office. On this substitution, Dr. Farr remarks: "Dr. Balfour proposes to give all the required information and it is quite fair to let him do his own work in his own way for the reasons he assigns. Reg It was found however at the trial that the method of working by slips proposed by us was the most expeditious - Does not Dr. Balfour think that his method will involve more work & create delay?

If this should prove to be the case, he had better give the method suggested by the Statistical Commission a fair trial."

Under these circumstance, we have taken out these particular Forms (of the Commission) & put in Dr. Balfour's.

2. Next, as to the *Registration of Deaths*. The Commission proposed a Quarterly Register to be sent by the Regimental Surgeon to the Regr ~~R~~ Genl. Dr. Balfour adopts the same Form but suggests that the D.G. should make up the Quarterly Return & send it to the Registrar-General. On this Dr. Farr makes the remark: "The Registrar General adopts this suggestion & will be glad to receive the Returns on the proposed Form.

The D.G. will have the goodness to write to the Registrar General on the subject officially."

The Statistical difficulty is therefore arranged.

We have farther made a few verbal alterations - But the most of our work has been in changing the references & pages, on account of the above alterations -

The proof is so mauled that we do not think you can possibly consider these revisions & changes till it has been in the printer's hands - And we have only sent it to you for duty's sake. Perhaps you will be so good as to order the Printer to send us the Revise as soon as possible; we should like to go over it before it goes into any other person's hands.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

398

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: 22 Sept 1859 Army Medl School}  
2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

Sept 22/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

We send you a corrected Proof of the Medical School plan - with the Sections arranged in proper order. At the latter end of it are the Rules for Examination before Promotion; and following these are three Classes

under which Candidates for Admission are to be arranged after their first examination. The proof contains too much or too little:  $\Phi$ /to make it what it ought to be, it ought to include the D.G.'S requirements for admission to the Service. We have not yet seen the final adjustment of these.

The Requirements should stand first - next, the Constitution of the Examining Board - then should follow the three Classes (on the last page of the Proof) - after these, should come the Medical School: & last of all should follow the Rules for Examination for Promotion - This would

make it a complete document, if you think it advisable to do this. But, before this is done, we should know 1. what the requirements are to be  
2. what the Examining Board is to be -  
3. whether the India Govt will send their Candidates - As soon as we get this information, we could complete the thing, if you think fit.

Yours sincerely  
F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W  
Sept 23/59

**[15:285]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

A copy of a "work" issued by the War Office, in July of THIS year, (!) containing "Instructions to Military Hospital Cooks" has been put into my hands -

It purports to teach cooks how to dispose of the materials of the new Hospital Diets (in the "Regulations").

it just puts back the  
Hospital Cooking to where  
it was at the beginning  
of Scutari & the Crimean  
War -

It seems to rest upon  
the old exploded principle  
that all the cooking  
for the worst class of  
cases is to be done  
at three several times  
a day or ~~at~~ (exclusive  
of the two "teas") at *one* time.  
This was exactly the  
system at Scutari -  
where *all* the "Extras"

were issued to the Patient  
at once. And if he could  
not eat them, they stood  
by him cold.

This is actually laid  
down as Regulation in  
the "work" in question  
(which is said to be  
Genl Peel's own composition)  
where a mixture called  
Arrowroot, but which is  
Starch, is to be made  
all at once & "to be  
eaten cold."!!

A few of Soyer's  
receipts are thrust in  
by way of contrast.



Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/68

402

Hampstead N W

Sept 26/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

We hope this matter  
(of the D.G.) may be considered  
now as finally settled.

The D.G. has conceded,  
but in such a way as  
to leave a doubt regarding  
the Schedule unsolved.  
The arrangement of the  
Articles is not logical.  
And, by placing the  
Schedule at the beginning  
instead of the end,

there is still an opening  
for something like a  
special Course of study.  
Fortunately, by a little  
arrangement & a few  
verbal alterations, we  
have been able to adopt  
almost the words of  
the D.G.

Now that this is  
arranged, another very  
important subject  
presents itself - There  
is no reference in the  
Schedule to the Army  
Medical School - And

if it be issued in its  
present form, the Public  
will be left in the dark  
on this matter

We have therefore  
interwoven with the  
Qualifications the School  
attendance - the second  
Examination and also  
the Examination for  
Promotion - so that, in  
the state the Document  
is now sent to you,  
it contains everything  
the Candidate requires  
to know, except his  
daily pay allowed at

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
the School.

404

If you approve of the Document as it now stands, and would return it to us, we should have it made up with the Proof of the Medical School Organization & sent to the Press, in order that you might consider the whole together -

[Our No 4 gets over the inconvenience of the Schedule by using it simply as a List of certificates of

attendance required by Licensing Bodies.]

Your Minute wisely leaves the No of Labours to be determined by the Medical Council - Alexander says 12, which was the compromise agreed to.

He has left out the specification of 100 beds for the Studying Hospital. And he has "recommended" five Certificates on subjects of General Education, to which we have agreed.

{in another hand: 1859 Sep. 26. Miss Nightingale on the Qualifications for Candidates for the Army Medical School}

Taken in connection  
with the Medical School  
scheme, the Requirements,  
as we have re=arranged  
them, & the Schedule  
for the use to which  
we have put it, will  
answer the intended  
purpose -

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 7ff, pen {in another hand: Oct/59 Miss Nightingale urges Mr.  
Herbert to insist upon the India House furnishing the information it possesses.}  
2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W  
October 7/59 [9:96-98]

*In re India House.*

Dear Mr. Herbert

If you would write a short  
and tempestuous note to Sir C. Wood,  
after the manner of the D. of Wellington  
in Spain to Mr. Filder, and say  
that our supplies *must* come, (whether  
there be any or not,) or he ~~would~~/will be  
hung, - our supplies *would* come.

The thing is after this wise:  
If the India House puts its washing  
out, every thing is well & punctually  
done - What washing it does at  
home is not done at all.

Mr. Prinsep has sent back  
our last Form, with much absurd

and ignorant Commentary of his own upon it - and has written a note to Dr. Farr, which I have, as also the Form, saying that the Indian Commission must seek for its information in India.

Now we know that this is not true. The information *is* in the India Ho: And the only question is how to get it out.

The Office throws all kinds of obstacles in the way - And for the sake of saving a few clerks at a few pounds a week, (for a limited time) - the results of the Returns made for years with great labor & at great cost are not to be given to the Commission.

Mr. Hornidge (of the India Ho:)

is entirely on our side.

The information is in the India House - *in Col. Baker's Department*. Dr. Farr has seen the Rolls there himself - And it would be a mere waste of time & labor to send to India for them. Our Forms ask merely for information, which the Rolls supply. To say they do not - is merely a "put-off."

The India Ho: has not answered your letter - which they have had in the Mily Dep. for 3 months - so I am informed.

The only course is for you to write again, I am afraid, & ask them to supply the information which the Commission requires.

Two or three "writers", (or more if necessary), must be employed to do the work, under the supervision of Mr. Hornidge; with whom Dr. Farr would consult.

I should consider it an honor, if I might be allowed to pay (thro' you) these "writers".

The India Dep. will not do our work as Establishment work, for they have as much as they can do of their ordinary routine work.

But a note from you to Sir C. Wood will bring Mr. Prinsep to his senses.

Surely it is of some importance to get at the results of their past experience; and to put them in the

way of profiting by future observations in India.

The whole "fencing" is a mere matter of work & of a few good clerks for a short time; to pay whom, if you would allow me to put £100 in your hands, I should be delighted.

Sir C. Wood is as sharp as a needle. But he does not know anything at all about our work. And the comments of Prinsep & Co: pass muster with him, & dispose fatally of questions of the utmost importance, by simply putting them on the shelf.

Mr Prinsep was happily (for us) married this week; and

is now out of the way, which is happier still. **[end 9:98]**

Mr. Hornidge (our friend) is at the India Ho: now -

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

408

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: 1859 Oct 7 Miss Nightingale Suggests putting the Adjutant General & a first-rate Barrack Master on the "Regulations" Commission when re-appointed} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

Oct 7/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

The "Regulations" Commission, on its re-appointment, will have to take into consideration changes in two sets of Regulations at least - the "Queen's" & the "Barrack". Would

you not think well to put on the Adjutant=Genl, and a first=rate Barrack Master?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

It would save, do you not think, much contest with the Horse Gds.

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

Oct 8/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

To "do homage to the unusual "excitement in the War Office", we hereby return not only what you have asked for but more than you asked for.

We return a Corrected Proof of the "Qualifications", in the form to be issued to Candidates.

2. we send you a corrected Proof of the "Medical School" plan with the "Qualifications" prefixed: as we think the whole procedure from candidature to promotion

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
was what you wished to be in one  
document.

409

3. we see no objection to  
printing the Qualification in the  
"Regulations", should you think fit.  
But, at the same time, the Rules  
for Examination on Promotion,  
P. 3, of the "Qualifications" are the only portion of the  
Document which interest a  
man acting under the "Regulations"  
& who may be supposed to have  
passed all the dangers of Pages  
1 and 2. The Rules for Promotion,  
however, might very well be printed  
as an Appendix to the "Regulations".

4. Would it not be advisable  
to print the "Warrant" in the  
"Regulations"

Appendix? If so, would you send  
us a copy?

We shall be able to return  
you the "Regulations", finally completed,  
on Monday.

We should like to have Proofs  
of the "Organization Medical School"  
& also of the "Requirements."

I have put your name  
where I think it ought to be.  
But I can take it out. [It is  
on the last page of the "Organization";  
which is a kind of Warrant. The  
"Qualifications" are a mere Office Form.]

Please to read over I, P. 1, in the

"Organization", with reference to the  
*Indian Medical Officers & Engineers.*  
May this go?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 1859 ) Oct 8 Miss Nightingale sends a corrected Proof of  
Qualifications & of Medical School. suggests the printing of the "Warrant" in the  
Regulations Appendix & asks for a Copy.}

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

410

Hampstead N W  
Oct 19/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I find from Circular  
No 464 that "J.R. Godley",  
"in accordance with the  
"recommendation of the  
"R. Commission," which  
appoints *Governors* to  
organize all General  
Hospitals & be  
responsible for all  
their stores, ~~appoints~~ & buildings

therefore "directs" that  
"the charge of all  
"buildings, grounds &  
"stores" in "General  
Hospitals" ~~sh~~ "be  
transferred" to the  
"Purveyor of the District."

[Are the *Governors*  
gone to bed? without  
even putting the  
"Principal Medical  
Officers", in charge?]

Practically the *Purveyors*  
seem to have gained a  
great step by being  
raised into skeleton  
*Governors* by "J.R. Godley".

Circular No 464 contains  
only 23 *Purveyor's* Regulations,  
by which the functions  
of *Purveyor* & Barrack=  
master, (two co=ordinate  
authorities in General  
Hospitals now) are all trans=  
ferred to *Purveyor* -  
which is certainly better

than having the two  
at open war, or the  
one extinct, as the  
Barrack master was  
at Scutari.

"Trifling repairs of  
a pressing or urgent  
nature" are also  
provided for. [What  
is a "trifling" repair  
of an "urgent" nature?]

Capt. Belfield, in  
his Minute on the  
Corfu case, treated  
this Circular as one

for converting Garrison  
into General Hospitals.  
And at first sight  
it bears this construction.  
But, inasmuch as  
it is not so, it is  
questionable whether  
Beatson, Principal  
Medical Officer at  
Corfu, would have  
any power of  
distributing the sick,  
irrespective of  
Regiments, throughout

all the wards, in  
order to equalize the  
cubic space - a thing  
so urgently required  
that Col. Lefroy  
tried to force it  
upon Dr. Beatson of  
his own authority -  
and all the Minutes  
make mention of its  
necessity.

It appears to me  
that Beatson was right;  
& that Lefroy & Bel=  
field are wrong. For  
the forthcoming Regulations

Derbyshire Co Record Office

412

(only) provide that the discipline which such intermingling of the sick requires shall be executed by the Governor. And at Corfu there is no Governor.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

The Minute of Beatson & the "Board of Officers" at Corfu is in fact a petition for erecting Corfu Garrison Hospital into a "General Hospital" {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 19. 59. on Purveyors' Duties & the state of Corfu Hospital}

signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 27 1859 Drs Rutherford Cooper-Anderson fit for China as Sanitary Officers.} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

Oct 27/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I knew Dr. Rutherford well in the Crimea & liked him much. He is an honest man, of good ordinary intelligence, & considerable honour; (an article little known in the Army but much prized in Civil Life). He is a very

good Surgeon - As for  
Sanitary knowledge,  
Alexander might  
just as well appoint  
Mapleton or any  
other Surgeon; or any  
N.C. Officer, for that  
matter -

I have asked  
Sutherland about  
him, but he does  
not remember him  
at all -

[Rutherford was a  
2nd Cl. Staff Surgeon when  
I knew him, not a  
Regimental Officer at  
all.]

The only man in  
the Army who is  
unmistakeably possessed  
of great Sanitary  
talents is *Cooper*.  
He is master of his  
art - both in practice

& in theory. The only  
caution he wants is,  
not to set other people  
against his good things.  
But as to knowledge,  
there is no one in  
the Army fit to hold  
a candle to him -  
In this we S. & I, both agree  
& we are quite dis=  
interested, because he  
went against us  
about Netley -

After Cooper, but a long way after him, comes Anderson, (Arthur) once P.M.O. at Balaclava, a D.I.G. now I believe. He is in China too or was - perhaps in India now - He is a very conciliatory man; a man of considerable power, but with just the contrary fault to Cooper, who is too violent, while

Anderson is too humble.

Had I been Alexander, I should have named Cooper to be Sanitary Officer to China & Anderson as his remplaçant. ~~These~~/Those ought to be very serious reasons which make Alexander set aside these two men on such a hazardous public duty as this- Dr. Sutherland & I both agree in this =

II. Moorhead, the Indian Medical Professor, is come home & is at Scarbro'; to be heard of at the India Ho:

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

415

Hampstead N W

Oct 29/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

The Queries for the **[9:98]**  
Queen's troops in India  
have arrived (after  
a very difficult  
voyage through the  
Strand) at the W.O.  
in Whitehall Gardens.

Dr. Sutherland will  
go there, make them

up into packets &  
send them to the  
W.O. in Pall Mall,  
as soon as you have  
given the necessary  
instructions for  
their being forwarded  
to India, filled up  
& returned to you -

Shall we write you a Circular  
something like the  
enclosed for the

three Officers Commanding  
in the three Presidencies? **[end 9:98]**

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{notes in another hand. upside down}

Derbyshire Co Record Office

416

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale 2nd November 1859 Dr. Burrell's opinion of Lawson's letter on the Newcastle Case & Yellow Fever generally} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

2 Nov/59

Thanks very much for  
Sir Gomm, who is very  
interesting. We have  
kept his Statistics but  
return his letter, with  
a comment upon it,  
suggested by Lawson's  
pamphlet & by poor  
old Burrell, who has  
sent us a very long  
& interesting letter  
upon ~~it~~/Lawson, which I am

afraid you would not  
read. So I only send  
you the juice.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

417

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct. 29- 5th Novber  
1859 on the E. Indian queries} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

5 Nov/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

No orders have **[9:98-99]**  
come from Pallmall to  
Whitehall yet anent  
the Indian Queries -  
tho' Whitehall has  
sent to Pallmall  
every day for them/same.

If the utmost  
dispatch is made,  
I believe there is

reason to hope, with  
a continuance of the  
present favourable  
weather, that the Queries  
may reach Pallmall  
in two months from  
Whitehall.

They have only  
been five months  
in passing through  
the India House -  
not much more  
than they would have  
required to go to

India and back -  
a circumstance  
which inspires me  
with the most  
cheerful anticipations.

I have made  
out a List of some  
16 W. Indian Stations,  
but do not send  
it, for fear of  
overpowering their/W.O.'s  
administrative  
abilities, till the  
E. Indian ones are  
gone - yours sincerely **[end 9:99]**

F. Nightingale

Hampstead N W

8 Nov/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

Both the Medical papers have got hold of your Army Medl Sch. Scheme & reproduced it *in extenso* this week, save the Programmes; the one paper without comment, the other with the most unqualified praise; "admirable"

&c "it would be difficult to suggest any improvement" &c & threatening a longer Article of praise "next week" -

It is very regrettable that they should have got hold of it before it was issued in a final "authorized" form by you; because, while laying particular (laudatory) stress upon its "having a distinct & independent existence"

"under" you, they both omit the clause about the *Indian* Medical Service & both reproduce the clause about the Senate being composed of the Professors & the *D.G.*

Now, if you think you are likely to decide upon making Martin a "Senator", in order to drag the Indians into the "Qualifi=

*cations*", as well as the School, would it not be very desirable *not* to let the Medical papers discuss it without so very important an addition being known? They are queer tempers & don't like to ~~turn~~/come back upon themselves -

I have had so much to do with this *confounded* profession that I am "particular" glad that these papers (which had made some very stupid remarks upon this School) are now

come to their senses -

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I am told that the article in the U.S. Gazette, "whose" *dulness* "is shocking to me", is by Mouat - who was termed, not elegantly but truly, in the Crimea, Hall's "lick=spittle".

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 8th Novr 1859 on the opinions of the Medical Press on the Army Medical School.}

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

420

{in another hand: Docket} Hampstead N W  
10 Nov/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have a "melancholy **[9:99]**  
satisfaction" in congratulating you on the fact that there is an Office in this Govt worse organized than that which you have undertaken to reform. And this is the great India House -

The great house

has a head, (so they say,) but no hands - And Sir C. Wood had much better have accepted our proposal than have done what he has done, which is nothing.

We asked for no work from the overworked magnates, which we knew we should not get, but the appointment

of two good clerks, selected by Mr. Hornidge (the Head of the Statistical Dept) & paid by us - The men should have been set to work the next day & the work would have been done by this time -

As it is, nothing has been done & nothing ever will be done - as there is no organization of labor in that House,

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
such as Sir C. Wood  
might see any day  
in Yorkshire.

421

The fault lies with  
Sir G. Clerk, not  
with Sir C. Wood.  
That worthy Scot has  
no capacity for business,  
as I believe Sir C.  
Wood knows full well.  
And the inaction  
presided over by that  
man is general.

What we want  
now is for

~~for~~ Sir C. Wood to  
give prompt &  
peremptory orders -  
i.e. orders that shall  
be obeyed for  
carrying out our work  
Or - let him say that  
they cannot (or will  
not) do it. And  
we are quite ready  
with a plan of  
operations of our own.  
- independent of  
them - & Clerks of  
our own -

It is a cruel waste  
of time - And we  
might have been half  
through the business  
of the Commission by  
now -

Mr Hornidge was  
to speak yesterday  
to Sir C. Wood's Secy  
about it. But I  
despair of anything  
being done -

II - (This is another matter - the materials for which Mr. Prinsep also said did not exist at the India Ho: - but they do)

The *Forms* for the STATIONAL Returns are now ready & will be sent to Mr. Hornidge to be filled up - [end 9:99]

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

If Ld Stanley declined the [9:99] Commission, because he knew of this state of things & it bothered him, I rather admire

the man's *canniness*

One mystery I will tell ~~fr~~/gratis - The Queen's Minister, responsible to the H. of C., is not master at the E.I. Ho. - Sir G. Clerk is the Minister for India -

Let the wise man profit by this notice. [end 9:99]

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov 10. 59. on the state of the India House}

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov. 10. 1859. on Dr. Rutherford's appointment} {in another hand: Docket} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W  
Nov 10/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

There is no help for Dr. Rutherford! that is clear - Neither I nor Sutherland know Dr. Thomson, of the 58th, except by reputation - Unless the 58th is going out, we neither of us think it worth while to *send* him - only for

Derbyshire Co Record Office

423

Alexander to appoint, as second, somebody who *is* out or is going out - For Thomson is said not to be a ~~not~~ luminary, any more than Rutherford.

NB. I should exactly re-echo the words of Alexander about the one I know; viz. that he is "an excellent Officer, with tact & judgment" - But all

that does not make a Sanitary Officer -

However he is a man of good general ability - and we could name no one better.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

The amended Queen's & Barrack Regulations are gone to the Printer's.

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale 14th Novr 1859 on the Queries for the Indian Troops & Dr. Moorhead's address} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

14 Nov/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

*Morehead's* the Indian Professor's, address is:

Dr. Morehead at Dr. McLennan's 53 Upper Harley St.

*Martin's* title is "Physician to the Council of India".

The India House accepts [9:100]

with transport your clerks & your

paying them - [end 9:100]

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/68

424

Hampstead N W  
18 Nov/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

Even the offer of **[9:102]**  
12/ a day (the price  
of the two clerks) has  
failed to move the  
great house of India  
to any exertion.

On Monday Dr.  
Sutherland went there  
& made the above

handsome proposal  
viva voce - It  
was accepted viva  
voce - And he  
was requested to  
write it down  
(the Indians could  
not believe in  
the magnificent  
sum of 12/)  
& address it to  
Sir G. Clerk, which

he did.

Farr went there  
himself yesterday  
to set his two clerks  
to work, who are  
ready & waiting  
- but was told  
that Sir G. Clerk  
had given no  
authority.

These people  
must be ordered

forthwith to supply  
the information -  
in their own way,  
if not in ours.

Our two men  
were to be employed  
exclusively on the  
*Military Returns*  
(otherwise called  
Muster=Rolls)

Other two Clerks  
will be required  
exclusively for the  
*Medical Returns*.

Let them supply  
all or two or none -  
We will supply  
none or two or all  
& pay for all, just  
as they like.

But such  
stiff necked Israelites  
were never to be  
found in the  
wilderness as in  
the India Ho: **[end 9:102]**

sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 18 Novbr. 59 on the Clerks at the India House}

signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale 29th Novbr 59. on my  
Army Memo:} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

29 Nov/59

Thank you very much  
for letting me see  
it.

It is a most  
statesman-like paper  
& shews what you  
are -

It is monstrous  
that, in times of trouble,  
the foreigner, who is

not allowed to recruit  
men in England  
should be able to  
recruit machines  
of war, which are  
now of so much  
more importance -

This is the  
cleverest charlatan  
the world has ever  
seen -

A man of the  
"Institut", (which  
always calls him

"the rascal,") writes to  
me about him ~~which~~/whereof  
the enclosed is a  
scrap -

F. Nightingale

{enclosed letter from Paris about conditions there}

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W  
Dec 28/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

In order to carry out  
the new Regulation that  
soldiers' sick wives &  
children are to be  
treated & *dieted* in  
Hospital, *where there*  
*is Hospital accomm=*  
*modation* for them, I have been  
collecting the numbers  
of "constantly sick" ~~from~~  
who will require accommodation

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
from

427

the different Stations  
thro' the Barrack  
Commission -

As you will see  
the results in their  
General Report, and  
as you will be "strongly  
advised" to give the  
order to put up huts  
for the women's temporary  
accommodation, till  
permanent Hospital  
accommodation can  
be provided, I am

not going to trouble you  
about that now -

But at *Devonport*  
the numbers are so  
*startling* that - do  
you think you would  
*at once* give the order,  
which is all that is  
required, to put up  
two ordinary Barrack  
huts (or at least *one*)  
- they hold twelve -  
in the enceinte, i.e.  
within discipline; ~~where~~

Derbyshire Co Record Office

428

there is said to be  
plenty of room for two  
huts & more? It  
would be simply the  
cost of labor in putting  
them up - the huts mate=  
rials being there - And the "wives"  
are then brought within the Regulation.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

The case is so pressing  
that the Devonport Army  
Surgeon wrote to me for  
private relief for them,  
without in the least  
knowing that the thing  
was going to be done generally.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Decbr 28.59. Urges the immediate Erection of  
2. Huts for the wives of the Soldiers at Devonport where the sickness & mortality  
are too terrible to "wait".

initialed letter, 3ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jany 28.60 Paget's  
opinion of the new Army Medical School.} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W

Jan 28/60

**[15:287-88]**

Dearest

I am overjoyed to  
hear that you are  
going to Wilton for  
Sunday - And I shall  
stay & celebrate the  
occasion here.

Will you say to  
him

1. that Alexander is  
obviously quite wrong  
about the "Serjeant  
Major at Fort Pitt"

tho' the tone of Taylor's  
letter is very unbecoming  
- but, confidentially,  
had I been Taylor, I  
should have been  
just as furious -  
The idea of preferring  
the stores to the  
Lunatics - when, too,  
it is better not to say  
how many are the  
(unprevented) suicides  
in our Army Hospitals.

I am afraid the  
transaction also

shews how *hugger=mugger*  
are the ways of going  
on still at that  
D.G.'s Office - these  
matters of administra=  
tion Mr. Herbert  
specially put into  
a special branch -  
And now, here is  
Logan, as *Senior*  
*in rank* merely,  
administering them  
during Alexander's  
absence, when they  
are not in his  
branch at all!

2. that in a letter I  
have just had from  
*Paget* (the Surgeon  
& E.I. Co. Examiner)  
(about Civil Hospital  
Statistics,) he  
establishes, as to  
the Army, two  
important points  
(1) that he is well  
satisfied with the  
*class* of men who  
now come forward  
to be examined  
for Medical (Army)  
Commissions

(2) that they very  
much want  
*farther schooling*  
& (3) he concludes  
with saying that,  
when the Army  
*Medical School*  
*is established*, there  
will not be such  
another Public  
Service in the  
world for efficiency  
as our Army  
Medical Service.

This is the more

important as coming  
from *Paget*, ~~as he~~  
~~is~~ a "St. Bartholomew's"  
man. ever yours

F.N.

I was so ashamed  
not to be able to  
~~come~~ get up  
on Sunday to see  
Mr. Herbert - But  
I *let him come*  
for the ride's sake

[end 15:288]

Derbyshire Co Record Office

431

signed letter, 5ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale April 14.60 on the arrangement of the new Hospital at the Cape  
.} 2057/F4/68

30 Burln St.

London W

April 14/60

*no answer*

Dear Mr. Herbert

You are going to have a Sanitarium at the Cape for the "sick & wounded" from China & India of from 600 to 1000 beds - with a regular transport service from India & China to the Cape.

About half will be serious cases - And the D.G. says it will be "a second Scutari" (he does not mean in disorder but in importance.)

The D.G. intends to bring forward the proposal at a W.O. Meeting on Monday, (?) - present the C. in C. - for organizing this General

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Hospital (or Sanitarium)  
upon the new  
"Regulations", *qua*  
Governor, *qua* Nurses  
&c &c

432

Of all this, you  
will say, you need  
not inform me.

My point is this:  
the D.G. does not  
seem to clearly to  
understand, (even  
with his "Regulations"  
before him,) that  
the appointment of  
the Governor is in  
the hands of the S.  
of S., (vide Page 40,)  
- also of the Sup. Genl  
of Nurses, (vide P.  
47.)

He says that,  
*since* the promulgation  
of the "Regulations",  
the C.IN C. has  
appointed a Governor  
to the Yarmouth Hospital,

-2-

"who has done  
exceedingly *ill*."

The D.G./~~He~~ is anxious  
for the introduction  
of Female Nurses  
& is looking about  
for ~~them~~/some, as if he  
were Matron, as  
well as D.G.

[Mrs. Shaw Stewart  
is now in England,  
serving at King's  
College Hospital. I

have no doubt she  
would accept a  
temporary appointment  
at the Cape - And  
I think her much  
better suited for  
such foreign service  
than for home. It  
would also not  
compromise you to  
anything further]

But this is a  
point of minor  
importance -

P.S.

-3-

Hospital Huts for  
600 are to be sent  
out from home to  
the Cape - And I  
should be rather glad,  
(Mr. Herbert volente)  
to have my "finger in  
the pie" of their  
structural arrangements.

Galton is in France  
till Tuesday.

All my information  
comes through Sir G.  
Grey (Cape)

We have put up  
the D.G. to reading  
his own "Regulations".

My object in now  
troubling you (among  
so many greater  
troubles) is that the  
Cape is a place  
where it is essential,  
in Sir G. Grey's estimation,  
to organize a really  
efficient General  
Hospital, because

1. it is so far from home that constant reference cannot be made to home.

2. every thing has to be organized there

3. it is likely to be a large & permanent establishment, from the fineness of the climate & other reasons.

[How I should like to be going out to have the doing of the female part of it!]

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand; Miss Nightingale April 30. 60. on the case of Dr. Becher} 2057/F4/68

30 O. B. St.

April 30/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

You wished to have some Memo of Alexander's intentions with regard to Dr. Becher -

I enclose a letter of Lord Belper's (with his permission) to the governess of his children, who is Dr.

Becher's sister.

It contains a clear statement of Becher's case -

The only question is as to the Diploma. He will be registered & will therefore comply with the Act which requires Army Doctors to be registered. His *Tübingen* qualifications are sufficient for all practical purposes.

Alexander intended to date his services 6 years back, which is 6 years of life - This should be done -

If it cannot be done without a Diploma, Becher would get one at once. But it is quite unnecessary to exact it, so far as the security of the Service is concerned.

Would you be good enough ~~as~~ to let me

have Lord Belper's letter back, as I mean to make use of it with the Medical Council?

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

The Bechers are a family of extraordinary talent from Würtemberg. And Miss B., the governess, is an instance of my theory, contrary to all the "Women's Rights" folk, that a really educated woman can command *any* salary.

{the letter mentioned follows}

P.S.

Sir James Clark says there will be no difficulty in "registering" Becher. But there may be some delay till the next Council sits.

He earnestly hopes Becher may be sent out by next mail - & the Commission be sent after him - which must wait for the Registration.

FN, unsigned memorandum, 3ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale May 1860 on Dr. Becher's Appointment & Services} 2057/F4/68

*Dr. Emil Becher*

Pathologist at Scutari  
& in China -  
(whose maps of  
Hong Kong & Sanitary  
Report of Victoria  
Mr. Herbert saw  
here -)

On going to the A. Ml. Dep.  
to learn Mr. Herbert's  
decision on his case,  
he was told by one of  
the Junior Officers that  
Mr. Herbert had decided  
that he was to be  
admitted to the Service,

*provided* the Director=Genl  
were satisfied with his  
qualifications - viz. a  
degree, diploma and  
examination.

Believing that ~~J. M~~  
that Mr. Herbert's  
decision has been  
*mis*=interpreted to  
mean that, after five  
years' of great services  
to this country, (in  
Acting Assistant Surgeon's  
rank,) during which  
he shewed talents  
which were profited  
by ~~t~~ in the whole

Department, in which  
it is acknowledged  
that there is not a  
single man to match  
him - (no Army Medl  
Officer ~~has~~/having produced  
either any Sanitary  
report to compare  
with his on Hong Kong)  
- I can hardly suppose  
that it can be meant  
that Dr. Becher is  
merely to receive  
permission to enter  
the Dept., as one of  
the common public,  
by the same door

that any other of the  
common public may  
enter (without permission)  
who have neither  
served the country  
nor proved their  
talent in long service.

Dr. Becher would  
rather go out at once  
to China in his original  
capacity as Acting Asst  
Surgeon than remain  
here till July & have  
all his service counted  
for nothing.

Can anything further  
be done in his case?

The conclusion of  
Dr. Becher's whole matter  
is this:

he would wish, *either*  
*way*, i.e. whether he is  
to go to *China* or to  
*Chatham*, some *written*  
security that his past  
service will be counted.

Otherwise he doubts  
about entering our  
Service.

May 8/60

signed letter, 8 ff, pen 2057/F4/68

30 Old Burlington St  
London W  
Sept 3/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

On the 1st I had a letter  
from the Professors of the A.M. School  
- quite desperate.

The authority for the "Instrument  
Money" had not (then) come.

Ten of the Students had  
arrived. They stared at  
the bare walls & at the absence  
of all arrangements for their  
work (in the new buildings) &  
concluded "the School was a  
hoax."

It is most unfortunate  
for the first impression must  
have a serious effect upon the

future of the School.

Were a letter to appear in the "Lancet" from one of these young men, stating the simple facts of the case, it would do more to damage the School, & to turn public opinion against it, than would take years to redeem.

Whatever haste is now made, the beginning must be under great disadvantages.

You will observe the information applies, not merely to the absence of the Instruments, but ~~to~~/of the fittings.

It is really too much.

Altho' this School is but a small matter, it is just a type & a climax of the working of the whole Office. And it is well it has happened - For "dirty rags shew which way the wind blows".

Unless something is done, the School will be (what the "Dy News" truly says Sir Jas: Graham's Report is) a "disgraceful failure".

The estimates for the fittings of ~~for~~ the "practical rooms" & for the "Instruments" were sent in early in April. [The whole sum was a mere trifle]-

1. Sir J. Burgoyne's minute, that the "authority of the Treasury had been received" for the former was dated August 17!!!

Col. Williams says it will take two months to put them up. Capt. Galton says he can do it in one - And

the School must open on Oct. 2.  
2. After you had left London, on  
*August 21*, I found that nothing  
at all had been done about the  
"authority for the Instrument Money"  
-- that it had been sent to the  
Tower(!), where the answer was  
that they had no "instruments",  
- to Woolwich (!! ) where the answer  
was that they had only guns,  
-- to the D.G.'s Office, where it  
had lain for months &c &c &c

I asked Capt. Galton to hunt it up & to take  
it to Mr. Drewry (Sir B. Hawes's  
absence is a God=send - at  
least Mr. Drewry does *something*)  
& authorize it upon the  
"Sanitary vote". which Mr.  
Drewry did, stipulating that  
you were to know nothing about

it. (what a way of doing things!!!) A week then elapsed,  
which was the time it took  
for it to go to Sir E. Lugard's  
Office, (as I understood) -

Certain it is that, yesterday  
the Professors had not yet  
received the "authority", altho'  
they twice went to Mr. Milton  
about it, learning what was  
going on - at Mr. Drewry's.

The School *must open* on  
October 2. (for the whole number  
of young men.)

People talk of my "terrible  
& unprecedented experience  
of the inefficiency" in the Crimea  
-I say my "terrible &

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
extraordinary experience of  
the inefficiency" in the W. Office  
during the last 4/four years -  
No one would believe it  
who had not seen it.

441

The intentions of the  
Secretary of State are no  
more carried out than  
if he were at Timbuctoo -

The 1. slowness  
2. inefficiency  
3. extravagance in  
administration  
4. want of unity  
are beyond all belief.

ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

*Private* I have been thinking a  
great deal about Hawes's  
successor -

But, as Asst Under Secy,

I do believe that Galton is  
your man: In an Office like  
the W.O., which has to deal  
with innumerable *practical*  
*scientific* questions, it is  
essential that there should be  
some one to hold in check  
the Departmental opinions.  
The S. of S. cannot, in many  
cases, even hear an opposite  
opinion. Galton is a soldier, a first-rate R.E., and has, above  
all things, had more than  
three years' training in these  
matters. The Under Secretary

is (and probably must be) personally unacquainted with these matters, and his decision, however good a business man he might be, would be mere hap-hazard.

If Galton would accept such a tiresome & laborious office, he would do ~~it~~/the *Assistant=Under=Secyship* well - And the only man fit to succeed him is Major Gordon, (now at Constantinople)

2. You told me that you were thinking of having Col: Simmons home - I have always heard that he was the only man fit for Col: St. George's place ~~at~~/on the *Select Committee*, if you put St. G. elsewhere.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Sep.3.1860 on the delays in the Medical School}

signed letter, black-edged paper, 2 ff, pen 2057/F4/68

30 Old Burlington St

May 26/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

This is only to say **[9:103]**

that I had a message from Lord Stanley (we are not on "speaking terms"!) to the effect that he would be very glad to know if you had time

to attend to the  
Indian Sanitary  
Commission -  
whether you had  
Meetings now  
& how it was  
going on - &  
that he would  
be very glad  
to offer himself  
as Chairman  
(!) if you found  
you had no

time to do it  
yourself -

I have not  
answered this -  
Perhaps it was  
only a compli=  
mentary message,  
in the same way  
as "the weather"  
& "your health" -

Don't trouble  
yourself to answer  
this -

But I thought

it my duty to  
tell you that  
that queer  
individual  
had laid  
himself open  
to an offer -

**[end 9:103]**

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale May 26.1860 on Ld Stanley's having at last  
volunteered to take the Chairmanship of the Indian Sanitary Commission}

I have enquired into  
Dr. Becher's alleged  
neglect of his patients  
on board the "Caduceus"  
coming home from Hong=  
Kong.

He was put in  
charge of 93 sick, of  
whom 40 severe &  
9 dying cases. [These  
died before they reached  
Sincapore-]

He was unable to  
stand from Fever &

was the only Medical  
Officer on board.

He had, besides,  
soldiers' wives &  
children under his  
care - Accusation {in a box}

1. The nine dead  
were not reported  
officially, as they  
ought to have been,  
by him.

2. Also, the soldiers'  
wives complained to  
the Captain's wife,  
that they were  
neglected -

This seems the  
sum of the accusation.

If Becher was to blame for accepting "charge", some one was much more to blame for putting a sick man in charge, & in such a charge.

Dr. Taylor of Chatham, said "they packed off all their sick & dying with Dr. Becher."

*Three Orderlies* were all he had for 93 sick.

No preserved vegetables were sent, tho' they were entered

on the List, as having been sent on board.

Dr. Becher's earnest wish is still "to be sent back to China", "his service to be counted."

But, if this should be contrary to the Commander-in-Chiefs wish (C. in C. be hanged!) this is me, not Becher \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Becher is perfectly willing to go to Chatham to

-2-

serve there, as a  
Probationer, till  
next Examination  
(July.)

We, your petitioners,  
only humbly pray  
that he should be  
gazetted, *ante-dating*  
his Commission five  
years back - *if* he  
passes .

This is but just  
to one to whose great  
services we can all  
bear witness.

And, without

some reliable  
assurance of this sort,  
he would not wish  
to enter the Service.

For, certainly, if  
there came a new  
Secretary of State,  
who "knew not Joseph",  
"Joseph" would not  
get his five years  
of life accounted  
to him.

May 8/60

-3-

Dr. Becher earnestly hopes that, if the story of the voyage is to weigh against him, (altho' merely as an unfavourable impression,) ~~that~~ the accusation may be brought against him openly & officially, so that he may be able to bring forward evidence on the other side & defend himself -

This, I think, would be but fair.

No "Confidential Reports!"

*Private*

Capt. Galton says that there is a man in the Office (I suppose he means Mapleton) who maligns Becher out of pure opposition - and that the story ~~abo~~/against him/Becher was collected by him.

Certainly I never saw a man whose attention to his Patients was more widely known and acknowledged. At Scutari he used to do the work of half the other "fellows" as they said for them.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

448

4ff, Woolwich, 17 September, 1860 letter from three Artillery Surgeons complaining that they are to be compelled to purchase new Surgical Instruments at their own cost} 2057/F4/68

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Sep. 2. 1860. enclosing the Memo: of the Artillery Surgeons compelled to purchase new Surgical Instruments at their own cost} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead NW

Sept 22/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

You will wonder what all this is about. There is "insurrection in the Camp." And 15 old "fogies", with families, Surgeons=Major & Surgeons of the R.A., are in open revolt about their stupid costly

instruments.

They wrote to Mr. Headlam, who is out of England, I believe.

These papers were sent to me - And, to save you trouble, I have made an Abstract of the real rules of the case -

I think it is a grievance -

The tone of their

letter to Mr. Headlam  
is ugly, but you  
will not mind  
that - If you think  
right to interfere,  
you will of course,  
write to the D.G.  
(or other Official)  
direct & not  
through me - or  
with any reference  
to me

yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

I am sorry you must come  
back so soon.

initialed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Decber 5.60  
mentions Ld Stanley's wish to serve on the Indian Sanitary Commission}  
2057/F4/68; another letter, different content, of same date to EH 43396 f89

Dec 5/60

Dearest **[9:104]**

Lord Stanley

volunteers to say  
that his University  
Comm. work is done,  
and, if asked by  
Mr. Herbert to  
take the Presidency  
of the Indian  
Sanitary Commn,  
concerning the

progress of which  
he has been making  
enquiry, he would,  
(I suppose) "think  
about it."

Lord Stanley

is quite beyond  
my comprehension.  
And I would  
not even have  
conveyed this  
message (which  
is the "third

time of asking"  
from Ld S.) to  
Mr. Herbert - had  
it not been that  
the present  
necessity to  
relieve him  
from as much  
work as possible  
makes any  
loop=hole right  
to speak about,  
at least - **[end 9:104]**  
ever your F.

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Sir R. Vivian's  
opinion of Col David Russell - Indian Commission} 2057/F4/68

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise N  
May 13/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I wish that Sir John **[9:86]**  
Lawrence would answer,  
which he was to do  
today, but he has  
not yet -

Thro' Sir R. Vivian  
who, whatever his  
prejudices, is as honest  
& anti jobbing as  
Lawrence himself,  
I have tried to get

opinions on the *general*  
merits of ~~some of~~ the  
Queen's Officers (who  
have been named) from  
some of the old Indian  
Officers at the India  
Ho. One & all agree  
that Greathed is fit  
for nothing - I tell  
this for what it is  
worth - I know not -  
[I have heard Lord  
W. Paulet & other

Derbyshire Co Record Office

451

Officers of high standing  
in the Crimea, without  
as much judgement  
as your little Mary,  
say the same thing  
of Storks, & others  
who certainly had  
some (i.e. judgment)]

~~The~~ man most

highly spoken of by  
Sir Rob. Vivian & Co:  
~~others~~ is  
Col. David Russell CB.  
Inspecting Field Officer  
Recruiting Dept.  
Horse Guards

long in India - in  
command of a Regt;  
& a very good (Queen's)  
Officer - [It may be  
that his name will  
turn up on Airey's or some  
body else's recommen=  
dation.] **[end 9:86]**

The Scotch  
Inspections began  
yesterday.

Sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Please thank Mrs. Herbert  
very much for her letter.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
2057/F4/68 signed letter, 8ff, pen

452

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale, 1 Jan. 1859. Indian Sany Comm.}

Gt Malvern

1/1/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I think, with you,  
that you must use  
Lord Stanley's proposal;  
when it comes, as a  
lever to get the  
Regulations & the  
Council. But there  
will be much  
preliminary work  
to do in preparing  
the ground for your

Indian enquiry. I  
should, if I were  
you, accept first,  
when Lord Stanley  
writes, & then put  
in the lever. If Ld  
S. understands  
that you must &  
will have the Army  
matters settled  
before you move,  
he will then give  
Genl. Peel a little  
shove -

But, as the

Regulations & Council  
will go on moving  
thro' the War Office,  
till they have a  
Corporal of Sappers  
& Miners, a Hospital  
Serjeant, & a  
Purveyor's Clerk  
sitting upon you,  
with an Apothecary's  
boy in the chair, -  
- I bet you a penny  
that the Indian  
enquiry is all done,  
which will take

at least three years  
(interim Reports, &  
interim action  
having been set a  
going in the mean  
time) *before the*  
*other* - Genl Peel  
can't manage his  
subordinates &  
Lord Stanley can -

2. With regard  
to the Commissioners -  
Lord Stanley asked  
whether the former  
Commission, *minus*  
Andrew Smith, would

do. I left it to you  
to answer that  
question - My  
impression being  
that, except  
Alexander &  
Sutherland, you  
found them heavy  
in hand.

What would you  
think of having  
those two again -  
(Alexander for his  
own instruction -)

3. Martin, who is

necessary for his  
Indian knowledge -

4. Farr, without whom  
the Statistics would  
be with difficulty  
done - as he has  
Clerks - & Tulloch  
& Balfour have not  
an idea of doing  
figures, except with  
their own pens -  
Does it not seem  
to you essential to  
have one Indian  
Military Engineer?

& one Indian Military  
Officer? If desirable  
to have members  
of the Indian Council,  
Sir Proby Cautley  
might do for the  
first & Sir Richard  
Vivian for the second.  
But, Ld Stanley  
volunteered to say  
that there was not  
one member on the  
Council who knew  
anything about  
Sanitary things or  
how to spell the word,

& specially instanced  
Sir P. Cautley as  
prominent in ignorance.  
In this, Ld S. differs  
from Mr. Martin,  
who gives them rather  
a good character.

I did not press,  
for I did not feel  
sure of what you  
might think about  
having a member of the Council on.

Col. Goodwyn,  
Bengal Engineers, now  
at home, bears a  
very high character.  
Lt. Col Waugh, Bengal  
Engineers, Surveyor=

General of India,  
now in India, is  
I suppose, the first  
Topographer in Europe  
[That is Irish] Would  
you think it well  
to make enquiries  
about these men?  
[It might be as  
impossible to let  
Col. Waugh as Lord  
Canning come home - That  
I don't know]-

With regard to  
Balfour as Secretary.  
It might be difficult

to find a better man.  
To have a man who  
knows ~~much~~/more of India  
would have advantages  
& also disadvantages.  
He would be prejudiced.  
Balfour is not a little  
in that line too, however.  
His great value lay  
in having materials  
in his possession of  
so much value, of  
which he did not  
know the value before.  
[There would not  
be this for India.]

I think it would be  
worth while to see  
what they have got  
at the India House  
that would do as a  
Secretary, tho' very  
likely to return to  
Balfour -

I should like to  
know whether you  
decide for or against  
a man of the Indian  
Council to be on  
the Commission.

NB Lord Stanley

told me that Lord Canning insisted upon large masses of troops as necessary at Allahabad - and objected to having them at Dagshai, Kupowlie, &c, our hill stations - Now it so happens that Allahabad stands highest but one of all our Stations in Mortality - ~~125~~/115 per 1000 - To decide what can be done to make unhealthy stations healthy

will be the aim of your Commission. It does not require Tulloch to tell us that troops will be healthy, if removed to healthy Stations - But, if it be necessary for our holding of India to have numbers at a place with a loss of 11-1/2 per cent - can you conceive our holding India at such a price?

3. Lord Tweeddale's tables are interesting - But that is all - they give the clue to a case to be enquired into. His own note, as shewing the advance in good principles of Military economy is far more interesting- Tho' he did the thing, I don't believe he would have written that note a year ago. You have not laboured in vain.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

458

I have an old note  
from Lord Rokeby,  
using, in the matter  
of day=rooms, exactly  
the self=same words  
Lord Tweeddale  
reproaches the  
Governor General &  
C. in Chief with  
using - qua Barracks.

sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Do you know John  
Stuart Mill? a  
most intelligent

but very odd man,  
now at liberty. He  
did the foreign  
relations at the  
India House - Sir  
Geo. Clark the others.  
Perhaps this would  
prevent his being  
useful as a  
Commissioner in the  
way you want -  
What the Times  
said of him was  
quite unfair.

Wiltshire 2057/F4/68 signed letter, 6ff, pen

Gt Malvern

Jan 4/59

[15:277-78]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Hawes is really  
too bad about the  
Medical Council - &  
what is worse, I am  
afraid that Alexan-  
der is giving way.

He is so good an  
administrator that  
he does not see  
the value of organi=

zation - or has  
forgotten it -

As there are  
striking & original  
views ~~now~~ of English  
history now to be  
found only in the  
Prayer book, in  
Burke's Peerage &  
in Mrs. Shaw Stewart  
- so there are striking  
& original ways of  
doing business, now

only to be found in  
the War Office -

To strike a blow  
at these ways of  
doing business in  
one direction was  
quite as much the  
object of your  
"Instructions" to the  
Med. Council, as to  
organize the Medl  
Dir. Genl's Office.

This I am not  
surprised at

Alexander not  
seeing.

For the R. Commn,  
after attaching so  
much value to the  
Sanitary & Statistical  
elements, to allow  
them to be put second,  
would be literally  
for its right hand  
not to know what  
its left hand doeth.  
The Medical Councillor  
I would gladly leave

-2-

to work his own way,  
were it not that  
there is a "Professional  
Assistant" now &  
must be - And he  
may as well be  
organized too -

That the War Office  
does not like the  
"Instruction" I can  
well believe. They  
are in opposition  
to all its ways -

I hear that  
Mapleton is virtually

now "Professional Assistant". This will not do.

Without your "Instructions" to the Council there had better be no Council. And without the quinquennial appointments. there can be no independence -

As, after all the ransacking, *only*

*one* Sanitary & *one* Statistical man has been found - but five or six *Medical* members have been named, it will not do to give the former lower pay than the latter.

If Hawes likes to call it a board, that does not signify. But without the Instructions, the

{in another hand: 4 Jan 1859}  
Department would have no strength, nor the D.G. any aid in specialties. Rather than Hawes's plan, let Alexander go on as he is, ~~don't~~/do not ~~however~~ you think so?  
The "Westminster" Article reads very well - don't you think so? There are two or three

-3-

misprints - In  
describing the 8  
Depts of Genl Hospls,  
you had put "and  
none to nurse" - It  
is printed "and  
one to nurse." I  
think there is no  
other which signifies.  
But the Revise (in  
which ~~these~~/ey all are),  
should have been  
corrected -

I see you have nailed  
your colors to the  
mast in the Initials.

It is gratifying to  
see Mr. Gladstone  
has been snubbing  
the Church in Zante.  
As Milton's devil  
laughed & made  
faces to himself,  
as soon as out of  
Eden, so I think  
Mr. Gladstone must

have done - May he  
come home with  
the 7 Islands in a  
neat bracelet on  
his wrist for  
Britannia!

            
The "Morning Star",  
a penny paper, has  
being going against  
us. This is too bad.  
I believe its circula=  
tion is very large -  
I must go out  
with the hounds

again. Have you  
seen one *in green*?  
I sent one to Belgrave  
Sq. in that coat.

I was not at all  
the worse for the  
journey, thank you.  
But I have not  
been up since I came - [end 15:278]  
So you may hear I  
was -

Did you think of  
a Queen's Officer for  
the Indian Commission?  
sincerely yours F. Nightingale.

signed letter, 4ff, pen

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jan. 29 1859 Statistical Commission suggests  
Sanitary Engineering Lectures for Cadets & that Galton be the future head of the  
Barrack Depart.}

Gt Malvern  
Jan 29/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I can hear nothing  
about the Indian  
Organization Commisn,  
except that it is to  
have two contending  
Reports, (as you  
anticipated), i.e. as far as  
regards the description  
of troops to be employed -  
Probably you may  
know more -

The great Actuaries

have taken us up,  
which is the more  
pleasing, as the  
Great Actuary, had  
put us down, which  
was distressing. Here  
is their "Post Magazine"  
[The Article was not,  
I know, written by Farr]

I invite Mrs.  
Herbert's attention  
to ~~the~~ a new view of  
the object of the  
Institution of Infancy;  
vide next Article -

"the life duration of  
"tender babies (such  
a word!) is the most  
"delicate test" - Saturn  
as an Analytical  
Chemist with two  
"tender babies" in a  
glass tube!

Sutherland told  
me, you wished to  
know "whether the  
Daily News Sanitary  
articles came from  
Malvern" - I did not  
write them - but I  
supplied the materials,

& wrote the heads, on  
condition the writer  
should not mention  
it to the Editor - The  
name of the writer  
I hardly dare mention  
in your presence - You  
will see by some  
blunders, innocent  
& non-innocent,  
that the subject is  
a new one - There are  
to be three more - (not blunders but)  
Articles - The Medical times  
has two Articles, one  
on your Article, one  
on your Commission -

Since the Gunpowder  
plot is come out of  
the Prayerbook, I feel  
ready to put it under  
the War Office.

I hear that Alexander  
is dispirited & irritable  
& is writing to you -

One used to think  
that good might be  
done to the War Office  
from without - But  
now it seems evident  
that it is *all bureau*,  
corrupt to the core -  
that your Commission

raised only a morsel  
of its shroud - &  
that it must  
have *its own* Minister  
to reform it root  
& branch - & make  
the dry bones live.  
Nothing short of  
this, it seems, will  
do it any good - Certainly  
Genl Peel will not.

I wish there  
could be some system  
set on foot to have

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Sanitary Engineering  
lectures for the  
Engineer Cadets. And  
I wish that Galton  
might be future  
Head of the Barrack  
Department, vice Laffan.

466

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Farr & I are doing  
a system of uniform  
Hospital Statistics  
for the world, to be  
proposed at the  
Statistical Congress

next time, after  
which we mean  
to introduce it in  
the Universe, Saturn  
excluded, because  
I don't approve his  
system about babies.

F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Feb 10. 1859 "Where  
are the Regulations?"} 2057/F4/68

Gt Malvern

Feb 10/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

Would you not  
think well to ask  
Genl Peel where the  
"Regulations" are?  
It is said they have  
passed the Purveyor's  
Clerks' Committee at  
the War Office (wonderful celerity  
if they have!) They  
must then be nearly

ready by this time -  
And you ought to  
see what has  
been doing on them  
by the Purveyors' Clerks  
& Co.

Alexander says  
that, on his appoint=  
ment as D.G., Sir  
H. Storks said to  
him, "No Council,  
remember!" Considering

Derbyshire Co Record Office

468

Storks signed the  
Report, if this is not  
dishonest, what is  
it? - Perhaps then  
Storks' departure  
may lessen the  
opposition - But,  
whatever they  
choose to call (or  
not call) the Council,  
we must have the  
Instructions.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen

{in another hand: 12 April 1859 F. Nightingale Indian matters 1859} 2057/F4/68

30 Old Burlington St  
London W  
April 12/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am afraid you **[9:78]**  
will think me over  
busy. But you cannot  
think how that Indian  
business has lain at  
my heart - After you  
were gone, I wrote to  
Lord Stanley (quite  
tame, believe me: but  
I repeated what he  
had said last Dec.ber

without preamble)

And this is his answer:

the oddest thing of all,

I think - Don't destroy

it, please. *J'y tiens* - et

pour cause.

**[end 9:78]**

I understand

Balfour has accepted

the Statistical with

£300 a year *plus* the

Asylum - which he

keeps - But I only

heard this second=

hand -

Will you be so good

**[8:660]**

as to tell your Nurse,

or whomsoever you may

please, to write to me,

when Mrs. Herbert's

seventh is arrived?

**[end 8:660]**

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I hope "the clergy" will

forgive you - You have

a great deal of

"Xtianity" to fall back

upon.

unsigned letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

April 18/59

30 O. Burlington St

Dear Mr. Herbert

I cannot think

how I could be so

careless, if I did

not tell you that

your packet of

Army Medical School

was received here

on Friday last -

that I looked it

all through - & sent

it by a messenger within

three hours to the  
War Office - having  
added the three  
copies - addressed  
to Genl Peel -

Unless his private  
Secretaries minute  
each other in descending  
gradation down to  
the porter's boy,  
before he sees any  
thing, I cannot  
conceive how he has

not seen it.

I have heard [9:79]  
nothing from Lord  
Stanley - whom however  
I gratified (not with  
the sight but) with  
the substance of  
your note. I was  
rather in hopes  
that he would have  
written to you. I did  
not expect to hear  
from him. Because,  
I think, he is angry  
(notwithstanding his

mansuetude) - which  
doesn't signify, as, if  
he will but do this  
one thing, I am very  
sure never to want  
anything from him  
again - Lord Stanley  
is a kind of Robinson  
Crusoe of humanity  
{upside down} ~~Dear Sir John Would~~  
He has no fellow=  
creatures. He never

communicated with  
anybody, nor anybody  
with him on any  
subject that I ever  
heard of. He is a  
species *in himself* -  
& will be described,  
as such, by any  
future Cuvier.

Genus...Homo

Species - Lord Stanley [end 9:79]

Derbyshire Co Record Office

471

Yours sincerely  
{signature cut off}

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Mrs. Howitt's  
West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise N.  
April 20/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

Enclosed I send, **[9:79]**

I the List of Commissioners,

II Heads for the  
Instructions, to  
which I hope  
you will add  
a great deal - **[end 9:79]**  
And pray don't  
let him settle

the Instructions  
finally, without  
referring them  
again back to  
you -

III A List of a few **[9:79]**

of the "documents  
"which we want,  
"if they can be  
"obtained from  
"the India Ho:"

IV A List of good  
witnesses, which  
you *don't* want

now - Only perhaps

Ld S. will say

there are none

to be had - [end 9:79]

I will write

tomorrow, if anything

more occurs to me -

And for this I

keep Ld S.'s letter

till tomorrow, when

I will send it you.

[You could not

make use of this

Commission, could you?

to get anything more

out of Peel ~~about~~/towards

our Army Medical

Council, or ~~Regulations~~

getting out the

Regulations, of which

we have heard nothing.]

With regard to

these Instructions,

I am sure a great

deal more will

occur to you - So let

them be as ample

as possible - pray -

yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

It occurred to me, [9:79]

what should you

think of Col. Sir W.

Russell, M.P., for the

"Queen's man"? Probably

you know him - But,

if not, he is a man

of about poor

Stafford's calibre -

with zeal & generosity,

without sense or

judgment, but

without Stafford's  
tendency to gross  
exaggeration - He  
has enthusiasm,  
a quality something  
scarce on your  
Commissn. He would  
follow you & not  
be obstinate. He  
has Indian experience now.  
And I suppose it  
is rather a good thing

to have a M.P., is  
it not? He is a  
Cavalry Officer, which  
is a bad thing.  
I knew him in  
the Crimea. For an  
Army man, he is  
wonderfully "go ahead",  
& would astonish  
the old Indians out  
of their ruts. **[end 9:79]**

F. Nightingale  
April 28/59 Turn Over

Brigadier Greathed, **[9:80]**  
the man of the won=  
derful march from  
Delhi to Agra (?)  
is come home - He  
is a first=rate soldier  
& a good Indian  
name - Would he  
do? It is sometimes  
better to begin on a  
"table rase", like  
this Russell or  
Greaded. They have  
no prejudices. **[end 9:80]**

nothing to do with it, (considering  
the men who have been  
selected for his Councillors,  
farther than finding Medical  
Officers for the service]

- III. There will be four sources of  
evidence
1. existing documents & maps
  2. witnesses
  3. inquiries by forms of questions  
to be filled up & returned  
with & skeleton maps & plans
  4. evidence taken on the spot.
- The Report, drawn up from  
these, will be complete in  
itself and a book of reference  
for all future Military  
Engineering & Medical  
operations.  
Forms, tables, diagrams, maps,  
(especially disease maps &  
physical geography maps)  
recommendations, plans for  
improving old & constructing  
new stations will make it

(what it should be) a practical  
Manual for our occupation of India.

{in another hand: Ap./59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission - Preliminary work -  
& Commission work -}

Derbyshire Co Record Office

475

signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand; Ap/59 Miss Nightingale, Indian Commission as to Sir E. Lugard, Sir J. Burgoyne. Col. Kennedy, Genl Tremeneere, Lord Gough, Sir W. Russell, Col. Greathed}

West Hill Lodge

Highgate Rise

N.

April 28/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

For a "Queen's Officer" [9:80]  
on the Indian Sanitary

Commn it is much  
easier to say whom  
*not* to have than  
whom to have - But:

1. Sir E. Lugard - to educate?  
able & honest -  
*not* independent -  
(but what Army  
man is?) with  
Indian experience.
2. Sir J. Burgoyne - a  
faithful friend of  
the Sanitary cause,  
his rank would  
help - *not* a  
wise man - no  
Indian experience
3. Col. Kennedy. Ass. Q.M.G.  
at Aldershot -  
very highly thought  
of by all good  
Army men - has  
Indian experience.

It is true the man  
ought to be an Engineer  
But no Queen's Engineer  
has been in India till  
the War -

And *all* these men  
know just this of  
India to recommend  
& no more. "If you  
want to make the  
soldier healthy in  
India, take him  
*out of it.*"

Therefore you will  
have to educate  
your man any how,  
& I had rather  
educate Sir E. Lugard. **[end 9:80]**

I am sorry the  
Military part of the  
team musters so  
strong. But you will

drive it.

If you could look  
over the Queen's  
Officers who gave  
evidence before the  
"Indian Colonization  
Committee" & the  
"Army Indian Re=  
Organization" Commissn  
(if the last be out)  
there might be one  
with common sense -  
Major=Genl Tremenheere's  
evidence was good. He has  
great experience -  
But he is E.I.C. I think

If you thought well  
to write to Airey for  
a List of Officers  
who knew the Stations  
well in India, ~~I~~we  
could get this list  
sifted for you (privately)  
in London - But  
the fact is the men  
are all alike.

Do you know old  
Gough? [I like him.]  
His name would be  
unexceptionable - he  
is a rough creature  
but good -

[I wish we had Sir  
Colin. He is such a  
shrewd man of sense.]

This is all I have  
to suggest. Sir J. Mc  
Neill's opinion of  
*Lugard* is high.

I have a great  
deal to say about  
the preliminaries -  
anent the questions  
to be sent out to  
the Indian Stations,  
as you suggested -

which I will do  
tomorrow please -

Thank you so much [8:660]  
for your news about  
Mrs. Herbert & the  
little thing. It  
was like you to  
write yourself &  
so much - [end 8:660]

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

The Irish inspection [15:283]  
is begun. They come  
back on Saturday  
week - [end]

Highgate  
April 29/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

If your mind has **[9:80]**  
inclined to have Sir E.  
Lugard, I conceive it  
will be the best. After  
making every enquiry,  
I don't see anyone who  
will do as well -

He has been 24  
years in India - an  
Adj. Gen. there - has  
great local knowledge - is  
*unenergetic* - honest  
& fair. In what little

official intercourse  
Galton has had with  
him about your  
Barrack matters -  
he has been sensible.  
That he is a Horse  
Guards "organ" there  
is no doubt. But  
the Commission will  
always be called  
"one-sided" by its  
enemies, if there is  
no such "organ" - Your **[end 9:80]**  
first Sanitary Commissn  
would not have

been one-half so  
effective, if A. Smith  
had not been holding  
forth on it -

If Lugard is unfair,  
which however he will  
not be, it will set  
public opinion against  
his side.

He has great  
experience both in  
& off the field - And  
if he can be made  
to concur, his concur=  
rence will be more  
valuable than that

of any man like Sir  
W. Russell &c -

I have ascertained **[9:81]**  
that no *Royal* Engineer  
or Artillery Officer  
ever went to India  
before the war &  
that none has as  
yet returned - **[end 9:81]**

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Ap/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission Sir E. Lugard  
no Royal Artillery or Engineer officer was  
in India before the War.}

- Chairman            Mr. Herbert
1. Medical Member        *Mr. Alexander*
  2. Statistical        "*Dr. Farr*
  3. Sanitary {Indian        *Mr. Martin*
  4.                {General        *Dr. Sutherland*
  5. Military Indian  
    (Queen's) & Indian    *Sir R. Vivian*  
    Councillor
  6. Engineer Indian        *Sir Proby Cautley*  
    Indian Council OR *Col. Waugh*  
    {Surveyor General  
    {of India -IF to be had  
    OR *Col. Baker*  
    {Mily Secy  
    {India Ho:  
    [Last said to be the  
    best - Could you find out?]

NB

*John Stuart Mill*

you thought of once.  
But I think you  
considered him too  
much identified  
with the "old" for a  
Commissioner.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 481  
Engineer & Medical Officers  
who will give good evidence

*Bengal Army*

ENGINEERS -

In India Col. Boileau  
Lt. Col. Waugh Surv. Genl  
Major Ommanny  
Capt. C.B. Young  
Lieut. J.M. Innes  
" R. De Bourbel  
At Home Col. H. Goodwyn  
" G.T. Greene

MEDICAL

In India Surgeon Grant  
A.S. Norman Chevers  
Surg. John McClelland  
" H.M. McPherson  
A.S. Macnamara  
" Marcus Hill  
At Home Surgeon Dempster  
" K. Mackinnon  
Dr. Julius Jeffreys

*Madras Army*

ENGINEERS

In India Col. Cotton  
Major Lawford  
Capt. Collyer  
Lt. Col. Atkinson  
At Home Capt. Ouchterlony  
" Harsley  
" Hitchins

MEDICAL

In India Duncan McPherson  
Director General  
Surgeon E.G. Balfour  
" Maclean  
A.S. Waring  
" Francis Day  
At Home Surgeon Key  
" Geddes  
" R. Wight

ENGINEERS

In India Col. Scott  
Major Crawford  
Capt. Marriott  
" Ballard  
At Home Lt. Col. C.N. Grant  
" H.B. Turner  
Major Wingate  
" John Hill

MEDICAL

In India Surgeon Gibson  
" Collier  
" Morehead  
" Arnott  
At Home " McLennan  
" Glen  
" Stovell

{in another hand: Mr. Neison Col. Sykes}

*Manner of Enquiry*

- 1 Examination of  
Documents in  
possession of the  
India Ho:  
regarding the  
health of troops  
& Stations
2. Parole evidence  
from persons  
on leave in  
England,  
acquainted  
with Stations
3. Obtaining all  
Maps  
plans &c  
which throw light  
on the subject
4. Issuing printed  
lists of questions  
to all Stations  
in India

These Documents  
will ~~(illeg)~~ be wanted from  
the India House

1. The best India Ho.  
map of India.
2. Trigonometrical  
Survey, as far as  
completed.
3. List of all Military  
Stations to be  
marked also on  
the maps.
4. Copies of all published  
periodical reports  
of Medical Boards  
in Presidencies.
5. Copies of all  
published Army  
Indian Statistical  
tables.

Same, Queen's troops.

6. Lists of all  
places where are  
permanent Barracks  
& Hospitals {in another hand:

including

sanatoria.}

7. Access to  
catalogue of  
documents at  
India Ho:, & to  
all documents  
there bearing on  
the enquiry.

{in another hand: [I]  
documents wanted  
from India Ho

Derbyshire Co Record Office

484

To ask Lord Stanley  
for a general power  
of examining all  
documents respecting  
health of Army  
in India Ho:

---

Should Sir John  
McNeill be on the  
Commission?

---

Don't be limited  
~~as~~ to any time  
for finishing  
the Enquiry.

{in another hand: Ap/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission

1. List of Commissioners
2. Heads for Instructions
3. Documents wanted
4. List of Witnesses}

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead NW  
Oct 18/60

**[15:383-84]**

Dear Mr. Herbert

The recalcitrant  
Artillery Surgeons  
are still raging  
about their instruments.

I think I have  
heard you say that  
it was an error of  
administration.

Would it do to  
put it right in  
this way? -

As

As a certain number  
of Medical Officers  
of the R.A. have  
already given up  
the Government  
Surgical instruments  
and purchased others,  
it would not do to  
return the instruments  
in any form - But  
you might retain  
the instruments given  
back, and purchase  
for Government use  
those which have  
been bought by the

R.A. Officers to  
replace these - the  
Officers retaining  
them as long as  
they are in the  
Service & surrendering  
them to the Government  
when they retire -

As regards the  
men who have not  
yet given up their  
instruments, may  
these not retain  
them till they  
retire?

All new comers to  
  
comply with the  
new Regulations  
and purchase their  
own instruments.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 18 1860 on the case of the Artillery Surgeons}

*In re Surgical Instruments*

1. The Army Med. Reg.,  
both old & new, take  
it for granted that  
Assistt Surgeons except  
those of Cavalry, have  
no need of instruments

The old Ordnance  
Reg., on the contrary  
supplied instruments  
to Assist. Surgeons,  
to be afterwards kept  
up by themselves.

Thus there was a  
difference in the services.

2. The Army Med. Reg.,  
both old & new, require  
every Surgeon of whatever  
designation to provide  
a set of instruments,  
according to scale.  
But both state that  
certain instruments  
are to be given to  
the Surgeon by the  
W.O.

The number so  
given is greater  
under the new than  
under the old Reg.

In the Ordnance,  
on the contrary, there  
was no such rule.

The instruments  
once given to the  
Ass. Surgeon were  
only to be kept up  
by the Surgeon, as  
above said.

3. Since the amalgamation  
of the two Services,  
the Ordnance has  
unquestionably come  
under the new  
Med. Reg.

4. The only point  
is one of Office  
administration.  
Should the Ordnance  
men have been

when the said cases were presented to them,

called on to deliver up ~~& purchase~~ cases engraved by authority with their own names, & purchase, as they have been, at the cost of £15 or £20 per man?

5. Undoubtedly the new law is better than the old. Because it ensures uniformity in the instruments. But it would have been better to let the old "fogies" retire out with their old instruments, rather than have raised all this opposition.

6. There is no hardship in applying the law to the Line. But there is a hardship in applying it to the

Ordnance. It is tantamount to a fine. If the W.O. makes similar requirements in other branches of the Service, again, there is no hardship. But if this is an exceptional case, it might be well to limit the new law to new comers into the Artillery.

The D.G.'s answer that there are greater advantages under the Warrant is no answer. Because all Depts. benefit by these advantages. The Artillery men only are fined. **[end 15:384]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen

489

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 24. 60. 2057/F4/68

Hampstead NW  
Oct 24/60

[15:293]

Dear Mr. Herbert  
There are rats  
in the W.O. - also a  
cat -

There are 17  
months' minutes to  
apply for 6d a week  
for her -

40 minutes say  
that she ought to  
live on rats -

Other minutes

that she ought to  
have milk - but  
that 6d a week  
is too much -

Others again ask  
what she is to live  
upon in the mean  
time -

I am very  
anxious to know  
what is your  
decision - whether  
you have given  
*any*, as yet -

whether you think  
five pence, three farthings  
would be too much?

I incline to  
five pence, halfpenny.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

This is fact - not fiction.  
But I would not  
be a W.O. cat, even  
for a very great deal.

[end]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 5ff, pen

490

Hampstead NW  
Nov 3/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

*With regard to  
General Hospitals.*

Certainly, it is of  
the utmost importance,  
as you say, to organize  
these in the *Camps*.

I only mentioned  
Woolwich Cape of G.H.  
Portsmouth Fermoy  
Plymouth Dublin

&c

because these could

be done at once -

And every day's  
delay is so much  
in the balance *against*  
the success of the  
scheme, because,  
for it to work, it  
should be two years  
at least begun, before  
you go out of office.

But Aldershot  
is undoubtedly the  
best place of all  
for a General Hospital.  
Because it would give  
the additional practice

of carrying out General  
Hospital arrangements  
during field Operations  
- of collecting and  
removing sick in  
Ambulances - &c seeing  
the whole machinery  
of Field General Hospls.  
Aldershot is the only  
camp large enough  
to do this properly.  
And the constant  
succession of Officers  
through it is an  
additional advantage.

But there is no  
Hospital at present

there which will do.

The one planned  
(but not executed)  
would do with a few  
improvements. Or  
a Hut Hospital  
might be put up  
which would answer  
temporarily or for  
a beginning.

Sooner or later  
Aldershot must be  
the great General Hospl.

Shorncliffe would  
do much less well.  
The Hospital is very

-2-

inconvenient - ought  
to be removed  
altogether - has no  
administrative rooms  
& no place to build  
any.

If one model  
General Hospital is  
to be tried, certainly  
Shorncliffe is not  
the place -

But poor Alexander  
wanted Genl Peel  
to try thirteen, and  
gave in the names.

And I believe he  
was right - i.e. as  
to organizing several  
immediately.

If you determined  
upon Shorncliffe as  
one, it ought to be  
examined with special  
reference to the  
required additions  
and organization.

The wards are  
very small - for 7  
only, I think.

Your "Regulations"  
regard all agglomerated  
Hospitals as to be  
organized as "General  
Hospitals" - but not  
all under a Governor.

If the expence  
of having a Colonel  
to each General Hospital  
as Governor is feared,  
let the P.M.O. be  
Governor in such a  
Hospital as Shorncliffe  
~~with~~ which has from 200 to 250  
Patients only.

He is so, in fact,

at present, as to all  
administrative &  
directing functions,  
but *not* as to any  
~~of the~~ supply functions.  
The Pr. Med. Off. and  
Purveyor are in fact  
twin Governors now.

[There would be  
an average of 1500  
Patients at Aldershot]

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I understand that Dr.  
Gibson is so convinced  
of the impossibility  
of going on as we are

-3-

now, that he is  
anxious that you  
should appoint  
"Capts. of Orderlies"  
over *districts*, even  
where there are  
no General Hospls.

And I should  
think that the  
discharged (good)  
Serjeants=Majors  
(Stewards) of the  
late Medl Staff Corps,  
(I could give you  
names of such)  
would make the

best Capts of Orderlies,  
(if a Commission  
were given them)  
whether ~~F.N.~~ for  
districts or  
Genl Hospitals.

F.N.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov. 3. 1860. General Hospitals}

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
signed letter, 2ff, pen

494

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov. 10. 1860. on the refusal of the Treasury to grant a Military Female Hospital}

Upper Terrace  
Hampstead NW  
Nov 10/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

I think the  
Treasury papers, in  
re Female Hospitals,  
are very easily  
answered.

Would you be  
so good as to get  
for us, from the  
Purveyor in Chief,  
the enclosed

information? He, I  
know, possesses it.  
And it would  
enable us to give  
the answer to the  
Treasury, in case  
you wished to  
urge the thing.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

N.B. Gentlemen  
of the Treasury  
don't seem to  
know that, altho'

you may take a bed  
 in a Civil Hospital  
 by the year, (vide  
 papers,) you must  
 not send "Lying=  
 in" cases to it ("*promiscuous*")  
 which constitute  
 half the whole  
 of the cases, at  
 least, in Soldiers'  
 Wives Hospitals -  
 And there are very  
 few of those murderous  
 Institutions, called  
 "Lying=in Hospitals",  
 in England, thank God!

initialed letter, 6ff, pen

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Dec 8.60. on Major Gordon's capabilities -  
 Sidney's Health.

Hampstead NW  
 Dec 8/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

Major Gordon's leave  
 extends for one month  
 more. He has £1200  
 to £1600 a year at  
 Constantinople - And  
 I believe there is some  
 doubt as to whether  
 he would accept a lower paid  
 appointment at home.  
 But *I* think he would

I hope you will  
 not judge too hardly  
 of yourself from  
 these Doctors' opinions.  
 Doctors get to consider  
 diseases as *accidents*  
 (to organs). Nothing  
 can be more false -  
 It is true that you  
 cannot mend your  
 broken leg by rest only  
 or by fresh air, absence  
 of anxiety &c. But  
 it is *not* true that

[8:664-65]

you cannot, (sometimes)  
absolutely mend a  
~~broken~~ damaged organ,  
almost always  
keep it comfortably  
going for many,  
many years by  
giving Nature fair  
play - The presence  
of a large amount  
of albumen is no  
test in itself of anything  
but that Nature  
is getting rid of  
something which

ought not to be  
there. Help her by  
trying not to make  
any more - I know  
a very active  
intellectual London  
man, ~~of~~/now 65, whose  
albuminous symptoms were  
accompanied by  
one, the most  
advanced of all,  
which you have  
never had, but who  
by sleeping in the  
country &c &c &c  
has given himself

-2-

15 years' good life  
& may have 15  
more -

I am not going  
to bore you with a  
Medical lecture -

But I do hope  
you won't have  
any vain ideas  
that you can be  
spared out of the  
W.O. You said  
yourself that there  
was no one to take  
your place - And



I don't believe  
there is anything in  
your Constitution  
which makes it  
evident that disease  
is getting the upper  
hand. On the contrary.

It would be  
well worth your while  
if you could give  
yourself a month's  
*complete* rest now -  
Also no rushing about.

If you could be  
relieved of a great deal  
of the detail of the  
W.O. ~~But~~/and the re=  
organization *ought* to  
do this - it would be well.

Did you ever think  
of Robt. Lowe for your  
Parly Under Secy?  
Greatly as he is  
disliked, I never  
heard anything but  
praise of him from  
his own subordinates,  
(i.e. the best of them)  
both at the Bd of Trade

& Privy Council. I  
have heard them  
speak of his fearless  
administrative  
ability with admiration.

For myself, I once  
applied to him to  
remove a great &  
long standing abuse  
at the Chelsea Hosp;;,  
which I was able  
to prove - And he  
removed it - And  
that is more than  
can be said of any  
body at the W.O.

It would be an

ill wind, this, which  
had blown some good,  
if, among the changes  
could be that of  
ousting Hawes -  
Forgive anything which seems  
like impertinence

ever yours sincerely

F.N.

I am not sorry that  
B. Jones & Williams  
agreed - in order to  
determine on a line  
of action - ~~but~~/not in order  
to believe the case  
hopeless.

Note

*French Returns*

One must read  
such papers as these  
(about the French  
Army) to know what  
you have done for  
the British. In the  
last two years we  
have shot some  
two hundred years  
ahead of them.

I wish Lord Derby  
(or somebody) would  
say so in Parliament.  
March 7/61 F.N.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

500

Liverpool Record Office, paper copies, handwritten, some with typed copies, some typed copies with no handwritten original, indicated 610 RAT; with 4 typed copies of originals at the University of Wales Bangor; typed copies of Rathbone letters at end;

typed copy of letter 13 June 1898 in University of Liverpool [6:578]

610 RAT 1/1 incomplete letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy fl

Hampstead N.W.

Sept 26/64

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I must plead my usual excuse for not having thanked you before for your beautiful ferns & flowers & grasses.

I do not think you need be troubled about not having all the accommodation x Miss Jones thinks desirable. She herself informed me of it: but her chief trouble was X Workhouse Infy=

[6:247]

that she was giving you "annoyance & trouble," & lest you should not understand that there was really no item in the Memo: which the Governor had not settled with her, none which she had proposed-

As for the Probationers, they will be better off than the Nurses (not Head Nurses) in the large majority of London

Hospitals were in my time;  
or I daresay are still.

You are very good to  
relieve my mind as to:  
the expenditure  
you are undertaking. I  
assure you it weighed  
upon me very heavily:  
because I thought we  
had led you into a  
higher sum than  
you had  
at first proposed -  
I could not help telling  
Sir John Lawrence (in  
my letter of today's mail)

of what was going to be  
done at Liverpool Work:  
house. I am sure it  
would give him so much  
pleasure - He deplores  
the state of the destitute  
Hindoos at Calcutta -  
But really the state of  
London Workhouse Sick,  
as I remember them,  
was such that it is  
not for us to raise our  
hands against Calcutta.  
Now Liverpool is going  
to raise her hands  
against us all -  
[page cut off]

**[end 6:247]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office

502

610 RAT 1/2 signed letter, 2ff, pen, copy 47753 ff246-47 [6:265-68]

35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*

July 4~~2~~/66

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I reproach myself  
that, in the hurry of the  
last few days, I have  
not answered yours  
of June 28.

The Committee (of 3)  
have taken a step  
in the right direction -  
in placing themselves  
directly in communication  
with both Governor  
& Supt=

But they must not

cease to attempt the  
obtaining of a  
separate position for  
the Supt=

Until this is done,  
nothing real has  
been done.

All the London  
Workhouse enquiries  
have centred on  
two points: --

1. bad Nurses

2. worse Governors.

The Nurses did not

know how to nurse -  
the Governors ~~did~~  
made bad nursing  
worse by their  
interference.

Substitute good Nurses,  
& leave the worse  
Governors over the good  
Nurses And there will only  
be added a new  
element of failure  
& discord.

We do not have the  
Medical officers'  
medicines & treatment

under the Masters  
of Workhouses.  
The far more important,  
delicate & constant  
element of Nursing  
should still less  
be left under the  
Masters of Workhouses.

ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
610 RAT 1/3 signed letter, 12ff, pen

504

[6:266-68]

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*  
July 4/66

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Please consider this  
as part of my letter of  
yesterday; which I was  
obliged to send off in  
an unfinished state  
(in reply to yours of the 28th)

Indeed you can't  
think what a crisis  
I feel this to be in  
the Liverpool Workhouse  
Nursing - nor how  
anxiously I wish to put  
shortly & seriously what  
I want to say - as the

result of all my experience  
viz.--that it is *quite*  
impossible to have a  
Training School, (to have  
Probationers,) under the  
present system or where  
any interference whatever  
of the Governor is possible  
--that it is merely  
running to *certain* failure.

If the Governor chooses,  
or thinks it right, to  
interfere with the  
Probationers - or with  
the Supt= about them she

should have the power  
of saying to him: - You  
must bring this before  
the Committee (of three) -  
And they, if they think  
well, must bring it  
before me -

It is absolute destruction  
for the Governor to be  
"intriguing" among the  
Probationers, as he  
does. [I can use no  
other word but  
"intriguing". Of course  
I don't mean it in  
an immoral sense.]

It is absolute, (not destruction,

but making the whole  
thing a) profane burlesque  
for the Governor to  
govern by a mixture  
of cajolery, flattery &  
insult addressed to  
the Supt=. about her  
Nursing & Probationers.  
He has nothing to do  
with them, or it, in that  
sense.

It is absolutely impossible  
to go on in that way.  
The Supt= is not *their*  
Supt=. The Probationers  
are not *her* Probationers.  
It is all confusion &

Private {top left corner; diagonally:}

[2]

ruin. How she can get  
on for a single day  
passes my comprehension  
It is a government  
divided against itself.  
It is pure destruction  
~~against~~ of any training  
or moral discipline  
the Probationers can  
get - & which is the  
sole object of their  
being there.

If the Governor is the  
Training=Matron, let  
it be said so. And  
let *her* resign-

The Supt= should, on her

part, if diets are ill=  
cooked, if she can't  
get the Patients' clothes,  
or hot water, if &c &c &c, complain  
to the Committee, not  
to the Governor-

in short, unless the  
Supt= can be the  
Committee's officer  
& not the Governor's-  
I wish to say, as  
strongly as I can put  
the words, it is *quite*  
impossible to have a  
Nursing Staff or a Training School at  
Liverpool Workhouse  
at all.

[I would go farther & say

that, suppose two or three  
Head Nurses, of high,  
vicious tempers, were  
to come in, they might  
upset the Supt's= whole  
authority in a week.  
They have nothing to  
do but to go to the  
Governor. *She* has  
no authority, no  
position. *She*  
not their Supt=.

And then what  
becomes of the Nursing?]

I feel that this involves  
the whole future not  
only of Nursing in  
Liverpool Workhouse,  
but in all other  
Workhouses.

I have entered more  
into coarse detail in  
this letter than in any  
previous one. Because  
I feel that none but  
a woman, & a woman  
who has gone through  
the same kind of thing,  
(for herself & for others), as I have,  
for many years x-  
x [&c Miss Jones has not

3

{top left corner; diagonally;} *Private*  
the least idea of it--  
she thinks she can  
go on as it is]

-----  
can tell men:-- the  
absolute necessity  
of giving a proper  
position to the  
Matron, on the  
obvious ground that,  
unless this is done,  
it is *impossible* for  
you to do anything  
really important.

You have progressed  
gradually to obtaining  
a better position for  
the "nursing idea"--

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
thro' your munificence

508

But no position, so far  
as I know, has been  
gained for the Matron  
& Nurses.

Even SINCE the Committee  
was appointed, the  
Governor has gone on  
"TRAINING" [underlined 3 times] the Probationers,  
just the same as  
before in the way described.

[Indeed I don't know that  
he is to be blamed.  
It has been left to  
be supposed that it  
is his duty. And  
that is *his* way of  
fulfilling his duty.]

But under these  
circumstances, I have  
no hesitation in  
saying that, judging  
from my life's  
experience,

I feel defeat so certain  
that, in order to save  
the cause elsewhere,  
I should, if my opinion  
were asked, advise  
the adoption of one  
of two final  
alternatives: --

1. To place Miss Jones  
in direct communication  
with the Committee  
for the remainder of  
the time she is to  
be in charge -  
or, like the Medical  
Officers, in direct  
communication  
with the Poor Law  
Board - So that  
the Governor should  
have no power to  
interfere with her.

Or 2.

[4]

2. that Miss Jones  
should resign,  
stating ~~illeg. reas?~~ the  
reasons.

I write as strongly as  
I can - because the  
evils which we  
have both of us  
known of from the  
beginning are  
happening every day.

And now is the time,  
once for all, to put  
an end to them.

[If they can't be put an  
end to, I can only  
say: - the position  
is an *impossible*  
one. And, as for  
training, it is out  
of the question.]

Personally, I am living  
in constant fear of  
the result. Because,  
if allowed to go on,  
the present system  
is certain to involve  
the whole Nursing  
reform in the  
greatest difficulties.

Altho' Mr. Villiers is  
"out", (which is a great  
loss to us,) something  
might still be done  
in London to bring  
the matter to an issue.  
I would do anything  
I can in this way -  
But I do not like  
to interfere, unless  
we can act in concert.  
You may believe how  
strongly I feel that  
it is *now or never*,  
by my making time  
to write at this moment.  
(When I have more to do  
than ever I had in all my  
life.)

N.B. Whether the  
training of ex=paupers  
Nurses could have  
succeeded anyhow, I  
am not competent  
to say. I only know  
that it *must* have  
failed in the way it  
was tried.  
Their Supt= was not  
their Supt=.  
She had no real power,  
no real authority over  
them.  
The Governor was their  
Supt=.  
And now, they are

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*

[5]

doing just the same  
thing about the  
Probationers. And  
it is as *certain* to  
fail, (unless you get  
a class of angels, x)  
~~not th~~ as the ex=pauper  
trial was certain to  
fail.

It can't be otherwise  
It is an impossible  
position.

The Committee can make  
no real improvement,  
while the Governor is  
able to interfere with the  
{"interfere with" written over something illeg.}  
Probationers as he does.

-----  
X *not* the *most* "superior" class of women  
would do

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have no time to re=  
write this letter, which  
yet I feel I must  
send. Because I feel  
it is now or never.

It is *strictly* CONFIDENTIAL [und 3 times]  
& must be *for yourself*  
ALONE.

I need scarcely tell  
you that Miss Jones  
would disapprove it  
very much -  
that she wishes to go on  
*any* way --  
that she never thinks  
of resigning -  
that she never "tells me  
everything" - or indeed

much of any kind -

& that she does not  
wish me to "speak for  
her."

~~But~~ My letter is much longer  
than I could have  
wished. But I have  
felt that, while I  
kept to *generalia*, I  
failed to impress you  
with my strong conviction  
of certain failure, if things go on thus.

And, tho' I feel the  
incautiousness & imprudence  
of this letter (which  
would horrify Miss  
Jones) - & I would not  
write it to any one but  
you - it must go.

[6]

The whole tendency of  
the project of  
Workhouse reform  
goes now to this: --  
to separate the paupers  
from the sick poor.

The better a man for the Governor  
of a Workhouse, the  
worse for the Governor  
of an Infirmary.

And the Workhouse  
Governor must have  
nothing to do with  
the Workhouse Infirmary.

The waste - the deceits  
which pauper Nurses

& pauper Patients  
practise upon a  
Workhouse & its  
Governor, are such  
that, even from  
the side of economy,  
what is said above  
is true. The really sick  
do *not* recover, the Malingerers  
return again & again to the Workhouse.

Ever, dear Mr. Rathbone,  
Yours most truly &  
gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

I have written this  
quite early in the morning  
before London was awake.  
FN.

[end 6:268]

typed copy July 21/66 ff4-9

typed copy July 2/66 f10

typed copy July 4/68 ff11-15

Derbyshire Co Record Office

515

**610** RAT 1/4 letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy f16 **[6:275-76]** [seems incomplete in our copies but original has another folio

Sunday Night

April 14/67

35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have read over  
your first 4 sheets - &  
think it perfectly good  
& admirable. I hope &  
believe it will do good.  
The subject is an enormous  
one & one most urgent.  
And you will deserve  
the world's gratitude if  
you can bring attention  
to bear upon it.

I hear from all  
sides of the great change  
to which you refer - viz.  
that the great Millowners

no longer know their men.

About 35 years since,  
a cousin of my father's  
in Derbyshire, since  
dead, was apparently  
intimate with all his  
Mill men & women.

Now Waller, Cubitt's  
successor, does not  
know, even by name,  
his Head Bricklayer -  
who had been with  
Cubitt 20 years -

I think your comments  
most wise & fruitful  
of suggestion.

2. I forwarded your  
letter to Hy Bonham  
Carter, to whom I had  
already written (& spoken  
to Sir H Verney) about  
your generous scheme  
for our taking the  
Liverpool Workh: Infy=  
(as we do King's Coll Hospl  
& St. Thomas') - only for  
training at your  
expence for 3 years  
for Workhouse Infies=  
in Lancashire.

Hy Bonham Carter  
seems inclined to wish  
Mrs Wardroper to pay  
a visit to Miss A. Jones  
on this subject - to consider  
together the possibilities.

I have not mentioned

it to either yet.

Indeed, I do not know what view Miss A. Jones takes about the matter. I will, please, write to you more at length about this.

3. I have also written, (quite confidentially), to Mrs. Wardroper, to know what she would think of Miss Florence Lees - who is a gentlewoman & has been 7 months in training with us - as a temporary Assistant to Miss Agnes Jones, *in case* the latter would take her.

[added April 2004]

I have not written to Miss A. Jones yet, not quite knowing how to break ground at present-or what you may have mentioned to her.

1000 thanks for your gorgeous ferns-

Believe me  
ever yours truly & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

-----  
Monday. [add date]  
Since I wrote this, I have received the rest of your valuable pamphlet. I will read it & let you know. Indeed I cannot tell you how much to the purpose I think it. or how

thankful we ought to be to you, I feel, for it.

F.N.

April 17/67

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have read over the  
rest of your little book  
And I can't tell you  
how much I like it.  
I only hope & believe  
that people will  
glean many principles  
out of it.

It does not appear  
to me to want "flesh &  
blood" as you say  
Macmillan puts it.

Perhaps I am inclined  
to think, from experience,  
that it is always better  
to present to people, -  
whether it is to  
Government, to an  
Institution or an  
individual, - not a  
scheme but a principle.  
Because they can find  
objections to ANY  
scheme whatsoever -  
But there is a chance

that, if you present to them a principle, they may think - not what objections there are to this? but - how can it be worked out? -

[It is always easy to do the fuller thing afterwards.]

Now, I think *you have* done this.

And it will be always easy to re-publish with fuller illustrations, details, notes.

[Perhaps I might even be able to help you to do this.]

But as far as my experience goes, I think it is better to begin with an anatomy, as the great painters did, & clothe it afterwards. In the same day arrived by the Australian mail for me from the

April 67

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

After carefully re-reading  
your "Social Duties", it seems  
to me that it is the first  
broaching of an enormous  
subject, which you will  
have to extend.

I don't think, as  
Macmillan says, it "wants  
"flesh & blood".

And I don't think,  
as I thought at first,  
that to re-publish it  
with Notes & Illustrations  
is all that is wanted.

It is like a First  
Chapter on Geology -

It is complete in itself -  
But, to give the whole  
Treatise on Geology, it will  
require - not Notes &  
Illustrations to the  
First (Introductory)  
Chapter - but a  
Second, Third, Fourth,  
&c. &c. Chapter.  
You will have to develop  
each of the immense  
subjects you have  
touched upon - but  
from your own point  
of view- not from  
ours

As for illustrations, an enquiry into the Jews' Charities would form a very interesting one - A poor Jew is a (real) brother to a rich Jew - A poor Christian is an offence to a rich Christian.

That is the difference . Dr. Cumming's system & organization of Charity in London would form another illustration. There, everybody knows everybody, thus preventing the mutual ignorance of disunited charities {written over charity} which you describe so well. But,

of course, in so very small a sphere as Dr. Cumming's Scotch Church, this is comparatively easy.

Practically, the Poor Law question has half the maze & fog which it has been wrapped in taken away from it by separating entirely from it the (Workhouse) SICKNESS. And you were quite right in making that (viz. sickness) a central question, which indeed it is, or rather almost a solution-- of the Poor Law difficulty in your practical works in Liverpool.

2

This might be made into a Chapter in itself. The Sanitary or Preventive question might be made into another. There are sick streets as well as sick people - & to an experienced eye the expression of Countenance of a sick street is much the same everywhere, whether in Bombay, Valetta London or Sydney. One would have thought that, in a new country, like Australia, people might have had food

which ought to be the nucleus of it, however.) I hope that your "Social Duties" may lead the way to this as well as to other reforms.

Believe me

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

May 15/67

[6:276-78]

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*  
Dear Mr. Rathbone

I fully enter into your  
difficulties - (& also into  
those of Miss Jones).

The enclosed letter I think  
*greatly improved by the*  
*modification* at the end.

As you know, I think the  
{pencil:} only solution of this question  
(which I acknowledge  
with you, is the greatest  
difficulty you have had  
yet) is ONLY: --

temporizing &  
an arrangement {pencil to end of insertion:} (as you  
have proposed) ~~one~~ I feared that ~~the~~ your  
letter (at least the first

part of it) {pencil:} might otherwise ~~will~~ {struck out in pencil} only lead  
Miss A. Jones to commit  
herself - She will say: if  
she can't conscientiously  
admit R.C.s, she  
can't conscientiously  
admit R.C.s....And  
then something about  
idol=worshippers-----  
The question has not yet  
arisen. Whenever the  
question does arise,  
she will commit  
herself & resign, I fear.  
If you press her now,  
she will commit herself  
& resign now, I fear.

As you know, I think,  
in the great work she is  
doing now in the  
Liverpool Workhouse,  
(thanks to you), the  
Nursing point, tho'  
a very important, is  
only a subsidiary  
point. *She has to  
organize the whole  
thing.* {emphasis may be in pencil}

This being the case,  
I dread, beyond anything,  
weakening her hands -  
which is what bringing  
the question now to a  
point would do.

I dread beyond anything

making her resign now  
by compelling her to  
think she ought conscientiously to  
answer your letter  
(which I fear may  
bring her to bay,)  
instead of letting her  
carry the reform *as  
far as she can.*

[In the Crimean War, I  
felt that the Nursing  
point, tho' a most  
important one, was  
only a subsidiary one.  
I had to organize the  
whole thing. The War  
Hospitals were only  
Workhouse Hospitals in  
an exaggerated form.  
Therefore I enter so

2

much both into your  
work & Miss A. Jones's]  
You know I can't but enter  
into her view in one  
way - No *permanent* Training  
{insertion and emphasis in pencil}  
Staff could be a mixed  
one. But *Probationers* {pencil:} to be trained  
(for other staffs) might  
be mixed. St. John's  
House could not (&  
would not) take R.C.  
Sisters & Nurses.  
But they take R. C.  
Probationers (Midwives)  
for us. So does St.  
Thomas'.  
I don't quite agree with

you that the difficulty  
lies--just whether you  
shall send R.C.  
Probationers, like  
school-children, into  
another room, while  
giving religious instruction.  
The difficulty lies - for  
I myself have had  
R.C. Nurses (& even  
Nuns) under me -  
is this: -- priests *will*  
tell them to do some=  
thing you have told  
them not to do - you  
will never find it  
out except by your  
own personal vigilance

*and then* {emphasis in pencil} you hardly know what to do .

[It has happened to me to find a ward momentarily abandoned by its R.C.

Nurse - to hunt her up - & to find her in an officers's room -

"*What* are you doing there?"-- Oh! the priest made me come to be present while he was administering the Sacraments to the sick officers.

This particular thing would not happen to you - but similar things might.

The same woman went & converted one of the

St. John's House Nurses.

The same difficulty did not occur to me with the *Nuns* {emphasis may be in pencil} - who were perfectly faithful to me. And perhaps no one has done so much as I in improving Nun=nursing.

But what those Nuns went through in their fidelity to me, no one knows but God & myself. The priests refused one the Sacraments when she was dying. I dragged them thro' by main force & by

3

resuming always  
perfect amity with  
the priests.]

All this I have never  
told to any one. And  
it is sacred between  
you & me.

To resume what I feel: --  
the longer you can put  
off mooting the  
question of R. C.  
probationers, the better.  
I see no difficulty  
in *training* such, --  
and we do train  
them. But Miss A.  
Jones has done (&

is doing) so great a  
work (under you) --  
and her views are so  
decided that we  
must, I fear,  
contemplate the  
possibility that she  
may resign, if  
pressed to decide  
the point.

If it is possible to  
temporize till the  
question is absolutely  
raised, & then to  
deal with it, it  
would be better.

[Whenever I see her,  
I will talk it over.]

{pencil:} To explain: --  
To temporize, if possible,  
would be ~~all~~ the best  
policy.

E.g. in the event of  
any R. C. probationers  
presenting themselves,  
could it be stated  
that, in the present  
phase of the Workhouse  
Nursing question, &  
until it is firmly  
established, it would  
be better not to  
introduce any new  
element at all --  
for fear of the whole  
movement being  
imperilled, if not wrecked.

[The experience of myself  
& of many wiser  
than myself, has  
been that the priestly  
influence if introduced once into any  
compound body of  
Nurses, must end  
in one of two things,  
either in eliminating  
the R.C. element  
on account of  
interference of the  
priests - or in  
breaking up the  
whole system on  
account of the  
impracticability of

4

the two elements  
working together.

The head of a body  
of secular Nurses  
requires to be as  
supreme in all  
Nursing matters as  
is the religious head  
of a R. C. {pencil:} or Anglican order.  
We are never sure  
that our secular  
R.C. nurses may  
not be taken away  
from express duties  
of one kind to  
duties of another kind  
(for which the Superintendt=  
is never asked her  
consent).

[I would add that  
the anecdotes I  
have related above  
never happened in  
the Hospitals where  
I had my Head Quarters.  
They happened where  
the priests were  
not so much afraid of my Assistant  
Superintendts as  
they were of me.  
And they were  
discovered only by  
my unexpected  
visits.  
I feel as Miss A. Jones  
says: -- if only the Govnor=

~~be~~ is {correction in pencil} as afraid of my Assistant as he is of me?]

It is *not* so much the mixture of religious elements we have to fear -

It is: - *the Constant tendency* of priests to interfere *on religious grounds* with *purely secular work* which every Supt= who has acted, as I have, over mixed bodies, will tell you is what we have to fear.

I entirely believe that a way will be found out of the difficulty in {"in" written over another illeg. word} the end. But it will be found by temporization & arrangement.

And if it is only possible to temporize till the question is forced upon you, so much the better.

[I am always anxious to take the side of the R.C. rate-payers. Still you & I know that, for

5

every £ they pay, they  
receive back £2  
from the Rates.

However, that is not the  
Question]

{pencil:} with them  
ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

{added in pencil}  
You know best whether the  
question is upon you  
already.

All I can say is:- if it can  
be put off, put it off --  
if you can avoid  
raising it, do so.

*If you can't*, then I think  
your letter to Miss Jones  
is as *good* as it can be.

**610** RAT 1/8 signed letter, 5ff, pen & pencil, typed copy ff26-28 **[5:258-59]**

June 22/67

35 South Street, {printed address}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*  
Dear Mr. Rathbone

I had not a moment  
yesterday to thank you  
for so kindly sending  
me your "Social Duties."

I had been anxiously  
looking out for them &  
had even ordered Macmillan's  
Magazine to give away  
(for I am no great  
Magazine reader) - but  
found, to my great  
disgust, in the June No=,  
no Social Duties.

I believe that this

volume combined with  
your practical work, will make  
an era in English  
Charities. and I am  
sure I care, more than  
for anything that I do  
care for, that your  
example may be followed  
in London & all over  
Great Britain.

In London, charity is an  
amusement, just like  
horse-racing.

There is no feeling of duty, no  
idea of business about it.  
Good people often abstain  
from it, because they

think it increases the  
evil it is meant to cure.  
people of business, because  
they think the money  
does not reach the objects  
it is intended to benefit.  
Otherwise, money, by itself  
money, would never be  
wanting in London.

If you could make, by your  
example & precept, people  
give their work, their  
systematized work & habits  
of business, as well as  
their money, - the large  
unpenetrated masses of  
vice & misery which  
now disgrace London  
& our great towns would  
at least be broken up,  
if not swept away entirely.  
What extraordinary powers

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
of organization ( for a bad  
purpose) have lately been  
revealed by the disclosures  
of the Trades' Unions' &  
Sheffield Unions' Commissions?

533

The power of organization  
seems all to have descended  
into the artizan class.

Why cannot Englishmen of  
the upper, the educated, the  
business class, shew the  
same power of organization  
in their "social duties"? --

*Ritualism* is an amusement,  
just like charity, just  
like horse=racing. And  
why can't people, (a man  
like Mr. Hubbard, for  
instance,) do like you,  
instead of spending sums

{same printed address upside down in bottom left corner}

2

untold in founding Ritualistic  
churches? -

The mass of children, growing  
up to crime, in London -  
to take only one instance -  
is hitherto quite untouched  
-- tho' a few hundreds are  
rescued here & there.

I was amused by the  
observation of a very  
enlightened man, a  
Frenchman, (which he has  
since put in print,) on  
a point which struck  
*him* with astonishment,  
but which we are too much used to for it to  
surprise us. He said: -  
-how is it that you allow  
yourselves to be taxed

for these Workhouses for the  
people to go into, while  
you organize private  
Charities to save the  
people from going into  
these *Workhouses*? -  
Had I had your book then,  
I should have put it  
into his hand.

In reply to your question, I  
am quite sure I could  
distribute 20 copies of  
your Essay (off=hand)  
with advantage - not  
only in England, but in  
our Colonies. I grieve  
to see the same state of  
things, as with us arising  
for instance, in N. South Wales.

If you will kindly send  
me, as you propose, say  
a dozen copies, I think  
I ought to find the rest  
myself.

{the next 11 lines are enclosed by a square bracket on the left}

I rejoice to hear that your  
District Nursing is likely  
to be imitated in the East  
of London. You know  
I never shall think that  
we have done any thing  
in London, till we have  
nursed not only all the  
Hospitals & all the  
Workhouses, but have  
divided London into  
convenient districts for  
Nursing the sick poor at  
home, including  
Midwifery Nursing,--  
including the supply of

[5:259]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Sick Comforts - & taking the  
Convalescent into the country  
to recover - as you have  
done at Liverpool.

535

I rejoice to think that there  
is likely to be asserted at  
Liverpool a principle  
which will work so  
immensely for good as  
that you mention about  
a Country Hospital.

I sincerely hope & trust **[9:958]**  
that, even beyond the sphere  
of ~~the~~ our Christian religion,  
your example will spread  
& take root. Lately  
I have had from  
Parsee merchants in Bombay

{same printed address upside down in bottom left corner}

3

a desire expressed that  
I should found a  
Training School for Nurses  
there. As the Government  
has been in correspondence  
with me for founding  
such Training Schools in  
India, I must of course,  
be careful, that such  
efforts should work into  
one another, not clash  
with each other - also,  
not to speak of them  
prematurely. I only  
mention this (privately),  
because I do think  
a better era in Charity  
may be inaugurated by  
your book & most of all by  
your work - Believe me  
ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

**[end 9:958]**

July 9/67

35 South Street, {printed address}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

As you positively desire it I write to say that I could distribute nearly as many copies of your "Social Duties" as there are people who are, or who think themselves, gifted with a power of organization.

I have received one or two very encouraging answers from people who had already done a good deal & who are glad to be taught to "look up" what they

have done.

[I take for granted that you have sent a copy to Sir John McNeill]

I have also sent a few copies to America & Australia. & to London clergy who have done anything in the way of organizing.

I should like to bring it before the Bishop of London, who has some (& thinks he has much more than his,) share of the power of organization.

In the copies that you  
were so kind as to  
send me from

Macmillan, there was  
not your little printed  
letter. in haste

Believe me  
ever yours sincerely,

Florence Nightingale

If you are so good as to  
send me more copies,  
do not send me more  
than a dozen or twenty -  
Because I think people  
ought to buy for themselves.  
And indeed one of the  
people who answers me  
says that he shall make  
as many as possible get the  
book.

**610** RAT 1/10 signed letter, 2ff, pen **[6:281]**

Jan 22/68

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have felt so very  
much for you & for Mrs.  
Rathbone at the loss of  
your dear child.

It is hard to say at  
such times: The Lord gave  
& the Lord hath taken away  
--blessed be the name of the  
Lord.

The Lord hath need of this  
floweret wild - as the  
German hymn says -  
Do you know the other German

hymn telling the story of a little, precocious

darling child,  
like yours, said to  
have really happened,  
that, when it was ill,  
at night, it said, what  
music was that? - And  
the mother said, there  
was none. And it  
whispered:  
The angels call me with their  
songs  
good night, my mother dear -  
--and so died.

But I will not take up  
your time. Pity those  
who have no children to  
lose! or to mourn -

I am glad you think  
there must be a "clean  
sweep" of the Workhouse  
officials.

I hope, after all that  
Liverpool Workhouse  
will come out a Model  
Workhouse by degrees.  
It is far more likely  
to do so by the laying  
bare of abuses than  
by whitening the sepulchre.

ever yours affectely &  
gratefully

F. Nightingale

I trust that Mrs. Rathbone is

pretty well - And you too-  
And your children - But  
the dear little place  
which is for ever empty  
is not filled up by these -  
tho' these are not less dear  
but more so. -

FN.

Feb 8/68  
35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I know how heavy  
has been your loss - a loss heavy  
not only for his family  
& friends & his own  
immense circle of duties  
but for England & the world.

And yet I am not  
going to write to you about  
this but about our dear  
Agnes Jones. Three or four  
days ago, I had a note  
from her (rather a long  
one for her) saying that  
she was "resting in bed"  
but that "Dr. Gee said she

"only wanted rest", that I  
was "not to be  
anxious" about her,  
as she "was not ill"  
[I put off answering her letter  
partly because I thought  
it better to leave her a  
few days' peace, as my  
letters# to her must always  
be full of her troubles.] -  
I heard nothing more till  
last night, when I was  
told (in a round=about  
way) that she had "Fever" -  
that she "had a day and  
a night nurse"- that you  
& Dr. Gee had been with  
her, I supposed for the  
purpose of removing her  
if that had been possible -

I should have telegraphed to you for news, but that I did not like troubling you, with such a heavy burden on your own heart & shoulders.

I know that you will do everything for her that is most kind & of the greatest service - & that, if she can recover, she will have the best chance in your hands.

I write merely to ask you opinion of her state.

I think I will write a line to Dr. Gee too.

But, if you could spare me a word, I shall be truly grateful to you.

I shall not write to Agnes Jones herself, till I know whether she is in a condition to receive letters without injury.

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I will send to Mrs. Wardroper (who is ill herself) for news of Agnes Jones - every day - in order to save Miss Jones' attendants useless writing.

F.N.

Feb 20/68

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*

Dear Mr. Rathbone

For *her*, it is well. For  
us, it is terrible.

But our darling had  
a very happy life. Though  
no one knows but God &  
myself what she went  
through.

Both things are possible.

I regret nothing, believe  
me. She thanked me  
over & over again for  
having persuaded her to  
go to Liverpool Workhouse.  
I am sure she was  
happier there than  
ever she was in her life.

She has all along told me  
of your great  
kindness, of Dr.

Gee's, of every one's.

Her last years made  
her only the more fit  
for God.

It has been a noble  
life - & she has had  
a death to be envied.

I regret nothing, except  
that I reproach myself -  
I think I ought to have  
said this last year that,  
if she would not go away  
for 2 or 3 weeks, I would  
come down myself to  
fetch her. You know  
what she always said -

that the new Governor must  
come - that the Assistant  
must come - that she  
must take over the  
Female Hospital - before  
she could have a holiday.  
All things were settled  
from the first, we know,  
by God, of His *good*  
pleasure & not of His  
"wrath."

I know that you have done  
everything for her that  
love & skill & money  
could do - that you  
~~made~~ created her work & did  
everything for it. And  
that is what *she* cared  
about.

Let us say: - All is well.

I am sure, if she could  
speak, she would say: -  
you have been her greatest  
benefactor on earth.

But the thing is now,  
how to continue her work.

I am in full consultation  
with Mrs. Wardroper &  
Mr. Whitfield as to your  
questions - & will let  
you know the moment  
we come to any opinion.

Of course our opinion  
will be for you alone.

Most unfortunately  
Mrs. Wardroper, who has  
been ill for weeks, has  
had a relapse since Monday

2

[It is not dangerous, I trust & believe. But it is very tedious & painful.]

It was a miserable comfort to me, during Agnes Jones' illness, to hear one of these dry London officials here say: that hers was one of the most valuable lives in England.

I feel for the Nurses, so very much - I don't think they are unreasonable. I never knew any one, like Agnes Jones - & never shall again. I never knew any one who had the same power as she

had to *carry them with* her under difficult circumstances.

We must all of us do all in our power to calm & encourage them. I trust & hope in God who will take care of His own work that they will all stay & do their best for His sake & for her sake who lived & died for Him & for this His work.

In many important ways, the work is now easier, owing to the new Governor, owing to the Sub=Committee &c &c.

I will write to the Nurses, as you desire, in a day or two.

About your Obituary Notices,  
I think, with you, that *She*  
would not have liked it.  
She was very humble -  
But I dare say, with you,  
that it would please &  
encourage her poorer  
followers -

I therefore took counsel.  
We sent, as I telegraphed to  
you, your Notice in your  
own words - (and in your  
own words I think it  
should appear in the  
Liverpool papers -) for  
the Daily Telegraph, the  
paper most read by  
the best lower classes --  
& slightly altered, for the  
Times & Daily News -  
& a little more altered  
for the Pall Mall Gazette

(which makes a mock  
at every thing)  
the whole - not to be put in the  
Obituary - but inserted  
without being headed as  
"Advertisements" -  
the whole sent to your  
London house.

I hope that you will not  
think I have exceeded  
my instructions.  
We have done our best. [I did  
not much like the mention  
of my name -]

In case I should not be able  
to give you Mrs. Wardroper's  
opinion before post time,  
I write this letter. But I

will write farther -

God bless you -

ever yours, in sorrow but in  
gratitude & hope

F. Nightingale

{same printed address upside down in lower left corner.}

March 27/68

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{at left; not FN's hand: \*see page 2}

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I do not feel that I can  
do what you ask me about  
obtaining a consent to the  
Tenerani statue being put up  
to her memory.

When I try, the whole  
thing rises before me - the  
awful character of the  
sacrifice they have made  
to God's work.

They can only say:  
we gave her for God's work.  
GOD keeps her memory. She  
is with God.

If you say;- we  
want a statue to keep  
her memory for us -  
they could not but answer,

that is for you to decide -  
not for her mother & sister-  
-don't ask us.

People who *can* make  
such a sacrifice in  
such a heavenly way as  
they have are not  
those who will care for  
Memorials.

If it is to be done, it  
must be done without  
asking their leave.

If they had been people  
to have given it, they  
would not have been  
people capable of making  
that awful sacrifice.

They ought not to have been asked.

They have refused; and rightly.

Their refusal is final, so far as they are concerned unless the Bp of Derry could make them think otherwise.

But their refusal still leaves you to act in the matter, exactly as you may generously think fit.

The Statue need not be in memory of *her* but in memory of her *services*. In this case the family would have nothing to do with it.

Suppose, for instance, you were to put up the statue:-

"To commemorate the services & early death (or: the public service & early death)

of Agnes E. Jones  
first Lady Supt. of the  
N. Nurses  
in Liverpool Workhouse  
Hospitals

this statue is placed"

"Feb. 19 1868."

they could no more forbid it than I could.

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

{written across main text in centre third of back sheet:

The proposed Monument's inscription  
may be FN later in life; in another hand}

Derbyshire Co Record Office 547  
610 RAT 1/14 incomplete letter, 2ff, pen no date

some other Hospital before  
coming to Liverpool,-) I feel, [6:309]  
now & always, that, with  
a view to her due authority  
with her Nurses, it is  
desirable that she should  
stay long enough at St.  
Thomas' to learn the reason  
of the routine as well  
as the routine itself.  
For this purpose, if the  
Miss Smyths could be induced  
to stay so long, it would  
be very desirable that  
Miss Freeman should stay  
from 2 to 3 months at least  
at St. Thomas'- (as was done

by Miss Merryweather &c &c)  
{written interlineally here and between next two lines:  
About Miss Freeman; not FN's hand}  
Unfortunately, as you  
know, Miss Freeman cannot  
be released from her present employment till  
7 May.

I am sure that all will  
agree that it is very  
important for her health  
& prospect of usefulness  
that there should be no  
undue hurry in her  
course previous to coming  
to Liverpool.

Pray believe me  
dear Mr. Rathbone  
ever your faithful friend & servt  
Florence Nightingale

typed copy May 13/69 f37, no handwritten

Derbyshire Co Record Office

548

610 RAT 1/15 signed letter, 7ff, pen, on larger paper, typed copy ff38-40

{printed address:}

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

April 20/70

[6:304-05]

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*

[other hand Miss Nightingale

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Miss Jones' Memoir]

I will remind you of one or two little things which you might, if you thought fit, urge on the Bishop of Derry. & which he cannot know, except thro' you-

One is: that much of the Memoir is false, as representing what Agnes Jones *did*- & in direct contradiction to letters written by her in confidence to me a day or two after the same dates in her Diary. Much of that Diary was written under feelings of oppressive ill health, of morbid discouragement, of misunderstanding thro' her deafness- & also of momentary petulance of which she would have been the first to accuse herself. A day or two after, she writes to me in quite a different (& practical) tone.

Is it fair to her to represent her thus? The other is: the total ignorance of her family of anything but a very small clique which in their opinion the world moves round.

The Bishop can hardly recognize to what a degree this falsifies the Memoir.

[E.g. a comparatively small thing - & which I give only as an illustration, because of course this identical matter does not come into the Memoir. One of them wrote to me that it was what she said of me to her friends in Dublin which made the Govt= send me to the Crimea.]

It is Mrs. Higinbotham's dreadful ignorance of the way the real world's affairs are managed which makes the Memoir so offensive. & so little of a true representation of Agnes -

{The following 4 lines written interlineally in small script}  
She wrote to me, if you remember, that *every body* (!) knew what Agnes had done - & that therefore the absence of any account of this in the Memoir was of no consequence!! This is exactly an illustration of what we mean.

I will also remind you of a very curious passage in Mrs. H.'s letters to me, throwing all the responsibility for making the Memoir decent for the public on the Bishop of Derry. She stated, almost in so many words, that she did not think

it incumbent upon herself to avoid that which might be offensive to sensible people or indiscreet, *because* the Bp of Derry would see it & take it out -

From all the circumstances, you will see that the materials do not exist for a life of Agnes Jones, other than a sketch -

I do not say like my sketch of her in "Una", because that is a most imperfect sketch - but still, if there are not the materials from her letters or diary to make a good *religious* memoir, like that of, e.g. Hedley Vicars, if there are not the materials in her family's knowledge (of her life), to make a real Memoir of what she *did*, such as that of Pastor Fliedner' of Kaiserswerth or of Mrs. Fry - a truer idea of her would be put before the world by a Sketch done by a hand like the Bp of Derry's than by all that wishy-washy morbid tawdry stuff I ~~read~~ saw in M. S.; gossippy twaddle or indiscreet.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 550

I should not have recognized Agnes Jones from it.

But perhaps even the Bishop of Derry hardly knows *how* different all that is from the real work of an Institution, from the real work of such a woman as Agnes Jones did.

[To my mind, it was little less twaddle than all ~~that~~ which came out on the unfortunate Laurin v. Starr nunnery case. And by this she will be judged!]

A year's delay would certainly be a clear gain, if nothing more can be obtained [Has Mrs. Higinbotham been home to consult the papers which she said she could not remove from thence in order to fill up her Memoir?]

I feel that I can only remind you of what we have both thought & leave it for your consideration whether you can urge it plainly on the Bishop -

ever yours most truly

F. Nightingale

I was so worn out with business that I hid myself (from my Creditors) during Easter. This the cause of my delay.

**610** RAT 1/16 signed letter, 2ff, pencil, typed copy ff41-42

{printed address:}

35 South Street, May 17/70  
Park Lane,  
W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} PRIVATE [3 underlines]

**[13:614-15]**

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Possibly you may be expecting to hear from me about Miss Lees with regard to the vacancy at Lpool Workh:-

I am so very sorry to hear of your difficulty there. It is always on my mind - If there is *any* body we ought to help with any resources we have, it is you. And it is a grievous affliction to me that we can do nothing to help-

About Miss Lees: -

She has completely set her heart upon a certain Department of Nursing (which must be a secret for the present)- & never left me any rest till I got her admission to live & learn in the Military & Civil Hospitals of France - a very difficult thing to do, & she is the first English Protestant but one who has done what she is doing- To the best of my knowledge, she is in these now. But where at this moment I

do not know - as she is a most irregular correspondent - and I am a worse.

I doubt her leaving her training to come over for the Workhouse.

I doubt her accepting it, either temporarily or altogether- I doubt her mother consenting- But there is even a stronger doubt in my mind-.

I do not feel that I could conscientiously take the responsibility of recommending a person - however high an opinion I had of her-, to the Sup<sup>=</sup>cy "of such a large & "complicated machine as "the Liverpool Workhouse," who had had *no previous experience in superintending*- unless she

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
went, as Agnes Jones did, (& as  
Miss Torrance has gone to the  
St. Pancras' Highgate Infirmary)  
with a considerable body of  
Nurses, known to her, trained  
with her, almost chosen by her.  
[And Miss Torrance reminds me  
that I said to her when  
discussing "St.:P.'s" for her, "ah  
"my dear soul, if the Infirmary  
"were IN the Workhouse, as  
"elsewhere, I never could  
"have had the courage to  
"recommend you to take it".]  
I feel therefore that all that  
I could do, with regard to  
Miss Lees would be, if you wish  
it, 1. to find out where she is-  
2. to put you in communication  
with her- ever yours truly  
F. Nightingale  
{signature is horizontally cut  
so bottom half missing}

552

[end 13:615]

**610** RAT 1/17 signed letter, 3ff, pencil, typed copy ff43-44

{printed address:}

35 South Street, May 26/70  
Park Lane,  
W.

[13:615-16]

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I will not repeat what  
you know--how grieved I am  
for the Lpool Workh difficulties  
--but answer your question  
about *Miss Lees*:

I think I told you that  
she was, to the best of my  
knowledge, in the French  
Military Hospitals. She  
came over to see me at  
Christmas - She has written  
to me once since - I should

direct to her

{Miss Florence Lees  
 {à l'Hôpital Militaire  
 {du Val de Grâce  
 { Paris

& ask for it to be forwarded.

= If you write to an old  
 Crimean friend of mine

{ A Monsieur  
 { Monsieur Michel Lévy  
 {Directeur du Val de Grâce  
 { Val de Grâce  
 Paris

It might be safer, (asking  
 him - what you as a man  
 of business - think best,--  
 whether to forward a letter,  
 to her, or to tell you  
 where she is-)

= There is one other way - to  
 write to

Mrs. Lees }  
 The Lindens }

St. Leonard's on Sea }

& ask her to forward a letter  
 to her daughter, or tell you where  
 she is -

To this last there is the objection  
 that Mrs. Lees disapproves  
 of the whole concern - of

Liverpool Workhouse in  
 particular - & of me in  
 General - (tho' she rather  
 softened towards me, when  
 she saw how much pains  
 I took to lodge her  
 daughter respectably at Paris)-

I wish I could give you  
 more certain hints - But  
 I do not even feel sure  
 whether Mrs. Lees always  
 knows where her daughter is.

[There was some idea of Miss  
 Lees going to the Naval  
 Hospitals at Brest. But  
 I do not *think* she is there yet.]

[2]

{printed address:}

35 South Street, May 26/70  
Park Lane,  
W.

You must not tell Miss  
Lees that I urge her  
to take the Lpool Workh:-  
For indeed I cannot.  
But I will not weary you  
with repeating what I  
have said before.

God bless you -  
ever yours most truly  
F. Nightingale

God save the Lpool Workh:-

[end 13:616]

**610** RAT 1/18 pencil, signed letter, 2ff, pencil, typed copy ff45-47 [6:320]

{printed address:}

35 South Street, June 25/70  
Park Lane,  
W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I cannot tell you what  
a relief & consolation it is  
to me that you have found  
some one likely to suit for  
Lpool Workh:-

God grant that she may  
prove all that is desirable!.

For the rest of your kind  
letter, many thanks- I will  
not now trouble you  
farther, the less as I

Derbyshire Co Record Office

555

most fervently hope & trust  
that present arrangements  
will succeed - & be permanent  
[I entirely concur with Mr. Cropper in this: that  
Workhouse Nursing is  
somewhat different from  
Hospital Nursing - Agnes  
Jones always said that a  
great deal devolved upon  
her which *in a Hospital*  
is settled by House Surgeon,  
Dresser or Clinical Clerk  
in charge - as the case may be

& not by the Matron or  
Superintendent or "Sister"  
in charge-]

God bless you & prosper  
all your ways-  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

**610** RAT 1/19 signed letter, 4ff, pen & pencil {on black-edged paper}

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
March 31/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone

You must not think that  
it is not always my  
greatest pleasure to be  
called upon to do ever  
so little for you who  
have done ever so much  
for us {written over "me"}.

And I am much more  
troubled than you can be  
to think that yours of the  
14th= has been unanswered  
so long: It enclosed the

**[13:509-10]**

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
letter of the

556

*Boston* people  
wh: I return: & your request  
for a list of Books on  
Nursing.

The books mentioned in the  
note to the Report of the  
"Nightingale Fund", sent  
herewith, are those  
bearing on the subject.

[Could you tell me: this is  
for me, F.N.;--  
where to get copies of your

"*Organization of Nursing in  
a large Town*"?

Longmans declare it to  
be out of print-  
I have long since given away  
my last copy-  
& I am continually asked  
for it.

How valuable would it be  
if you would now *reprint*  
it with your present  
experience of its  
Liverpool Working for  
9 years!]

I would add to the  
*Boston List*  
*Handbook for Nurses*  
by Z. Veitch  
*Manual for Hospital Nurses*  
by Domville  
(both published by Churchill  
New Burlington St.  
London

2/6 each)

---

Also:  
Miss F. Lees'  
*Handbook for Hospital Sisters*  
publd by Isbister: Ludgate Hill  
London 5/.

5/

[2]

Mr. Hy Bonham Carter will  
send you some of the  
back Reports of the "N.F."  
-& also a Reprint of my paper  
in the Blue Book (Report  
on Metropolitan Workhouses)  
"on Method of training Nurses  
for the Sick Poor."

He will also send  
"Notes on Hospitals" &  
"Notes on Lying-in Institutions"  
as a gift from the Council  
of the "N. Fund".

-----

Miss Stephen's "*Service of the Poor*"-  
Macmillan 1871 - might be  
also mentioned.

Now: I must apologize indeed  
for my delay in answering:

Yours was put into my hand  
just as I was coming down  
here. Embley - Romsey -  
to my poor mother - [We  
have to remove her from  
her home of 56 years-]

I lost 2 homes in 3  
weeks by death: my dear  
Father's & Mrs. Bracebridge's.

Added to this, business:  
India business: Nurse= business:  
has pressed upon me more  
heavily than usual lately-

And I am sure your  
kindness will excuse me.

Let me not close this  
without thanking you again  
for the ever-recurring proof  
of your kindness, and {written over illeg.} subject  
of my gratitude: the  
beautiful flowering Plants-

And pray believe me  
dear Mr. Rathbone  
ever yours gratefully & sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

[I date from London: where I  
have to return almost  
immediately].

F.N.

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*

Embley

Romsey

April 25/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have just received a  
letter from

*Miss Florence Lees -*

She gives her address  
care of Messrs. Brown, Brothers & Co.  
59 Wall Street

-----

New York

U.S.

& asks me "for work" in  
"September next".

[I refer you to my last

to you about her.]

A thousand thanks for  
12 copies of your  
"Organization of Nursing" &c  
received:

(in haste to catch the  
morning post)

Yours ever sincerely

& gratefully

Florence Nightingale

**610** RAT 1/21 signed draft of Letter, 13ff, pen & pencil, some pages black-edged paper, folios very mixed up--I've followed #s which are not FN's hand and tried to make it make sense; have had to use earlier transcript for missing folios; not all folios seen for checking, typed copy ff49-57

"Nurses for the Sick Poor" AT HOME. [35 South St.  
 ["at home" underlined 6 times] Park Lane W.  
 Wm Rathbone Esq. MP. [1] June 16/74  
 {further dating throughout letter not FN's hand}

[13:727-29]

Dear Mr. Rathbone: In compliance with your desire:

[[Do we not all most earnestly wish that  
 {FN's wavy square bracket at left; here to bottom}  
 something should come out of all this for  
 London DISTRICT Nursing?

But, to do anything, we must first know  
 what we are about, what *has* been done, what  
 we wish to do, what *can* be done: & the best  
 means of doing it: & the best *practicable*

[black-edged paper] [wavy square bracket at left; next 4 lines]  
 means of doing it.

As far as can be seen from the Society's  
 printed papers, the simplest data for all  
 these enquiries are not yet in their possession:

~~And the most practical step that I have  
 heard of them taking was: their consulting  
 {illeg. FN? me?}~~

~~But of the results of this {illeg./struck out for 2 lines}~~

[wavy square bracket at left; whole page]

1. Your own conclusion is not only the wisest but as appears to me the sole course that they can pursue.  
 Namely: that the only practical way of bringing this question before the Public is: a. carefully to put together a concise *statement of what has already been done* in this line:
- b. then to invite ~~various~~ representatives of the

[black-edged] [wavy square bracket at left; whole page] [4 in another hand]

various workers in this direction to

confer as to the best means of

*bringing their experience to bear upon*

the *common* object:

c. possibly of uniting several *existing bodies*  
in one Association:

So far from not thinking this a grand enough  
object, you & I at least shall agree that,  
if they never got farther than a. they  
would have done London a great, an

2

inestimable service.

[wavy square bracket at left; except last line

The densest ignorance prevails as to the  
amount of *District Nursing*: ["Nursing for the  
Sick Poor", ~~as they call~~ "*at home*" no doubt  
they mean:] in London

Some say it is *nil*: they themselves appear  
to believe it so: [tho' they give us not the  
slightest information on the subject: if they  
have any themselves:] Some say there is too  
*much*: some, too little.

You yourself have been told that "London"

[6 in another hand]

[wavy line down left side] [black-edged paper]

is over District nursed. Other experienced men have said that  
except where some Sisterhoods work and several Benevolent  
Societies (some Nonconformists xx) who employ one or two or three *untrained*  
nurses, there is *no* District Nursing in London, worthy of the name.

Let us make a guess. Should you not be surprised to find that there were a  
score employed (in *all* the Metropolis) of really  
*trained*, qualified women,

xx This is mentioned, because, of course, these would not  
conform to "*ecclesiastical*  
boundaries".

[black-edged]

in really nursing the sick poor at home? But is not the very first thing to do to clear up this point for any Society with the proposed object of this one?  
[two lines crossed out and illegible]

There are no doubt Nurses employed by District Visiting Societies and Sisterhoods. You, I am certain, would suggest

[8 in another hand]

[wavy square bracket at left; whole page]

~~suggest /make them do it; that the Charity~~

*Organization Society be invited to  
obtain information*

*as to the Number of Trained Nurses  
employed*

*and by whom and of untrained Nurses  
in every parish.*

Let them give us the *result of such information*  
(as referred to in a.)

~~Therefore they propose "Relationship" to us?~~

[black-edged paper] 3 [16 June in another hand]

Let one or two ~~of these~~ associate themselves  
to provide a *Record of information*.

Might not the "*Health Association* help?

2. With respect to farther steps:

-are there not very great difficulties in London  
as regards local jealousies - the clergy, the  
Medical men, the existing District Societies?  
Would not their opposition be at once aroused  
in many parts by a *central ex cathedra*

interference or even advice?

The *Charity Organization* does good in affording *means of inter communication* among *districts*: & also has promoted *more united work within districts*. This is available: Would another *Central Association* be useful for the particular purpose? Might it not do harm?

It is however premature to discuss this: Since one must *know one's ground* before one can proceed to *lay it*.

~~And as far as informing us {illeg.} the Committee appears to have taken no means of knowing their ground: previous to rushing before London {illeg. in? with?} a Public Meeting~~

3

[11 another hand]

It is impossible to exaggerate the need there is of *District Nursing* for the sick poor in *London* It is far more important than any Hospital Nursing:

[text here fixed in Liverpool]

I have been penetrated with this all my life: but if possible 14 years of experience have only confirmed my conviction of the way in which alone it can be done: Namely by putting *each Hospital* (Where alone Nurses can be trained) into a state fit to become a Training School: and our main object at St.

Thomas' has been to train Nurses to undertake Hospitals with this view:

that *local organizations* should then be formed who should either from a Hospital a centre of their own *train Nurses* for the sick poor at home: or take them ready trained from such a Hospital: such organisation giving that *local superintendence* which Nurses nursing the sick poor *at home* most of all local & which to be *effectual* must be *local*

What possible *Superintendence* could be given from a *Centre* in such a place as *London*?

Are not the *essentials* of *Superintendence* to know the needs, & the means of supplying them, better than the people to be *superintended* do themselves?

to keep the *Local Superintts*= up to their work, these do the *Nurses*?

And if *Superintendce*= were given from a *Centre* in such a place as *London* in such a work as this would it not be as likely as not to *drag down* the *local* work? instead of raising it? What can a *Centre* know of the needs of *Local* Districts in such a metropolis as *London*? Will not the danger always be that *Nursing* will degenerate into mere *giving*? too.

5a And will not this danger be much increased

by a *General Society* as a *Centre*: ~~especially if the men whom [illeg] I see~~

I know a case where half the *District Nurses* have degenerated into mere *givers*: *Givers* of money, wine, food & bedding: never put a hand to the *NURSING*. And -- *the poor like it better* And this in spite of a very efficient *Central Superintendence*.

Will not the thing to be aimed at be: that by degrees (as we did with our *Midwifery Nurses*) the poor shall pay or almost pay their *District Nurse*?

Will not this again be hindered rather than aided by a *Central Power*?

I only mention these things as a few data out of many: to be judged

[10]

No institution

in its sane mind would profess to *train Nurses* for the poor at their own *homes* Without

giving the *Probationers* under training, (*in addition* to the *HOSPITAL* course,) several

months of *teaching* by the *sick bed-sides* of

the poor at *home*: under *proper Superintendence*. This is quite essential, both as a matter of *experience* for the *nurse*, & as a means of *testing*

N.B. For the above plan it is probable that the Association would be able to procure

1 *Trained Supt-*

and 2 or 3 *Head Nurses*

if needed in remodelling the *Hospital* selected to make it a *Training Institution*.

But if they have the promise, from any Institution or Institutions, of a number of "qualified Nurses" to begin *District Nursing* at once, do not you & I know that these women will be untrained, unskilled, useless & ignorant: *adventuresses* who come for the pay: NOT *trained women* who sell good work for good pay.

[Note. Is it not probable that a greater benefit would be conferred on the poor by providing, in the *first* instance, *trained Midwifery Nurses*?]

{illeg. 9?} If Lady Augusta Stanley had not {illeg.} objected, one would have thought that the poor Committee had better first have combined with the new plan for a Nurses' Home in connection with *Westminster Hospl=*. *have carried out the Lpool scheme for that part of Westminster wh: is adjacent & this without the aid of any Central Association*

{10}. It seems premature to touch upon the relation of Nurses for the *Rich Sick* & Nurses for the *poor sick*.  
- Sir R. Alcock calls the proposed Nursing scheme in connection with *Westm: Hosp:* only nursing "in *private fam*

{text missing on right}

Many Institutions have found ~~it~~ one great difficulty of retaining *trained Nurses* in any Association or specified line of work: ~~is~~ the temptation which th{e} more profitable & more independent employment Nursing the *Rich* affords -

It is believed that *Liverpool* & *St. Thomas'* have n{ot} met with this difficulty-

But I have been told expressly by one of the largest *Nursing Institutions*, & one mentioned in the '*St. Joh{n of Jerusalem*' Report: & by very many smaller ones country & town: that all their Nurses were virtu{ally} taken up in nursing the *Rich*: & that practicall{y} they did little or no Nursing among the *poor* at {all.}

11

Is there not always a difficulty, most felt by the be{st?}  
Supts=, in combining the two objects of providing Nurse{s}  
for the *Rich* & for the *Poor*: a different character  
woman & a (to some extent) different preparation  
being required?

At *Liverpool* they ~~select~~ divide, after training & after TESTIN{G}  
those for the *Rich*, those for the *poor*, & those fo{r}  
*Hospitals*, into 3 ~~Classes~~ sets, I believe - And this seems  
a sensible way.

But it is necessary sometimes to re-temper Nurses for  
*Rich* by passing them thro' the *Hospital* again  
[We at St. Thomas' &c are Solely for the *poor*: i.e. {for?}  
*Hospitals* & *Infirmaries*]

{text seems to be missing on both sides of page}  
[We intend before undertaking to train for Hom{e}  
{Nu}rsing among the *poor* to provide the essential  
{ing}redient of adding a course of teaching Nursing at the home bed-sid{e}  
{Have?} the '*St. John of J.*' Commee= any idea of the necessity of providing this?  
{illeg.}]

The question of providing a system of Registration  
& certificates & THE ESSENTIAL OBJECTIONS to it  
has been fully discussed by me with Dr. Acland

The Memo= speaks of such a "Register" for  
trained Nurses" - [trained WHERE? by WHOM CERTIFIED?]  
- but entirely omits mention of any means by which it  
can be done. We earnestly deprecate any (GENERAL) plan of the kind  
xx It may be added that whereas it is an essential part of good Hospital  
Nursing not to waste the Nurses' strength & hands in cleaning, scouring,  
washing &c: it is  
an essential part of Home Poor Nursing that she should be able to do (or  
(help with in)  
all of these things.

12. The defective condition of *Workhouse Infirmaries*  
is altogether ignored as well as the field afforded  
by them for a basis of operations.

13. May we not state that there is at present very  
considerable difficulty in obtaining properly qualified  
*Candidates* willing to be trained as Nurses?  
Would not women qualified to become Nurses among  
the *poor* AT THEIR OWN HOMES be in some respects  
more difficult to find than those intended to work  
in *Hospitals*?

They would require more SUPERVISION: & be under  
far less: they would be exposed to temptations of a

[19 in another hand]

different kind:

--the means of testing their capability & trustworthiness  
for such work while under training would be less  
How could any Central Association of the kind proposed

afford the *proper machinery* for "*selecting*" women for their "*aptitude*".--- except, as you say, as *Agents* to *hear of* women, & let women *hear or* the means of *training*?

[12]

14. Should they not begin by an *Example* of wh{at} can be done in one locality?

-Will it not spread itself by degrees?

{ou}ght not A *Central Society*, later be of some use for *assisting poorer districts*?

When an evil has arisen, it will be time enou{gh} will it not?, to devise means for the cure?

-Should not *local effort precede Central Inspectio{n?}*

Must not the *right person* for a *Lady General* first prove herself fitted by a small beginning

[another hand 21]

-for which *is* a grand *Association* wanted?

And, when largely extended, will it not probably {be?} far too much for *one person*?

{A}t any rate *begin at the bottom* - would not you & not at the top.

Otherwise: will not all *tumble down*?

16.

*Supervision* of *Home Nursing* among the poor is so desperately needed *because the poor themse{lves}* are their own enemies.

Instances have been known of frightful *Surgical* disease where the *District Nurse* has neither *dressed the case* nor *changed the bed linen* hersel{f} and the poor have liked her all the better: She bringing all sorts of gifts: including sheets.

17. Lastly: please let me repeat most

emphatically (in answer to *your* kind proposal that I CANNOT *accept any kind of Office*, actua{l} or nominal in connection with this *Associatio{n}*. It {w}ould be wrong: it would be a *fraud* on *my* part.

{I} have a little more to do each day than can be d{one} in the 24 hours -

{A}nd I am wholly unfitted- by imprisonment to one fl{oor}?) from illness- from doing *locally* what of all th{ings} requires *local* knowledge & presence & *enquiry* - most -or from anything but wishing well -- *which I do wi{th my} whole heart, mind & soul* -- to any such object as {?}

Pray believe me, dear Mr. Rathbone, ever yours faithfully & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 567

610 RAT 1/22 signed letter, 2ff, pen & pencil on black-edged paper, typed copy  
f58 {written across page with fold at top}

Miss Lees

35 South St.  
Park Lane W  
July 12/74

[13:734]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am extremely concerned about your trouble in this matter.

I enclose a letter of hers to me.  
If I were you, I would take her at her word viz. "*formally request her to act as Secy=.*"

I would not say that you do so upon seeing a letter from her: that would not be wise: but should she again decline, I will quote her own letter to her - for which purpose please return it. I think it of even more importance to herself than to the work that she should do this thing. And in my letter to her I told her so: & a good deal besides. If ever her great cleverness is to be turned into solid sense & work, It must be now.

ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

I agree with Miss Lees that the District Nurse needs a higher training than the Hospital Nurse: the Distt. Nurse has to stand much more alone

F.N.

She was to return to *St. Leonard's* yesterday.

[end 13:734]

610 RAT 1/23 Incomplete letter, 2ff, pen and pencil

[diagonal] *Private*  
          {District     } Norwood  
          {Nursing     } June 12/75  
          {London      }  
          {Association}

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I make haste to thank [13:743-44]  
you for telling me what is  
going on: (upon which  
I will not send you any  
lucubrations of mine *to day*):  
& to answer your two questions:  
Don't take "*Mrs. Shaw Stewart*":  
(as a Lady Member): yes: I "know" her.  
She was with me in the  
Crimea: She was afterwards  
Supt= of the Army Nurses:  
She has extraordinary good  
work in her: but a perfect  
incapacity of working with  
any one: she was compelled

to resign by the W.O.  
But I feel almost certain that  
it is *not she* who is meant:  
but "*Mrs. Stuart Wortley*":  
Whom I know only by reputation:  
& if MR. WIGRAM answers for  
her, I should think her a safe  
person enough: I mean, as to  
backing him up & his views:  
2.// I think an "Executive Commee=  
of 12 (say)," provided you  
name 2 & Mr. Wigram 2,  
& these 4 are 4 "of 6" to name  
the "remaining ~~the~~ members",  
tolerably safe.

But for work is not  
an "Exec: Comm": better of 7  
than of "12": & of 5 than  
of 7?

[rest of letter in pencil]

I always think that, in a SMALL  
Commee-, he who *knows & works*  
'carries it' but in a LARGER Commee.  
he who *talks & does not* know  
'carries it':

may we not learn valuable  
lessons from the London School  
Board? the *Board*, including  
the 2 ladies, of 30 members,  
did nothing but talk - & drive  
poor Lord Lawrence mad:  
the ladies contributing a great  
deal more than one fifteenth  
to that result.

but the small Exec: Commees=  
of 3 & 5 & 7,--consisting of  
the *very same* people,--*including*  
the ladies,--for the Several  
branches, did most valuable  
work on these, *especially* the ladies.

I think your "Ex. Comm: of 12"  
will ~~throw out~~ thus constitute its small Commees=  
for different branches of the work: &  
certainly 'ladies' have as much  
to do with Nursing as with  
the Education of girls:  
&, if they know ANY thing, might  
do valuable work on some  
Branch Commee= [There are, however, Ladies on the *Council*  
who would utterly wreck any Exec: Commee=]

This is my view: but I  
would much rather trust yours.

---

After all, so much depends  
upon the *Secretary*- If you  
can find a Secretary who  
would really master the thing  
& have *time* to work it,  
he is the most important Exec  
Comm: [What I have found in my

Derbyshire Co Record Office 570  
610 RAT 1/24 signed letter, 1f, pen, typed copy f63

Address  
35 South St. Park Lane  
July 6/75 W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think it better, after consideration, to send you this rather odd note of Lady Burdett Coutts: & to ask you whether you would wish to proceed further: & what, if anything, you would wish me to reply to her: Please return me her note:  
& believe me most sincerely yours  
Florence Nightingale

typed copy Jan 24/77 f64

610 RAT 1/25 signed letter, 3ff, pen, larger paper, typed copy ff65-66

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
Jan 28/78

Dear Mr. Rathbone

[12:134-35]

I come to trouble the patron of Nursing:

May I venture to apply to you for leave to nominate you as one of the Trustees of the so-called 'Nightingale Fund'?

Its original Trustees were: Sidney Herbert, Lord Ellesmere, Mr. Bracebridge, Ld Monteagle, & Ld Houghton- I have survived them all, except Ld Houghton: & Mr. Edward Marjoribanks, subsequently appointed, is about to resign.

It becomes necessary to appoint three new Trustees to act with Lord Houghton.

It would give me such great pleasure if you, as the tutelary spirit, would act: tho', knowing how far too busy you are already, I should scarcely have presumed upon your kindness to propose to you to undertake the office were the duties likely to bring any serious call upon your much occupied time: but these (the Trustees' duties) do not go beyond the holding & investment

Derbyshire Co Record Office 571  
of the Trust funds: & no change in the  
latter is to be called for in all probability  
unless it be occasional sales of Stock  
which may hereafter be required by the  
Council to meet the objects of the Trust.

The Trustees are a distinct body from the  
Council, in whom the administration of the  
Trust is vested: And the Council have  
full powers of dealing with both capital  
& income of the Fund for the objects  
of the Trust.

Should you desire further information as  
to the nature of the Trust, the Secretary,  
(my cousin, Henry Bonham Carter,) will  
be glad to call upon you, and would,  
if you wish it, send you copies of the  
Deeds of Trust for perusal.

I should feel a good deal ashamed of  
myself for troubling you, dear  
Mr. Rathbone, but that it seems  
as if trespassing upon such kindness  
as yours does not constitute a trespass  
& pray believe me  
ever yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

[end 12:135]

Wm Rathbone, M.P.

610 RAT 1/26 signed letter, 2ff, pen on black-edged paper, typed copy ff67-68

"Lady" to take charge "for 18} Lea Hurst  
Months" of part of the Liverpool} Cromford: Derby  
"District Nursing:" } Sept. 12/78  
Dear Mr. Rathbone

[13:762-63]

We owe you too much for us to make  
not the best possible effort to supply your  
wants. But I cannot find any lady of  
our own training worth recommending to you  
for the above who is now at liberty.

But a Miss Williams who is now staying here  
has mentioned to me a Miss Darcy who  
might suit the purpose. [Miss Williams

I have known intimately for 7 years:

she was trained by us:- was Assistant Supt. at Edinburgh Infy= for some years: -then Matron at St. Mary's Hospl=, London, where she is now. She is certainly one of the ablest of our people: & I have always kept up a more than usually close acquaintance with her.]

Miss Williams had, for a short time, at St. Mary's- to fill a vacancy as 'Sister'- this *Miss Darcy* who has been 5 years 'Sister' at Winchester Hospital (&

trained there) - Miss W. says that Miss Darcy is one of the most thorough 'Sisters' she ever knew: with health & energy à toute épreuve: & a peculiar talent for making Nurses work & making them loyal to her: With great power of order & management. [Miss Darcy spends her *holidays*!! in taking Situations to fill temporary Sisters' vacancies at different Hospitals in order to learn different systems!]. She leaves Winchester *this* month permanently. Miss Williams would take her herself

immediately as Night Supt=. if she had that post to offer her now. And I should snatch at her for either that or a Hospital 'Sistership' from what Miss Williams has told me of her. Of course we neither of us know what she would be in DISTRICT Nursing: But I thought you might like to hear of her; She is, I think, 42 years of age.

ever yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale [end]

Derbyshire Co Record Office 573  
610 RAT 1/27 incomplete letter, 1 f, pencil

2

Pray excuse delay & this  
pencil scrawl.

I trust you have had a  
Good & refreshing holiday  
& with my poor blessings  
& prayers unexpressed  
believe me  
ever yours gratefully &  
faithfully

Florence Nightingale

{note on back; not FN's hand, Oct. 1881}

typed copy Sept 5 1881 f69

Univ of Wales Bangor 37616, typed copy Sept 21/82 f70

Univ of Wales Bangor 37617, typed copy Sept 22/82 f71-72

Univ of Wales Bangor 37618, typed copy Oct 2/82 ff73-75

Univ of Wales Bangor 37619, typed copy Oct 13/82 ff76-77

Univ of Wales Bangor 37620, May 7/83 ff78-79

610 RAT 1/28 signed letter, 2ff, pen. black-edged paper

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
April 24/84

Dear Mr. Rathbone

How much do I  
always give you joy  
of your unfailing springs  
of good-

[13:565]

As far as I understand  
Mrs. Hobson's letter  
(returned), they at  
Constantinople want  
? "two" Nurses for  
Nursing of *paying* Patients,  
tho' she does not exactly  
say so, with *Some* District

I think, as you say, these Nurses must be "ladies", & that "£30 a year" is scarcely enough, or "12/6 a week when not employed", for board.

Can they be "directly under the orders of the "Committee", who probably know nothing about the conditions of Nursing, without Stipulations being made for them? At all events must not one of them be head, with a somewhat higher

salary [top of text cut off to end of line] than the other?

I think Mrs. Craven, as you say, would be the right person to apply to - & she would also advise about conditions.

But how to keep up efficiency without supervision?

I earnestly hope that Mrs. Rathbone has been restored by the Riviera - & that you are

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
well. Good speed-

575  
[end]

Sir Harry Verney has  
had a hard fight- thank  
you for asking. On Monday  
again the Doctors were  
desponding. But yesterday  
& this morning he was  
making real progress--

I can never thank you  
enough for the beautiful  
flowering plants which  
continue coming- which  
I enjoy with the warmest  
gratitude but with much  
scruple - God bless you.  
ever yours faithfully & gratefully

Florence Nightingale  
{most of signature cut off}

**610** RAT 1/29 incomplete letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy f81

Oct. 13/85  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I had again to thank you  
for your great goodness in  
sending me beautiful flowering  
plants another year, added  
to the many on which I have  
enjoyed your gracious kindness.

On July 25 I stopped the  
plants, for I was going out  
of London to my Sister who  
is now, alas!, a great Invalid.  
It was not for want of  
gratitude that I did not  
write to express such poor  
thanks as I could offer for

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
such great & continuous kindness  
which I feel I have taxed  
too much - but from  
illness & over-pressure-  
And then it came too near  
the time of my return last  
month. Since I returned,  
the man has called twice;  
but I would not take in his  
plants. For indeed,  
dear Mr. Rathbone, it is  
too much. I have disappointed  
all the Doctors by living;  
and I could not take

576

advantage of your goodness  
by preying upon you for  
life.

My gratitude - but - what do I  
say? - God's blessing is  
yours for ever for what  
you have done for Hospital  
Nursing, Workhouse Nursing,  
District Nursing. No one  
has given it such an  
impulse as you. When  
I think of what these were  
30 years ago, & what they  
are now - - - what progress  
God has given during these  
30 years! Much, much

remains to be done; but I  
believe that, tho' I shall  
not see it, far greater  
progress will be given  
during the next 30 years,  
especially perhaps in  
Workhouse Nursing - and,  
I trust, in Military Nursing,  
which is now the lowest,  
instead of the best.  
May God bless & prosper you  
I do not say, for He has  
& He will

typed copy March 26/87 f82

610 RAT 1/30 signed letter, 1f, pencil

10 South St. Park Lane W.

May 7/87

Dear Mr. Rathbone

How can we thank you  
enough for your Address at  
the Meeting of the Ne. Home  
at St. Thomas'?

How can we thank you at  
all for all your labours for  
the Nursing cause?

They are beyond thanks-  
God bless you-  
ever yours gratefully & sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

610 RAT 1/31 signed letter, 2ff, pencil, typed copy f83

June 4/87

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

Thank you, dear Mr. Rathbone,  
for your kind note about

"Woman"- I find that such  
a communication as Miss  
Rosalind Paget asks for  
involves me in so much  
correspondence from other people  
that, with even more than  
the reluctance I always feel  
in declining the least request  
from you to whom we are so  
immensely indebted, I am  
obliged to decline -

Yes, indeed, I am

[13:86]

grieved to the heart that  
St. Bartholomew's did  
not take Miss Gibson.  
They have made a strange  
mistake, which will do  
much harm to the Nursing  
cause, in their choice-

Fare you very well.

God bless you

yours ever gratefully  
F. Nightingale

[end]

**610** RAT 1/32 signed letter, 1f, pencil, typed copy f92

Aug. 7/87

{on printed paper; "gothic" print;  
on angle at left top: Telegraph,  
"Steeple" Claydon, Bucks.;  
address at right: Claydon House,  
Winslow,  
Bucks.}

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I received your kind note  
by 2nd post yesterday  
(Saturday) afternoon - &  
am very sorry for the  
inconvenience which I fear  
I have caused you by  
detaining your paper so  
long. I hope to return  
it to you with the  
smallest possible delay

Pray forgive me & believe  
me ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

579

**610** RAT 1/33 copy of letter 7 ff, not FN hand but sounds like her, 1 folio done, typescript, typed copy Nov 5/87, see pencil letter of same date 47755 f26; this is in Mary Stocks 69, but dated Nov 6 1887.

Confidential Nov 5/87

[13:794-96]

Dear Mr Rathbone

I recd a visit from Sir J Paget yesty afternoon [I did not know till he told me that the comtee of Advice consisted solely of him, Sir R Alcock & the D of Wesmr I am very glad of this) The scheme of which they decided the bare outline on Thursday has gone in to the Queen!! Thro the D of W to Sir H Ponsonby) She is to decide & then remit it back to the Com of Advice if approved in its outline, for them to work it out in its parts. Sir J. Paget told me (you will kindly observe that I, being sup posed to know nothing of the matter must not be quoted) that the outline consisted merely of a plan for dis nurses to be spread all over the country to affiliate any of the existing Dis Nurses Associations that chose to from L'pool, Bloomsbury &c &c & including midwifery nurses. Sir J Paget entirely repudiated the idea of "1000 nurse" of beginning otherwise then slowly & thoroughly

*Private & Confidential*

10 South St.

Nov 30/87

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Your letter just received- Many thanks. I hasten to obey- But in doing so, I shall echo your words.

*No doubt about accepting;*  
But the D. of W. who is at once their Chairman & yours would of course wish for *conditions*, on both sides, of acceptance. These cannot be laid down at an hour's notice. He should wish to be consulted on those conditions, at least as important to the Queen's Fund as to you.

The words "*take over & work*" he would scarcely accept as your Chairman without asking some questions - [opposite views have been entertained by ~~the~~ other two members of his Committee] on what this should mean.]  
of advice}

[13:799-800]

These *he* can answer as Chairman of the Committee of Advice

1. Are you to retain your local self-Government?

They can scarcely suppose themselves better able to "work" the Association than the (now experienced) "Association" is.

What is the Governing body to be? i.e. their Executive Committee?

[You will remember that one of the "three" (Commee= of Advice) strongly insisted upon local self-government being preserved.]

2. Whether the Queen's money & influence will increase, not supersede, ~~your~~ your Subscriptions will depend on the 'careful work' done, & on enlisting the public, & the localities, in interest in the local District Institutions: which will be your branches.

3. Is the offer to "take over & work" meant to include other District Associations ~~everywhere~~ which are "disposed to accept the offer"?

How then is the *standard of work of Bloomsbury* to be kept up?

The danger is, of course, levelling *down* instead of levelling *up* to the highest standard-

Or is it intended that a sort of centralization should take place, with Bloomsbury as the centre, inspecting all other Institutions (Consenting to incorporation), & re-training Nurses who fall short of the standard?

How is a friendly rivalry & co-operation then to be 'kept up'? & local publics to be interested in local Institutions? And how again is the standard of work of Bloomsbury to be

kept up?

These questions are in the essence of the "offer" you have to "accept or otherwise", & could not be supposed to be asked out of curiosity, but because you should know ~~WHAT~~ the "offer" is.

"Approval" is all that can to day be given, *Subject to suggested arrangement*. i.e. accept generally in outline with general conditions in outline, & fill up details afterwards, in concert with your Chairman, the Duke

F.N.

God speed the work!

I do not know *what* the "outline of the proposal" was, "talked over" by "you" & 'Mr. Craven' "Last August".

(see p. 2)

~~Throw~~ Throw upon them, the Committee  
of Advice, to "suggest"  
"Arrangements" to 'keep up the  
'standard' &c &c Which you  
can "approve".

rather than you 'make conditions'  
which they are to approve

FN

Might I hear from you?

[end 13:800]

{envelope}

{top left corner; diagonally:} Private

& Confidential

{across top:} to be kept till Mr. Rathbone's  
arrival

W. Rathbone Esq M.P.

23 Bloomsbury Square

F.N.

30/11/87

**610** RAT 1/35 incomplete letter, 7ff, pen & pencil. [fixed at Liverpool 2004],  
typed copy ff102-07

10 South St. W. *Private*

& Confidential Dec 3/87

[13:803-05]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am as it were knocked down by this letter of Sir R.A.'s  
to which your own is the only answer. viz. that it is  
"not possible to attempt all this at once"- that you  
must "establish first the M & N. as a Centre"  
"perhaps employ Liverpool to train &c" & "step by step  
"work out an organisation".

You are not men to sell your philanthropies for  
a slice of the "Queen's Bounty"- You might negotiate  
a sale in a few days. It will take weeks even  
to ~~give~~ make him a *scheme*- then years to work it out.  
Otherwise the only result will be the ruin of the best  
of the existing organisations

Sir R. Alcock's letter does not give you information enough to answer-

Disencumbered of phrases, it ~~must~~ is a proposal only to make District Nursing good & universal under the Queen's name-

And you are to propose at a day's notice a ready cut & dried scheme to do this vast work

-----  
You would perhaps wish to notice in the few details that ARE given some omissions:

"1" Would you not put in: -first a month's test BEFORE the "Hospital training" or before engaging whether the Probationer would take at all to District Nursing- This would help him to realize that you cannot get 'a thousand District Nurses' out of the Hospital 'unemployed' in a year- [Sir Jas Paget apprehended this at once] 3 mos in a Maternity Hospital to make them competent to take charge of poor women *after* the confinement." This is just what most if not all Maternity" Hospls= do *not* teach.

Mrs. Craven taught it.

"2/" - "4/" - top of sheet 2

? *all* entire co-operation! & united action! of *all* existing Associations & Institutions throughout &c ? *all*

"linking together" top of sheet 2.

*E London* Probably they must - they cannot help themselves since

the Queen's daughter is President, "incorporate" or "affiliate" or whatever it is called, *E. London*

How can *E. London* & Bloomsbury be "linked together"?

Either one must rise or the other must fall; & I am afraid

the latter is more likely

If you "link together" a butterfly & a mole, you do not make a bird-

Is *E. London* to "train Nurses" for the "Queen's bounty?"  
"Edinburgh"

Sir J.P. spoke to me about this- And I made enquiries at the fountainhead.

[Chapter "on Snakes in Iceland". There are no snakes in Iceland.

There is no District Nursing Association in Edinburgh. Some of the Churches have a District Nurse or two. Tho' some of the Nurses furnished have been excellent, they have resigned, probably for want of such an organization as Bloomsbury or Lpool. And it has

not been successful.

I have not seen Mr. Craven's letter or your "Resolution,"  
& am writing somewhat in the dark.

I do not understand now whether Bloomsbury is to be  
the Central Institution, with inspecting & re-training  
powers-

Or whether they are going to make "similar enquiries",  
as would seem by top of p. 2 (2), separate offers &  
proffers to "all" the different Nursing District Assns  
as to you & to Bloomsbury.

As Dean Stanley once said in Convocation, "you  
cannot make out of 50 white rabbits one black horse"

Pray make your terms about Liverpool  
& make them strong.

"3/." "voluntary superintendence"

"medical comforts & nourishment"

You, I believe hold fast to the District HOMES-  
When there were only isolated Nurses of the "servant"  
"class", living in lodgings or at home, local Lady Supts=  
were absolutely essential.

I think I have understood you that you would  
not recommend them now to other large towns  
where each District Home has its own trained Supt.

-Where there are too many local charities already,  
& you do not want another charity, another agent,  
but that the trained Supt= should know to what  
agency (e.g. parish, under Doctor's order, clergy, Socy  
District Visitors &c &c) to apply for necessary things-  
Also: perhaps you would think it doubtful that  
the District Nurses now should not be a separate  
body, as it makes them restless to be interchangeable  
to be able to ask to be sent back to Hospital.

*Training.* Mrs. Craven presses that some Nurses  
of the lower or Middle class should be trained at  
Bloomsbury, taking perhaps another house - thinking  
it bad that all Supts- should be trained at one  
Institution, all Nurses (of a lower class) at  
another

Still "3/" "moderate salaries:" improvement on  
"bare maintenance plus decorations."

Otherwise there is a vast deal of Sir R. Alcock in Sir  
R. Alcock's letter -

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Still "3/" ?Bloomsbury

585

"Central Institution undertaking to provide them"

You ~~They~~ the Central Instn- Bloomsbury have too few already - ~~They are~~  
are quite unable to provide all that ~~their~~ your branches ask for  
The "Queen's Bounty" will not create District Nurses  
by a cheque.

This is not by any means to represent the thing as  
desperate. It is merely to say how wise  
your letter is - slow beginning - working out.

3

"5/" There come the "3 millions" of *qy pence*?  
again.

[I cannot help feeling a little surprised that his two colleagues  
should have let Sir R. A. write this letter. which does not  
give you information enough to answer. A Prusso-German  
friend of ours, formerly Private Secretary to an Imperial  
person, then First Secretary to a great Embassy, has been had  
over to Japan without other instructions apparently than  
that he is to 'do Court' there in Japan, & teach *them*  
to 'do Court'.

Without instructions, without information, on the  
vaguest of outlines, Sir R. A. is asking you to 'do'  
District Nursing all over England & c & teach ~~them~~  
*him* to do District Nursing all over England & c

Derbyshire Co Record Office

586

I was exceedingly sorry that Bonham Carter was not at home for the Bloomsbury Special Commtee and exceedingly rejoiced that you were-

He will be back from America, please God, on Monday week, Dec 12-

They cannot buy Bloomsbury between this & then Will he not be in time to ~~help~~ support you with the negotiations?

*Rocks ahead*

I do feel a feminine dread: if Sir R. A. is to be Chairman of the new "Central Administration Commee" will not you the experienced administrators of this work who ought to be the ones put on the Committee find it very difficult to work with him? You have worked out first principles

out of your experience - he has only diplomatic phrases & a great desire to make a show.

But he is very fearful of making a failure-

And herein lies safety. He is more likely to listen to "working out step by step an organisation" as you say.

I feel how useless & little to the point is this letter except as corroborating & illustrating your answer, which

[to consult your "colleagues confidentially as to its questions concerning" yourselves]

"not possible to attempt all this (in Sir R. A.'s letter) at once

Derbyshire Co Record Office 587

"to establish first the M. & N. as a centre

"perhaps employ Lpool to train some district Nurses  
of the servant class

"& step by step work out an organisation

"to be well advanced in our plans before we go to  
public for funds

"suggest some general rules on which Lpool & perhaps  
one or two established Assns= could be affiliated as an  
experiment

[You perhaps might do this at once; but we could  
not do it in an hour]

You may well hope *not* to have any of the St. Katharines  
on the Executive Commee=

*Decorations* "to suggest that that should wait" till you  
saw how to arrange to give fairly decorations to those working  
under many masters spread all over &c

4

"Inspection--how is that to be managed?

--"dispersed Nurses will have to be inspected if the  
"centre is to be in any way responsible for keeping up  
"the standard".

[end 13:805]

**610** RAT 1/36 signed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy ff108-09

[top left corner; diagonally] *Private*

*Q.V.J.I.N.* May 13/89

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. {printed address:}

[13:809]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Your four valuable documents

I have most carefully read &  
pondered, namely

--Sir R. Alcock's "Note" on  
"Dublin Nursing Assocns="

--Your Memo= on this "Note"

--Mr. Bonham Carter's letter to  
you of May 1

--your Memo= on that letter

As you are so good as  
to wish me to say something,  
I can only say what you do  
not wish me to say that  
your boundless generosity is

so deeply felt in regard to this  
your scheme, ~~including~~ meaning the  
District Nursing plan of  
Superintendent & Nurses  
drawn from the three  
Institutions--

& it is so well understood how  
desirable it is for the sake  
of Ireland now to  
take advantage of it  
that one can only bid you  
God speed amidst difficulties  
which are enormous, but  
which, as you so justly say,  
are opportunities for who

knows how to profit by them

Under the circumstances  
it may well be that there  
is no alternative- And I  
need hardly assure you that  
our best wishes are yours  
that it may succeed in the  
highest sense- Let every  
one concerned endeavour to  
work out your proposals in  
the same spirit as yourself;  
And that *will* be success.

I would say: we pray God  
that it may succeed. But we  
know already that He wishes

wishes the greatest good to  
this Nursing of His sick poor,  
even more than we can.

In Him therefore who inspires  
you we put our trust.

May He give many more years  
of you to this kingdom

ever yours gratefully & truly

Florence Nightingale

I always send you my gratitude  
in my heart for all your  
kindness to me. May I add  
this now in ink?

F.N.

[end]

Derbyshire Co Record Office 589  
610 RAT 1/37 signed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy f110

{top left corner; diagonally;} *Private*  
August 6/89  
10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square, W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

[13:810]

I thank you very much for letting me see these beautiful documents, for beautiful they are to my mind. And I only trust that you will be able to carry through the Queen's imitation of your work, notwithstanding provoking delays & some indifference.

I hope too that you will be able to get away soon, for you have indeed had a harassing year. But you have accomplished much -

Miss Jennings seems likely to be a great help to me. I like her so much. Thank you a thousand times. But you will answer what I asked -

I too shall be going out of London shortly.

Let me thank you too once more for what I am always thanking you for in my heart among your innumerable benefits - the beautiful Flowering plants.

May God's choicest blessings be yours -

ever yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

It was really distressing not  
to get the post of Warden  
for Mr. Craven. It would  
have simplified & made easy  
so many things - And the loss  
of it endangers our possession  
both of Mr. & Mrs. Craven, I  
fear??

But we can only thank God  
that we have you.

**610** RAT 1/38 signed letter, 2ff, pencil, typed copy f111

Aug 14/89

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

How can I thank you for  
your generous kindness? I  
feel myself preying upon you  
- I do not like to prey -  
And you will not let me  
decline.

My deepest gratitude  
is yours- Not only for Miss  
Jennings who seems a most  
capable person- but for  
all that you are doing  
every day for the Nursing  
cause. And also for

the beautiful flowering plants,  
which I have now stopped,  
as I am going away so  
soon- I feel compunction  
as I well may, as well as  
gratitude, for your continued  
kindness in this delightful  
item.

May all your goodness  
& wise schemes prosper,  
& the blessings you give  
to others return tenfold  
upon yourself, 'full

'measure, pressed down' -  
is the fervent wish of  
yours ever gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

**610** RAT 1/39 signed letter, 2ff, pen

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square, W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

How can I ever delay an  
hour answering your great  
kindness? But I never delay  
a minute saying & wishing  
God speed to all your good  
works.

Yes, please; be so good as  
to send me "the papers showing"  
your "progress so far, after the  
"first Meeting of the Council  
"of the Institution on ~~Monday~~  
"Tuesday": as you kindly propose  
I am ashamed to tell you in  
what a dilapidated condition  
I am: my head will not

bear being read to - & my  
eyes will not bear to read  
to myself - & of course  
as age increases, so does  
work. But I am ashamed  
to say such a thing to  
yourself busy with the good  
works, alike public & private,  
which God so blesses-

I hope to answer your  
further question, tho' very  
imperfectly; in a day or  
two.

I am so sorry for the  
death of that "good young  
fellow"-

Derbyshire Co Record Office

592

I know not how to  
thank you for the  
beautiful flowering plants  
which your goodness still  
anew supplies me with.

Your "charity never faileth"

With shame & sorrow I  
confess that I have been  
able to do so little for  
you, while you do  
everything for us.

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

22/2/90

**610** RAT 1/40 signed letter, 3ff, pen & pencil typed copy ff113-14

{top left corner; on an angle: *Private*

**[13:818]**

"Addition to  
pamphlet proposed"

10, South Street, April 28/90

Grosvenor Square. W. {printed address:}

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have two letters of yours, one  
of April 19, /containing Proof, one received on Saturday  
night to thank you for. I am  
very glad of Macmillan's  
proposal, for your sake & that  
of the work.

I hope to send you the  
Proof of my "Introduction"  
revised by to night or  
to morrow morning early.

You will not fag too  
much, I trust, the next few  
months.

In the meantime, as you  
were kind enough to send  
me a copy of the Maternity  
"Addition to Pamphlet proposed"

& ask me to criticize it,  
may I say that the feeling  
I have about it is: that  
the writer ignores that  
Lying-in Institutions do NOT  
train in *Maternity* practice.  
- that there is much in  
the "Addition" that is good,  
without any reference in it  
to the absence of the  
proper means of instruction,  
which is touched upon  
but only in a few sentences  
in my Introduction.  
Is there no danger that  
more harm than good will

be done by the Addition  
if going forth in its  
present shape?

I may possibly add a few  
words (confidential) to these  
when I send my revised  
Proof.

But I have too many  
delays to apologize for  
to delay these few lines,  
asked for by your kindness.

Success to all your work-  
I am afraid you have had  
tiresome doings in Ireland.

Your beautiful flowering  
plants are the light of my  
room - ever gratefully yours  
F. Nightingale

{same printed address, upside down, lower left centred.}

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Confidential*

BURN

z *Maternity "Additions  
to proposed pamphlet*

*Confidentially to you I*  
will mention, (tho' I do not find  
much to add to my yesterday's  
note), that, in getting Probationers  
of our own into what are  
called the best of the Lying-in  
Training Hospitals, I have done  
what this "Addition" suggests;  
p. 4, viz. written "Stating  
"the points of training", they  
should "pay special attention  
"to". And most kindly  
were they attended to.

At the same time, as we  
Nurses have a common  
language & a common feeling  
(or ought to have it,) they  
expressly told me, that afterwards they

[2 folios added April 2004 at Liverpool]

could not make their  
Midwives *in* training do it  
in *Hospital*: much less in  
the Lying-in Patient's OWN  
HOME, after training.

I feel myself but too sadly  
justified in saying that the  
writer ignores that Lying-in

Institutions do *not* train in  
*Maternity practice*.

**[end]**

P. 6 "Three *midwifery* months" the  
writer thinks "devoted to  
"Midwifery *alone*" makes  
a trained Midwife!!

The only "abnormal" case  
a *3 month's Trained* Midwife  
at one of the very best  
Lying-in Institutions, certified  
& going abroad where  
there was no Doctor within  
miles & miles, was in the  
Obstetric Ward of a General  
London Hospital. [pencil] How  
can it be in many cases  
otherwise?

**610** RAT 1/41 signed letter, 2ff, pencil typed copy f115

March/99

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

**[13:574-75]**

It seems to me that  
I have not written to  
you for a long while  
-you, our greatest  
benefactor- How many  
owe their lives to you!  
How many bless the  
day that gave you  
to the world!

Some indeed are

falling around us  
now "Like leaves in  
"wintry weather"-

But, thank God,  
nothing can be less like  
leaves. Every one is  
taken up by God for  
a splendid future of  
work in His Service.

We have lost Sir  
Douglas Galton. He

is a great loss. But  
there were none  
like you- And God  
has given you to us  
for eighty years-  
And pray God, He  
may give us you  
yet for years.

**[end]**

I was so sorry not  
to be able to see you  
when you were so

good as to call  
when you were last  
in London-

ever yours gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Thank you again &  
again for the  
beautiful flowering  
plants that come  
from you every week

F.N.

3 August 1864

I suppose one will get over the prison-like feeling of having to obtain leave for every going out of the building and having a register kept of the hours of one's departure and return. How childish it seems to mind this....Have I not again and again asked myself, should I ever be able to meet the dreariness, the loneliness, the difficulties, the jealousies, the restraints, the disappointments, the isolation. In my own strength--no never. Yet when I look back and see how God has helped me, how in the darkest moment, something has come sent by a most loving Father, a little word, a letter, flowers, a something which has cheered me and told me not only of the human love but of that bountiful, heavenly Friend who knew this weak child's need and answered....May no fear of man hinder me in His work.

I am so glad I have been to the workhouse. In every way I can now more realize my future position and the difficulties of it. But I have as never before a kind of consciousness of power to bring a little sunshine to those poor creatures, as if I could, with God's blessing, be an instrument of making a little ray of hope and comfort sometimes enter....

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

It seems to me that  
I have not written to  
you for a long while  
-you, our greatest  
benefactor- How many  
owe their lives to you?  
How many bless the  
day that gave you  
to the world?

Some indeed are

falling around us  
now "Like leaves in  
"wintry weather"-

But, thank God,  
nothing can be less like  
leaves. Every one is  
taken up by God for  
a splendid future of  
work in His Service.

We have lost Sir  
Douglas Galton. He

is a great loss. But  
there were none  
like you- And God  
has given you to us  
for eighty years-  
And pray God, He  
may give us you  
yet for years.

I was so sorry not  
to be able to see you  
when you were so

good as to call  
when you were last  
in London-

ever yours gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

Thank you again &  
again for the  
beautiful flowering  
plants that come  
from you every week  
F.N.

**610** RAT 1/42 signed letter, 2ff, pencil, typed copy ff117-18

April 30/1900  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

It is quite impossible  
for me to thank you  
enough for the paper  
--no, not if I were to  
write it a hundred  
thousand times- you  
have been so kind as  
to send me- of which  
I have read every  
word- or rather had  
every word read to me  
that pertained to our

**[13:575]**

subject- & shall have  
it all read over again  
to me to-morrow--  
It is admirable &  
surpassing in interest.

I shall write again  
to-morrow, if I may  
Who shall say that  
our times are not as  
exciting & full of  
interest as the best  
times of the Republic  
of Rome.

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

W. Rathbone Esq

**610** RAT 1/43 signed fragment of letter, 1f, pen

{printed address, upside down, lower left corner:}  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

{no date. from script, I'd say not later than early to mid 1880s}

3

I trust to see you soon  
some afternoon. As you  
so kindly offer it. I am  
rather full this week, &  
you I dare say are fuller.

Your beautiful flower-  
plants have resumed  
their benevolent course.

Pray believe me  
ever gratefully yours

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 600  
610 RAT 1/44 fragment, 2ff, not FN hand

June 13th

about *organising District* nursing for the sick poor in *London*: as you have done in *Liverpool*:

Is there any advantage in a *Central Society* beyond a certain power of getting money- in so vast a place as *London*?

Is there any *administrative* advantage? & are there not very serious objections- which are avoided by *local* organisation

Is it not "putting the cart before the horse"? Presenting to the public a *map of the work* to be done "yes: most useful: if as a *sermon* as it were: but not as a plan to be worked out. Would not that be doing the very reverse of what you so wisely did at *Liverpool*? At such a place as *Liverpool* the advantage is: that there is an "esprit de corps" or rather "de ville": the leading men know each other: or perhaps rather one man can lead; the place is not too large for a general superintendance.

610 RAT 2/1 signed letter, 2ff, pencil, on black-edged paper, typed copy

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
March 7/74

My dear Miss Merryweather

[13:531]

I hope that my answer about Mrs. Rhodes told what was wanted.

Now I am venturing to trouble you again:

We are asked to send a Canadian lady, whom we have had with us since last spring, to Canada with 4 Trained Nurses (who probably will be ladies) to undertake a Hospital &

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Training School for Nurses.

601

We are obliged to answer  
immediately about Salaries,  
which we are desired to  
propose.

Could you be so very good  
as to tell me what the  
salaries were of

Lady Supt=

Head Nurses

Whom Mr. Rathbone sent to

New York &

Albany-

& what the other money=stipula=  
tions?

I am so afraid that I am  
giving you unnecessary  
trouble by this:

for I seem to think that  
one at least of these  
Nursing parties went  
not from you but from  
the Workhouse Hospital.

If so, would you be so  
very kind as to pass on  
this note to Mr. Rathbone,  
or Mr. Cropper, or the  
Lady Supt= of the Workhouse  
Hospital: & ask the proper  
authority to be so good as

to answer my troublesome  
question?

With many apologies

& in great haste

pray believe me

dear Miss Merryweather

yours sincerely & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

[end]

Derbyshire Co Record Office 602  
2/2 Rathbone with FN comments on it date of 26th July 1887 or 1889,  
embossed House of Commons stationery  
typed copy

WR: 18 Princes Gardens  
London SW  
26th July 1887

[13:785-87]

Dear Miss Nightingale,

I am very sorry to have missed you but it is not detailed information that I want but your judgment, and suggestions, on anything I might write either to my friend to whom I alluded in my letter of Saturday or to the duke of Westminster, who, I now find, is one of the Trustees and who, I am rather surprised, did not mention the matter to me-

I am rather inclined to give my friend some memorandum and also to write more fully perhaps to the Duke of Westminster.

(2)

I fancy they will want it to be some central Institution, probably under charter of Incorporation for promoting form a centre Nursing the Poor in different parts of the country-

Now I cannot but think that they could not do better than absorb and carry out the original idea of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association. The work done by that

(3)

Association is thoroughly good of its kind; and it is spreading steadily and holding its ground wherever it spreads. The cause of that success I believe to be the high ideal of nursing and of the qualifications required by nurses for the Poor with which the Association set out

FN:

Has the success of the M. & N. Asscn been uniform? has it always held its ground?

E.g. it failed at Greenwich & Portsmouth (so far)-  
Nevertheless the *principles* of its action proved to be sound by experience and it ~~Would it not~~ be a great mistake to attempt to establish any new organisation for the purpose of promoting Nursing among the poor & not to make use of the Association with such modifications as may be found expedient

The cases where it has not been successful have been, it is believed, owing to the want of efficient Nurses to act as Pioneers-Nurses having some of the qualifications requisite for Superintendence, viz.

- tact & discretion in dealing with the Doctors & supporters
- & the Nurses under them
- business habits
- & of course & essentially thoroughness in Nursing so as to keep up the standard\*

Must not a high standard *grow up* by the influence of individuals whom alas! We scarcely know how to attract?

[pencil] \* These qualifications will not be acquired by being assistant supts in a Hospital-will they?-  
[pen resumes same page]

P. (4)

Is a larger house required at present for the M. & N. Assn? Was not one mistake to begin with, the attempt to do too much at first-to hold out prospects which could not be carried out

- (1) for want of trained & qualified Nurses
- (2) for want of local support from the Public.

The first want exists in full force so far as District Nursing is concerned.

The second has outrun the supply of trained Nurses, & especially of Superintendents or Pioneer Nurses. But temporary aid is required in starting the District nursing locally.

WR: (4)

It seems to me that possibly the best suggestion would be a "Queen's College for Nursing Incorporated by Royal Charter", building, or still better, purchasing, in London a larger house than we have to serve as a Central Home and for other purposes of the institution.

FN: It is most important to obtain a grant of money for District Nursing. But one hardly sees how "incorporating" the Central Home (whether a good house is "built" or "purchased") by "Royal Charter", & calling it a "Queen's College" will increase the ~~number~~ quantity of good candidates, or improve the quality the bad, so making it a real "Central" Training School & supply for the whole kingdom

What really prevents its growth is a want of *suitable* candidates, (besides want of money) Might not the quality of these still further deteriorate with the *éclat* of a Royal Charter?

Should we ever forget that the moral training of Nurses-unlike that of "Queen's College" in general-especially of Nurses who lead so independent a life as that among the poor-is of all things the *most* important - the keeping up a high ideal of their being *moral* (missionary) Nurses among the poor homes & families as well as among the poor Patients

Will the R. Charter provide for this in any way?

The great peculiarity of these trained Nurses is that of substituting, for alms-giving, the putting the *home* in good healthy order--the teaching the family how to *keep* it in such ~~good~~ order-how to help nurse /nursing the home: the family/ -the knowing how to reach *sanitary authorities* to do what individuals cannot do for themselves [& if help & comforts & necessaries are really wanting the going to *local charities* for them] but above all the de-pauperizing of the family by teaching them self help & healthy ways & habits-besides of course the very best-skilled Sick Nursing at the poor people's own homes.

[Has this deteriorated?

Have the Supts kept up the standard?]

How are these things to be maintained or developed by the R Charter or Queen's College?

WR: (5)

Training from that institution as a centre first in London Hospitals for at least a year, and, afterwards, for three months, six months, a year, or more from the College in District nursing taking nothing but ladies: because, not only do ladies do District Nursing in an exceptionally good manner, but, trained as they would thus be, they would naturally spread themselves over the country as superintendents of nursing in local hospitals and among the Poor throughout the Kingdom

[FN pencil:] Would you not suggest merely to assist the objects of the M & N N Assn in providing Nurses for the poor at their own Homes?

WR: (6)

I consider (and of this I think we have some experience now) that it is a very valuable addition for Hospital Superintendents to the training of a London Hospital to go (under the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association) in the Homes of the Poor to nurse with less perfect appliances.

(7)

Again I think it would be very valuable if the Queen's College maintained in two or more hospitals, of which at least one should be a Workhouse Hospital, Assistant Superintendents each for 2 years as I have done, in order to train them to take the position of Superintendents when wanted; and I should choose our very best lady nurses for this work and insist upon the most thorough training and superior qualifications as the best mode of keeping up the standard of Nursing throughout the Kingdom from the queen's College as the centre.

v FN: (8)

Is it not extraordinarily difficult to adjudge pensions for "exceptionally superior services"? And does it not lead to Nurses clamouring for War Service, & seeking éclat?

[The St Katharine's Pensions have apparently done no good & some harm. do War Medals.

The St. K.'s scheme has been altogether futile so far as promoting good Nursing-that is practically "pensions for superior services." And it has done harm by its invidious application] Yet might not the money be turned to account in connection with pensions? be a nucleus for a large scheme, receiving the contributions of Nurses themselves?

But this is a different idea from that already taken up-viz. Nursing the poor.

As a practical objection would not the expence be too great of granting pensions, in addition to the difficulty of selecting, for "superior services"?

Derbyshire Co Record Office 607

WR: (8) [FN comment above is opposite this]  
I think it would be well also that  
they should appropriate a certain small  
portion of income for pensions for long,  
devoted, and exceptionally superior services  
in nursing.

These were the general ideas which occurred  
to me; and I have written them on one  
side only of the sheets of folio paper, leaving  
also space at the bottoms of each page written  
on, in order that you may, with less trouble,  
put your notes on the other side or at the  
foot, with any suggestions and remarks you  
may have to make-

Do not hesitate to condemn the whole or any  
part of these ideas if you think them injudicious.  
It seems to me on this, or some similar plan,  
the Queen's College of Nursing might be the Mother  
House of District Nursing as your School at St Thomas's  
is of Hospital Nursing. Pray excuse my

thus troubling you

Of course the Queen's  
money would not do all  
this but our Insts & their  
money a "Royal Scheme" like  
this would draw-ought to  
do this.

Yr ffully  
W. Rathbone

FN: We cordially agree with Mr Rathbone that  
the money would be well bestowed  
in promoting the objects of the M. & N.  
N. Assocn  
especially in aiding to supply its  
defects  
P.T.O.

No doubt objections will be made to  
this scheme (first part) on the ground  
that it puts too much into the hands  
of the M. & N. N. Assoc & does not mark  
the fund in its application as coming  
distinctly from the Jubilee Fund.

**[end 13:787]**

[also a doc Sir Rutherford Alcock. Came Oct 20/87

typed not in yet:

Rat 2/3 notes Oct 20/87 re Sir R. Alcock [not input but probably FN's]

Rat 2/4 not FN hand, note

Box 3/10

FN pencil note, centred

To the Memory  
of

Agnes E. Jones

daughter of Colonel Jones of Fahan &c  
who was the first to found Trained Nursing  
in Workhouses

She died at her post in Liverpool Workhouse  
on Feb 19 (?) 1868

aged 34 (?)

While nursing the sick, she fought the good  
fight against sin & wretchedness

with the prayer that when the Master came

He might be able to say

"She hath done what she could"-

[Leave spaces-

then, at the bottom]

This monument, the type of her hope to  
come, is erected by

~~William Rathbone~~

3/11 is almost the same:

5 attempts

To the Memory  
of

Agnes E. Jones

daughter of Colonel Jones of Fahan &c  
the first to found Trained Nursing in Workhouses

She died at her post in Liverpool Workhouse  
on Feb 19 (?) 1868

aged 34 (?)

While nursing the sick, she fought the good fight,  
praying that when the Master came

He might be able to say

"She hath done what she could"-

This monument, the type of her hope to come,  
is erected by

—W.R.—

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Box 6 RAT 6/1

609

6/1 signed letter, 8 ff, pen

[6:310-12]

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*  
*& Confidential*

35 South Street, Oct 23/68  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have received Mr. Worthington's  
plans & report, will carefully examine  
them & write to you in a day or two.

At present, as I see from your note  
that you are to have your conversation  
with Miss Freeman on Saturday or Sunday,  
I write merely about that:-the Workhouse  
Nursing.

[Nothing will induce Mrs. Wardroper  
to give her leave to your letting Miss Freeman  
know that I have sent you Miss Freeman's  
letter to Mrs. Wardroper. And I think  
Mrs. Wardroper is right. The same  
objection applies to myself. But I don't  
see that it is necessary for you to do so  
in order to open the Conversation. Miss  
Freeman represents herself as *bursting*  
to speak to you. She is a perfectly  
straightforward & out:spoken person-  
And, more than all, as the original idea

of organizing a Workhouse Infirmary Nursing constitution was entirely your own - & the working it out much more your own than ours, I think it would be simply prejudicial to the work if foreign oars, like Mrs. Wardroper's & mine, were now to appear to be thrust in, because Miss Freeman & the Workhouse authorities seem now not to be carrying out your original idea.]

What strikes me as the way in which things are tending is this: -

and I feel how very necessary it is to proceed with caution:-

Miss Freeman says that a Workhouse Hospital or Infirmary is ~~so~~ entirely different in its organization to a General Hospital or Infirmary- mainly, according to her, from its dependence upon Workhouse Officers,- from these Workhouse Officers doing

the work- from the Sick part of the Workhouse being merely an integral part, or a dependency of the Workhouse.

Now this is the very thing which it was sought to prevent-to entirely alter.

[Miss Freeman draws among other conclusions, this: - that ~~a~~W an Assistant Supt= is unnecessary. Her reasoning really leads much more to the conclusion that a Superintendent- is unnecessary - indeed, if what she says were logically carried out, a Supt- would be not only unnecessary but impossible - for the interference from the Workhouse side would be such that her situation would become impracticable- & all your benevolent scheme would fall to the ground.]

It is from this point of view that matters have to be considered - And I do not see at all that it is a matter which Mrs. Wardroper or I are competent to decide; it is a matter solely for you. All we can do is to offer suggestions & experience - if asked.

You must determine whether your Workhouse Hospital is to be organized on the plan of the best Civil Hospitals, *mutatis mutandis*, - or whether the old Workhouse idea, which you have sacrificed so much to convert into a totally different one, is to be reverted to under an improved form & a better Governor.

In the latter case, there is certainly an advantage in having no Supt- of Nurses, but only a Matron.

Things are marching very quickly in London now. The largest parishes are ~~all~~

building /or planning Infirmaries in the country- on the best Pavilion principles- and the worst of them,

[2]

(So far as at present appears,) will have a building on such healthy principles as that no London Hospital, except new St. Thomas', can compare with it. In ~~all~~ such the administration, totally separated from the Workhouse administration, is to be reformed ~~in~~ according to the best principles- There is to be a Steward's Department, a Medical Department, a Nursing Department, directly responsible to the Head or Governing Committee. To have Nurses responsible to a Matron, to a Supt= of Nurses, to a Governor, all at once, appears to be subversive of all discipline.

Whenever you separate your Hospital from the Workhouse something of the same kind will have to be done. If the administration is to be improved, it must be made special- i.e. special as regards no interference from the Workhouse,

which has really nothing to do with the Hospital-

Special as regards the Nurse, who is Now placed under 3 heads in place of one - [Under the present Regulations really efficient Hospital Nursing appears impracticable i.e. the interference will be such that all permanent independent organization, so it seems, will be impracticable-]

Under so very able & excellent a man as the present Governor, things may appear to, may really work very well- better far than they did under dear Agnes & the old Governor. But the Hospital is not a Hospital- it is merely a branch of a very ably conducted Workhouse.

I come now to the last, tho' by no means the least, error which they appear on the brink of committing- And this is: - the total ignoring of what was one of the main objects

of your original scheme, viz. The founding a School for sending out Nursing Staffs to other Workhouses. How a Staff is to be sent out without a Supt= at its head we cannot conceive. This which was the worst feature of Workhouse Nursing, viz. the having one or two or three paid Nurses, without any head or organization of their own to support & govern them, is now not even thought of, not even in London- in ~~all~~ the *reformed* schemes - actual or prospective.

I look upon the decision that Miss Freeman presses for as to an Assistant Supt= being necessary or not, tho' important, as one of quite minor importance to the fundamental question:-- is the Hospital administration to be a dependency of the Workhouse or not?--

I think I had perhaps better send you a letter I have received this morning from Miss Freeman, in order that you may judge whether I judge the situation rightly or not. I can only judge from a distance. Enquiry on the spot is necessary. I alas enclose the Regulations she encloses to me- Please look, e.g. At para: 10, page 15.

I shall not answer Miss Freeman till after your interview with her & nor till after your opinion has been received by me. For indeed it is useless-

Please not to let her know that you have seen any of her letters. Indeed, believe me, it is much better that the verdict should come from you alone, whichever way it is. Were it to come as the {the balance of page in very tiny script} result of an /assumed appeal, real or apparent, from Mrs. Wardroper or me, it would be in great haste very disastrous.

ever yours sincerely,

Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:}

Any information that 35 South Street,  
I have about what Park Lane,  
London Workhouses W.

are going to do shall

be at your service - But *this* too it is better to keep PRIVATE at present- as one Vestry has protested against its own Bd. Of Guardians, the best in {written up right margin:} London, already. F.N.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
6/2 signed letter, 2ff, pen

615  
[6:452-53]

35 South Street, May 23/71  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I will only just say now, -in  
answer to your kind note,-  
that I doubt the possibility  
of the Highgate Infirmary  
taking in "20 Nurses as  
Probationers" at present- &  
that I should be very sorry  
for Miss Torrance who,  
after all, has been there  
but 18 months- & who has  
only completed her Nursing  
Staff & her full number of  
*Patients* in October last,  
(when the Infirmary first  
passed under the "Central London")

being burthened with such an  
additional number at once -  
We consented last month to  
try a tiny Training - School  
for Workhouse Nurses under  
her - only 6 - (there was no  
more accommodation but  
for 6)- we paying certain  
expences- the "Board" the rest.

Do not think I am trying to be  
discouraging - quite the reverse.

Mr. Wyatt is the very best  
person in the whole world  
for you to discuss it with.  
And he appreciates Miss

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Torrance, as she deserves.

616

But *let me write to you*  
again.

I have not a moment now to  
think of your proposal-  
I have only just received  
your note-

Let me accept your kind  
proposal "not to send in  
the suggestion" till we have  
had time to consider & make  
"suggestions."

You cannot think how  
strong is my love & admiration  
for Miss Torrance - who is  
almost a second Agnes Jones-

Overworked already, she  
must not be hurried.  
But it is *not* from *her*  
that any objection to undertaking  
more training will come.  
With your plan I have of  
course the warmest sympathy

In great haste  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 617  
6/3 signed letter, 2ff, pen. {on black-edged paper} [6:453]

WORKHOUSE NURSES

35 South Street, May 24/71  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

{top left corner; diagonally:} PRIVATE

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think that, in my hurry of yesterday, I may have led you to believe that the "Central London Sick Asylum District" had already consented to bear their share of the expences of training a very small number of Workhouse Nurses (for London Workhouses) at the Highgate Infy=, under Miss Torrance.

This is not the case - All that has yet passed is: that we have proposed terms to assist in maintaining 6 Probationers which Mr. Wyatt pronounces reasonable.

But there are difficulties-

Mr. Wyatt

88 Regent's Park Road N.W.  
Is the person to discuss best the whole matter with you - [He was the excellent Chairman of the St. Pancras Board.]

This is only a P. S. to my yesterday's note- not an answer to you -

ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

618

6/4 signed draft of letter, 13ff, pen [several listed 6/4] [6:453-57]

{top left corner; diagonally;} *Private*

*Workhouse Nurse=Training*

*As to establishing a Govt. Training Sch: for Workh: Nurses*

35 South Street, May 30/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am glad indeed that you have seen Mr. Wyatt, & that he will put down something in black & white about his views.

Of course ~~//~~ I look upon the ~~subject~~ question as a most important one, involving the whole future of Pauper Sick welfare: -- whether you can {double line down left margin for next 6 lines} induce the P. L. Board to take up {circled:} the subject {circled:} of Nurse=training. {circled:} 2 It is one I constantly receive letters upon from *Union Medical Officers, entire strangers to me* shewing that they are awakening, just as much as Hospital Doctors & Military Doctors, to ~~the~~ one essential condition of curing their sick - viz. having skilled Nurses.]]

I have just received one, with a Report, from the Medical Officer of a large Union Workhouse

I return you Mr. Cropper's & Mr. Hagger's letters, both able & suggestive.

And I will just dot [jot?] down a few notes now--from the Nurse=training side, not from the P. L. side on these letters -- not at all as being *final* Notes - which I reserve to myself yet but merely as comments on these letters.

(1). As to the *advantage* of Govt= doing it at all.  
 {double line down left margin for all but last 2 lines of paragraph}

[[The example would as coming from authority do good. Recommendations from the P. L. Board to employ trained Nurses or to raise salaries with a view to obtaining trained Nurses would of course come with more effect.

The position & *status* of the Nurses socially might be improved, as Mr. Hagger says, by the indirect character of importance acquired by connection with the Govt=

Means might be obtained for building accommodation for Probationers & for improving the salary & therefore qualifications of Matron (Supt=) & Doctor.]]

*Disadvantages*

{note vertically in left margin: {illeg. Mrs? to leave latitude}  
 Difficulty of altering all Govt= regulations to meet changes of circumstance & times - alterations which wd. be likely to be frequent in a new system-

Dependence for success on the matron-- & incompetency of any Governmt= Departmt= as a {note vertically in left margin: {must be left free} Court of Appeal from her - especially with regard to *dismissals* & to some extent admissions.

(2.) As to *Liverpool Workho: Infirmary*  
 Does it afford proper means of training? -  
 As to *Highgate* -

May not the N. Fund do more easily at *first* what is required?

(3.) Assuming that it is desirable to apply to the P. L. Board, then I think our experience shews that

- a. Boards of Guardians will not pay for the training
- b. that the Probationers *must* NOT be selected by the Boards of Guardians, *but solely by the Principal of the Training School*
- c. that objections are not as a rule

{3 lines in left margin beside this point}  
 made by Employers to this course,-- they being *ready to appoint Nurses who are recommended to them*

d. As to the expence: -  
Govt= ought to provide additional accommodation  
for & maintain & pay as many Probationers  
as cannot be usefully employed in the  
actual work of the wards -  
e.g. at Highgate there are about  
20 Nurses &  
20 Assistant Nurses.

Probably it would be worth while for the  
Board to be at the expence of the keep of  
say 6 to 8 supernumeraries for their own  
purposes- (according in fact to the arrangement  
we proposed to them & to that wh. Mr. Cropper  
mentions as in force at Liverpool)

If the No= of Pupils is to be increased, the whole  
expence of the additional number would fall  
on the Govt=, as the whole does on us at St. Thomas'.  
[Undoubtedly at St. Thomas' the number  
of the Hospital staff is diminished  
in consequence of the use they make  
of our Probationers -- & hence their  
willingness to build Quarters for us.]

[2]

{top left corner; diagonally;} *Private*  
{printed address;} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

At present I doubt whether Highgate is  
capable of training "20 Probationers" having  
regard to the No= of Patients in the Wards-  
Certainly it is not, having regard to the  
capabilities of the Staff.

[We agreed that 6 was quite enough for  
Miss Torrance to begin with- And there  
is every reason to adhere to this, which  
was /determined *not only* by that being the extent of  
available accommodation.]

There are certain points on which we *must*  
consult Miss Torrance farther before expressing  
any opinion - especially as to how far  
the duties of "*Ward Assistants*" (at Highgate)  
are compatible with the position of Probationer  
learning to become a full-blown Nurse.

[Men, especially Poor Law men, often think  
you have nothing to do but to promote  
the best of your Assistant Nurses -  
which is much as if you were to choose  
your butler among your stable-boys -  
or your housekeeper among your kitchen  
maids]

The "*Assistants*" at Highgate do scrubbing &

cleaning & fetching to a considerable extent,  
I believe.

[Our Probationers do *not* at St. Thomas'.]

If *they* do *not*, or if this work can be made not  
incompatible with learning the duties of Nurse,  
the "Ward Assistants" might be treated as  
Probationers (or a portion of them) -- & by  
arrangement the numbers available for  
drafting off be largely increased...

It wd. not answer to the Training Institution to allow  
this, except on receiving a *quid pro quo*, such as  
aid in wages, &c

[Miss Torrance has already promoted one or two  
"Ward Assistants" - But it scarcely follows  
that, as a system, it would be right to  
treat all, or many, of this class as Probationers.  
But we must have farther information.]

[[e. {circled:} b /Miss N opinion is The object of the Schools should be limited to supplying those larger Infirmeries which require a complete Staff, (Supt= & Nurses.) This is quite enough for the Schools to undertake.

The smaller Infirmeries which are nursed by only one, two, three or four Nurses will gradually be supplied by women who have acquired their training & longer experience in the larger Workhouses - & who wish for "a change".]]

[Many women prefer a smaller Hospital & the greater importance in some cases which their position in it gives them. And the smaller Infirmeries can afford to give & do I believe often give higher wages.

Women so placed are subject to but *little supervision* & ought to be of *more standing & experience* than *Probationers who have had a year or even two years' training as assistant Nurses* -

To send out the latter, *except as part of a Staff under a competent head,* is simply throwing away the cost incurred//

by the school-

P. S. No doubt, so far as expence is the difficulty with Bds of Guardians, this is in favour of a Govt= plan-

No definite conclusions or direct answer are given here- I reserve these - as you see.

[3]

{top left corner; diagonally;} *Private*  
35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
W.

*Small notes on Mr. Hagger's & Mr. Cropper's notes*

1. There is no occasion to have a "Staff of Nurses ready at any time". That is impossible.

Hospitals are not taken ill like private Patients at a moment's notice.

They must give a year's notice that they want a Staff of Nurses - as they do to us.

2. Boards of Guardians must give up practically "right of selection"- tho' not in name - Or the whole thing will fail -  
But *we do not find* them unwilling.

3. Mr. Cropper is perfectly right in saying that no Nurses could "take charge without a really "good Supt=."

But they must look to training *Supts=* as well

{3 vertical lines in left margin mark this point from here to end}  
as Nurses -

*I should make this a sine qua non* with the P. L. Board.

4. I cannot think that Workhouses which require only one or at most 2 Supg= Nurses should ever take Probationers of only one or even 2 years' training -

{3 vertical lines in left margin mark this point from here to end}

*Just the persons who have least experience are thereby placed where they have least supervision & most responsibility.*

This will never succeed, as a general rule -

Persons of tried experience & capacity from  
{2 vertical lines in left margin for next 3 lines}  
~~in~~ a Workhouse ~~nursed by~~ trained Staff under a trained  
Supt= -- & *who deserve promotion* -- should be  
the persons selected for these (*single*) posts.

[The case is so different from that of training  
School Masters & Mistresses -  
These are to go out alone -

~~But~~ *ONE* can undertake a School. but  
not an Infirmary, unless she has proved  
capacity -

In the school, children only are undertaken  
& generally only day=schooling -

In the Infirmary, adult *men* & women  
Patients come under the Supg= Nurse for  
all day & night - She the only person to maintain  
current discipline.

Masters & mistresses are generally the  
pets of the clergyman /& his wife- probably also of  
the Parish "Lady" & daughters - & have  
seldom to contend with a hostile or  
indifferent or conceited & domineering or  
ignorant Board -

All these things are *reversed* in the  
case of the Supg= Nurse - solitary &  
without the advantages probably of  
position & education as she is.

5. I feel entirely with Messrs Cropper & Hagger that Boards of Guardians will, in general, prefer "advertising"-

And, if they "advertise", they always prefer the Nurse not above the "average"-

6. [[Practically, the difficulty will be immense of letting Boards of Guardians send their own women to be trained *at the P.L.'s cost*
- a. Women so chosen will seldom or never be "above the average"-
  - b. They will generally be persons whom Boards of Guardians wish to make a "provision" for -e.g. their own widows.
  - c. There will be a constant well of dissatisfaction boiling up against the unfortunate Training Matron for dismissing (for incompetency or worse) such Probationers -  
And the P. L. Board has no Department the least competent to deal, as a Court of Appeal, with such cases -  
[Unless we steadily upheld our Training Matrons in such matters, they would be 'nowhere'.]]]

*You must not take the Liverpool Board as a criterion- They are gentlemen-.*

So are the Highgate Board - ("Central London Asylum" Bd=)  
These are the exceptions- not the rule - Both these Boards are {in printing not writing:} reformers -

Derbyshire Co Record Office 626

Especially I should *deprecate* receiving Nurses *already appointed* in Workhouse Infirmarys "to give them a training"- Such undertakings abound in almost insuperable difficulties- You will understand this.

[Would that "the fundamental qualification  
"looked for in a candidate for a" Nurse's  
"office" were that she shd- have been trained",  
I say with Mr. Hagger  
Whose letter is very important.]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think I had better submit these unsatisfactory  
jottings to you just as they are  
reserving some more considered conclusions  
both from Mr. H. Bonham Carter & from me -

Yrs ever gratefully & sincerely  
F Nightingale

Your kind note received  
about Agnes Jones  
I will answer it.

6/5 signed letter, 7 ff, pen

[6:458-60]

{top left corner; diagonally;} *Private*

*Govt= School for*

WORKH: HOSPL= NURSES

35 South Street, June 15/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am very sorry to have been so long  
in answering finally yours on this subject-  
the more so as I am afraid you will  
think my answer when it comes little  
satisfactory.

I have consulted ~~with~~ upon our possibilities  
at the Highgate Infy= - & with our Secretary,  
Mr. H. Bonham Carter - & taken the utmost  
pains to arrive at a right conclusion.

You kindly tell me "not to trouble" myself  
"to comment." And indeed I have no time or  
strength for argument (which, besides, never  
convinces any one -)- I will therefore ask you  
to have the goodness to take for granted that  
I have used every means to ascertain our  
*means*, together with the experience &  
convictions of those who must work the plan,  
if at all.

You know me well enough & my intense  
anxiety for the success of your Nurse=training

schemes - & especially for the extension of  
Trained Nursing in the Workhouse Hospitals

Derbyshire Co Record Office 627

of the large towns of England - & throughout  
the country - - - to know that I should  
put no spoke in the wheel of your sending  
your letter to Mr. Stansfeld- even if I  
could. But this is: -- *provided* you  
do not quote me as the authority for your  
plan-

I should prefer that you should refer only  
to my printed & published paper in the small

Blue Book /"Report on Cubic Space of Metropolitan Workhouses". 1867. (paper by  
F.N. on "providing, training & organizing Nurses for Sick poor" in it p. 64)  
(which was of course written "by order")

if you refer to me at all as evidence  
of my views-

I am sure that you will understand this -

if it were only for the following reason:--

if when your letter is gone in, the P.L.B.  
apply for our opinion,- on having applied  
to the Highgate Board, Sir S. Waterlow or Mr.

Wyatt applies for our opinion,- we can only  
repeat the conclusions we have arrived  
at- And we shall APPEAR to be  
opposing your first move. Now there is  
scarcely anything which could *now* happen  
in my painful life that would give me  
more pain than this would do.

I am afraid that I must therefore beg you to strike out  
the passages in your Draft which seem  
to give the impress of my being the "backer"  
of the letter- [They are crossed thro' in pencil-]  
That at p. 11 does not moreover convey the  
meaning I intended to convey. And that at  
p. 12 implies what is not exactly the fact,  
as far as we are concerned- [I think I  
mentioned to you what we are doing ourselves  
at Highgate, & that we were satisfied  
that it would be unwise to attempt any thing  
on a larger scale *at first*.  
Probably you will say (with truth) that any

action of the P. L. B. would hardly be  
matured for another year - but then  
the words "letting slip" & "which now exists"  
become scarcely of literal accuracy do they?]

At p. 2, if you wish to retain the quotation from  
me, which I should prefer omitted, the word  
"constantly" must at all events be left out.  
Some of these letters are "Confidential" - [I think  
I marked mine to you as "Private".] And I  
could not undertake either to put names or  
letters into the P.L.B.'s hands, if called for--  
except one or two printed ones - still less

Derbyshire Co Record Office 628  
to be the correspondent between the P.L.B.  
& Union Medl= Officers-

    Para:, crossed thro', top of P. 9, is not exactly, either correct. [Not the "Nurses", but the "Ward Assistants" do "part of the scrubbing"-] - And when I mentioned this to you, I did not mean it to be brought before the P.L.B.

    Last Para:- bottom of page 10, is contrary to all our experience which strengthens every year. i.e. selection & dismissal must rest *virtually* with the female chief, whatever she is called. And the Local Committee, whatever it is called, must, in *these* matters, be only the "backer" of the female chief, if *she* is worthy of her post at all.

[2]  
{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
                    Park Lane,  
                    W.

The Supt. must, of course, herself be responsible to the constituted Hospital authorities - But no good ever came of the constituted authorities placing themselves in the office which they have ~~sanctioned or~~ appointed her to fill. It is fatal to discipline among the Nurses-

{top left corner; diagonally:} CONFIDENTIAL

II. Query - as far as London is concerned? - - -

is there not danger of the plan failing *under Government* unless as part of a larger scheme under a Superintendent= Genl=, as "suggested" (in the Blue Book paper)

It might go on for a time, e.g. so long at Highgate as Miss Torrance was there with Mr. Wyatt to back her

But what does Mr. Wyatt, even Sir S. Waterlow, say as to their Board?-- that they neither know nor care anything about the Nursing-- Hence the difficulty anticipated to our small scheme.

Supposing Miss Torrance fall, ~~when~~ as Agnes Jones did, where will they find any one else at present?- The time may come when there will be a larger number of competent women, but so long as success must depend upon one or two persons, failure is imminent- And failure would only throw back the general progress of improvement which exists.

This is not however to discourage you. I would not discourage you if I could. But I must state what comes within my own knowledge, as the P. L. B. might call upon us later to state it- & we cd= then only repeat the above

III.

If the P. L. B. take the matter up, we shall be able to discuss with them how far the plan is feasible *as regards Highgate*; &, if at all feasible, be able to *enter into details*.

We cannot agree as to these with the (Lpool) Authorities whose letters you enclose- And, though *details*, they embody principles *on which success depends*.

IV. May I repeat that I think, if you wish to quote me, it would be on the whole more to the point if you simply say in your letter to Mr. Stansfeld that you presume (or something to that effect) that Mr. S. had read my "Suggestions" &c.

I will return your /other letter this evening-  
ever yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

630

Liverpool Record Office 6/5a is to Rathbone Whit Sunday 1871 from 80 Regent's Park Road, from illeg Cottlay? re Goschen, sick, nurses

Liverpool Record Office 6/6 incomplete letter, pencil 3ff [perhaps cont'd letter of 6/7 although same date as 6/7

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*  
*& Confidential*

1

{Mr. Hagger }

*W. Rathbone Esq M.P.*

{Mr. Cropper}

*For your own eye alone*

June 16/71 7. a.m.

Do these letters appear convincing to you?

{the words "these letters" are the base of an arrow head pointing to the names in curly brackets}

*Mr. Hagger x x x*

1. does this agree with is former opinion (in which we all concurred) that Guardians prefer advertising - & in doing so always take the woman *not* above the average?
2. !! argument that "they can put them *at once into Office* is not the whole question hinged on getting assistance from P. L. B. by having Nurses TRAINED?  
He probably means that if they wished to job, they, have the means of doing so by 'putting into office'- but they don't--

∴ they won't job by nominating Probationers'-  
Is not the whole experience we have of Guardians in  
London against thus 'begging the question'?-  
[Is not /"ALL" the risk of disgrace & failure" absolutely a  
nothing?- 1. it is the "risk of inefficiency, of those  
qualities or want of qualities which are so difficult  
to define except under the head of "general  
"unsuitableness" which constitute the real "risk"- not  
"disgrace"- But 2. I am sorry to say that we have experience  
(where there was real "disgrace") where the persons  
who sent the Candidate not only upheld her but  
got up a most painful "Confidential" & wholly illegitimate  
enquiry against the Training Matron - actually using  
"PRIVATE" false accusations against her -  
And in this our evidence varies toto caelo from Mr. Hagger's -  
The one thing our experience leads us to deprecate is  
this: - taking women *previously appointed* to train-  
It is almost impossible to alledge anything short of "disgrace"  
to cause their appointments to be cancelled - And even with  
"disgrace", the appointers will often uphold their Candidate  
against the Training-Matron-

So *both* fall into 'Condemnation'.

3. x x

Does Mr. Hagger know "what" London "Boards of  
"Guardians" are?-

Would not Mr. Wyatt retort on Mr. Hagger the self-same  
words- that *he* has no "intimate knowledge" of them?

- - - is it needful for us to give our experience, our "intimate knowledge", when, for the last 6 years, Reports, Parliamanta{ry} enquiries, even the daily press, have revealed a state of jobbery & corruption & inefficiency - which no instances I could give would much heighten or worsen? --

{printed address; on side at left:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

Only recall the whole history of St. Pancras'- which, Mr. Wyatt being driven out, is almost as bad now as before - But there are, alas!, other as flagrant instances.

II. Mr. Cropper

!!-"District Nurses"- Do you concur in Mr. C.'s reason - viz. that the *inferior* ones may be used "as D. Nurses"?- The *very best* women-- ought not they? - *ought* {illeg.} to be allotted for "District" Nursing when the supervision

is & cannot but be of the smallest- A woman who will do very well in a Hospital where proper female authority keeps her in order or in private Nursing where people accustomed to have their own

[2]

way, keep her in more than order

often does very badly or fails completely "As District Nurse" where there is no one really to look after her -

BUT THEN NOBODY KNOWS IT!

"There's the rub" - that there *is* no "rub"-

{printed address; on side at right:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
6/7 signed letter, 2ff, pen

633  
[6:460]

{top left corner; diagonally:} *Private*  
*& Confidential*

{Govt- Training Sch: for Workh:

{NURSES

35 South Street, June 16/71  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I was interrupted about  
3 times in every page of my  
letter to you yesterday-

Still I thought it better  
to send my letter & your Draft  
rather than keep you waiting  
another day - as ~~the~~ my defect  
was in writing a bad letter  
not in previous thought &  
enquiry-

I joyfully avail myself  
of your kind thought for me  
in sparing myself "comment"  
& argument -

I return your letters - & have put down a few pencil queries for yourself - on matters of fact which I, as a woman, should hardly be justified to women, in not calling your *own* attention to.

But these are *for your own eye alone*.

I think-like you-one should always have the 'courage of one's opinions- Still, had I known /that my letter to you, (which I think I marked "Private",) was to be shown or quoted to Vestry officials, or P. L. B. officers, I should have put things, which to *you* I spoke

baldly out, in a very different manner-

---

I scarcely know that I have anything to add to my yesterday's letter-

[In the small Blue Book, p. 68, (paper by me referred to, yesterday) I have mentioned the "Supt=" at "King's Coll: Hosp:" as a proper person "to undertake Workhouse Nurse=Training". Since then the Nursing has changed hands- And a '*not*' wd= better describe the state of the case- [-another melancholy proof, by the way, -were any wanted, - how entirely these schemes depend on the competency of one or two persons *at present* for success.]

God bless you & speed  
you in this way -  
ever yrs sincerely

Florence Nightingale

notes 16 June 1874 re hospitals and workhouses

Derbyshire Co Record Office 635

6/19h is a note by Eliza Crudy with a FN comment on it "what is "taking notice of"? Is she a Consulting Surgeon? And more

6/4 is FN to Rathbone May 30/71

6/4a letter of Cropper to Rathbone, re PLB and contd Wednesday

6/4b copy of letter of J.W. Cropper 22 May 1871 from Dingle Bank in response to his and

6/4c also from Cropper

6/4d 22 May 1871 to Rathbone from Wilkie

6/4e 23 May 1871 Hagger to Rathbone

6/4f 23 May 1871 copy of Hagger to Rathbone presumably

6/32 undated

letter Whit Sunday 1871 from illeg 88 Regent's Park Road re sick poor

6/33 copy of letter of Thomas Worthington to FN from Manchester, Rathbone has sent him her letter to him of 27th Oct and his reply, re her remarks on pen and ink sketches; results of inspection of Vincennes and Bournemouth conval insts

54 John Dalton St., Manchester Nov 2nd 1868

Dear Madam; detailed discussion, re not passing through wards to day room, and reducing number of beds in each room to not more than 6, the max number suggested in your previous letter; re site. Re superintendance and maintaining proper discipline in the day rooms of first importance, (evidently FN gave detailed advice) re her objection to the baths..."I feel a more than ordinary responsibility in this work and am anxious that it should be so arranged as to meet as completely as possible one of the great deficiencies of our social organization."

As you kindly took a warm interest in the Chorlton Hospital I shall venture in the course of a day or two to send you a tracing of our wards at the Prestwich Workhouse now nearly completed and which in some respects I think an improvement on Chorlton.

6/34 Florence Lees letter to Rathbone from Verdon House, Blackheath SE July 3rd 1874, to breakfast on Tuesday and meet the gentlemen, re National Nursing Assoc, secretary

6/35 F Lees to Rathbone July 8 1874, not to accept hon sec of the N N Assoc, does not reside in London

6/36 copy of Rathbone letter to Lee dismay at her note

Derbyshire Co Record Office

636

notes, Central Library, Record Office, Wm Brown Sq; copies not permitted of FN book Hq 091.5 Nig which has a letter and Ms of Notes on the Health of Hospitals, presented by FN to the Free Library of Liverpool; Helena Smart, concerned about the binding; possible to get scanned at £40/page, no microfilming available, suggest scanning upstairs possible for £50 total

30 Old Burlington St  
London W

Sept 13/59

[16:76]

Dear Sir

I was happy to accede to the request conveyed to me by Lord Shaftesbury that the MS to which you refer in your most kind letter of August 22, should be placed at the disposal of the Council. If any

value attaches to the written copy, I shall be very glad that it shall remain in the Free Library of Liverpool—a town to which I, of all others, owe the most grateful admiration, as out of her has come, as I have always considered, Sanitary salvation to the Army of the Crimea & to all

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
England, more or less-

637

I venture to send  
the published copy  
of the same M S.  
and two others on  
the same subject,  
hoping that you  
will do me the honor  
to add them to the  
same Free Library.

I regret that my  
increasing ill health  
has delayed so long  
my grateful reply  
to your kind letter

**[end]**

And I remain  
dear Sir  
your obliged & obedt  
Florence Nightingale  
Wm Preston Esq  
Mayor

Liverpool Record Office, paper copy

LRO 353 Sel 17/3 signed letter, 16ff, pen

**[13:586-90]**

34 South St  
Park Lane  
London W  
August 28/65

Dear Sir

Before replying to your kind  
letter of August 18, I waited till  
I should have seen, as you desired,  
your reply to Mr. Rathbone.

But I should certainly have  
acknowledged your of the 18th before,  
if I had not been in considerable  
suffering & very much occupied.

Let me first say that I never  
would have forwarded Mr. Rathbone's  
letter to you, had I thought it would  
have given you one moment's pain.  
I, of all others, who have had to  
encounter the same difficulties which  
you have, should be about the last  
person to do such a thing.

But we are all of us in a state of  
G. Carr Esq

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 - And perhaps we are fidgetty.

At first I regretted extremely having been the means of forwarding Mr. Rathbone's letter to you but on consideration I believe it was perhaps better that all those who are so much interested in your work should have heard your own view stated fully & completely, as you have stated it.

Let me also say how truly I rejoice & how heartily I congratulate you that you are able to say (of your experiment) "completely successful so far." [Scarcely anything on this side the grave could have given me so much pleasure - And

I have to thank you for it.]  
Will you kindly bear with me while

I allude to a few points which have suggested themselves from your letters - more especially as you mention our experience in Civil & Military Hospitals.

[N.B. There is more similarity between a Workhouse and a Military Hospital than at first appears - Each is under a Governor - With two exceptions, recently made for two large General Hospitals, the Military Governor has hitherto been the Commanding Officer of the Station, so that he has had under his charge both sick & well - But, in all instances whatsoever, a Military Hospital, whether in peace or in war,

is under a Commandant, [by whatever name called.

Also, a soldier cannot be turned out of Hospital - and he knows he cannot. In this the Patient more closely resembles the pauper than the inmate of a Civil Hospital. He knows perfectly well that he is there, as it were, upon his own right, & not on charity.

Also, there is a much closer relation between the Nursing Staff of a Military Hospital - (Nurses & *Orderlies* it consists of -) & your own at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary than between the Nursing Staff of a Military and ~~of~~ that of a Civil Hospital.

I might multiply instances.]

-2-

You have so to speak three separate works going on at once: -

1. Nursing under a Superintendent of trained Nurses
2. The training of Probationer Nurses under a Superintendent
3. Training of paupers to act as Nurses, under a Superintendent.

May I try to keep these various objects distinctly in view in dealing with the question?

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 stated, - as in your case, so in that of the Military Hospitals, both in war

and at peace - and always most strongly. Nothing has occurred to alter that opinion. And indeed your authority has not once been called in question.

The only difficulty is one which has constantly occurred elsewhere - and that is, in what manner to allow the Superintendent to exercise the power of superintendence inferred in her name & office, without infringing the Governor's authority.

The question, in as far as regards 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 - (though

we shall have few *or no* Governors like yourself - & few Superintendents like Miss Jones) - and it must be faced - if good is to be lasting. And it can only be solved by experience.

Before going farther, allow me to recur to the fact that, in the few months you have been engaged in laying the foundations of your work, it has been "successful, 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 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 - Your

problem is greater than ours, and your difficulties are greater than ours in Civil Hospitals. They more resemble those of Military Hospitals. During war, it is well known that the very scum of the earth, those best known to the Police, enlist as Hospital Orderlies. It is better now, owing to the immense pains taken by the authorities in forming the new Hospital Orderly Corps -

But it is not this which is so much our subject just now, as the relative positions of Governor & Superintendent, & the training of Nurses.]

Perhaps the best way of shewing you what we have been doing, or rather aiming at doing, will be to send you a copy of a private document

-3-

drawn up by me at the request of the Government of India, which request was: - to shew them what, in our opinion, should be the steps taken for providing Nurses over their vast Empire. I scarcely expect that you will have leisure to look at it - but, if you even glance at it, you will see that difficulties similar to yours require to be met in India.

Please return me the paper, as it is private & not official.

In Appendix II, you will find the Regulations under which we have introduced trained Female Nursing 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.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 642

Her power, 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 -  
and in the case of Superintendents to the Secretary of State for War -  
There could be no such Officer in  
Workhouses as "Supt=Genl; 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 - and yet that no  
injustice should be done either  
to Nurse or Service, either by  
Superintendent or Governor.

This, as I have said, is a problem  
which you will have to solve -  
and no one who knows you can  
have anything but the strongest  
confidence that your great practical  
experience & your determination to  
succeed will enable you to solve  
the difficulty for us.

As regards the selection & discipline of Probationers: - ~~the~~/our regulations are in the paper I send - We have found them answer in our Training Institutions in London. They 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.

[I might add that ~~the~~/your Nursing Staff is not at present, tho' we hope it may ultimately be, "supported by a compulsory tax" with you, but "by a voluntary subscription" - so to speak - in this approximating more nearly to a Civil Hospital than our Military Hospitals do - Our soldiers know perfectly well that their Institutions are supported by the country - And they consider even more than paupers do, that they have a right to them - for a "Hospital stoppage", as it is called, is stopped out of their pay.]

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 much lately on the general subject, appear to consider that the most hopeful material for training is to be found among the elder girls in Union Schools. At the same time, they admit ~~the~~/our great difficulty: - that these girls can be placed out in situations at a much earlier age than they could possibly be taken on trial in Hospitals, (& apprenticed, if found suitable). In London, I made some enquiry, at the request of the Poor Law authorities - And I found that a charitable Institution was willing to take a limited number & train them in such Nursing duties

as their age admitted of, until they were old enough to be admitted as Probationer Nurses into the Hospital, nursed by the said Institution.

Of course, the difficulty was: - will the Guardians pay? - (as this Institution was unable to saddle itself with a fresh charge, & do it entirely gratuitously It is certain that, if such a scheme could be successfully carried out, a large number of women would be trained to a good bread-winning life.)

As regards training of pauper-women there will, of course, be greater difficulty. I feel, as strongly as you can put it, their low moral qualifications. I know that you think even more keenly than we do that women of known, bad, dirty, drunken, dishonest or general immoral habits should never be

selected for training. Indeed, even if such women could be trained, they could never be recommended for employment by you, as you 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. [We have limited ourselves to certain ages, as you will see.]

Might I ask you, if you ever have a moment's leisure, kindly to consider the whole subject, now that it has been raised - and perhaps, if you have time, to communicate with me about it?

Our objects are the same, viz. to provide safe & suitable attendance for the sick poor, whether in Hospital

Derbyshire Co Record Office

645

in the Workhouse, or at home. And

I have no fears but that, with singleness of aim & the accumulation of practical experience, we shall succeed in our work -

In any case, - however much I may desire to help in any way I can, even ~~however~~ the humblest, - I am the last person ever to wish to see a Governor's authority undermined in the very least degree - But I do not see how it can be so -

Pray believe me, dear Sir,  
(with many apologies for this long letter)  
Your very faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Would you kindly shew this letter to Mr. Rathbone, as I have (perhaps unfortunately) been mixed up in the

discussion - and I am unable, from ill-health & business, to write so fully to all as I should wish.

F.N.

[end 13:590]

LRO Rathbone **610** LRO Rathbone 610 6/8 signed letter, 2ff, pencil

35 South St. July 2/73  
Park Lane w.

[13:506-08]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am deeply grateful that your work is extending itself to America with so much prospect of success.

I entirely concur in all that you recommend in your letter to Mr. Moore.

That the two Institutions, ("Charity" & "Bellevue") *must* be independent of each other -

- that the Female Head *must* have charge of all Female

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Officers & servants in the  
building

646

{edge of page missing - W}e may safely affirm to be  
a *sine qua non*.

They sent me and I have  
read the printed Reports  
{o}f the State Charities Aid Association  
(o)f the Visiting Commee for Bellevue Hospl  
of the Commee on Hospitals.

I was surprised to see my  
'private' letter to Dr. Gull Wylie  
printed in the last *in extenso* ,  
containing as it did references to  
personal matters

-3-

(not £68) for "Bellevue"  
with the accessories -  
[And I have taken a note of  
these.] Or is it for "Bellevue"  
£68?

- I return the whole of your  
corresponde. I wish you  
God speed with all my might  
& am ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

[Let me thank you  
& not in a *Postscript* of my  
heart

your continued kindness  
anent the beautiful flowering plants.]

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
incomplete letter, 4ff, pencil

647

But I would urge the importance of some general remarks I have made there (- & which I need not trouble you by repeating here -) on what is essential to the discipline of the Nursing Staff. And, having regard to the necessity for individual responsibility in the one female Head, I cannot but the more strongly feel that it would in no way answer to make "Charity" Staff in any sense dependent upon the Supt of "Bellevue".

[About Dr. Gull Wylie's Report  
I will only add, to you, that, as you well know, Dr. G.W.'s account of what has been & is being done here in the way of Nursing generally greatly magnifies the results.]  
I had a letter from Mrs. Hobson some time since about a Supt, which I did not answer - for it did not appear to call for any answer.

-2-

2. About the "2 NURSES" FOR "BELLEVUE"  
- I am afraid that *Miss Mary Jones* has no Nurses now - but I would by all means apply - for the chance -  
You know her new Address:  
39 Kensington Square  
W.

About St. Thomas': -

In answer to your question,  
I am afraid that we have  
none to spare -

We have had a great  
drain made on us by  
Edinburgh Infirmary -

And we can less & less  
spare women except as  
members of a complete Staff  
under our own Trained  
Supts.

The 2 "Bellevue" posts would  
be rather difficult to fill.

- They must not be gentlewomen -  
- They must be real, skilled,  
experienced *Training=Nurses*.

Such will rarely go out  
to be under a Supt not their own.  
Indeed I never would

send out *one year's Probationers*  
except as forming part of  
a ~~complete~~/*compact* Staff.

I consider that it takes a  
full year - *after* the  
year's training - for a  
Nurse to settle down into  
efficiency.

She has to learn to manage  
her Patients as well as  
her Nursing -  
- to learn neither to be bustling  
nor overwhelmed when  
there is a press of work -  
nor careless when there is  
not -

[But indeed of this latter danger  
there is now little fear  
in Hospitals.]

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/9 signed letter, 2ff, pencil black-edged

*Boston: Supt of Nurses*      35 South St.      **[13:509-10]**  
Park Lane W.  
May 25/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have delayed answering your kind letter of  
May 14 because I wished to ascertain what  
our St. Thomas' prospects were: & to consult  
Mrs. Wardroper & Mr. Hy Bonham Carter

These would be quite willing to receive "two  
"carefully selected ladies from Boston - into our

Derbyshire Co Record Office 649  
"Training School - upon the same conditions as

Derbyshire Co Record Office 650

"other special Probationers - it being clearly  
"understood that they would be prepared  
"to abide by all the Regulations - (barring  
"of course the Obligation)"

if it should be desired *hereafter* -

But at this moment there are an  
unusual number of "Special Probationers waiting,  
~~to~~ whom Mrs. Wardroper has more or less  
engaged us to admit: & who seem unusually  
desirable. We are afraid to say that we

can admit 2 Boston ladies, should they  
wish to come in during the next term:  
because we shall be so full that some  
one else must be disappointed, who besides  
believes her Admission to be promised.

Of these Admissions we might possibly be able to  
recommend one for Boston should ~~they~~/Boston be  
inclined to wait a year: or we have  
even now a lady who has finished about  
half her training, who might prove recommend=

=able

in another 6 months.

You see we have nothing definite to offer at  
once: & I am rather ashamed of writing  
so very 'conditional' an answer -

Let me thank you most unconditionally for  
your great kindness: in sending me more lovely  
flowering plants: & pray believe me (in haste)

-very definitely  
ever yours gratefully & sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 651  
LRO Rathbone 610 6/10 signed letter, 9ff, pencil black-edged

"Nurses for the Sick Poor" 35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
June 13/74

[13:723-24]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I will submit a few considerations to you,  
in answer to your kind note: sure that your  
greater administrative experience will tell me  
whether I am wrong -

And as I should be very sorry not to  
see you again, (even while feeling that I can be  
of little use,) - & thank you for many kindnesses,  
I could gladly, if you still wished it, see you  
for half an hour at 2.30 on Monday as  
you propose.

I think not only that you can be of the  
greatest use to these people: but that  
*without* you they will infallibly do harm  
& not good.

I agree with you as to their plan being too  
vague &c. but I think I am more  
penetrated than you are with their  
utter unbusiness - like=ness, with their

ignorance of what has been done: including  
an absolute ignorance (Doctor & all) of what a "Trained"  
or "qualified" Nurse is: *how to find her,*  
*how to make her, or how to manage her:*  
but with a very competent knowledge of  
how *not* to find her: & generally  
with their want of *practical* capacity  
how to set about an object -

[I have been deluged with their papers:  
& have had at different times voluminous  
corresponde with several of them - All,

Doctor & all, have yet to learn what *is* a  
Nurse.]

Without you, there is no *salvation* for them -  
OF COURSE one wishes (not well but) the  
*best*, the *very best* to such an object -  
[[ I entirely agree with you that "in laying  
"down from the first a carefully formed  
"scheme & working it out step by step,"  
but from a SMALL BEGINNING, all "success"

must arise.]]

2. Yes: I know the *Westr Hospl* scheme - Sir R. Alcock wrote the letter in the "Times" signed by the Duke of Westminster: & did it merely because Christine Nilson had offered them a Concert - He knows nothing of any real plan, as the *workers* told me.  
 {When Westminster Hospl ~~was~~/shall be organized so as to be fit for a Training School, (which it certainly is not at present,) under the two Miss Merryweathers, we had intended to pay for the *training* of DISTRICT Sick Nurses as a part of their work & ours: (as we do at St. Thomas' for *Hospl* nurses.)] Sir R. Alcock's

very vague letter ~~merely~~/only speaks of "private" Nursing, as you will have observed -

I merely mention this - because you allude to it.

3. About *organizing District Nursing* for the Sick poor in London: as you have so nobly done at *Liverpool*:

Is there any advantage in a *Central Society* beyond a certain power of getting money - in so vast a place as London?

Is there any *administrative* advantage? And are there not very serious objections - which are avoided by *local* organization?

Is it not "putting the cart before the horse"?

4. "Presenting to the public a *map of the work* to be done" Yes: most useful: if ~~it~~ as a *Sermon* as it were:

but not as a plan to be worked out -

Would not that be doing the very reverse of what you so wisely did at *Liverpool*?

4a.

At such a place as *Liverpool* the advantage is: that there is an 'esprit de corps', or rather 'de ville': the leading men know each other: or perhaps rather one man can lead:

the place is not too large for a *general superintendence*

emanating from a *centre*: & influencing local  
superintendencies: & providing them with means

Is there anything of the sort in *London*?

is there not the very reverse of these conditions?

is there any *part* of London of the size of Liverpool

or indeed of any size where *any* common

'*esprit*' rules?

do the Clergy combine in their Schools for any

X practical purpose except to prevent others

from teaching better?

what fulcrum is there for any Organization to

compare with your Nursing Organization at Liverpool?

{page missing?}

E.g.

- 5 c Imagine a *Central Power* - ~~{illeg illeg  
illeg illeg illeg illeg}~~ controlling & directing  
our operations at St. Thomas': or those at  
Westminster? Is it not as certain as  
anything can be that they would *drag down*  
the standard of *training* instead of raising it?  
the *inexperienced* controlling & "superintending"  
the experienced?
- 5 d E. g. again  
would not the only result of our furnishing ~~{illeg}~~  
a *Central Institution* with TRAINED NURSES

be: that they would be dragged down *to the level*  
*of the rest?* { I have asked several experienced men this:  
& they were all of this opinion.

6. Suppose the *Central Society* started:  
I take for granted that they would get *money*  
I feel sure that many, who knew little or  
nothing of the difficulties of the subject, would  
give:  
they are started then with money and  
a *plan*:  
[just what you have always so wisely said  
is: 'putting the cart before the horse':]  
they have no *Nurses*: not one:  
Soon they are obliged to show something in return for  
their *money*:  
by this time they have found the difficulty  
~~which experienced people like yourself could  
have told them before hand of getting Nurses:~~  
at the end of a year they have perhaps  
nothing to shew but e.g. the *Westminster plan*:  
they advertise for *Nurses*: they get together a quantity  
of useless ignorant women (as has always been done in  
time of War) - not one of the *Society* knowing

what a 'trained' or qualified Nurse is:  
And so the last state is worse than the first  
(for they have dragged down the whole *standard of Nursing*

Did not you, in your most successful  
experiment, do the very reverse of all this?  
6 a. ~~{illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg  
illeg St. illeg Hospital illeg illeg (illeg Miss  
Mary Jones' time.)}~~

Why cannot they train *District Nurses* at  
(say) *Charing Cross Hospital*? & make a beginning there?  
nursing the *Strand district*?

[that would be beginning with a 'horse' to draw their  
'cart']

-5-

6 b N.B. The way they set about their work was this:  
they sent round a Circular of Questions to  
*all the Training Schools*.

Of these, two thirds had not been in existence  
a year & two thirds had *not a Trained Nurse*  
among them -

7. "For want of a suggestive plan much of  
"willing assistance is never given."

True: but the plan may be *locally* organized  
*Must* it not be *locally* organized?

'*The plan & "map of work"*' - - is it not good  
only as a thing *to be done gradually by local means*?

7a. I cannot but think that the smaller place -  
*Liverpool*, has enormous advantages over  
*London* for many reasons besides  
those referred to above -

{in the margin beside this following paragraph:}  
{illeg Mr. Whitaker ?}

[N.B. There is no influence of any *single* man  
in *London* or of any *Society* or *combination* of  
men not even of the Cabinet or House of  
Commons: in a LOCAL sense: to be  
compared with *yours at Liverpool*]

7 b *Sir E. Lechmere's* proclivities about the "Order  
of "St. John of Jerusalem" are well known & much  
laughed at by sensible London men -

Such might unite with him in spite of  
his "Order": or they might give money in the  
general ignorance which reigns about Nursing.

But it would be a decided hindrance to  
sensible men *co-operating*: this, the "Order"  
nonsense.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

656

[The tremendous failure of the *Johanniter*  
in the Franco-Prussian War has much increased  
this feeling.]

These are the things which occur to me: & which  
I try to submit to you for your greater wisdom  
& experience: excuse my ragged criticism  
ragged in writing, *not* in *thought* -  
If I had more time, I could have submitted it to  
you more connectedly  
[I will return your printed paper on Monday.]

-6-

P.S.

I am overwhelmed with business -  
Such a revolution in our favour (*Indian Irrigation*)  
as Lord Salisbury nailing his colours to the mast  
in the House of Lords on Tuesday  
I had never dared to hope  
*I trust that you mean to vote our "forty millions"*  
*in the Ho: of Commons -*

Pray believe me  
dear Mr. Rathbone  
ever yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

3. [It is a great strain upon the energy of people, so overworked as you & I are, & without an oz. of spare strength to fall back upon, as is my case but I hope not yours: to waste any part of it in (not doing our *positive* work, but) in the *negative* tho' much more exhausting task of preventing as we believe a false step.

But if must be must:  
and I go on to ~~do~~/try what you ask because you ask it:]

IS NOT THE FUNDAMENTAL DEFECT running through

the whole of the Observations of the Printed Memda.,

Reports, papers &c of this 'St. John of Jerusalem' Committee that they *entirely* ignore the *difficulties* of providing *Trained Nurses?*

Does not the 'report' of the committee shew an utter ignorance not only of what has been done hitherto to provide the *means of training* - but also - & *yet more* - of the *organization* &c necessary to establish a *School* &c to *train* skilled *Nurses* fitted for the object?

The N. Fund School has now been established 14 years: & has not yet found itself in a position to supply the demand for *Trained Nurses for Hospitals* & *Infirmaries* [The N.F. is *solely*, for the "Sick Poor"]

Besides St. Thomas'', - - there are King's Coll: & Charing X (which afford training to *St. John's House*): & University Coll: (to *All Saints*): & these Hospitals afford instruction & training of a more or less systematic, tho' far from perfect kind.

Something has been done at Middlesex: & recently in connection with the *Brit: Nursing Assn*, at the Royal Free: a beginning is about to be made under difficult

Derbyshire Co Record Office 658  
circumstances at *Westminster Hosp*: under Miss  
Merryweather:

but can it be said that, at any of the 3 last mentioned,  
anything like an *organized* system of *instruction &*  
*training* is as yet afforded?

St. Bartholomew's, Guy's, the London - - - do these afford any  
real means of *training* at all?

[N.B. It has always been our idea, in the N. Fund,  
that it should eventually afford the means of  
*training Nurses* to be employed among the "Sick Poor"  
at their own HOMES

that this object was the *final & paramount* object to be attained.

-5-

but we considered - & certainly have been entirely borne  
out by all experience -

that the way to attain this object was to begin at the  
fountain-head:

to reform the *Nursing system* of *Hospitals*  
where alone *Nurses* could be *trained*

& that, until that end was sufficiently attained,

so that every *Hospital & Workhouse Infirmary*

or, at any rate, most large *Hospitals*,

had brought themselves into the position of

(1) having a *trained & Skilled Staff* with proper  
*organization* for their own *Nursing*: & then

(2) of being able to *train others*:

it would be premature & almost useless

to attempt the next step of training *Nurses*

for service among the *Poor* at their *own Homes*.]

Are there not a considerable number of so called

*Training Institutions & Homes*:

- a list of which is contained in the *Committee's Report* -

- but the greater part of wh: have no pretence

at all to the name of *Training Institutions*?

And does not the fact of a *Series of Questions*

having been addressed to *all* without discrimination,

- with a view to elicit facts & information usefully  
bearing on the subject -

shew the *Committee's* want of knowledge of the

*existing state* of things? of the ground they have

to *know before* they can lay it out?

~~The~~ experience of the *real Training Institutions* already existing: what does it show?

Does it not show

(1) that they do not afford the means of providing *Nurses for the Sick poor* in any considerable numbers, if at all in an efficient way:

& that therefore on that ground *alone* the

beginning ought to be made upon a *small scale*?

(2)

that the proposal of the printed Memo to "select women, & *get them trained* at the *various London Hospitals* is *quite impracticable*: & will result in utter failure?

(3)

that any *Central authority* or Committee would be quite incompetent to "select" the proper women for training: [they might be *agents*, as you suggested, especially in country towns, to *make known* the thing to ~~illeg~~/good country young women, & to make *them* known to the London & other *Training Institutions* with great advantage]

-6-

(4) that the *means of training* are not to be found in this *hap-hazard* way proposed?

4. Should not the plan adopted in *Liverpool* be taken (with modifications) as a Model to begin upon?       

[No reference is made to *this* in the Memo or Report or any of the printed papers of the Socy.

If they had lived in Noah's time after the Deluge could they have begun more *table rase*?]

Let the Committee *give us a sketch* of the *Liverpool* plan

Derbyshire Co Record Office 660

[have they been even down to inspect it?] xx

- a Training Institution  
attached to a Hospital  
which undertakes to provide Nurses  
especially for Service among the Sick poor  
at their own Homes
- the town mapped out into Nursing Districts
- ? a local Committee in each District, guaranteeing salary  
to Nurse?

Note

xx tho' the *Liverpool Training School*, is mentioned as one of the places to wh: the Comm: sent questions: actually *no account of this the most successful experiment in Europe is given.*]

- a Supt (Matron of Training Institution)? & Assistant  
selecting, training, supervising Nurses  
& inspecting their work
- a District Lady Visitor ~~or Supt~~ under her  
~~? selecting cases~~ & generally watching over District  
& ~~assisting~~ Nurses

to each District a Local Lady Supt  
responsible for finding Medical Comforts:  
? selecting cases:

in communication with ? District Committee, Medical  
Officers & persons locally interested  
assisting & directing Nurse

In *Liverpool* is not the sphere of work such  
that the Supt (with the General Visiting Lady)  
can know & supervise all the Nurses -  
She has moreover herself had them all under her,  
while training

the Managers are all known to each other  
& to the inhabitants generally  
there is a certain community of action & mutual  
confidence

But with all this it is stated (by Managers themselves)  
is it not?

that many/some of the Nurses are inefficient

- that they are insufficiently overlooked
- that every thing depends upon what the District *Local Lady Supt* is -  
~~that~~ where she does not know what *Nursing* is: ~~that~~  
the *Nurse* degenerates into a mere *doler-out* of the  
*Charitable relief* provided by the *local Supt* & others  
that some Managers would in consequence prefer the  
Elberfeld system: where the *Nurse* is sent as one  
of the *means* of relief: not as *giving* the relief  
that the *General Supt* sometimes does "more harm than good  
"by interfering":  
& sometimes "comes into collision" with the best *Local  
Lady Supts*.

Are not these difficulties  
certain to be *greatly*  
*aggravated* the wider the sphere of action  
the more numerous the *Nurses* under *one Head*  
the greater the separation  
& the less intimate the knowledge between the  
*Central Ctee* & the *District Workers*?  
[how many *Local Lady Supts* do you suppose we shall find  
in London who do "know what *Nursing* is": who are  
capable of raising the *Nursing* above mere *alms=giving*?  
in a few *Sisterhoods*, yes:  
where there are *men's committees*, no: except where one of  
the men happens to be Secretary of a real *Training Institution*]  
5. Does a *CENTRAL ASSOCIATION* for *London* afford  
any advantages in an *administrative* point of view?  
does it not afford many grave sources of  
weakness?  
Is not the only useful purpose which a  
*Central Association* may eventually serve  
to collect *money* from a wider sphere?  
And would not this be a positive cause of danger  
*at the outset*? except as you propose they ~~refusing~~/refuse  
to accept any money *till* they can *provide the  
Nurses*?

But - ~~Even so~~, had they not better see FIRST  
whether & how soon they CAN provide the  
Nurses?

6. So far as the work is concerned,  
does any given District require aid from a  
Central source?  
is it not eminently a local work, requiring  
local effort & local supervision from beginning  
to end?  
Must not the work from the difficulty of  
obtaining Trained Nurses & Trained Supervision

-8-

begin from small beginnings:  
& advance step by step even within any given  
district? much more among 3 millions  
of people?  
Having started a Central Association, is there not  
at once great pressure to do something that will  
make a show - to attempt much more than  
means exist of carrying on efficiently -  
- to employ ill-selected, inefficient instruments  
- ignorant & untried Nurses - inexperienced &  
unpractical Superintendts-:-& the result - for a time  
bad work: & then failure?

7. May we not add that - given the  
organization & the Nurses - the proper application  
of the Nurse's services for the real benefit of the  
sick poor is not so simple as the Commtee seem  
to think?  
Have they consulted you about this?  
To benefit the poor in the highest degree ~~it~~/should not  
the calling of Nurse ~~should~~ be such that trained Nurses  
should be able eventually to gain an independent livelihood  
by working among the poor so that the demand  
may of itself create the supply?  
Will not charitable aid, unless judiciously applied, in  
the long run defeat this object as it has done  
to some extent with regard to Medical attendance?  
Should not the endeavour be  
- to provide Trained Nurses  
- to start them by sufficient aid in the first  
instance under such restrictions as will ensure  
their services to the poor:  
- & at the same time draw from the poor who  
employ them something towards their support?

Derbyshire Co Record Office 663

-gradually as the real value of the Nurses becomes known to lend to this: that the poor who employ them may contribute a considerable, if not wholly adequate amount of remuneration?

To arrive at anything like this result - would not much discretion & local knowledge & very careful supervision on the part of the Managers be required?

would not the sense of responsibility be much, in a huge place like London weakened by dependence upon a Central support -

-9-

& the tendency of the Nurse to rely upon the Association & not upon her own efforts be thereby greatly increased?

It would be like uniting 60 Liverpools under one Head or Governing Body:

& saying:

we will manage these 60 by the Management which did for ONE?

8. If the promoters of a Central Association want to do something at once:

would not by far the best thing they can do be: to convert some existing Hospital or Infirmary into an efficient Training Institution for Nurses to be employed among the sick poor at their own homes?

Are there not several *Hospitals* largely dependent upon voluntary contributions - and according to their own accounts in a chronic state of insolvency -

- say *the London*, or *St. Mary's*, or *Westminster*, or *Middlesex* -

[but ~~or perhaps~~ a *WORKHOUSE Infirmary* would

best afford the field: or *one field*:]

- could not an *Association* be found in conjunction with & part of the governing body of the *Hospital* -

[- i.e. widen the composition of the governing body & the objects of the *Institution* so as to include the *Training Institution*]

*introduce the reforms* necessary to establish a *proper Training Institution*: consulting of course the *experience of others*:

- appeal to the Public for funds to support the *Training Institution*: & thus add to the Funds of the *Hospital* a sufficient sum say to defray the whole or part of the cost of the *Nursing Staff*

- this to be the inducement to the *Hospital Governors* to join in the movement

-but let there be but one *Governing body* for the whole.

-then after having established your *School* & *trained your Nurses* offer to provide *Nurses* ~~for~~ any *local Association*, that may establish itself with a *proper organization*, for supplying *District Nurses* for the poor at their own *Homes*:

-beginning as an experiment with the *neighbourhood of the Hospital* itself under the direction of the *Supt*: and let this be the adjunct of the *School* for giving the absolutely essential experience xx in *Home Nursing*: & also a *model* for others to follow.

xx N.B. It need scarcely be shown that no *Institution*

Derbyshire Co Record Office 665  
LRO Rathbone 610 6/12 initialed letter, 2ff, pencil black-edged

"Nurses for the Sick Poor" AT HOME  
35 South St.

Dear Mr. Rathbone Park Lane

After I had sent you my W.  
far too long letter, it occurred 17/6/74  
to me that a point, which you & I equally  
think of importance, had not been made  
clear, altho' (much too) lengthily mentioned by me.

*It is this:*  
These people, while pointing out that there is

*no Institution for nursing the sick poor, (AT HOME  
they mean, I suppose:) depend upon  
Institutions for sending them at once  
a sufficient supply of Nurses for  
nursing the sick poor at home -*

*Was there ever such a non-sequitur?*

*-Even had we trained Nurses ad libitum  
to give, away, like bottles on a Druggist's shelf,  
instead of just the reverse:*

we should reply - (and I am sure all  
HONEST Institutions would:)

we must select among our best Nurses:

& give them a *supplementary course of  
instructions & experience - & of testing -  
by the poor bed side at home:*

{the following 3 lines have vertical lines drawn through them}  
which you by your own shewing have  
shown *not* to exist:

& which we have at present *no*

*organization to give:*

before we should dare to ~~recommend~~/supply  
you with *District Nurses for the poor* at

hom  
e  
{th  
e  
par  
a.  
enc  
los  
ed  
by  
dou  
ble  
lin  
es  
is  
ins  
ert  
ed

Derbyshire Co Record Office

666

her

e}

But things are worse than this: for we have to create NURSES.

N.B. [F.N. for her part believes: as to *moral*

qualities: that the *highest* class of woman -

- higher than the women for *Hospital* Nursing -

- much higher than women for *Rich* Nursing

is required for DISTRICT *Nursing* -]

And some people hold this so strongly that

{religious}

they say none but 'Sisters' {ladies } can do it.  
(in which F.N. does not agree.)]

Forgive me this Codicil:

it was necessary to point out that these people

- affirm

~~state~~ a non-existence

- look to this non-existence for supply

& suggest no other means of supply.

yrs

F.N./P. Turn over

P.S.

It is well known that large Institutions do not turn out fit servants for small & especially for poor families.

Why?

Because large Institutions have all sorts of mechanical contrivances to save personal labour:

- large cooking ranges

- washing by steam &c &c &c

I know no place where this very obvious principle applies so much as in large Hospitals:

& even, tho' to a lesser degree, in Workhouse Infirmaries:

where every kind of Surgical & Medical appliance is furnished ready to hand -

We always gave our Midwifery Nurses

a course by the poor HOME lying-in woman's bed side

We should do the same with the Hospital Nurse:

to fit her for Home Nursing of the poor where no

yrs sincerely kind of appliance

F.N. is to be had.

---

N.B.

The Nurses for the sick poor at home do not exist:

the 'St. John of J.' say they do not: but

they suggest no way of causing them to exist: except a

Public Meeting and a Committee

Derbyshire Co Record Office 668  
LRO Rathbone 610 6/13 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

Liverpool & 35 South St.  
Ladies Park Lane W.  
June 27/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I try to answer your letter, because you  
bid me answer, before Monday.  
How I wish that I could offer you any  
more efficient suggestions!

[13:654-55]

1. With regard to Miss Lees:

I can only say: have her if you can.  
I have scarcely one more eager wish on

earth at this moment that that

she should be settled; & very soon: as  
Head of a Hospital Training=School: practically to  
carry out what she advises & writes.

And I know of no one who has had such  
training & such gifts conferred upon her  
for such a post -

[If she puts off going into actual harness much  
longer, it may be too late to put it on at all.]

At the same time I think that her true calling  
would be: to found a Training School  
in the busiest *London General Hospital*  
where there are the most severe cases,  
accidents & operations: where there is a large  
Professional and Medical School: & where she can  
show us how to train nurses & "Training=  
=Nurses" to the highest pitch of perfection.

[I think this would suit her better than a  
*Workhouse Infirmary*: (our London 'Sick  
Asylums' send the Operations to St. Thomas':)

- or than superintending District Nurses: ~~tho'~~  
which requires, does it not? something of the Missionary superadded to the

Matron:

but, should St. John of J. employ her in the way

Derbyshire Co Record Office 669

above mentioned, District Nurse=training &  
District Nursing might most easily ~~be~~ & well  
be attached to the same Hospital under her.]

2. After reading & re-reading your letter,  
I cannot feel that we could recommend  
Miss Pringle to do what you want. Her  
peculiar & great qualifications are scarcely  
suited to the work you describe.  
But as you are aware she is engaged

-2-

till Christmas at Edinburgh:

and if by that time you have not  
found such a lady as will suit ~~you~~/your work,  
the questions can again be reconsidered.

We will not offer her any engagement,  
(& she will not take any but what we offer,)  
without previously referring to you: or  
without informing her of your Liverpool  
proposal. [She is so truly sensible that I

should not hesitate to sound her at once  
about Liverpool but that I believe it  
would rather have the contrary effect to that of  
forwarding your wishes.

3. I enclose a letter from Miss Myles: of course  
you know these two ladies: a great deal  
better than I: herself & sister.

Is it possible that with some months'  
initiation from Miss Merryweather they  
might undertake the post?

x Do you think that by far the  
*safest* plan would be: to instal some  
lady ~~who~~/{having previously had some connection with  
Liverpool Nursing Work) after ~~the~~ your  
present Lady Supt had *put herself into the way*?

This has always been my idea.

4. And also: that one of the ladies ~~now~~ first  
under consideration might ~~do~~/drive better  
than any one else: but might also  
upset the coach - And that neither of those  
first mentioned, tho' of the most opposite  
characters, is at all ~~likely~~/certain to carry out a  
plan, (while improving upon it,) laid down for ~~them~~/her  
{last line is cut off}

Derbyshire Co Record Office 670  
I hope that Thursday's Meeting at Willis',  
& Friday's Meeting at your house, tho'  
you do not mention them, did much  
good & no harm.

And pray believe me  
dear Mr. Rathbone  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

Wm Rathbone Esq MP.

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/14 initialed letter, 1f, pencil black-edged

in haste not to keep your 29/6/74  
Messenger

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I had written the enclosed ~~note~~  
before your kind ~~let~~ note came.

I have no knowledge of the Miss Myles  
to say that they are not "dangerously inefficient"  
- I entirely agree with you about the "severe  
professional ideal" - yrs gratefully

F.N.

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/15 unsigned letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Private 35 South St  
Park Lane W

Miss Lees July 6/74

**[13:733-34]**

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think that it would be the 'making'  
of Miss Lees if she could be the Secretary  
of the Sub-Comm: for this year: & then  
become Lady Supt to a Training Hospital  
&c in London for ~~them~~/the Association.

In zeal, ability, thorough knowledge  
she would make a first rate Secretary:

Derbyshire Co Record Office 671

We do not know how far she may have the tact necessary - especially with women on the Committee

The very great advantage in having her services would be to conduct an enquiry into the present means of training:

the very great danger being, as you are aware, that such an enquiry will prove abortive, unless taken up by some one who understands the matter:

And she is *the only person who does* -

The enquiry must of course be made in the spirit of finding out capabilities - & not only of criticizing & pointing out defects.

But no Medical men & hardly any ladies really know the essential necessity of organization & trained female Supe in training. [One great lady on the Assn evidently is going to urge the merely sending women to be trained at any Hospital, organized or not, which will

take them in]

We entirely agree with you that the Sub Committee should endeavour to impress the need of a Training *Hospital* with requisite adjuncts -

leaving the discussion of scheme for employment of Nurses - registration of Nurses - pensions &c

to the *future*

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/16 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

*Liverpool*  
*Letter to Mr. Gibbon*

35 South St  
Park Lane W  
July 12/74

**[13:265]**

Dear Mr. Rathbone

It is so important not to commit you without a *reasonable* certainty that I took farther advice upon this.

We think that, if you write upon your own standing point, you can of course write what you think best, but that, if you

have it endorsed by us, we could not quite certify what you here write to Mr. Gibbon. We are most gratefully anxious to do what we can for you & Liverpool: we think that you may arrange with Mr. Gibbon & your Committee: but we can only say that we will do our best, but can at present not ensure either Miss Pringle's or Miss Williams' acceptance

That Miss Williams should take it I believe that I wish - (unless you can find something/body better with more connection with Liverpool) almost more than you do yourself.

But she has shown a strong desire to remain in company with Miss Pringle: And as to Miss Pringle the more I think of it the more I believe that she neither could not would run alone in your Liverpool post.

We are of course strongly bound to the Edinburgh Committee who have stood by us manfully in ~~the~~ what seemed

at first almost insuperable difficulties.

In answer to a former question of yours: I do not think that it would further the cause your going to Edinbro' & seeing Miss P. & Miss W.

You may depend upon me that I am as anxious as you are that your work at Liverpool should have the very best head that can be found -  
in haste ever yrs gratefully

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 673  
LRO Rathbone 610 6/17 unsigned letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

Natl Nursing Assn 35 South St  
Park Lane W  
Dec 12/74  
6 a.m.

[13:735]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have received your long & kind letter:  
& since that Mr. Guyton's Map & some  
valuable information from him.

Miss Lees had engaged herself to come  
here to-day to stay till Monday, when she  
goes to H. Bonham Carter's: then perhaps to  
return here -

I can better answer your letter when  
I have had some talk with her.  
I cannot express my feeling of the importance  
of the work you are doing.

I am quite sure that it is the first real  
knowledge that I or any one has had  
as to whether London is not nursed at all:  
or as some have said over-nursed.

Till people know the ABC of this question,  
no systematic work of any importance can be  
done.

With regard to Miss Lees, I have said for years to  
her what is the principle of your letter:

*barring* your munificent proposal which of  
course I did not know.

I said it again to her in writing at great  
length last week.

I still think that with her great abilities &  
thorough training no one would work  
like her if once started.

But I think her very much deteriorated by  
her platform=ing tour in America: {as I told her  
{plainly she  
{would be -

And in another year I think it would be too  
late.

I will write more definitely as to your noble

Derbyshire Co Record Office 674  
proposal after I have seen her.

I am much pressed by Indian work which they tell me must be ready by the New Year.

A thousand thanks for the flowering plants - I am quite ashamed of your continuing your bounty. (in haste)

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

I should think it an immense honour, if I were Miss Lees, to initiate such a work as you have laid the first real ~~sleepers~~/machinery {in another hand} in

London.

-2-

May I add two things: perhaps better said before I see Miss Lees - is it not of the utmost importance that she should herself see some of the *District Nurses at work*? What *they* call a Trained Nurse may be very different from what *we* call a Trained Nurse. At all events, she should see. [And if the Nursing is very bad, nothing is so likely to raise her enthusiasm to make it better].

Please let me ask:

is it necessary at the present stage to decide that she is to be the person to take charge of the Hospital *in nubibus*? Let her show at least that she

can do this work (of *enquiring & reporting thoroughly*) which she has undertaken.

is it not of the utmost importance that the *preliminary* work should be *patiently & thoroughly* done? i.e. by *personal* inspection which a *man* cannot do, & observation.

If she is fit for the further work, it is more likely to arise out of this than in any other way.

But come how it may, the opportunity will have to be taken advantage of with tact & discretion - opposition encountered - compromises made for the sake of making a beginning.

And she has as yet done little or nothing

Derbyshire Co Record Office

675

"in evidence" to prove her possession of the qualities requisite for such a position -

Is it possible to be yet discussing "an offer to the Committee" of the nature you mention, "either contingent upon her accepting the post" or otherwise?

But I see no harm in my speaking of your plan to her as an object to be attained & worked up to.

[I doubt whether any considerable London Hospital would be willing to put her in authority upon her present "testimonials".

A poor one might, if she were backed by a large sum of money.

But then the money (if it is to be had) would be for the District Nursing & Training: & not for the Hospital].

This is how it strikes me at present.

F.N.

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/18 incomplete letter, 4ff, pencil [13:739-40]

*Liverpool District Nursing*

35 South St.

April 5/75

Dear Mr. Rathbone

(1) I return with many thanks Miss Howarth's letter which you were so good as to leave with me:

I ask permission to keep the *District Nurses'* papers (which are very instructive) a little longer, as I meant to return them to you with a few deductions: which I have not yet had power to write out.

[Indeed I have been so ill that much of my corresponde remains even unopened: a thing which has

not happened to me since 1855.]

(2) I re-inclose the printed *Statistical Table*:

it is the most important document I have seen at all relating to the subject of *District Nursing*.

[Of course you put this into the hands of Miss Lees when she made her Liverpool visitings]

It is also most important read in connection with the Distt Nurses' papers.

Its revelations are extraordinary; & by me quite unexpected.

*Please return me this Table: & AS MANY*

MORE AS YOU CAN SEND ME - *please send me*

I do not see that it can be of much use to Mr. Greg: this in answer to your question: except as showing

1. the *extreme severity of the cases nursed by the District Nurses*

2. the inevitable consequence: viz. that you might employ 10 times the number of NURSING

-2-

Nurses REALLY TO NURSE - & that the

*cases would find almost more than that with full NURSING occupation (besides any other women you*

might employ for *cooking & relieving -*

The Dist Nurses' own papers show that while these women are most valuable & indispensable, they are far more of *cooks, - relieving & other Officers for relief, - letter writers, District Visitors &c &c than Nurses: do you*

Derbyshire Co Record Office

677

not think so?)

I confess myself completely at a loss  
to understand a letter which I have  
seen of Miss Lees

in which she says that she has become  
convinced that there is *not enough* to  
do

for Distt Nurses, when cases have  
been removed to Hospital &c !!!

Your printed sheet shows exactly the  
contrary -

It shows ENOUGH TO DO *to employ fully a large  
Staff of HOSPITAL TRAINED NURSES - TO NURSE (& alone  
to nurse) in Districts, - a larger Staff than  
we had any conception of.*

Only think what the cases must be  
when after weeding them into Hospital  
& Workhouse the *Death-rate* is  
*153 per 1000!*

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/19 signed letter, 6ff, pen & pencil **[13:740-42]**

*Draft Report of the M.N. Assn: {District}*

*{Nursing } 35 South St.*

*Park Lane W.*

*April 19/75*

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think it better to send this whole packet  
to you, (instead of to Mr. Percy Greg: as I was  
desired).

You are the real founder & Pioneer of District  
Nursing: to you we owe an immense debt  
of gratitude for this. And nothing ought  
to go into the Draft Report but what you  
approve: altho' you are generously & magnanimously  
desirous to stand aloof: as to passing judgment.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 678

I send then the copy of *Draft Report* (which was sent me) with notes on margin, & 3 Riders in H. Bonham Carter's hand, ~~founded~~/to carry out 5½ sheets of Notes, (which perhaps I ought also to enclose:

Perhaps you will return me these last some time.] I have no time to copy them]

H.B.C. will supply something additional  
*Please supply Dr. Trench's Table: Report Lpool 1873*  
(mentioned in *Rider A. p. 16*) for *insertion in Appendix* if you approve -

I should also *print in Appendix* your *New Form for Registering CASES: registry* is so very important.  
*Liverpool District Nurses*

I also return in another Envelope the whole of the *Liverpool Dist Nurses' papers* ('states') which you were so kind as to leave with me for remarks; with remarks as you desired. & 4 sheets of Abstract:

I am very sorry that I have not time to make a summary: but, if you will return me the whole, I will. I do not like now to keep them any longer; really interesting & instructive documents as they are -  
The impression they leave upon one is

1. that of *good women*: = most *valuable & essential*
2. in *some instances* that they do *everything except nurse*: what they do being *indis=*  
=pensible -

[Please, look particularly at 13 & 17]

Forgive me this very rough scrawl:  
& very rough remarks  
You have your Meeting on Friday for the N.N. I must not delay any longer: in great haste

Believe me to be  
Yours ever truly & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

I also return *Mrs. Farrell's letter* }  
with some remarks, as you desired }

Derbyshire Co Record Office 679

Nurse 1 B x 40 Cases

visits 24, 27, & 30 cases a day:

This must be the merest "visiting" indeed,  
with smallest admixture of Nursing  
but the "one Case dressed"

A "giver out of Meat"

& Relief Giver to all but two

Nurse 2 x 24 5 daily dressings

3 days a week "cooking days"

2 "general visiting days"

seeing to the "wants of the poor" ? sick

giving bedding

baby clothes

how much is flannel singlets & shirts to poor men going

Nurse's work? into Hospl

Central Relief & Ladies' Charity notes

& notes for Dispensing Doctors

sees to Parish Relief for poor widows &

aged poor ? sick

Nurse 5 x

3 cooking days a week till 1 p.m.

4 Cases daily (2 poulticing

2 bedmaking

2 days sees ALL her Patients

"has to be where she can" gets Central Relief

"My "good Ladies give money".

lends Bedding & sees that it is returned

Derbyshire Co Record Office

680

Nurse 3 x

38 P.

(12 Fever: 2 women to help:

all cooked for at Nurse's house

[how much better to have a Home]

9 to Fever Hospl

1 died

8 recovered

20 left (11 nursed & dressed daily

(2 *Fever*

2 Ulcerated Legs

1 Abscess in hind Surgical Accident

1 Stroke

1 Bronchitis

1 Inflammation of Knee

1 Asthma

2 *Childbed* (one with a rupture

11

Some

Patients come to her own house & eat there

Sees & reports to & gets orders/information from Dispensary Doctors:

visits with things

"according to Doctors' orders

"persons apply for Ladies Charity notes, Central Relief, various other

kinds of

relief

removing Cases to Hospl: takes a great deal of time

often has to attend Parish Board or see Relieving Officer

send Reports for Disinfection

clean Beds attended to

gets destitute children into Schools & Shops

Nurse 9A & B x 46 Cases

Of which only one she appears to have *nursed*

Nurse 10 & 11 x 44

This woman "takes notice of" fractured legs & gives

"advice upon them"

& "sees *Fever* Cases"

& talks more like a Consulting Physician &

Surgeon than anything else

She has an "Assistant Nurse"

Derbyshire Co Record Office 681

Nurse 13 x 34 Patients  
" 17 x 42 (8 daily  
twice a week 26 2 or 3 times a week  
daily food given out 9-10 a.m.  
cooks 3 days a week  
13 "great part of her time taken up" in obtaining Parish relief  
17 in procuring notes for Central R. Society " " Admission to  
Hospitals  
admissions into Convalesct Instns (providing linen  
for these  
" Dispensary  
sending for Ministers " writing letters for them  
at Patient's request " acknowledging P.O. orders  
weekly from Charitable  
Clients  
" finding employment for  
recovered  
& for their friends  
"not coming under head of Nursing"  
{She may well say this]

Nurse 16 x 1 morning with Lady Supt  
1 afternoon paying Bills & ordering things  
lends & enters Linen  
Sees Doctors about Patients to Infy or Workh: &c  
& goes with the Patients  
makes one Patient's bed  
visits & rejects unsuitable Patients

Nurse 14 x 22 Cases visits "nearly all" 3 days ~~4~~ days/a week  
dresses 8 daily

how many cooks 3 days a week 1 baby to wash  
can she nurse? goes to Supt one day

{1 day makes up accts withdls  
{2 days sees Drs for worse  
Nurse 4 x 21 cooks for all 3 days a week {cases & visits "all the  
others

"very bad *confinement* case with inflammation  
? peritonitis  
2 hours daily very bad *Scarlet Fever* case !!!!  
has "to attend Parish Board"} 1 Paralysis makes bed for 2 Debility  
takes up her time. } 1 very bad leg  
1 Abscess sees Dr. for "very bad  
Inflammation case"

Derbyshire Co Record Office 682  
Nurse 7 x 58 Cases 10 cases daily  
cooks for 56

{Wednesday

{Monday	visits 26	nourishment to all	2 dressings
Tues	10		daily
Thurs	20		
Friday	10	milk to 46	
		B. Tea 10 or 40	
		Rice Milk 40	

meets Parish Doctor  
goes to Parish Office to get relief  
supplies Air Pillow  
prepares Patients for Convalescent Home  
how is it possible to visit "10 worst cases daily"  
"in edition to &c &c" & do any real Nursing to any of  
the 10?

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/20 signed letter, 2ff, pen **[13:749]**

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone Feb 23/76

I am sure that you will be pleased to find what  
a good start Miss Lees has made in initiating,  
herself, into District work the Nurses.

[Our people (from St. Thomas') say that 6  
weeks with her is worth to them a year's training -  
she knows so exactly what to do in each wretched  
case; & how to do it: & how to show them how to do it]

Miss Lees feels, as we all do - & who so much  
as I? - that we owe this first-rate start  
in a great undertaking entirely to you.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 683

She is very far from well: overworked & worried  
& needs a holiday very much, which she is  
very unwilling to take

We want her to go for a few days next week  
to the sea NOT to her home: & then to take a good fortnight's  
holiday (I prescribe Boulogne or Dieppe)  
the first fortnight in April.

This last she is especially recalcitrant against:  
because she believes that you wish to send a  
lady to her at the end of March for a fortnight  
to see the working of the District Nursing:  
& she feels, as is indeed the case, that your  
wishes ought to be sacred to her.

Could your lady come to her after Easter  
instead of before? say April 17 or 18.

If you think well, this would give Miss Lees  
her fortnight's holiday: but I am sure  
no one but you could persuade her -

Pray believe me, dear Mr. Rathbone  
ever yours sincerely & gratefully  
1000 thanks for the } Florence Nightingale  
flowering plants: you }  
are too good to me }

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/21 signed letter, 2ff, pen

35 South St.  
Park Lane. W

Dear Mr. Rathbone Feb 21/77

I am ashamed both that you should  
have had the trouble of writing to me:  
& that I should have been so long in  
answering you -

I wrote to you, knowing that it  
was 'bad' of me to write, when you  
must be just starting from Liverpool.

And I am very grateful to you for  
the 50 copies of your Speech to the Working men=

which are most useful.

So far as I remember, the rest of my note was merely a deeply felt tribute to your honoured Father, called forth by the unveiling of his Statue.

& a short Abstract of Miss Lees' work & of her Probationers with us at St. Thomas'. & her one from our Highgate Infy: for I always look upon her work as your doing.

If I can be of any use to you about the new Manchester Workhouse Infirmary, I am, how gladly, at your service - But I think your advice much better than mine.

[13:658]

Is not your "Miss Baker" Matron of Leeds Infirmary? I have had a letter from a Mrs. Dawson, Lady Supt of "Leeds Trained Nurses' Institution ", asking for advice about London training She had much better train at Leeds' Infirmary.

[end]

The "diameter", inside, of the zinc basin "where the flowers stand," of the "basket flower stand" which you were so good as to give me is 16½ inches.

But I do really hope that you are not planning one of your too generous inventions.

Pray believe me  
ever yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office

685

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/22 signed letter, 4ff, pen, also in 47755 f3, neater,

"St. Katharine's Order for Nurses"

{printed address:} 10 South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

June 13/79

Dear Mr. Rathbone

In answer to your note,  
the results of this measure  
must be disastrous for Nurses  
must they not?

It does not reward long  
service in old Nurses: it  
does not promote training  
for young Nurses; It does  
not encourage real Nursing  
work. It may be said  
to do almost the reverse of  
all these things.

1. Had the reward of good service  
been the object might it not  
have given the annuity to a  
~~limited~~/selected number of "recommended"  
trained Nurses, who after 15  
or 12

or 20 years good hard service (I  
could name one of 19 yrs.)  
at various posts abroad & at  
home are *still in* the work  
"recommended" by their  
respective authorities.

2. Or, had the promotion of good  
training been the object,  
might not such have been  
put within the reach of  
poor Institutions? There  
are such which have Nurses  
of excellent character but  
which are too poor to have  
them properly trained. They  
send them to some Hospital  
for 3 months to come ~~in~~ into the Wards in the  
morning after everything is done.

& to leave the Wards in the afternoon before anything/evening treatment is begun, & where of course they learn nothing.

Could not something of the nature of 'Scholarships' be founded for such?

[We have no room for more Probationers: it is not for want of money that we do not take ~~such~~/more; more than at present.]

3.

Had the extension of trained Nursing among the poor sick at home - by far the most pressing want - been the object why could not Hospitals have been called upon to recommend suitable Nurses - & out of the number so recommended a certain number been allowed to volunteer for *District Nursing for 3 years*: in East London:

each to receive £50 a year & the District Home £50 a year for her: from the St. Rathbone Fund -

Two or more District Homes in the East End might thus have received a most considerable contribution of the very best kind - (a system calling "for payment & effort," as you say being promoted)

And the very best kind of hard Nursing work wd have been essentially promoted & honour done to it: by its being made a kind of reward.

[This wd have been free from the objection you mention of being connected with the "M. & N. N. Assn": because the Nurses would have come direct from the Hospitals.]

-2-

But what is the present scheme?

It gives a Nurse £50 a year on condition that she shall go to nurse "a poor or other person" at the Queen's command at a moment's notice.

Either this is nominal: that is, a sham: [and what a lesson to teach a Nurse, to give her £50 for a sham!]

Or it makes Hospital Nursing impossible.

For how can a Ward Head Nurse, Surgical or Medical, leave the Ward she is in charge of to go & nurse a "poor or other person" at any notice short of a month. [Our Ward 'Sisters' must give 3 months' notice to] leave]

Either the Hospital authorities must "recommend" to St.

Katherine only Nurses *not* fit for any of their responsible posts. Or they must pay the Queen £50 a year to let their Nurses alone.

I think the Lord Chancellor has paid St. Katherine a very poor compliment.

Should not I get out of my grave to prevent such a thing happening to St. Thomas?

Then the scheme of rewarding *individuals* while taking so very few individuals into account (only of two or three Hospitals) is: like giving a Doctor's Diploma because he belongs to a particular Hospital.

Derbyshire Co Record Office

688

It might be named an  
'Order for discouraging trained  
Hospital Nursing:'

You are so good as to ask  
my opinion.

Excuse the haste of overwork:  
& believe me  
ever most truly & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale  
Wm Rathbone Esq M.P.

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/23 signed letter, 2ff, pencil

10 South St July 22/89

Private Dear Mr. Rathbone

I should be so surprised if it were  
any one but you & I am so touched by  
your great & unceasing & wise kindness -  
& the trouble you take for poor old me -  
that I do not know how to put my  
gratitude into words -

This morning I have had a lady  
whom my sister was very anxious that I should

try writing in my room a very good hand to my dictation  
for a couple of hours - [as she cannot short  
-hand or type-write, I had her in my  
room, which is fatiguing - But she is a  
very pleasant person & well educated]  
& copies well in the British tongue -

I came to no arrangement with her.  
& she did not ask it - but is to come again  
on Thursday & as long as you want your  
Miss Jennings.

It is truly kind of you to offer her -  
And I will gladly accept your kind offer  
to lend her to me for "Wednesday", as you  
proposed, *from 11 till 2*, if that will  
suit you & her - bringing her *type-writer*  
& *short-hand* book - at any remuneration  
you please - I suppose she can also copy in English hand.

You kindly enable me thus to *judge* -  
I am most earnestly anxious to save my  
eyes & right hand which is also failing.  
- anxious were it only out of gratitude  
to you - [I should perhaps say

Derbyshire Co Record Office 689

that I found, which is, I believe, not peculiar to me, my eyes so dazzled by reading & revising & interlining my last Secretary's type-writing, & my head so tried, that it was really less fatigue sometimes to write my letters myself.]

I will thankfully see *Miss Jennings*  
- I think that was the lady you kindly offered  
- on "Wednesday" at 11.

Believe me ever yours gratefully & sincerely  
F. Nightingale

I hope I did not make you late on Saturday. You were so kind.

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/24 signed letter, 2ff, pen

Private 10 South St. Park Lane W  
August 1/89

I have again, as ever dear  
Mr. Rathbone, to thank you  
for your extreme kindness  
to me & my work -  
So engaged am I ~~on~~  
to-day "Thursday" & "Saturday" when  
you so kindly offer me  
Miss Jennings that I am  
afraid I could not spare  
the strength to dictate.

But I shall be thankful to  
have her on Tuesday, Thursday  
& Saturday, next week, & on=  
=ward

perhaps for some days,  
appointing these -  
from 11 till 1 - perhaps  
keeping her till 2.

But, dear & generous  
Mr. Rathbone, it would be  
impossible for me to ask  
for her, & thus prey upon  
you, unless you will kindly  
tell me what remuneration  
I ought to give her.

Preying upon you it is  
always, whatever happens.

~~—~~You have done indeed  
a good year's work for  
the Q.V.J. Inst. & are  
on the high road, I believe,  
to a greater success than  
any one could have  
conceived possible in so  
prickly a matter -

I will return your two  
printed Mema, which  
touch me to the heart,  
to-day or to-morrow -

ever yours truly &  
gratefully

F. Nightingale

A page would not hold

the apologies I owe you  
for sending this note  
only this morning.

F.N.

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/25 signed letter, 4ff, pen & pencil black-edged

Registration of Nurses  
Board of Trade } Feb. 24/91  
10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am exceedingly obliged  
to you for your great  
kindness in writing to me  
about this troublesome  
business.

Mr. Bonham Carter will  
not be at the Meeting at  
St. Thomas' on the 27th.  
He was to go yesterday  
to Eastbourne for his  
health.

We hope that your  
Parly duties will not  
prevent you from going

to this Meeting - And if  
you go & as you kindly  
wish it, I would ask  
you to say something  
like the following on the other page for  
me: you will put it  
so much better than I -  
Do you think you will  
be able to go to the  
Meeting?

I am interrupted

{written lengthwise on the page}  
that you know generally that I, F.N., do not think  
that a system of Registration such as  
proposed is for the benefit of the Nurses

-2-

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

I do feel like you that  
it is a sorry business  
& has taken ~~on~~ such a  
personal & party spirited  
aspect (this for *Nursing* of  
all things in the world!)  
as to be made to look  
like "rival schemes  
"quarrelling" -

Mr. Burdett who has  
not been taught to see  
the beauty of truth is  
as a friend our most  
dangerous enemy.

We do not like his

scheme, nor any scheme  
to be authorized by the Hospitals  
e.g. the difficulty will  
remain how to take off  
the name of a Nurse  
proved unworthy - If it is  
~~only~~ omitted, the Nurse will  
enquire why? ~~cc~~

The danger is, as you say,  
that Princess Christian is  
said to be using pressure  
- that the Board of Trade  
may prefer Princesses to  
Training Schools -  
that we have Mr. Burdett  
on our side.  
that it is almost impossible  
to explain to the *non-Hospital*  
public how the scheme  
will injure alike Nurses  
& the people who want good  
Nurses - by putting the  
Register between the public  
& the Training Schools - &  
between the Nurses & their  
Alma Mater -

But you know all this

& a great deal more

better than I -

I must give you joy of  
your Liverpool new Infirmary

I was sorry to hear Miss  
Stains was ill.

But I will not take up  
your precious time -

ever yours sincerely &  
gratefully

Florence Nightingale

{seven lines scribbled over follow}

Derbyshire Co Record Office 693  
LRO Rathbone 610 6/26 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Private Registration of Nurses  
Board of Trade }  
10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Feb. 25/91

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Pray forgive me for  
writing again in answer  
to your kind letter.

I understand that  
Mr. Burdett is bent  
upon bringing forward  
his scheme of a "Directory"  
for Nurses at the Meeting  
on Friday at St. Thomas'.

Mr. Wainwright, the  
Treasurer, is wisely bent  
on restricting the Meeting  
to considering the proposed

application to the Brit. Nurses'  
Assocn to the Board of Trade

The best that can be  
hoped from Mr. Burdett on Friday  
is, we are told, a "suggestion"  
that a "Committee of the  
"representatives of the  
"Training Schools should  
"be formed to consider  
"this Directory proposal  
"on its merits".

I trust that the  
Schools will be firm  
in maintaining their  
freedom -

Otherwise what you  
prophecy will but too  
certainly happen.

We shall want you very  
much at the Meeting -

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 694  
LRO Rathbone 610 6/27 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Feb. 26/91  
{printed address:} ~~10, South Street,~~  
~~Park Lane. W.~~

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Good speed to the  
Meeting at S. Thomas' -  
And may they all  
vigorously uphold  
the plain *principles*  
which you will  
advocate - and in  
which, as you know,  
I thoroughly concur  
with all my mind  
& experience, as  
essential to the

progress of Nursing  
to good, to better,  
to best -

And may every Nurse  
of us all feel:  
not exactly: "there's  
"nothing gained while  
"aught remains" to be  
gained:

but certainly:  
all is lost if we  
don't make constant  
progress the key-  
-note of ~~(British Nurses)~~  
~~(or)~~ trained Nursing.

- if we allow our present  
stage to be stereotyped  
Pray accept  
the good wishes of the  
Nurses' faithful servant  
& yours  
Florence Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 695  
LRO Rathbone **610** 6/28 unsigned letter, 2ff, pencil black-edged

Private S. Thomas' Meeting}  
Feb 26/91  
10 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

You are more than  
kind in taking so much  
trouble.

In compliance with your  
desire, I would suggest,  
~~but~~ something like the  
following, instead of  
Para. 2., p. 2,  
but subject of course entirely  
to your judgment.

2 You cannot select the good from the inferior  
Nurses by (any test or) system of examination  
~~(whatever, ex (qy except indeed by the current  
tests, examinations & observations of their  
superintendents)~~ Whatever brought them to  
consider their intellectual training as anything  
but a means to make their obedience more  
intelligent, their practical training more  
important, & their future progress in efficiency  
by the bedside more secure/certain "would only"  
down to "colleagues" 4. But most of all &  
first of all must their moral qualifications  
be made to stand per-eminent in estimation

& this even

by any *intellectual or theoretical qualifications*

All this can only be secured by the current  
supervision, tests or examinations which  
they receive in their Training School or Hospital  
- not by an examination from a foreign  
body like this - Indeed those who came off  
best in such would probably be the ready  
~~minds~~/ & forward not the best Nurses

Derbyshire Co Record Office

696

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/29 signed letter, 2ff, pencil black-edged

Meeting last Friday March 1/91

at *S. Thomas'*.

10 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

We are infinitely indebted  
to you for the success of  
Friday's Meeting, including  
the D. of Westminster's protest  
which answers some of the  
objections ~~to~~/against us of those  
who think they must "stand  
"by the daughter of the Sovereign"

[There is so much of  
cross-purpose in this world:  
it behoves us not to make them  
cross-er, but to hold , with love  
to each other, as you do, to the  
one great purpose which I do

believe inspires us all.]

I have no doubt that we  
shall be still more  
indebted to you for your  
conversation with Sir Michael  
Hicks Beach tomorrow  
night in the House - for  
after all that is the  
important thing-to move  
the Heads.

[We cannot expect to move  
*general* public opinion much,  
(other than Hospital public)  
And I believe the "Times"  
has ~~had~~/given no notice of the  
Friday's Meeting, which is a

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
pity - the more so as  
on Friday morning it put  
in a laudatory notice of  
the Brit. Nurses' Assn project  
of Register.]

697

Sir Harry Verney is keenly  
interested against Registration  
& very anxious to be of use.  
He asks me whether he  
shall write a private note  
to Sir M. Hicks Beach,  
whom I suppose he knew  
in the House. I don't like  
either preventing him or  
forwarding him ~~in this~~ (for  
fear the point should be  
missed) in this.

But, if you would & could  
add to your other great  
kindnesses & occupations,  
a brief note to me of  
what will have passed  
between you & Sir M.H. Beach  
tomorrow night - together  
with, if you think Sir Harry  
*should* write, *what* you  
think he should write -  
I should indeed be more  
grateful than ever -

ever yours most truly

F. Nightingale

Excuse scrawl

Derbyshire Co Record Office 698  
LRO Rathbone **610** 6/30 signed letter, 2ff, pencil black-edged

9/3/91

{printed address:} 10 South Street,  
Private Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I send you what you ask  
But if you are going to  
give "copies" of it, would  
you not modify what you  
say about "ignorant female  
"Doctors" p.2 -  
You will kindly remember  
that it was not I who  
said this - I was revising,  
as you told me, a  
passage for you to speak  
in your speech.

Also I think I would say,  
instead of "40 years hence,"

p. 2 -

30 years hence or 20 or  
30. This too was not  
intended for me to say  
publicly.

Also: I think there is  
too much about me.

*Confidential*

We have not reached  
the great ~~Doctors~~/"Medical opinions"  
(Doctors) whom Sir M.  
Hicks Beach wishes to  
pit against Acland,  
Paget & Dyce Duckworth

Could you reach Sir  
Andrew Clark? He is  
not for the Brit Nurses'  
Assocn -

ever yours gratefully  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office 699  
LRO Rathbone **610** 6/31 signed letter, 2ff, pencil

Monday June 13/98  
10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

You very kindly asked  
me yesterday whether I had  
anything to ask you. Yes,  
I have; but you were in a  
hurry then -

[6:578]

I wanted to ask you -  
You who are such an  
authority in these things -  
about your

District Nurses  
or

Sanitary *Missioners*

[but we must not use the  
last word in London]

We are on the very  
threshold of training here  
e.g. in teaching mothers  
how to feed infants *under two*  
Their general answer is:

"oh they have what we have"  
And it is but too true -

Doctors say that a  
*digestion under two*, if  
spoilt, never recovers itself  
thro' life - And we have  
sad testimony to this -

Do your *District Nurses*  
teach (or your Midwifery  
Nurses)  
how to feed *young* children?

Derbyshire Co Record Office

700

It is incredible what is  
given to quite young  
children by the tenderest  
mothers -

I am afraid you are  
going away tomorrow -  
And also I have an  
engagement - but if you  
are not going, I think  
I could put off mine.

Thanking you again  
& again for all the good  
you do us, ever yours  
F. Nightingale

[end 6:578]

LRO Rathbone **610** 6/32 initialed letter, 3ff, pen

Dear Mr. Rathbone  
I am obliged to write  
rather in haste -  
I enclose a note to yourself  
*as you wish it:* for  
you to *alter*, as you  
please - I think  
"British Nurses" is  
personal - & should be  
~~left out~~/exchanged for "trained Nursing"  
But I should INFINITELY  
*prefer*, if you *must*  
have a note, that this,  
or any part of it  
should come in as a  
sequitur to your quoting

me at the end of your  
first Para:

My note, & my address  
are not to be given to  
any reporter, please -  
of any kind -

And I do so dread  
being the head or tail  
of any party, or a rival  
to any one -

Make me as innocent  
as you can -

It is against my  
judgment to write a  
note to be read out -  
& appear - perhaps  
separately - in a  
newspaper.

-3-

*Private*

I may add that I have  
had occasion to look  
over with one of our  
most experienced Matrons,  
the "Articles of Association"  
of the B.N.A. -

and - I forget whom I  
am quoting - 'Sir, you  
do not know the strength  
of the expressions I  
am keeping back' -

F.N.

Forty years hence when  
so much progress has been  
made that this time is looked  
back upon as the time of *bad*  
Nursing, the Registration might do.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
Liverpool typed copies

702

typed copy of signed letter, f3

**f3**

34 Regent Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.  
May 26, 1865.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

God bless you for all your kindness to me. You have given me a most precious gift of help in need. Your beautiful flowers, so perfect a group, with this beautiful table and basket so complete, delight my eyes. And you must not judge of my delight by my delay in answering. After all, the good old words, "Thank you" but express what we mean when we say we don't know how to thank and bid God bless you.

But, you must not, you must not indeed, trouble yourself, especially not the lady, whom I guess to be Mrs. Paget, to go on replenishing this beautiful thing. It is still quite fresh.

Ever yours gratefully,  
F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
typed copy of initialed letter, ff4-9

703

**f4**

34, South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.  
July 21, 1860

My dear Sir,

I have read with intense interest your Hand-book. I regret that I have been so busy, and my strength so over taxed, that I have only now been able to do so. (Although as the whole country has been busy, this does not so much matter). But, once taken up, I could not lay it down till I had read it through in two sittings. And then I read it through again. I have studied all the rules and forms with the greatest profit and interest to myself; as indicating a master hand in securing that unity, yet independence of action, that personal responsibility and development of a great and wide charity like this.

I admire how its permanence is wisely provided for by giving as much *local* responsibility as possible in lieu of tying it up in the hands of the original founders or Central Society, by interesting as many persons as possible leaving them free to act in their own way, while keeping up all necessary uniformity.

You ask me to write a few remarks by way of preface. I have some difficulty in doing this because I am cited as authority for some part of the principles.

A report on such a subject as the "Training of Nurses" to supply "lack of service" towards the poor, afflicted and dying, should of itself command attention, simply on its own merits. But if any arguments were required on its behalf, surely in this practical age, the best argument is the success which has attended the efforts made in Liverpool. These most satisfactory

**f5**

results, though not greater than you deserve, are greater than even the most sanguine hopes could have foreseen. Nowhere, that I know of, are the difficulties of organising a system for nursing the sick in their own homes likely to be greater than have been there encountered, and so far overcome. There is a dense and rapidly increasing population drawn from all quarters, most of them of that lower class which has to change its home in order to be able to live. There have been hitherto strong Religious partisanship, a very great amount of sickness; (as is testified by the extent of local Medical charities), a lamentably high death-rate, especially among children, always the readiest victims to want of good nursing in sickness, and, together with all this, much inevitable poverty, and ignorance among the poor as to the proper management of their sick at home; (this we find everywhere, but nowhere else perhaps so much) often want of every appliance and nursing care which should surround the sick bed; and great though remediable as a consequence. It is the old story, often told, but this Report opens a new chapter of it. It gives us hope for a better state of things.

An Institution for Training nurses in connection with the Infirmary, has been built and organised. This is a matter of necessity, because all who wish to nurse efficiently must learn how to nurse *in a Hospital*. Nursing, especially that most important of all its branches, nursing the sick poor at home is no amateur work. To do it as it ought to be done requires knowledge, self abnegation, and, as is so well said here, direct obedience to and activity under the Highest of all Masters, and from the highest of all motives. It is an essential part of the

**f6**

daily service of the Christian Church. It has never been really otherwise. It has proved itself superior to all religious divisions, and is destined by God's blessing, to supply an agency, the great value of which, in our densely populated towns, has been unaccountably overlooked until within these few years.

Nothing indeed can afford a stronger argument for the local support of the Liverpool agency than the simple fact of its past success, while at the same time, the example should be followed among other large populations, and *will be*. It is a comparatively indifferent matter under what organization a system of home nursing of the poor is carried out. It may be done, and well done, by districts, as in Liverpool; or by parishioners in parishes; or by members of Christian churches. The great thing is *that it be done*, and done well. And to those who want to know how such work can be successfully carried out, in conformity with our English feeling for freedom of action, I would urgently recommend a careful study of this Report.

I need scarcely say, therefore, how earnestly I press for the publishing of this account of the work, as being a pioneer rather than model for similar Institutions all over our country. The work in Liverpool requires greater extension and more support, before all the fruits of it ripen. But so far as it has gone, it has proved its own future possibility by its past success, and promises to be one of the most important agencies for coping with human misery which the present day has put forth. Let us all wish it Godspeed.

No words of mine are wanted to call attention to the subsidiary benefits to the poor involved in this great work.

**f7**

They are not new. But they are not so widely put into practice in our country as they should be - e.g. D.2. p. ~~b~~/65 5. the sending of the convalescent poor to the sea-side is a kind of relief, of which it is impossible to calculate. the benefit, no more than its result in diminishing pauperism. Every large town in the kingdom ought to have its Convalescent Institution for the poor by the sea-side, or in the country. For the rich the good of a change of air, nay even its necessity, is never doubted. It is ten times more necessary for the poor.

Again, p.77.V - last paragraph: -

It is most essential to direct the attention of educated women, district visitors, even of Ministers of Religion - in all places - to this, viz. what power is given to them by local Acts to prevent disease by enforcing sanitary improvements. It is singular how lamentably ignorant educated persons are on this point. But many have often themselves deplored, as I can bear witness, this their ignorance.

V. also p. 84. Lines 8, 9 and 10 from the top.

pp. 85 last paragraph to end of .....

p. 86 top.

These alone, if these were the only benefits, show the wisdom and efficiency of incorporating in an organisation the assistance of local authorities and securing the willing co-operation of charitable volunteers.

I don't need to say these efforts are new and original. But I mean that it is most satisfactory to find the Lady Superintendents and nurses exercising certain powers and influence in sanitary matters, such as obtaining the cleansing - and lime-washing of

**f8**

unhealthy houses and places. It is a wise addition to their duties. It improves the domestic habits of the poor. It protects their health. It prevents diseases. It gives the nurses more time to attend the sick. Similar sanitary duties should always be associated with nursing. (But, even now,, "Sanitary" has become almost a cant word of which we are tired. Few educated persons, even philanthropists, are practically acquainted with our Health Acts, so as to call in their help in time of need).

Again. p.86. - last two paragraphs.

What a merciful suggestion is that of supplying good food, properly cooked from Workmen's Dining Rooms, to poor patients recovering from sickness. In preventing relapses, so often incurred by returning too soon to work, put off too long, it is a means only second to change of air, and to be employed after it in most cases.

I have taken only a few instances out of your appendix of collateral good arising from this work. I cannot better end my letter (preface) than by quoting from your "Address to the Nurses", words which I would take to myself and address to all engaged in this great work.

" If you feel, . . . that you are members of a family, you will be ever desirous that the character of that family should be as high as possible, that it should be a credit to belong to it; that no act or word of yours should bring shame upon it, but on the contrary, each of you will strive by the gentleness, quietness modesty and truthfulness

**f9**

of your conduct, by constantly increasing proficiency in your profession, and by the thoroughness and conscientiousness of your work, continually to raise the character of the School and of all belong to it, higher and higher . . . ."

" . . . There is no pride so mean, so contemptible as that which makes a person above her work. There is nothing really mean, or degrading, or unclean, which our duty calls us to do, but if ever pride leads us to leave part of our duty or work undone, or ill done, then indeed, we are degraded." 1.

P.S. Would you look at "From...to Patients" p. 80. (which is admirable) and think whether something might not be added to it?

Also at p. 84 "query"

If you make up your mind to publish any letter, or any part of it, I should like to have both this your book back and my M.S. letter if you please.

F.N.

1. Extract from address to Nurses on the New Year, 1864.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
typed copy of signed letter, f37

708

**f37**

35, South Street,  
Park Lane.  
W.  
May 13, 1869.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I was unwilling to trouble you till the time came, when, as I hope, you are leaving London for Whitsuntide.

I have now had all the statistical information, which seems available, about your District Nursing, and have had all the slips abstracted and reduced at the Registrar General's Office. I send you a copy of the Aggregate sheet which may be kept at Liverpool, if you please, as I had it made on purpose for you. (I have another).

You will see that the Death rate is 14 per cent. And it does not appear (from the slips) that the highest mortality comes from aged infirmity, but from the productive period of life. This fact is alarming and ought not to be considered as final. If you think we can obtain any more light upon it, pray have it sent to me. It would be as well to obtain the corresponding facts from the Liverpool Dispensary books, (which could probably be furnished by the House Surgeons).

1. The total number of cases attended by the paid Medical Officers at the patients' own homes for the two years, 1867 and 1868.
2. The deaths among these home cases for the same two years.

Mr. Langton has sent me a number of Liverpool Dispensary Reports, but they do not give the necessary information.

Ever yours sincerely,

F. Nightingale

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
typed copy of signed letter, ff59-60

709

**f59**

BOSTON - (2 letters returned)

35, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.  
Sept. 2, 1874.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I am shocked at myself for having been so long answering this question - We have no one to recommend. But one can always find time to write a "Yes" though not a "No". And if you know how I have been occupied! I did, however, consult with both Mrs. Wardroper and Mr. Henry Bonham Carter as to whether we had anyone to recommend. And we were all obliged to come to the conclusion that we had not. This arises chiefly from my insisting gradually more and more upon our carrying out what I have always considered as desirable - viz: that we should recommend no lady as Training Superintendent who has not had, not only her year's training, not only experience as Ward Sister, but also experience as Assistant Supt. in one of our Hospitals.

The lady who Mrs. Wardroper had thought of for Boston is now going to gain such experience as Assistant to one of our Superintendents. I am very sorry that we cannot help you this year, owing to what you will think is my obstinacy.

I have again to thank you for your great kindness, which lend such a charm to my life, in sending me the flowering plants. I left London this day week to take charge of my poor widowed mother at Sir Harry Verney's during the Verneys' absence from home.

Pray believe me, dear Mr. Rathbone,  
Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
Florence Nightingale

*Miss Lees*

The Crown Princess of Germany, who has great influence over her,

**f60**

is as strongly impressed as we are, with the vital importance to F. Lees herself of setting to work at once.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
typed copy of signed letter, f64

710

**f64**

35, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.  
Jan. 24, 1877.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I was so delighted with your address to the working men at Liverpool on Jan. 9 that, though short of time and strength, I made an M.S. abstract of it for the men on my dear father's place at Lea in Derbyshire. There there is no poverty but that of drink. I have seen nothing for a long time so calculated to do good. I venture to trouble you with the question *Where is it to be had when published?*. Perhaps you will kindly let someone tell me.

Your Miss Perssé is a splendid worker. She is doing great work with Miss Lees, and, I rejoice to think, will be in your Liverpool District work.

The new Holloway Nursing Home is open under Miss Less, whom I saw yesterday; she is *nursing hard*. (This is all owing to you).

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
Florence Nightingale.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 711  
typed copy of unsigned, incomplete letter, f69

**f69**

September 5, 1881.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I have so many things to thank you for, I know not how to begin.

Your beautiful flowering plants I have enjoyed all the year, but with many regretful thoughts of what a burthen I am on your kindness. On August 20 I desired the nurseryman not to send any more, as I was leaving London the next week. I have rejoiced in your kindness and revered your generosity so many years that I would fain ask you - (not to cease your kindness or generosity, for that would be causing nursing progress to cease) - but to discontinue this particular token of it.

I have to thank you for your kind letter about Mrs. Wardroper and her "assistant". I am afraid there are doubts whether she will take your most valuable advice. But no stone will be left unturned on our side, as far as we can do this "gingerly" and turn our "stones" smoothly. She, poor woman, has had a sharp attack of illness, and is now going away for a much needed rest. And she and I have not been able to have much conversation on any point which troubles her.

I am not sorry that Miss Hutchins, now at Manchester, has been wise enough to decline your splendid offer of putting her to be trained as District Home Supt. for which she has, in truth, no adaptability I know her, and I find in my private notes - "would be *nowhere* in District Nursing".

I will not forget to obey your kind behest "before November" to give you my notes about the training and especially the lying-in training at Liverpool Parish Infirmary. (I have it all written down in pencil. so that what accuracy it has, it will keep).

f70, typed copy of University of Wales 37616

**f82**

10, South Street,  
Park Lane.  
W.  
March 26, 1887.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I don't know how to thank you for your kind letter. I am so glad to hear from you again. I trust that you and Mrs. Rathbone are well.

It would be presumptuous of me to "approve" and yet more to disapprove your letter on behalf of Miss Gibson. Would it not be much better that you should send it direct to Miss Gibson.? Any criticism of its contents would be unfair upon her, and perhaps, I may say, inappropriate, seeing that the testimonial is from you, who have the fullest right to give it, and not from me, who have little. I need scarcely say that I have the highest opinion of Miss Gibson, but I hardly feel that the circumstances of the case warrant my departing from the rule I have been obliged to follow not to write testimonials.

How deeply I wish success to your Parish Infirmary Nursing I can never say; or how much I regret that Miss Gibson thinks herself compelled to seek a higher salary elsewhere. She has done great good in it. May your new Royal Infirmary reward all your labours too. I heard with delight that it was shortly to be begun. How immense is the improvement you have effected in Hospital, Infirmary, Nursing and District Nursing. May God bless you for it! And He *will* bless you.

Ever yours most gratefully and most truly  
Florence Nightingale.

I return your letter to Miss Gibson.

ff93-95, 20 October, 1887, unsigned letter from Mr. Rathbone to FN, re Sir Rutherford Alcock's plan about nurses and their remuneration, rewards etc.

Derbyshire Co Record Office  
typed copy of signed letter, f116

713

**f116**

10, South Street,  
Park Lane.  
26 March 1900.

[12:574]

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I shall be delighted to see you on *Tuesday at 5* - if convenient to you. I am sorry that this is the only time I have free this week.

I always hope for news of the Nursing Service from you. Liverpool is its stronghold. I cannot help regretting the present rage for certificates and badges. The certificate does not make the Nurse, nor does the badge distinguish her as to excellence.

Some of our best Nurses are without either. Some of our best could not pass an examination with credit, while some of our worst could gain the most creditable place.

[end 12:574]

Ever yours,  
Florence Nightingale.

typed copy of initialed letter fragment, f119

**f119** {archivist: probably written on November 30, 1887}

.... throw upon them, the Committee of Advice, to suggest arrangements", to "keep up the standard" etc., etc., which you can "approve", rather than you make conditions which *they* are to approve.

F.N.

Might I hear from you?

typed copy of letter fragment, f120

**f120** {archivist: No date or address}

.... I trust to see you some afternoon, as you so kindly offer it. I am rather full this week, but you, I daresay, are fuller.

Your beautiful flowering plants have resumed their benevolent course.

Pray believe me,  
Ever gratefully yours,  
Florence Nightingale.

Derbyshire Co Record Office 714  
letter, paper copy sent from Liverpool University, from Liverpool Record Office,  
typed copy 45801 f210

March 25/69.

[printed address] 35 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

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  
Barnes Eq

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

Derbyshire Co Record Office

715

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

Florence Nightingale

- Barnes Esq.

note, f212v, pencil {upside down}

**f212v**

There they worked me to death  
in January to ~~de~~ write this  
on April Fool's Day  
Catch me doing their work  
again.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 716  
Liverpool Stanley/Derby, 115 items, indicated Der

This is a private collection, owned by Stanley/Earls of Derby, housed at the Liverpool Record Office. The letters are usually marked as answered, with a date, or a note acknowledged only; often there is a brief summary of the answer

signed letter, 3ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/1, copy, Wellcome 8997/43

30 Old Burlington St  
May 17/57

[15:265]

Dear Lord Stanley

I dare not venture  
to keep the Draft Report,  
which you so kindly  
sent me, longer, when  
it may be wanted by  
you this week -

It is a most able  
paper, comprising every  
point - More than it  
suggests could hardly  
be done at present -  
with safety, - I mean as

regard abolition of  
Purchase for the lower  
ranks. But I hope  
the poor Majors will  
come in for selection -

I heard with dismay  
last night the résumé  
of Lord Grey's evidence.  
It seemed to resolve itself  
into three principles  
1. Selection is bad, because  
you can't select  
2. "As you were" -  
3. Abuses must be im=  
mortal, because founded  
in the feeling of the nation

The first would put an end to all selection in any service, Civil or other. Besides, public opinion in the Army itself decides pretty correctly on the merits of Officers - If I, with my superficial knowledge of the Crimean Army, could give you a tolerably correct idea of the fitness of General & Commanding Officers there for command, is it credible that the

Commander = in = Chief could not arrive at a just judgment, generally?

2. & 3. bear against all Reforms whatever.

I agree as to the doubtful value of competitive examination - The qualities which you really want, viz. self-control, self-reliance, habits of accurate thought, integrity & what you generally call trustworthiness are not decided by competitive examination,

which test little else  
than the memory. And  
the tendency of the Civil  
Service examinations, as  
to consolidating the  
Govt in a Bureaucracy,  
to which it seems  
inclining, ought to be  
watched with some  
anxiety. A recruiting service  
is what we want.

Believe me

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

The Regimental System

touches so nearly all  
that concerns the  
Sanitary & Moral  
reform of the Army -  
its existence, as at  
present, would so  
materially prevent  
any measure to remedy  
our colossal calamity  
that I must be excused  
for taking a great  
interest in what does  
not strictly concern me.

F.N.

[end]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 719  
signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/2 black-edged paper

30 Old Burlington St

May 28/60

Dear Lord Stanley

[9:104]

My sister told me  
that you had  
enquired after the  
"Indian Sanitary  
Commission."

It has had but  
four or five sittings  
in all - *none*  
since the Session  
began - Mr. Herbert

has not had time.

Still time has  
not been lost -  
For pointed sets  
of Queries & Forms  
of Return have  
been sent out to  
every Presidency, to  
each Station, to  
Commanding, -  
Medical, & Engineer  
Officers, *in each* -

The reduction of  
the answers & of  
the (filled=up) Forms  
will take a  
considerable time,  
when all have  
been received -  
And, in *this*  
Sanitary Commission,  
the viva=voce  
Examinations are  
intended more  
as cross=examinations

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 720

upon the written  
Returns, - in this  
case, the most  
important.

But when Mr.  
Herbert will have  
time to do anything  
in this matter is  
quite uncertain.

Pardon me if I  
have taken your  
enquiry "au pied de  
la letter". It may  
have been made merely  
in the course of conversation. [end 9:104]  
Faithfully yrs F. Nightingale

incomplete letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/3 black-edged  
paper

Hampstead N. W.

Sept 4/62

Dear Lord Stanley

Possibly you may [9:117]  
remember more  
possibly you have  
forgotten than you,  
as Chairman of the  
"Indian Sanitary  
Commission", desired  
me to do the enclosed.

As you have been  
in India, I would  
rather submit it  
to you first, for any

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 721  
corrections or suggestions  
that you will kindly  
make on the margin,  
before sending ~~in~~/it in  
to the Commissn

It is only a Proof.

We have finished  
the Abstracts of the  
Stational Reports,  
of the three  
Presidencies - and  
illustrated them  
with wood cuts.

[end 9:117]

Bengal & Bombay

incomplete letter, 3ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/4 black-edged  
paper

*Private* Hampstead NW

Sept 10, 1862

Dear Lord Stanley,

I am very glad  
that you have time  
to take the trouble  
of looking over my  
"evidence".

There is one  
painful point, under  
"Soldier's Wives", (about  
Lock Hospls & "Police  
Regulation",) which  
I am very anxious  
about.

I have the strongest

conviction, founded  
not upon sentimental  
theory but upon minute  
Statistical enquiry,  
abroad & at home,  
that these are useless,  
(even were they not  
immoral,) in preventing  
disease, their sole  
object.

Even in France,  
where they are ~~most~~  
carried out with  
most stringency,  
there is absolutely  
no evidence that

they do prevent  
disease.

Lately, a strong  
effort was made  
in our War Office,  
to introduce the  
"French System" among  
our camps & garrisons  
at home. And, at  
the request of the  
W.O., I drew up the  
enclosed paper. I  
am told (by Lord  
de Grey) that it  
produced some  
impression there in

the direction which  
I desired. And I  
venture to send it  
you, only begging that  
you will be so good  
as to return it to me.

With my late dear  
master, I had many  
discussions on this  
point, becoming as  
it is unfortunately  
too important. But  
it is obvious that I  
can scarcely hope to  
press it on any man  
as I could ~~to~~/on him.

[9:118]

{page missing}

those terms.

It was then so  
improbable (perhaps  
the most improbable  
thing that could  
happen) that, of  
Sidney Herbert & me,  
I should be the  
survivor, that no  
record remains, as  
far as I am aware,  
of this transaction,  
which was done  
verbally through me,  
in the spring of 1859.  
(-immediately before  
Sidney Herbert, who

was then to be Chairman  
of this Commission,  
took office.)

This is my only  
excuse for bringing  
it before you, which  
would otherwise  
be a singular  
interference on my  
part. But a word  
in your note makes  
me think that you  
are unacquainted  
with it - altho' I  
know it was Sidney  
Herbert's intention  
to communicate  
it to you - [The

**[end 9:118]**

signed letter, 6ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/5 marked original  
returned to Lord Derby, black-edged paper

*Private*

Hampstead, NW  
Sept. 17, '62

**[15:355-56]**

Dear Lord Stanley

1. about Dr. Farr  
no rate of remuneration  
was mentioned. The  
understanding was -  
when Lord Herbert  
proposed thro' me  
that Dr. Farr should  
act on the Commission  
that he should do  
the actuarial work  
& be paid a fee for  
it.

[The same arrangement

was made when  
Dr. Farr served on  
Lord Herbert's Sub=  
Commission for  
reforming our Army  
Statistical service  
& he was paid for it]

Lord Herbert  
told me that he had  
communicated to you  
the arrangement by  
which Dr. Sutherland  
was to act & be paid  
as Secretary to the  
Indian Sanitary  
Commission - with

Mr. Baker as Assistant.

The work of both  
Dr. Farr & Dr. Sutherland  
is of course much more  
arduous than that  
performed by the  
unpaid Commissioners.

Indeed I am aware  
that the expence of  
printing has already  
been great. And not  
to add my mite of  
cost, I have arranged  
with Mr. Baker for  
myself to pay for the  
wood cutting & printing

of my paper.

I may perhaps add that I have myself done the whole of Dr. Sutherland's clerical work, & a good deal of the other for him. As it would have been *absolutely* impossible for it to be accomplished without going to the Treasury for clerical assistance, of which we have had none -

It is therefore the

less impertinent of me, I hope, to measure

the work which the Treasury must pay for.

2. I trust that a great deal may be done to prevent your Report, when completed from being "shelved".

Lord Herbert set on foot four Sub-Commissions, the moment his Report was out, - one for reforming Barracks & Hospls, which is still at work - one for organizing the Army Medl School at Chatham

- one for re-organizing  
the Statistics - one for  
reforming the Army  
Medl Dept & writing  
a Code of Regulations,  
the results of all of which, as  
you are aware, are  
now the active rules  
at the War Office.

Three other Commissions  
were subsequently  
formed - one for  
re-organizing the  
Purveyor's Dept,  
which it did -  
another the Hospital

Staff Corps, which it  
did - another for  
reforming the system  
of Barrack Works,  
which is still sitting.

Many other  
Administrative reforms  
were made in  
consequence - also.

A great deal  
~~also~~/too was done in  
giving publicity to  
the Report, in the  
"Times" & other papers,  
& in the Reviews,  
(as you are aware.  
For you were kind

enough to offer to write an Article in the "Westminster" I believe, when you were yourself called to office.)

Also we reprinted the Diagrams of Army Mortality, with their story attached, & these were sent to every Commanding & Medical Officers in the Army.

I am not in the least inferring that these are instances for the Indian

[end 15:356]

-3-

Commission to follow. Probably your course of proceeding will have to be quite different. Probably a Consultative Board with an administrative head will have to be organized for each Presidency.

But in the matter of publicity, the mere sending a copy of the Abstracts of Stational Reports to each Station will stir them up to do something. They

will be read with avidity *there*; however much or however little we may read about India in England.

==3. I am glad you  
have faith in Sir. G.  
Lewis. For I have  
none. [And you  
probably see a  
different side of  
him from what I  
do.] He is the worst  
Sec. of S. I have ever  
seen. And I have

served under five.  
His learning & his  
ignorance; his hurries  
& his delays are  
alike against us.  
In one short year  
he has let down ~~to~~  
the War Office to the  
~~same~~ level from  
which Sidney Herbert  
was 5 years dragging  
it up. And this  
simply by letting  
the agencies work,  
against which  
Lord Herbert's official  
life was one continual

struggle. He has not  
his equal for cramming  
a subject well for  
the House of C. on  
Monday. But then  
he has not his equal  
for forgetting it all  
on Tuesday, & acting  
quite differently in  
(illeg) the War Office - &  
on Saturday, if there  
is a "third course"  
open, for adopting  
that course with the  
Horse Guards. As far  
as he is concerned,  
there is neither unity  
nor distinct responsibility (in each

Dept) nor direct communication with him,  
nor promptitude of  
action, nor economy  
in administration in  
the War Office now.  
He is not head of  
his own Office.

He will, it is true,  
"not be appalled by  
the length of a Report."  
But he will not see  
~~his~~ its *portée*. And  
well if he is not  
correcting his "Astronomy",  
or his Latin "Hey diddle  
diddle," under the  
most important  
papers on the W.O.  
table.

Yet he is an  
honourable man.

You must excuse me  
for not answering  
your question about  
Dr. Farr immediately.  
There are days & days  
when I am unable  
to ~~do anything~~, write at all. And  
now you will think  
I have written too  
much.

Yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 731  
undated, initialed fragment, 1f, pen

-3-

meant to profit by  
your kind exhortation  
not to print & to  
*woodcut* my paper  
at my own expence.  
If I choose to enliven  
my paper by an  
ornamental border  
of soldiers occupying  
their minds with  
catching vermin, you  
would not have me  
to that, at this  
country's expence -  
Besides, *figure* woodcuts  
are dear.

F.N.

signed letter, 3ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/6 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
Nov 21/62

Dear Lord Stanley

~~The~~/My paper, which  
you have already  
seen, is done.

[9:120]

But it occurred  
to me that it  
would be more  
conformable to  
discipline, if I were  
to submit it to you,  
in its state of  
"final Revise", (in case

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 732

you might have  
something to object,)  
before I have it  
struck off & sent  
to your Commission  
officially

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

The enclosed might  
interest you as enumerating the  
results which Lord  
Herbert gave to his  
1st Commission (Sanitary)

It was drawn up  
at the request of one  
of the present Govt.

Please put it in  
the fire, when done  
with.

[end 9:120]

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/7 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
Nov 26/62

Dear Lord Stanley

I sent this morning  
my Indian paper to  
you "officially"(!) And  
I will send copies  
to the members of the  
Commission.

[9:121-22]

But, when the  
Commission is closed,  
its real work will  
begin. (Is that Irish?)  
You will not rest

the chance of Sanitary reform in India on the recommendations of a Report alone.

[The very last Indian document I have seen, viz. a Report from the "Sanitary Commission" of the Punjab, (just arrived here,) actually states that the best possible arrangement for India is one, to which we know, in this country, are due

severe outbreaks of Cholera - one which killed poor Lord Raglan in the Crimea - one which we consider to be one of the greatest Sanitary defects in India]

This only confirms what all the Reports have grievously impressed upon me - viz. that, altho' there is a certain out-cry against bad Sanitary conditions, nobody seems to know what

they are - still less  
how to deal with  
them.

This was clearly seen  
when the Report of  
the Royal Commission  
on the Sanitary State  
of the ~~Indian~~/British Army  
(by Sidney Herbert)  
was under discussion.  
And it was determined,  
as you know, that  
practical work  
should succeed the  
declarations of principles.

The result has

-2-

been that the Army  
at home is now healthier  
than the Civil  
population, instead  
of its mortality  
being double.

[I venture to  
inclose you two  
Diagrams which I  
had made to  
illustrate this - (the  
first was published  
in the above Report)  
I mean to publish  
these now, with: -  
This is how he found

the Army. This is how  
he left it.

I will therefore  
beg you to return  
me these Diagrams,  
as I have no other  
copies]

May you live to  
see the Indian Army  
restored in the same  
way by your exertions.  
Would it not be  
possible to select  
a Commission,  
consisting of experienced

practical people,  
& let them guide  
the movement for a  
while, until it could  
go on itself. They  
could select agents  
in this country; & so  
enable the local  
Presidential Commissions  
to obtain men  
conversant with the  
details of works.  
And they could advice  
on all subjects  
connected with the  
welfare of the Army

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 736

as well as with the  
sanitary improvement  
of towns.

I think a good  
working Commission  
might be got together  
without difficulty.

[end 9:122]

Believe me

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

A thing which is hardly  
worth mentioning but  
that Dr. Sutherland  
fancies you wrote to  
him {printed address, upside down:} 32, South Street,  
Grosvenor Square. W.

about it. I never

signed letter, 2ff, pen {on the left page, Nightingale Miss Nov/62 sent them back.}  
Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/8 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.

Nov 28/62

Dear Lord Stanley

I am sorry to be  
troublesome - Just  
5 min. after I sent  
you those Diagrams  
on Army Mortality  
the day before yesterday,  
the printers sent me  
the proof of my  
paper on Lord  
Herbert's Sanitary

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 737

Administration for  
which they (diagrams) are  
intended.

If you can lay  
your hands upon  
them, would you  
kindly send them  
me back? I  
would not have  
troubled you with  
them, had I known  
that the printers  
who have kept me

waiting 5 months,  
would have been so  
quick at last

Yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

undated letter, India Office Westminster from John Lawrence to FN about Barracks

{illeg October? 15, 1862, about the just arrived Sanitary Report

Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/9 black-edged paper

signed letter, 2ff, pen  
4 Cleveland Row  
St. James St.  
S.W.  
March 3/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I am afraid you  
will be surprised  
tho' not so much  
surprised as I am  
at my asking to  
see you.

[9:126]

You will easily  
guess that it is on  
a point connected  
with your Indian  
Sanitary Report.

[end 9:126]

Could you find

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 738  
an hour soon which  
you could appoint  
to see me.

Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/10 black-edged paper

4 Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

Private April 16/63 [9:128]

Dear Lord Stanley  
Forgive me for  
addressing you again  
about your Indian  
Sanitary Report.

Sir John Lawrence  
wrote to me a few  
days ago about these  
matters; among other  
things saying that  
there are now  
"Barracks in India  
"for full 25000 men  
"under consideration",

& that "many are  
urgently required" -  
He says hopefully,  
after wishing that  
I could "get to know"  
when your Report  
will be out, "so that  
"what changes are  
"necessary may be  
"at once adopted",  
that it, the Report,  
will have the greatest  
influence -

I was honestly

unwilling to put  
myself forward to  
urge & trouble you.  
But, when another  
letter comes from Sir  
J. Lawrence, I cannot  
do otherwise, can I?

Should you think  
well to expedite  
the work by calling  
in all the copies  
of the Report sent  
to the members of  
the Commission,  
so that a Revise  
might be made,  
in which either

all their views are  
represented, or their  
objections met?

If you thought  
well to send the  
copies to me here,  
we would set  
about it at once -

If Lord de Grey  
could be Sir G. Lewis'  
successor, he, though  
not a very able  
man, would be the  
making of us in  
carrying out *administrative*  
(Sanitary) reforms for the  
men - Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

[end 9:128]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 740  
signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/11 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

April 22/63

Dear Lord Stanley

A remarkably  
stupid advertisement  
has been appearing  
in the "Times", asking  
everybody to send in  
plans for a Civil  
Hospital at Bombay,  
without giving any  
information, such as  
would enable any  
living being to make  
a plan - & "topping

up" with stating that  
the local authorities,  
+ the Railway  
authorities, were to  
be judges of excellence.

The whole thing  
was so absurd, &  
it was besides such  
a re-enacting in  
India of what we  
have given up here,  
that I made an  
effort to prevent  
mischief, as far as  
I could.

I am told that  
Sir Charles Wood will  
consult you about it,  
which I was very  
glad to hear.

Some time ago, we  
recommended Mr.  
T.W. Wyatt as  
architect for a Civil  
Hospital at Malta.  
And he produced,  
with our aid, one  
of the very best  
plans in existence.

Would you think  
well to put the

matter into his  
hands? He has shewn  
great ability - Any  
help we could give  
him would be  
willingly given, for  
the good of helping.

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 742  
signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/12 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

April 27/63

Dear Lord Stanley

It is of great  
importance, as you say,  
to get out the Report  
as soon as possible.

[9:128]

But we have never  
yet received the  
copies sent out,  
so as to put every  
thing into a consistent  
shape. As it was  
sent to you, the Report

was an arrangement  
only of the matter,  
requiring very  
careful consideration  
to see that it was,  
after all, logically  
accurate. The  
references have also  
all to be revised,  
& fresh references  
(to facts) put in -  
There are two or  
three days' work

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 743  
of mere editing  
to do.

If you will send  
all the papers, we  
will return a copy  
to you with the  
corrections in M.S.,  
together with all  
the copies thus  
returned from the  
Members. You will  
then be able to  
judge of the whole.

[end 9:128]

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 8ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/13 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row {printed address:}

S.W.

*Private* May 18/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I was much  
distressed to hear  
the unpractical views,  
taken by some of  
the members of the  
India Sanitary  
Commission on Saturday  
(at the Meeting).

[9:432-34]

And I trust you  
will excuse my re=  
writing to you on  
this score -

I am afraid there

is great danger of the  
Indian enquiry  
arriving at no  
practical result.

I urged the necessity  
of using home experience  
in dealing with India  
Sanitary questions,  
because, from the  
evidence & from the  
reports (from Indian  
Stations), it was obvious  
that there was no  
hope of any practical

reform springing up  
from India.

It is quite necessary  
that there should be  
local Commissions in  
India to carry out  
the works there. But  
it is as certain as  
experience can make  
it that those  
Commissions, constituted,  
as they must be, out  
of the best available  
material, will not,  
*of themselves*, arrive  
at a good practical  
solution of the

multifarious questions  
they will have to  
deal with.

Were it practicable  
to pick out a  
sufficient number  
of able men in  
England, & send  
them out to form  
these Commissions,  
there would be a  
fair hope of success.  
But we know well  
what the probabilities  
are of this being  
practicable. You  
would hardly be able

-2-

to get men for money  
to undertake the  
work - i.e. men  
thoroughly up to the  
Sanitary question in  
all its bearings.

If then you stop  
with the recommendation  
of "India Presidency  
Commissions", your  
report will amount  
to this: -

"This is how bad the  
things are in India.  
They have grown up  
into their present  
state under the

guidance of such amount of practical ability & intelligence as was obtainable in that country.

We recommend you to form Commissions out of the same material; & to go on as before. It is true that great practical advances have been made in Sanitary works at home. And the result has been a reduction of the

Army Death rate to one half. But it is not necessary to make use of this practical experience in India."

Yet we are interfering in Ceylon at this moment. e.g.

On what principle can be justified the introduction of home experience in Ceylon & keeping it out of India? Their diseases are the same - the causes the same -

the troops the same -  
& the measures  
required would be  
the same.

The formation of  
a Home Commission  
was urged, because  
you thought, (when  
you were so good  
as to see me on  
this subject) that  
the I.O. would not  
like to have to do  
with the W.O. But  
if the I.O. does not  
object, {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.  
there is S.W.

-3-

no other reason why  
the W.O. should not  
help with its own  
Commission.

Unless some such  
arrangement can be  
come to, it really  
matters very little  
practically whether  
the Report is issued  
or not. It will  
only be a nine  
days' wonder, as  
the first Army  
Report was. That  
Report did nothing  
of itself. All the

real practical work  
which has led to  
the great reduction  
of Army Mortality  
has been done by  
persons determined  
to carry out the  
principles laid down  
in it, who would  
not be turned aside  
by any obstacles, &  
who, from long  
previous experience,  
were competent for  
the work.

Nothing can shew  
more the *imminent*

importance of the work  
that has to be done  
in India than the  
fact that ~~the~~ plague  
is gradually surrounding  
Calcutta.

Cholera came out  
of the Sunderbunds  
(epidemicly) &  
spread over the world.

Plague did the  
same in the Nile  
delta, & thence  
spread over Europe  
in the Middle Ages.  
~~It~~/Egyptian plague is now coming

up from the Sunderbunds  
& drawing slowly  
and round to hem in Calcutta.

It requires no great  
length of vision to see  
what is likely to  
follow from this  
Sunderbunds plague  
in the present state  
of Indian cities.

Believe me

yours apologetically

Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.  
S. W.

PRIVATE

N.B. I was quite  
appalled to hear  
what is the advice  
that the I.O. do take  
on these matters,  
according to Sir Proby  
Cautley. They apply  
to Dr. Mapleton,  
Member of the  
Director General's  
Office at the Army  
Medical Department.

When Dr. Mapleton  
was appointed,  
under General Peel's  
term of Office, Sidney

Herbert lay awake  
all night, thinking  
of the mischief  
this man's gross  
ignorance would  
do - & went the  
first thing the  
next morning to  
Genl Peel, before  
he was up, to try  
to have the  
appointment  
cancelled. And  
it was only on  
assurance that  
Dr. Mapleton

should have  
nothing to do with  
Sanitary matters  
that he remitted  
his efforts.

This is the man  
whom the India  
Office, when "taking  
home experience,"  
apply to.

[end 9:434]

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/14 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address}  
S.W.

*Private* June 25/63

Dear Lord Stanley

[9:219]

I have made  
some arrangements  
for having your India  
Sanitary Report  
reviewed by some  
papers & Reviews  
(I wish you would  
~~do~~/write one for the  
Westminster or  
quarterly yourself).  
But I must send

early copies to the  
people who will  
take the trouble.

I have enquired  
of Mr. Spottiswoode  
what state the  
printing is in -  
All the letter press  
is printed off, Vol  
2. is binding as fast  
as it can - So will  
Vol 1, as soon as the  
plans come, hourly  
expected.

Every thing will be  
ready in a day or  
two.

Do you think you  
would be so good as  
to write a line to  
Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode,  
directing them to  
send twelve early  
copies to me, &  
enclose this note  
to me to forward?

It often makes  
all the difference  
(especially in the  
case of the "Times")

in the good feeling  
of the writers  
whether one sends  
them a copy early  
& personally, or not.  
And I am particularly  
requested in this  
case to be early

[end 9:219]

Believe me  
yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 752  
signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/15 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address}

S.W.

July 8/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I see, in the **[9:219]**  
copies of your India  
Army Sanitary Report,  
which I have just  
received, that Mr.  
Baker signs himself  
"Secretary", p. LXXXIV.  
He never was  
Secretary. Had he  
your authority to  
append his name

as such? If not,  
the page should  
be cancelled. **[end 9:219]**

Believe me  
faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

{ line going down to bottom of page in the same hand}  
Ansd. He has  
always acted as  
Sec. & I believe is  
referred to as  
such in some  
of her letters.  
See no reason  
for taking away  
the title

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 753  
signed letter, 10ff, pen, Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/16 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

Private July 10/63

Dear Lord Stanley

Perhaps I ought **[9:221-23]**  
not to be sorry about  
Mr. Baker's peccadillo,  
since it compels me  
to lay the whole case  
before you.

I begin by apologizing  
to you & to myself  
for the time & strength  
it will take -

When you have  
all the facts of the  
case, you will know

best how to do justice.

1. Mr. Baker knows  
perfectly well he is  
not "Secretary".

Four years ago, when  
Lord Herbert first  
began this Commission  
after you had issued  
it, he wished to  
have the same Secy  
who served him in  
the first R. Army  
Sanitary Commn. But  
this man having  
just been made  
head of the Army

Statistical Branch,  
was too busy.

As the real work  
of the Commission  
would fall upon  
Dr. Sutherland, Lord  
Herbert finally  
decided that *he*  
should act as  
Secretary & *be paid*  
as Secretary, but  
*not* be called  
"Secretary", because  
he was wanted as  
member of the  
Commission—~~but~~  
that he must have a Clerk to issue  
the letters to call

the Meetings, to see  
the evidence through  
the press &c but  
*not* to correct the  
proofs, the whole of  
which, as well as  
the writing & sending  
out the printed  
questions, was to be  
done by Dr. Sutherland  
& by myself.

The *Clerkship* was  
offered to Mr. Baker  
at Dr. Sutherland's  
recommendation  
and accepted by  
him, on condition  
that he should be

-2-

not Clerk but  
called *Assistant*  
Secretary. [This he  
would not deny, if  
he were asked the  
question]

I am exceedingly  
sorry that I cannot  
furnish you with  
written proof of all  
this - All was the  
fault of my dear  
chief not to require  
such, because he  
thought all men as  
honourable as himself.  
But he told me  
himself, about the  
beginning of 1861,

that he had himself  
informed you of the  
whole of this & of  
the conditions under  
which Dr. Sutherland  
was acting.

2. If I have ever  
called Mr. Baker  
"Secretary" to you in  
any of my letters,  
I must have been  
dreaming. But I  
cannot believe it.  
For at that very time

I was warning Dr.  
Sutherland that I  
had seen Mr. Baker's

signature as "Secretary".

[He would not believe it.] Mr. Spottiswoode could shew you letters of mine, in which I call Mr. Baker Asst Secretary.

3. As for Mr. Baker having "acted as Secretary", the only things he has done as Secretary have been calling the Meetings & arranging the printing with the printers, so far as my cognizance goes, which, of course, relates only to the *domestic* part of the Commission. You

are probably cognizant of other things, relating to the *public* part of the Commission, in which he has acted as such.

The things in which he has NOT acted as Secretary, but which were all done by the Secretary of the first R. Army Sanitary Commn, are as follows:-

Vol. II. the whole of these Stational Reports were {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.

S.W. not only

corrected by Dr. Sutherland

-3-

& myself. But we began copying them ourselves with condensations from the original Replies. Finding this took up too much time, a good deal of the copying was done by Vacher's clerks - But even the whole of *this* work was actually given out from my house to Vacher's. And I have the whole of the books at this moment in my house "to witness if I lie," as

Lord Macaulay sings.  
The only thing that Mr. Baker did, of which I am cognizant, was *certifying* the work of Vacher's clerks. The whole of these (condensed) copies was afterwards compared with the originals, & verified by Dr. Sutherland & ~~me~~/by myself- the whole of the proofs, were corrected by Dr. S. & by me. [And very tough & dreary work it was.]

The maps & plans  
were selected & corrected  
by Dr. S. & by me -  
And all that Mr. Baker  
did was to hinder us  
with McCulloch. Nay,  
the very diagrams  
(Vol. I) he pretended  
to have corrected -  
we found out the  
errors - he pretended  
to send our renewed  
corrections to Day's -  
& they were actually  
put up *uncorrected*  
in the bound Vols.  
which I have received.  
And I, *after* the  
Vols. were bound,

sent back the  
corrections, which  
were important, to  
Messrs Spottiswoode's  
to beg them to put  
them in (by  
hand) into those  
copies I have given  
away.

I must beg you to  
remember that, had  
we intended to have  
a Secretary to do our  
work, a very different  
kind of Secretary would  
have {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.

S.W. been selected

from Mr. Baker -

And that it was only on the express stipulation that the Secretarial work was to be done by Dr. Sutherland & by me, & that Mr. Baker was only to act as Clerk, that Lord Herbert arranged the Commission thus. You cannot pay me. You must therefore pay Dr. Sutherland. And certainly it was not to spare Mr. Baker's labour that I undertook all this.

Vol. I. The whole of the Abstracts of Stational

Reports, p.p. 371 to 528, were done by Dr. Sutherland & me, written out in my hand, (of which I have fortunately proof, as by some lucky oversight the M.S.S. have been preserved) the whole of them were proof-corrected & revised by us two. I have not these proofs & revises - For unfortunately Mr. Baker said they were to be destroyed. But I conclude you

will take this on my word.

The whole of the Report was written by Drs. Farr, Sutherland; a great deal of it in my hand. the whole of it was shaken together, revised & corrected by Dr. Sutherland & myself. Of this I have the Proofs -

I have been accustomed to see these ~~revisings~~/correctings done by the Secretary. If Mr. Baker were Secretary he should have done

this.

Dr. Farr. The Mortality & Actuarial Tables were prepared by him; and it was understood for an actuarial fee.

On Lord Herbert's Statistical Sub-Commission, Dr. Farr worked thus on a verbal understanding for an actuarial fee, & received it.

Mr. Glaisher. The Meteorological tables were done by him, on a similar understanding -

{printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.  
S.W.

[And very bad they are]

In short, the only thing that I know of which Mr. Baker has done is the Précis before the Evidence, which he has chosen to put in in large letters, but which was so badly done that it had to be done again.

The whole of the Queries sent out to Stations were written by Dr. Sutherland & myself, in my hand, revised & corrected by us, sent out through the W.O., received back by

us, lists of them kept by us. Surely this is Secretary's work, if anything is.

I beg Lord Stanley's pardon for being so lengthy about a matter which will seem to him of little importance.

I do not wish to be sentimental. But it has been a most painful thing to me to go over - these 4 years' doings begun

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 762  
with my dear master,  
whose last words  
were, It is unfinished.

I have done so  
for the sake of justice  
to Dr. Sutherland &  
to Dr. Farr, whose  
interests are, as it  
were, laid in my hand  
by him, from his  
habit of not requiring  
written proof - I being  
now almost the only  
witness left -

I trust you  
will excuse me -

The words he used  
were (his last) Poor  
Florence - our work  
unfinished -

Please burn  
this last sheet.

**[end 9:223]**

Believe me  
dear Lord Stanley  
yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale  
{printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.  
S.W.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 763  
signed letter, 4ff, pen

in substance that I will not refuse assistance to Sir C. W. if he asks it in working  
out his project but that I will not offer it unasked}  
Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/17 black-edged paper

Private 4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

July 11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I am deeply obliged [9:223-24]  
to you for your very  
kind note. And  
indeed I have no  
fear but that justice  
will be done, now  
that you have taken  
the case in hand.

I am afraid no  
"communication was  
made by Lord Herbert

to the Treasury". It  
was not his habit.  
And I know, on a  
previous occasion,  
it was not done.

At the last, the  
years he had promised  
himself were shortened  
into hours. And  
claims much more  
important were left  
unrecorded & unful=  
filled.

pray "make it  
public' that "to Dr.

Sutherland," & pray  
do not make it  
public that "to me"  
is due the work of  
this Report. I do  
not wish ~~(illeg)~~ that should be at all.  
Indeed I wish that  
that should not be.

It is obvious what  
my only reason was  
in giving to you  
(privately) a full  
statement of the  
work.

I am greatly  
comforted by your  
assurance that

the work of improving  
Sanitary administration  
is going on - But I  
wish it interested  
you more - Perhaps  
I do not know you  
enough to say that  
it does not. But,  
if you could forward  
your own Report by  
reviewing it &, by  
what is much more  
important, forcing  
it upon the W. O.  
& the I. O., both  
personally & in the

Ho: of C., then indeed  
the progress thereof  
would be safe -

Lord Herbert did  
not think it beneath  
him to work for &  
upon an administration  
of which he was not  
Minister. Perhaps no  
one (but I) knows  
how much work he  
did for Genl Peel in  
the W. O. And you  
know, when you  
yourself were at the  
I. O., he willingly &

earnestly entered  
upon this India  
Sanitary Commission.  
And he would have  
worked just as hard  
at bringing out the  
(working) Commissions  
afterwards, as he  
did, under Ld Panmure  
& Genl Peel successively,  
at organizing &  
heading the four  
Sub=Commissions,  
which really carried  
into effect the whole  
of the first R. Sanitary

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 766  
Commission's recommendations.

Excuse me: I did  
not mean to be  
suggesting to you.

But I hear that  
Mr. Cuningham is  
going to take up your  
Report in the Ho: of C.  
Is that desirable?

And every day lost  
in appointing these  
three Presidency  
Commissions & in  
arranging the home  
I. O or W. O. Commission  
recommended by the Report  
is worth ten times  
its weight to India.  
Who will press these

upon the I. & War  
Offices?

I have heard that  
you disapproved of  
the decision of the  
W. O. against the  
amalgamation scheme  
of the two Medical  
Services. I think i  
could submit to you  
what might modify  
that opinion. But  
I should not like  
to intrude my

"turbulencies" upon you **[end 9:224]**  
unasked. {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.  
S.W.

Believe me  
ever faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 767  
signed letter, 4ff, pen, black-edged paper

*Confidential* 4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

July 11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

**[9:224-25]**

Sir John Lawrence  
writes to me, in  
confidence, "One word  
from Lord Stanley"  
will "move Sir Charles  
Wood to action", "as  
regards the Commission  
at home". He says  
that Sir C. Wood "will  
not be backward in  
the matter". Lord de  
Grey is also using

his weight on our  
side.

Sir John Lawrence  
thinks that it would  
be better to attach  
the home Commission  
to the I. O. (tho; I  
believe Sir P. Cautley  
would rather graft  
it on the W. O. Commn)  
Either would do for  
us. In the former  
case, Sir Proby Cautley,  
Sir Ranald Martin,

Capt. Galton, Dr. Sutherland,  
& Mr. Rawlinson C. E.

(of the Local Govt  
Act Officer) for the  
great drainage &  
water=supply questions  
which are after all  
the most pressing in  
India, should be the  
members.

Would that this  
home Commission  
could be arranged  
this month, before  
you all of you go  
out of London. For

God knows what may  
happen in India  
if all these things  
are left unsettled!

"As regards the  
nomination" of the  
Presidency Commission,  
Sir John Lawrence  
thinks "that they should  
be nominated by the  
local Governments  
out there". I am  
too ignorant of India  
administration to  
know whether the

best possible be the  
best feasible. But  
~~it~~/the question concerns nothing  
less than the creation  
of a Public Health  
Department for India.  
i.e. a department  
of Government, with  
consultative Commissions  
of Health, each with  
a responsible  
administrative head.  
I hope this will not  
be left to the "local  
Governments out  
there" to do, or not to do,  
or to do any how.

- No trouble as to comm. here. Diffly is as to those in India. Few persons on spot  
qualified - jealousy  
of others sent from home. }

Please not in any way to quote  
Sir John Lawrence. He  
always seems to me  
like a great fish out  
of water, where he is;  
or like a great  
Roman dictator  
returned for Marylebone,  
to serve as a M. P.

[end 9:225]

Believe me  
yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 770  
signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/18 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}  
S.W.

July 17/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have just received **[9:226-27]**  
the 8vo form of your  
India Sanitary Report  
& can scarcely recover  
from my surprise  
at seeing it.

Is this all the fruit  
of 4 years' labour, all  
the result of the India  
Commission, which is  
to be presented to

Parliament? viz the  
Report - & a Précis of  
Evidence which is  
simply ludicrous, as  
being so incomplete  
& incorrect, that it  
weakens the Report,  
by not bearing it  
out. We speak with  
"connaissance de cause",  
for we found it  
entirely useless as  
any guide to the  
Evidence.

I understood from you that - the Abstract of Stational Returns, prepared with great care, in order to get into a short compass the whole of the valuable evidence of those Stational Returns, upon which the Report is based *quite as much* as upon the oral Evidence, and of which not a vestige of a trace appears - I understood

from you that my own paper, prepared with the same view, & as short as anything could possibly be made; were to be presented to Parliament with the Report. Certainly it has not been worth our four years' to give to the House of Commons this.

[end 9:227]

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

I see the fatal error in the first Diagram, by which you are made to say that the Mortality in Bengal is 6.7, instead of 67 per 1000, is repeated everywhere -

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 772  
signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/21 black-edged paper  
[folios missing]

*Most Private* July 22/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I understand **[9:227]**

from Lord de Grey  
that Sir C. Wood has  
consented to the  
home Commission in  
the following form. He  
~~but~~ proposes to add  
two India members  
on to the W.O.

Barrack & Hospital  
Commission (existing)

If this is your

doing, as I have  
no doubt, receive  
the most fervent  
thanks of all your  
fellow workers in  
the India cause -

Yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

It is the greatest work  
that a S. of S. could  
do for India.

Equal in importance to the decision itself are the men that may be appointed on the Commission. To carry out the recommendations of the first Army Sanitary Commission, it was wisely determined to have a large sprinkling of the men who had studied the subject on the R. Comm, upon the four Sub=Commissions appointed Sir P. Cautley & Sir R. Martin answer

to this description being the only India men upon the R. C., & having had the unspeakable advantage of following the whole enquiry from first to last. If new men are put on, they will have all to learn.

Mr. Rawlinson, as our first water & drainage Engineer, is indispensable, as water supply & drainage are of paramount importance in India.

[end 9:227]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 774  
signed letter, 10ff, pen, black-edged paper #?

2 Cleveland Row.  
S.W.  
July 22/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I think we are  
on the brink of ruin  
if this home  
Commission does not  
pass. If India is  
to be left to work  
out its own Sanitary  
salvation, the R.  
Commission had  
better not have  
been - Nothing is  
of any importance

[9:227-29]

compared with the  
(home) Commission.

I heard Capt. Galton  
the Assist U. Secretary  
of State at the W. O,  
say, "they will  
spend the money  
so as to do harm  
not good, if they  
are not advised  
by home experience".

I have tried to draw  
up shortly the reasons, which  
I venture to enclose -

Compared with this,  
the question of the  
presentation or non  
presentation of parts  
of the Report sinks  
into nothing. Still  
I cannot but repeat  
my conviction that  
the curious blunder  
by which Sir C. Wood  
presented the 8vo,  
while he thought  
he was presenting  
the whole, is very  
fatal to us; for  
this reason: - not  
one single soul has

as yet grasped our  
main point, viz reform  
your Stations first  
& then look to the  
hills - Your Stations  
as to drainage,  
water supply &c are  
the main cause of  
your Death rate.  
not your climate.

Had we known that  
the Report was all that  
was to be presented,  
we should certainly have  
brought out this point  
more strongly, so that  
every ass might see it.  
Yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 776  
[memo] Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/19

The objection made to the Home Commission is that at present there is no direct reference of plans from India to England, Such a reference as regards Sanitary works is what is required. It would work as follows: -

suppose that the Madras Presidency 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 with at home. If such

a plan were carried out, it would be mere matter of choice whether the whole did not prove a failure. The only way to prevent this as far as practicable would be to refer the plan home without loss of time to the India Government here. It would then come before its special Commission, the details of the plan would be minutely canvassed by men of home experience; & after the best practicable decision had been arrived at, the plan would be sent back

with all needful information as to matters of detail in water supply, drainage latrines, construction & improvement of buildings &c. And then, after the Madras Commission had profited as much as possible by the criticisms & information, the plan would be put forwards for sanction in the usual way.

            
            
-2-

As to the proposition to send out ready formed Commissions of practical men to deal with the India question, it is quite certain that for some time the men will not be forthcoming. There are as yet very few men practically

conversant with 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 Fort William) is

one of your worst.  
And Calcutta is  
being now drained,  
apparently without  
a water supply.

There is then no  
reasonable hope of  
progress, unless some  
arrangement be made,  
whereby you *here*  
*in the I.O.* 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 I. O. here -  
There need be no  
jealousy. For all  
wish to help India.

And there need be no interference with freedom of action.

The interests, tho'  
by no means the

sole interests at  
stake, are those of  
our Queen's Regiments.  
And we cannot  
understand why,  
after the W. O. has  
had a Commission  
of practical men at  
work to improve  
our home & Medi=  
terranean & Colonial  
Barracks & Hospitals,  
with a result of  
half the former  
Death rate at home  
(the latter stations have not  
been tried long enough)  
the troops which have  
had such care bestowed  
on them here should  
go to India & be  
there decimated &  
deteriorated, because  
there is no authority  
sufficiently informed

to deal with these  
Health questions.

The I. O. plan  
might be similar  
to the W. O. plan.  
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  
Commission & then  
returned to the Station.  
This is what is wanted  
for India. And there  
is no reason why  
it should not work  
as well. If not in  
strict accordance  
with existing system,  
surely the system  
should bend to the  
greater necessity -  
not the necessity  
to the system.

P.S.

Of course all the Sanitary work must be done in India. It cannot be done in England. All we can do or propose to do is to give to the Commissions in India the benefit of English experience, & to prevent the mishaps & failures quite certain to ensue if the Indian Commissions are left to gain their own experience. The report of the R. Commission only states the most general principles. But the question really lies in the application of these principles to suit specific cases.

**[end 9:229]**

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 784  
signed letter, 6ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/20 black-edged paper

Hampstead N.W.

Aug 20/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I had promised  
myself never again  
to mention a matter  
to you, about which  
I had already  
given you such  
lengthened explanations,  
as fully to lay the case  
~~matter~~ before you -

[9:242-44]

But I understand  
that Mr. Baker has  
obtained £1000 from  
the India Office for

his services. And also  
that Dr. Sutherland  
has been offered £1000  
(one thousand pounds)  
and Dr. Farr £600  
(six hundred)

What Mr. Baker's  
services can have been  
to warrant the giving  
such a sum as a  
thousand pounds to  
a Clerk in the Home  
Office, at I believe  
£250 a year, I am  
totally at a loss to  
imagine. Yet I know

the circumstances of  
the case from beginning  
to end.

Mr. Baker is perfectly  
aware that he was  
engaged by Dr. Sutherland  
four years ago, with  
Lord Herbert's sanction,  
to do Clerk's work at  
Clerk's pay - & because  
he objected to Clerk's  
name, he was allowed  
to style himself  
"Secretarial Assistant"

He was to keep  
the Minutes, attend  
the Meetings, & pass

thro' the press the  
corrections, made by  
others, of the printed  
matter.

Whatever he has  
done more than this,  
has been on his own  
authority to others'  
great inconvenience,  
& has all had to be  
undone by those  
others as far as it  
could be undone -

The Précis of  
Evidence is simply  
ludicrous from its  
incompleteness and  
inaccuracy (as I know

-2-

to my cost.)

The whole of the real Secretarial work was done at my house.

The very work to Vacher's clerks was given out at my house -

And the whole of it compared with the originals & corrected in my house.

The whole of the corrections in the two folio Vols: were done, in my house, excepting those in the Evidence, which were done by

the witnesses themselves.

I was perfectly well aware that the bungling (~~illeg~~)/literal corrections (in names), put in so clumsily that they were not even uniform in any two pages - & producing inextricable confusion - were put in *afterwards* & without our knowledge, simply in order that ~~he~~/Mr. Baker might say that he had "corrected" the work.

Now for Dr. Sutherland's work.

It has been constant & daily for four years, with the exception of two months. The very least they could have offered him would have been £1.1 a day, (or Assistant Surgeon's pay) for four years. And this merely as an acknowledgment. The whole work of Secretary, *besides* the whole *creation* of the Sanitary work, has been done by him.

It is very easy afterwards to say of a creation what was said of Columbus' egg.

Dr. Farr's work was definite, tho' I am not seeking to ~~over~~ undervalue it by any means.

Putting it at £600, as it has been put, Mr. Baker's work would be overpaid at £250, and Dr. Sutherland's underpaid at £1500.

But I am unwilling

-3-

to make this a mere  
matter of £.s.d. -  
the whole case is  
so flagrant that  
I cannot but hope  
some enquiry will  
be made -

It is not that  
my peace is affected  
by Mr. Baker being  
enabled to keep a  
pony carriage, any  
more than it was  
by Sir John Hall  
being allowed extra  
retiring pay, because  
he destroyed the  
Hospitals in the Crimea.

But it is that I cannot  
but feel it a matter  
of public duty to try  
once more to represent  
~~it~~/the case to you -

Believe me, it cannot  
be more disagreeable  
to you than it is to  
me -

I would fain write  
about the consequences  
to India, not those  
to Mr. Baker - It has  
taken the very heart  
out of me -

I hope I have  
not said any ungentle  
word. but I must

be quite firm in saying that I have never met with a parallel case in educated life.

If the India Office is so liberal as to give such a sum to Mr. Baker for such work, then all I can say is that never was pay so disproportionate to service as that allotted to Dr. Sutherland & Dr. Farr.

I cannot but believe that there is

some great mistake, which a word from you would set right.

To interfere in this matter has been more repugnant to me than I can tell -

Believe me to be very faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale  
May I add, in answer to a former objection of yours, that the name of "Secl

Assistant" was expressly conceded, because it would lead to the question

"Who then did the *Secretary's* work?" [end 9:244]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 790  
signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/22 black-edged paper

Private Hampstead N.W.  
Oct 2/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have been so  
"turbulent," (vide Lord  
Panmure on F.N.) when  
there was anything to be  
had by it, that it is  
right I should be  
thankful, when that  
something *is* had.

On Tuesday we got  
at last, thanks to you,  
our home India (Sanitary)  
advising Commission

- & carried our Instructions,  
after a hard fight. But  
they have *not* yet been before

Sir C. Wood. ~~has~~/He  
appointed Sir P. Cautley  
& Sir R. Martin -  
"unofficially," at first  
(I don't quite know  
what that means  
but am afraid it  
meant, 'I give you my  
two men, and now  
I wash my hands of  
you' on the "Barrack  
& Hospital Improvement  
Commission" of the *War  
Office*. Mr. Rawlinson

is, I believe, to be appointed by Lord de Grey.

We wrote the Instructions, at Lord de Grey's desire - And I trust these tie them up to real work, & that their decisions will ~~being~~ "official" & not to be "re-considered."

The India members are to attend - for all, not only Indian, purposes - the B. & H. (War Office) Commission.

This was not our doing. We should

have felt safer, if the I.O. had constituted the Commission, so as to be more peculiarly its own.

But we have done our best. It is by no means the best theoretical plan possible.

Of course this is only one step. Till the Presidency Commissions of Health, (or Departments of Health,) are constituted in India, it is little we can do at this end. But all we have heard

as yet, is that they  
are "very much  
wanted" "out there."

Perhaps you are  
furthering the object  
"out there."

Perhaps you will  
be glad to hear that  
we are preparing,  
by desire of the W.O.,  
an 8vo Manual from  
your big Indian Blue Books,  
consisting of the Report,  
an Abstract of the  
Evidence, any useful

bits out of the Addenda,  
an Abstract of the  
Stational Returns &c,  
to be sent by the W.O.  
to all Commanding &  
some other Officers,  
with orders to them  
to read & to understand  
it (without which  
orders they will not.)

Believe me

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

The next step for this  
Commission, IF the  
instructions are approved,

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 793

will be for it to form  
itself into a sub-Committee,  
& make a scheme for  
the work of the Presidency  
Commissions.

Sir P. Cautley is so  
honourable a man  
that I have no fear  
but that he will  
press any decisions  
he comes to on our  
Commission - before the  
India Council.

Pray burn this note.  
And pray help us  
farther with Sir C.  
Wood, if you can &  
think right.

F.N.

signed letter, 10ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/22 black-edged paper

*Confidential* 32 South St  
Park Lane  
London W.  
Oct 27/63

Dear Lord Stanley

We have not yet got **[9:248-51]**  
our Instructions for the  
home India Sanitary  
Commission: and our  
affairs are not  
prosperous.

As you are aware,  
Sir C. Wood named  
Sir P. Cautley and Sir R. Martin  
on the W.O. Barrack  
& Hospital Improvement  
Commission some weeks

ago - But the Instructions  
(Which I wrote, by Lord  
de Grey's desire) which  
were submitted to &  
approved by the  
Commissioners, have  
not yet been approved  
by Sir C. Wood: who  
is, I understand, "~~most~~  
"averse" to them. And  
Lord de Grey proposes  
to compromise the  
matter, and to let  
the Commission act  
for India on the  
same Instructions on  
which it acts for home.

I remonstrated: &  
shewed that it is on  
quite a different state  
of things we have to  
work. E.g. In England  
Sanitary improvement *outside*  
by local & general Acts,  
has been going on for  
years - And not a  
local administrative  
body but has its  
Sanitary powers - In  
India no such progress  
has been made - and  
no such powers exist.  
It was on this state  
of progress *outside* in England  
that we began our

Barrack & Hospital  
Improvements - i.e. we  
had little to do *outside*  
though every thing *inside*.

In India every thing  
has to be done *outside*.  
And it will be little  
or no use to rebuild,  
ventilate &c *inside* the Barracks,  
if no powers are to  
be given to remedy the  
deplorable state of  
Stations, Bazaars, cities  
& towns: or rather, I  
should say, to plan,  
to propose a scheme  
for such remedies.

Our home Instructions  
are therefore totally  
inadequate to meet  
the case. They do not  
cover a tenth of the  
ground - Nothing can  
result but failure  
& disappointment -  
Failure, I mean, in  
improving Indian health -  
if it is supposed that,  
while *outside* drainage,  
sewerage & water supply  
are left in their  
present state, which  
is NO state at all (or left  
for India authorities to do, or not to do, as they choose).  
- All that has to be done  
here

for India is to do what we have been doing at home, viz. reform the buildings.

I represented a good deal more of this kind, which I may spare you, because you know it better than I do. And I urged that Sidney Herbert had, in the case of the first R. Sanitary Commission, taken himself to & pressed upon Ld Panmure & Genl Peel (successively) the working ~~plans~~/schemes of the four Sub=Commissions

(which carried out his recommendations subsequently) - And that thus every thing was done that was done -

I was told that, "if Lord Stanley would have done this, the thing would have been carried", or words to that effect - that Sidney Herbert "had the power to say to the Minister, do this & he did it" - & that "Lord Stanley could

have done the same thing "that Lord de Grey" is in a different position & could not step in to advise Sir C. Wood how to carry into effect the report" that he "did say all he could".

Here the matter hangs now -

Of course this is for yourself alone - No human being has the least idea that I should state these things to you.

-3-

2. As you are aware, Sir C. Wood's despatch to India on your Report (1) sent out a summary of your Commissn's recommendns, (2) authorized the formation of the Presidency Commissions (3) pointed out that all plans for Sanitary improvements should, before being carried into execution, be sent to him for reference to the Sany Commission here. (4) directed

that the Calcutta, in communication with the Madras & Bombay, Commissions, be charged with the preparation of a draft code of Sanitary Regulations, such as is referred to in 37th Clause of your " recommendations" - that this draft code is to be transmitted to him for revision in this country - & the completed code will then be sent to India for promulgation -

There is enough to give one very great uneasiness in (2) and (4).

With regard to (2), I have a letter from Col. Strachey, the Head of the Public Works Dept. in India, as you know - proposing that these Presidency Commissions should consist of an "Officer of Health" - and - he does not know what.

Now, while ~~fre~~/fully sharing the "horror" of Col: Strachey "for "deliberative Boards", your Commission never

contemplated this -  
Officers of Health &  
Engineers. must be  
~~in the~~ employed, to inspect & report, by/~~of~~ the  
Presidency Commissions.  
But the Officer of Health  
should *do* no more  
than he does at home,  
viz. report on causes of  
disease. The Presidency  
Commission will have  
to decide on all sorts of  
Sanitary Engineering works.  
How can an "Officer of Health" do this?  
It should have a  
good Civilian administrator  
as an *administrative* head.  
And its *consulting* members

-4-

should represent  
all the scientific  
elements which have  
to do with health.  
There is no man living  
who could be  
recommended as an  
"Officer of Health" to do  
what Col. Strachey  
imposes upon him.

I am sadly afraid  
the Indians will  
mismanage their  
Presidency Commissions.

As to (4) - I ventured  
to remonstrate: & to shew

that, had Sidney Herbert left our "Codes" to the Horse Guards "to draw up" - we should have been just where we were before - It is a very different thing drawing up one's own code & having it accepted by the Horse Guards, - which was our case - & letting the Horse Guards draw it up, to be "approved" by the War Minister.

This point was carried so far as this:

that we have been instructed privately by Sir C. Wood "to draw up ~~the~~ a Memorandum of the heads of a Code to be submitted" to him for transcription to the Presidency Commissions.

But this is not of such *immediate* importance as the instructions to the home Commission.

It is very little use making a Regulation to prevent the chimney from smoking, while

nothing is being done  
to cure smoky chimneys.  
The very first thing is to  
put the Stations to  
rights. Afterwards  
we may make a  
"code" for them.  
The very first thing for  
the home Commission  
to do is to report on,  
& to draw up a  
scheme for, the best  
Sanitary arrangements  
applicable to India,  
merely to save time  
& to keep the Presidency  
Commissions in the  
right path.

-5-

[We are not so wild  
as to think that we are  
to draw up their  
administrative rules &  
forms of procedure for them.]

I have often apologized  
for troubling you  
about things. But  
I make no apology  
now - For the very  
existence is at stake,  
as it seems to me,  
of the practical good to be  
derived from your  
Report -

You were once so  
good as to tell me

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

802

that almost all the  
I.O. measures passed  
thro' your hands -  
Help us now -

Yours very faithfully,  
Florence Nightingale.

I do not forget to  
thank you for the  
successful trouble  
you have taken in  
making the I.O.  
give Dr. Sutherland  
his due -

Please to burn this  
letter out of the world  
& out of your memory.  
It is for yourself alone.  
If you think well to act,  
you will act as from  
yourself, of course.

Sir C. Wood was with  
Lord de Grey at Studley  
Royal. Perhaps he is  
not gone.

**[end 9:251]**

F.N.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 803  
In with Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/23 black-edged paper  
signed letter, 2ff, pen

Private 32 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
Oct 31/ 63

Dear Lord Stanley

[9:253]

I beg to enclose to  
you the whole of a  
packet I have just  
received from Sir C.  
Trevelyan -

But the part I  
would particularly  
call your attention to  
is the two "Public Works  
Dept" sheets, Nos. 2919,  
4007. They give an

idea of the state of  
Calcutta which nothing,  
no Evidence in your  
Blue Books comes  
near -

The fact is, the  
ground of the Maidan  
is *used up*. And  
Calcutta, already  
nearly uninhabitable,  
is fast becoming  
quite so -

The only thing,  
in those papers,  
which equals the  
state of things they

reveal to an experienced  
Sanitary eye, is the  
utter helplessness  
they betray.

And while this  
is the state of things  
out there, they are  
*chaffering* here as  
*to the powers they*  
*shall give us to*  
*help* them.

I would fain  
ask you, if you have  
half an hour to spare  
when you come to  
London "on the 10th or

12th," to let me see  
you in regard to  
your interview with  
Sir C. Wood any day,  
any hour; only let  
me know beforehand.

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

Will you have the  
goodness to return  
to me the whole of  
Sir C. Trevelyan's  
packet, at your  
convenience?

[end 9:253]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 805  
signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/24 black-edged paper

*Confidential* 32 South St  
Park Lane W.  
2/11/63

Dear Lord Stanley,

**[9:254-55]**

I saw yesterday  
the whole of Sir C.  
Wood's correspondence  
relating to the India  
home Commission -  
And in a Despatch,  
to India, dated August 15, (&  
not communicated  
to the W.O. till the  
end of October,)  
regarding the  
recommendations of

your R. Commission, he  
commits himself  
in a way that  
renders it hopeless  
to think of our  
obtaining the (home)  
Instructions we  
thought necessary.  
For we proposed that  
the (home) Commission  
should draw up a  
scheme for carrying  
out the recommenda=  
tions in India; this  
Despatch has actually  
sent out such a

scheme, drawn up  
in its own way, on  
August 15.

They cannot  
stultify themselves  
by sending another.

And I have  
therefore given way,  
as far as I am  
concerned & written  
a short Instruction  
(at the W.O. desire)  
for the Barrack &  
Hospl Commn merely  
to enable them to be  
asked to prepare

plans & descriptions  
of new Barracks &  
Hospls - methods  
for improving existing  
ditto - & to give their  
advice on all proposals  
of a Sanitary nature  
sent from India.

As we have been asked  
by Sir C. Wood  
(privately) to draw  
up the "heads" of a  
code, we may  
introduce such  
explanatory matter,  
by way of note, as

will cover a good  
deal of the ground  
which the Commn  
now can't touch, in  
the absence of the  
specific Instruction  
which Sir C. Wood  
declines giving.

You will have seen  
(by the Calcutta Minutes  
I sent) that, tho'  
Calcutta has a  
Municipal Council,  
they don't know how  
to begin, & are

actually sending their  
Engineer to England  
to learn. Now, of whom  
is he to learn? Would  
not the wisest thing  
be to put him into  
relation with the  
home (India) Commn?

The *very case has*  
*arisen*. And yet  
they have no power  
whatever to deal  
with it at home.

---

2. Two of the points  
in the original Draft

Instructions for home relating  
to the training of  
officers of Health &  
of Cadets of Engineers  
in Sanitary principles  
for India, are now  
omitted in the  
present short  
Instruction - Yet  
they are of great  
importance.

I have thought  
it but honest to  
tell you exactly  
how things stand now.  
Yet, if you still could

do anything to help  
us, pray do not  
neglect us. An  
almost fatal step  
has been made at  
first starting. But  
much may still be  
retrieved. And I trust  
that you will still allow me  
to consult you personally  
about yours faithfully  
it, as you F. Nightingale  
were so  
good as  
to mention in your note  
of Oct 31, just received.  
Although the state of things  
is different from what  
we supposed it to be, &  
from what I stated to  
you. somewhat.

[end 9:255]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 809  
signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/25 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
22/11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have been waiting  
patiently (or impatiently)  
to hear from you.

[9:257]

You were so good as  
to say that you would  
make an appointment  
with me "at the close  
of the week beginning  
~~Jan~~/Nov. 9."

We are just where  
we were (as to the  
"Instructions") 4 months  
ago.

Sir C. Wood will not  
approve any Instructions  
now for the home  
(India) Commission to  
act upon - And all  
that he will say is  
that your Report is  
"exaggerated".

I think he must  
act or *not* act - thus  
from want of information.

And there is no  
one to press such  
information on him  
but you -

I received, by yesterday's mail, printed documents from the Bengal Army Medical Dept approving of all the recommendations - & differing only on certain Engineering details, with which they are less familiar than we are - This printed letter, so far from stating that all the recommendations had been "anticipated", states that one only had been anticipated.

The India Office sent me the Cholera

Commission's Report of 1862, giving such an account of the Stations in Upper India, as we had no idea of, gave no idea of.

I have seen a similar Report for the Punjab -

All this does not look as if India thought your Report "exaggerated" But the strongest of all is the document (of Sir C. Trevelyan's) about Calcutta - which you have still. Would you have the

kindness to return  
me that: & his  
Commissariat Minutes  
which you have?

I have many subsequent  
documents of his, if  
you would like to see  
them - Some I have  
sent to the W.O.

Meanwhile all our  
time is being wasted.  
The Calcutta Municipality  
have actually sent  
their Officer to England  
for information. And  
we have no means  
of entering into  
relation with him.

If you would like  
Dr. Sutherland to  
wait upon you, he  
would doubtless ~~lie~~/give  
the necessary information  
(as to the present  
state of things, with  
regard to the Instructions)  
better than I should.

[end 9:257]

Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 812

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/26 black-edged paper

Private 32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square W.

23/11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I understand that **[9:257--58]**  
"a paper has been  
"received" (by the I.O.)  
"from Col. Norman,  
"in which he positively  
"declares that the  
"grievances & abuses  
"complained of" (by  
"you in your Report)  
"have long been  
"remedied - & that  
"in fact the Report

"attempts to slay the  
"slain."

[I presume that  
this Col. Norman  
is the Mil: Sec: of  
the Govt. of India].

Of course you, as  
the Chairman of  
that Commission, are  
the only person who  
can claim & answer  
Col: Norman's "paper".

I will only say  
that, of all things,

I desire to see it, &  
to assist in answering  
it.

I enclose an Ext:  
from the Cholera  
Commission Report,  
dated last year,  
received by the I.O.  
on Nov.2 only (*this*  
month); & lent me  
for 48 hours. [I must  
therefore beg that you  
will return me  
this Ext:, which I  
cannot reproduce].

I only remark  
that, to this very Col:

Norman, this Report  
is addressed - that  
your Report gives  
no idea of anything  
half so shocking as  
his: & that the account  
of the other Stations  
in N. India is, if  
possible, worse -

I add an Ext:  
from a *private*  
letter of Lady Elgin's:

"*People who know*" -  
(how much mischief  
that phrase has  
authorized) "have

"detected *serious*  
"mistakes in the Report  
" - tending to exaggerate  
"*much* the *real* rate  
"of mortality. &c &c

Napoleon's Pope  
saw nothing more  
wonderful in Paris  
than to see himself  
there. I see nothing  
so wonderful in all  
these letters as to see  
how "people who know."  
are shaken by them.

[end 9:258]

Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/27 black-edged paper

Private 32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
25/11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

Of course the papers, [9:257]  
here sent by your  
permission, are for  
yourself alone - & to  
*be returned to me*  
please, without being  
mentioned to Sir C. Wood.

It occurred to me,  
would it not be well  
if you would take  
the trouble to see  
Lord de Grey before  
Sir C. Wood, as the

home Commission is  
partly W.O.? Lord de  
Grey would then be  
acting in concert with  
you.

But, whether you  
think well to do this  
or not, do not let  
me be mentioned in it.  
1. as to the "Inspections"  
in India - what I  
meant by Inspections  
was this: I did not  
mean that Inspectors  
must be sent from  
this country, but that:

in following out the principles  
laid down by your R.  
Commission, all duties  
of inspection should  
be carried out by  
Officers of the Presidency  
Commissions. They should  
be done by a Sanitary  
& an Engineering Officer,  
who should report  
defects & proposals for  
improvement to the  
Presidency Commissions.

In this work, all that  
the Home Commission  
could do would be to  
aid the Pres: Commns:  
by their advice as to  
points of detail - such

as laying on of water  
&c. &c. &c.

2. The Calcutta people  
have themselves antici-  
pated the supposed  
objection to interference  
by sending home an  
Officer on purpose to  
gain information  
about drainage. And  
yet we must not  
put ourselves in  
connection with him.

[end 9:259]

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 817

signed letter, 3ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/28 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
29/11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

As to one of the three **[9:259-60]**  
subjects of our conversation  
- Sir John Lawrence  
has "only just ascertained  
"that the copies (of your  
Report) were sent  
round the Cape & not  
"overland - Hence the  
"delay. It was ordered  
"that a certain number  
"of copies were to go  
"overland also, but

"by some mistake this  
"was not done. Some  
"have since been  
"ordered off."

["By mistake" also  
Sir C. Wood did not  
present to the Ho: of  
C. ~~the~~/your whole Report  
& evidence.]

There remain the  
other two topics of  
our conversation (of  
much more importance)  
viz. 1. to get some kind  
of Instructions for

your home (advising)  
Commission - and  
2. to get "Col. Norman's  
paper" denying the  
facts of your Report,  
for answer.

It seemed to me that  
your three principal  
objections to me were  
1. the "impossibility of  
water drainage in a  
country *with dry*  
seasons"

To this I now venture  
to enclose an answer  
2. about "Inspections",  
to which I have sent

you an answer, as  
to what I meant by  
"inspections" - as it  
is of incomparably  
more importance to  
know what to do  
with the old Barracks  
than to build new -  
which will be  
comparatively few in  
number -  
3. about the "unwilling=  
ness" (& "uselessness") to  
"refer home such questions  
as those of drainage & water=  
supply", to which I answered that they  
HAVE *done it*. The

Calcutta Municipality  
has actually sent  
home an Officer for  
this very purpose -  
And we have no  
powers to meet him.

Poor Lady Elgin!

Yours faithfully,  
Florence Nightingale

[end 9:260]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 819

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/29 black-edged paper

*Confidential* 32, South Street, {printed address}  
Grosvenor Square. W.

Dec 1/63

Dear Lord Stanley

You were saying that  
the India Govt. at home  
& the India Govt. in India  
were jealous.

[9:264-65]

Now you have a  
Governor Genl in your  
hand.

He is not at all  
jealous. on the contrary.

He could settle  
all we want with  
Sir C. Wood in five

minutes - if you would  
tell him, as Chairman  
of the R. Sanitary Commn,  
what you want.

He is a man never  
*too busy* for business.  
In these few last days,  
of pressure, he has  
actually found time  
to let me know several  
matters of detail in  
the I. O.

No doubt you have  
much hand in his  
appointment.

His is the greatest  
government now under  
God's. And he is  
the only man to fill  
it.

Here is an opportunity  
where what might  
take months of  
correspondence may  
be settled in a few  
minutes - such as

1. the constitution of the  
Presidency Commissions -  
to consist of: -

(1) an able Civilian to  
be responsible administrative

head - advised by

(2) an Engineer of "Public  
Works Department"  
a Medical Sanitary Officer,  
a Military Officer,  
an Army Medical Officer.

This Board to proceed

(a) to direct local  
enquiries, or "Inspections,"  
best carried out by an

Engineering Officer &  
an Officer of Health  
in concert.

(b) to receive reports  
prepare plans, direct  
& see to execution of  
works.

It is the opportunity: -

2. to establish a proper connection between the Presidency Commissions & the home Commission, i.e. an *entente cordiale*.

3. to enable the home Commission to help the Presidency Commissions by a direct statement & description of the kind of Sanitary works, improvements & appliances applicable to Indian Stations, to meet the requirements described in the Indian Stational Reports.

Sir John Lawrence, Governor Genl could do what the S. of S. for India might feel a reluctance in doing. viz. he might desire the home Commission to send all the information & suggestions they can as to the best means of initiating & carrying out Sanitary improvements at the Stations, together with the most improved appliances for Barracks & Hospitals.

If something practical  
of this kind is not  
done, the four years'  
labours of your R.  
Commission are as  
bad as lost -

The enclosed  
statement anticipates  
some objections.

[end 9:265]

Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/30 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
Dec 3/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I will try & see  
Sir John Lawrence -  
But I never convinced  
any one yet but Sidney  
Herbert. And I could  
have wished you had  
done it.

[9:265]

I cannot leave  
what you give "as  
the substance of  
*their* case" unanswered.  
I could wish that

you would bring the  
substance of my  
answer before Sir  
C. Wood.

As to the home  
Commission, instead  
of there being "nothing  
for it to do," there is  
everything for it to  
do.

But I let that  
drop -

Would you have  
the goodness to return  
me

a M.S. of the heads

of a Sanitary code -  
also two printed papers  
of the Principal  
Inspector Genl of  
Bengal - & one or  
two other papers, I  
*think*, which you  
have of mine.

The heads of Code  
we were directed  
to draw up by Sir C.  
Wood. And I have  
no other copy.

**[end 9:265]**

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 824

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/32 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}  
Private Grosvenor Square. W.

13/1/64

Dear Lord Stanley

We are in tribulation **[9:273]**  
about our reviews.

The "Quarterly", after  
having accepted a  
review by Dr. Acland  
(of your India Army  
Sanitary Report) has  
sneaked shabbily  
round to the enemy  
- & is about to insert  
a review *by the enemy*  
with all the Norman

(Col:)

& Crommelin & India  
military "information",  
stating just what you  
told me was the "India  
military authorities"  
case -

Lady Herbert, when  
she left England, left  
in my hands a note  
from you to her, "saying  
that you would see  
the Editor of the  
"Westminster" about  
a review of the said  
Report. If you will

write one yourself, -  
so much the better  
for us - If not, will  
you ask the Editor  
of the "Westminster"  
whether he will have  
Dr. Acland's (of  
Oxford)? for his  
next number?

I have had a  
furious correspondence  
with the Editor of the  
"Edinburgh" - who was  
~~quite~~/altogether taken in by the  
"India military authorities"  
- in which I was *not*  
*quite* so uncivil (but

nearly so) as these  
same "authorities" are  
- & which ended in  
my being engaged to  
write a review (in  
my own sense, of  
course) for the next  
number of the Edinburgh

This is of course  
private, as I should  
not wish it to be  
known that the  
"turbulent fellow" - vide  
Ld Panmure - was "at  
it" again.

[end 9:273]

Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 826

signed letter, 5ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/33 black-edged paper

*Confidential* 115 Park St. W.  
Feb 9/64

Dear Lord Stanley

[9:274-75]

The Editor of the  
Edinburgh Review has  
written to me to urge  
the performance of  
my promise to write  
an Article on your  
India Sanitary Report  
for his April Number  
- also to say that the  
M. S. must be in  
his hands by March  
10 at latest -

But the promise

was expressly made  
on condition that it  
was to be a fair  
discussion of the two  
sides. And for this  
it is necessary that  
the other side shall  
have spoken out.  
A discussion cannot  
be made ~~with~~/upon one side  
only.

May I ask whether  
you know, or whether  
you will ascertain,  
if Sir C. Wood has  
received the "defence"

of the India military  
authorities, for which  
he wrote to Lord Elgin,  
& which he intended  
to lay on the table  
of the Ho: of C.?

Or whether he  
would let you have  
any documents, which  
might be made public  
use of?

Of private ones I  
have seen plenty -  
(from India.) But,  
for the life of me, I  
cannot make out

what their "defence" is  
- nor in what their  
contradictions (of the  
truth of your Report)  
consist.

On the contrary: as  
in "Rejected Addresses"  
the conspirators say,  
"Let us by a song  
conceal our purposes" -  
I am sure the  
conspirators (against  
our truth) most  
effectually conceal  
their "defence" by  
alleging facts ten  
times worse than  
yours.

-2-

I don't feel in the least inclined to write a réchauffé of your Report - And, if you cannot furnish me with something to contradict or answer, I shall beg off from writing the said Article.

2. Have you heard whether the "Westminster Review" will take in Dr. Acland's Article, as you were so good as to ask them?

3. We have nearly

done what Sir John Lawrence bade us do - (1) the general scheme of Sanitary works for Stations in India, with plans & diagrams - to be sent in the name of the joint I. O. and W. O. Commission

(2) the draft of the letter from W. O. to I. O, embodying those recommendations of your Commission, which can only be carried out by W. O and I. O.

But this last has been  
most untowardly  
delayed, first by no  
body knowing what  
the respective jurisdictions  
were - second, by the  
discovery of a Committee  
which had been worked by Sir E.  
Lugard in the W. O.,  
unknown to Lord de  
Grey, ever since August  
1861, (i.e. the month  
of Sidney Herbert's  
death,) on the Victualling  
of troops on board  
ship, going out to  
India - and which

would infallibly end  
by consigning half  
the troops who land  
in India upon such  
diet to Scurvy -

As this was a very  
important item, delay  
has arisen till Lord  
de Grey can take steps  
*to undo this mischief -*

And they say that  
the W. O. is re-organized  
!!!

~~We have also almost~~  
done a Manual (8vo)  
from your Report &  
Evidence, (the two folio

-3-

Vols.,) which the Horse  
Guards is to give a  
copy of, to every officer  
in the Service.

If I have told you  
anything about the  
W. O., which you  
have not heard from  
other sources, pray  
consider it really  
"confidential"

[end 9:275]

in haste

Yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/34 black-edged paper

signed letter, 4ff, pen  
*Confidential* 115 Park St. W.  
Feb 20/64

Dear Lord Stanley

[9:276-77]

After much "speering"  
at the I.O., I find, as  
regards the correspondence  
about your Sanitary  
Report

1. that they "now  
expect a full report  
from Col: Norman"
2. that they are  
"pretty sure that Sir  
C. Wood will not  
present anything to

Parliament until that report has arrived & then been considered" - 3. that they "have not heard that any one is likely to move for papers."

Would you not ask a question in the House? I wish you would.

However, you probably know more from Sir C. Wood than I do.

I wrote to Dr. Acland

immediately to send his review to the Westminster

I have put off mine in the Edinburgh till July. It is no use entering the lists till the enemy has appeared.

Our Abstract in 8vo, or "Manual", for the W. O., of your two folio Vols: is finished.

The Sanitary scheme, asked for by Sir John Lawrence, would be finished, (including the scheme for registration and a Weekly Table, as

for London,) if only the Engineering people would send us in their part. It is most vexatious to have to wait for this: for all is done but the Engineering part.

Much more vexatious is the delay brought to ~~the~~/drafting the letter from the W.O. to I.O., embodying some of your recommendations, by the vagueness about respective jurisdictions.

(1) M. General Pears has been

applied to, & has answered - But little has come of it.

(2) A reference has been made *from* the W. O. Committee, of which Lord de Grey was not cognizant, by him, to the joint W. O and I. O Sanitary Committee, about the victualling of troops on their passage to India.

(3) The Horse Guards have managed so to discontent Medical

Officers, that we  
positively can't get  
candidates to supply  
the Army Medl Dept,  
now that it has to  
furnish doctors to  
both British &  
Indian troops - the  
best thing that could  
have happened to us,  
as now the W. O.  
must go into the  
market & buy their  
doctors -

But all this has provokingly delayed the drafting of  
said letter to I. O.  
which we were asked  
to draft for the W. O.      **[end 9:277]**

yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/35 black-edged paper

Private 115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
March 4/64

Dear Lord Stanley      **[9:277-78]**

Probably you have  
forgotten a correspondence  
we had (in December)  
as to the difficulty of  
a proper system of  
sewerage & drainage in  
a country with dry  
seasons - I stated  
that we had established  
such at drier Stations  
than any in India -  
And I proposed to  
send you our Report  
on the Mediterranean

Stations - [It possesses  
a great interest for me,  
for it was the last  
request made by me  
& granted by Sidney  
Herbert before his death]

Of course you will  
have this Report in the  
regular manner - But  
you may not take  
notice of it. So I  
venture to send you  
my copy, which I get  
rather sooner than the  
Ho: of C. Will it be  
giving you too much  
trouble to ask you to

return it?

If you have time, in  
the midst of your hard  
duties, to look at it,  
you will find the gist  
of the whole matter;  
both defects & remedies,  
in the first 22 pages.  
These, with the "pictures",  
give a very fair idea  
of the *Indian* subject;  
except that all the  
improvements for *India*  
need to be on a greater  
scale, with more water,  
more cubic space in  
Barracks & Hospitals,  
more complete ventilating  
arrangements, more

constant attention to  
Sanitary police.

[By the way, we hear  
there is to be a debate  
on the cession of the  
Ionian Islands -

If England has done  
so little for them, as  
shewn by this Report,  
I think the sooner we  
give them up, the  
better]

Pray let me take this  
opportunity of saying,  
with regard to your not  
moving in the Ho: for our  
Indian enemies - that

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

I not only submit to  
your judgment, but do  
so with my head in the  
dust, like a R. Catholic  
before his Superior.

It is a matter upon  
which I have (& can  
have) absolutely no  
opinion. And I was  
almost sorry I expressed  
a wish -

Also let me say I did  
not mean to complain  
of Lord de Grey, in the  
matter desired by Sir  
John Lawrence - Id de  
G. does everything he can

for us. It is not likely  
he should have the  
weight with Crown,  
Cabinet, Commander-in-  
Chief, & Parliament  
that S. Herbert had -  
But he is willing [Sir  
G. Lewis was not.]  
It would be most  
ungrateful of me to  
complain of Ld de G.,  
especially as this is  
such a new matter,  
that the respective  
jurisdictions are all  
uncertain & confused.  
But we are

getting on Your faithful servt **[end 9:278]**  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/36 black-edged paper

Private 115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

*Confidential* March 12/64

Dear Lord Stanley

**[9:281-83]**

I heard from your  
great man & mine, Sir  
John Lawrence, by last  
mail. His letter was  
dated Feb 5.

He has done all you  
asked; & in your way,  
not in his.

He has appointed  
the Bengal Commission of  
Health - capital men -  
three of them I know -  
representing the five

different interests you recommended. He has made a Civilian the President, & the responsible executive - and this is to be his sole work - quite enough, one would think, for one man, (even were he Hercules with his twelve labours) He has also made a *Secretary* with this as his sole work. Nothing can be more in conformity with your recommendations that the whole proceeding,

as far as Sir John Lawrence is concerned.

He says that he would have created the Commission of Health for Bengal, immediately on his arrival - but that your two=folio=Report did not arrive till February.

[You know he ascertained, before he left, that the copies had been sent round by the Cape "by mistake"]

The two=folio=copy seems to have taken the Indians aback, from the (~~two~~/too) intimate

knowledge it betrays  
that you had as to the  
state of their Stations.

At least I augur this  
from the fact that  
Mr. Strachey C. S., who  
is the author of that  
India Cholera Report, which  
has been suppressed  
in England, & from  
which I sent you a  
most astounding  
Extract, containing  
revelations as to the  
state of the Stations  
which  $\mp$ /we had no  
idea of - [I have since  
received a "confidential"

-2-

115 Park Street. W. printed address:}  
copy from India, which  
is much at your service  
- but it is very *nasty*]  
this Mr. Strachey, when  
Sir J. Lawrence did  
me the honor to discuss  
with me the appointments  
to your "Commission of  
Health" in Bengal, I  
suggested - And Sir J.  
Lawrence answered that  
nothing would induce  
Mr. Strachey to accept  
such an appointment  
for any money, as he  
had been worried out  
of his life about his

Cholera Report.

I conclude, from his accepting the appointment, that the reception of the two=folio Report has considerably modified Indian opinion - & quickened their wits as to the desirableness of doing something.

If the Governor General is for us, as you said, - I do not mind however, who is against us?/!

But Sir John Lawrence

is grievously disappointed that, whereas he has done all we asked, we have not yet done what he asked -

He implies that his Health Commission is quite ready to go the whole length of our "views". And he asks why we don't send our "views". He asks this on Feb 5. On March 12 our "views" are not on the way - And I very much fear that his Commission may have been sitting six months waiting for our "views", before they come.

[Poor man! he really expected dispatch! he really thought the W. O. could get ready a document in 3 months! he must be fitter for a Lunatic Asylum than for a Governor Generalship.]

This part of the matter is very distressing. *Our* part of the work was ready almost as soon as Sir J. Lawrence started. But the double nay treble jurisdiction there is in every thing concerning the Indian Army - also the delays of the plan= designers, & the printers,  
- *I am fit* for a Lunatic Asylum with them all.

-3-

the matter has turned out the very reverse of what we expected. India has done its part at the other end. And at our end it has ~~a~~ not.

Sir J. Lawrence winds up with saying, "without such a guide, (our "codes" & "rules" & "plans") we shall often be perhaps working in direct opposition to your views - Where we differ, it will become our duty to set forth

"the grounds for so  
"doing, in sending our  
"plans & reports home."

Sir John Lawrence  
has certainly brought  
in a new day for India,  
as in Sanitary things,  
so in others -

Your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Pray consider whatever  
may come thro' me  
(about this) really  
"confidential". Of course  
Sir J. L. tells the I. O.  
himself what he thinks

fit.

You have perhaps  
forgotten that you gave  
me a hint to give Sir  
J. L. before he started,  
as to conciliating the  
"Millingtary". I did so -  
F.N.

[end 9:283]

signed letter, 10ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/37 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

*Confidential* March 15/64

Dear Lord Stanley

In answer to your  
very kind note of  
March 12: -

[9:278]

the "delay" I am sorry  
to say, arises from Lord  
de Grey's inability, I  
will not say unwilling=  
ness, to be *snubbed* by  
Sir C. Wood.

the "exact thing waiting  
to be done" is to make  
the Horse Guards & the  
India Office carry out

certain of your recommend=ations, which do not belong to the War Office to do -

Of this more presently.

[end 9:278]

March 17/64

The War Office mind appears to have been stirred up, like the Indian mind, during the last four days - And during this time, the proofs from the printers & the plans

[9:283-85]

from the designers - for Barracks & Stations & Sanitary schemes - have been pouring in.

This was what Sir John Lawrence more particularly insisted upon - viz. the "delay" ~~has~~/which the ~~£~~ joint W. O. and I. O. Commission, has been guilty of in sending out its plans to his (Bengal) Commission, when they ~~were~~/are so good as to wish to be taught -

I am sorry to say we cannot have a Meeting of the said

(home) Commission till  
after the 26th owing  
to Sir Proby Cautley's  
absence from the I. O.

Sir P. Cautley writes  
"it is most desirable  
that they (the papers)  
should reach India  
as soon as possible,  
so as to be in the  
hands of the (Bengal)  
Commission in their  
early sittings."

But meanwhile  
he does not come  
back. However, I dare  
say we shall hardly

-2-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
be ready before the 26th,  
as we have had to  
correct both plans  
& papers - and I have  
only to day sent to Mr.  
Rawlinson, the "Local  
Govt Act Office Engineer,  
(who did the water-supply  
& drainage part,) *his*  
part to correct.

If we can send the  
plans & papers in to  
the I. O. soon after the  
26th, (& they will forward  
the whole immediately  
to India,) altho' *this* is  
too bad of us, still it

is better than I had  
dared to expect -

~~But this is compara=~~  
tively straight forward  
- tho' aggravating from  
its blundering delays,  
when Sir John Lawrence  
had made such  
virtuous haste on  
his side.

The rest, (the "exact  
things waiting to be  
done") is the real  
difficulty.

Here please glance at  
the enclosed Lists.

Here is the difficulty -  
And, except that every  
body has been using  
the most violent  
language to every body,  
we are just where  
we were 3 months ago -  
And Sir J. Lawrence  
complains that we  
are so, while his part  
is quite & completely  
done, as far as Bengal .

Three months ago, Ld  
de Grey asked me to  
draft a letter for  
him to Sir C. Wood,  
embodying those of  
your recommendations,  
out of

Nos 1 to 13, which the  
I. O. must carry out.  
"For he says, the Indian  
Army is under Sir C.  
Wood - & Sir C. W. must  
write out to Genl Officers  
in India, as the W. O.  
writes out to Genl Officers  
in Colonies. The W. O. has  
no direct communication with the  
Indian Army.

[This is not quite true.  
But that is not my  
business.]

Two months ago, a  
meek little letter was  
written by W. O to Genl  
Pears, enquiring some  
preliminaries, in order

-3-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
to draft the great letter  
to Sir C. Wood,

A very terrible letter  
came back from Genl  
Pears, saying that Sir  
C. Wood HAD recommended  
what he thought fit -  
& did not want any  
interference from the  
W. O.

The poor W. O. shut  
up directly - or rather  
not directly, but  
went shilly-shallying  
on, doing nothing,  
till March 10 - Id de Grey

sounding Sir C. Wood,  
Sir C. W. *snubbing* Ld  
de Grey, & telling him  
to mind his own  
business.

[Ld de Grey is a  
humble & a vain  
man - & that makes  
a man pedantic - &  
that gives a man a  
mortal ~~fear~~/dislike of being  
snubbed - & makes  
him think a great  
deal about his "influence".  
Sidney Herbert had  
influence, without ever  
thinking about it. Lord

de Grey has none, by  
thinking too much about  
it. Besides, it is no doubt  
difficult for a man to  
act as colleague to a  
Minister whose Under  
Secretary he has been -

But, as I am not  
making a psychological  
study of Lord de Grey,  
I had better go on to  
facts] Therefore : -

We have besides  
another difficulty -  
which is that, whatever  
the Commander in Chief  
in England recommends  
to the C. in C. in India,  
he does *all the* LESS for

being recommended.

Also, it appears that when Her Majesty makes regulations for her troops, the Queen's Regulations do not obtain when her troops are in India.

[I can hardly believe it.]

However, when I proposed three months ago (by Sir J. Lawrence's desire) that ~~the~~ Lord de Grey should write to the Duke of Cambridge about those of your recommendations

-4-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
which are purely H. G. and W. O., Ld de Grey told me the above -

The reason I don't quite believe it, is that this is the very act to which they now have determined themselves after 3 months' delay.

I was to have received a copy of this letter to the Horse Guards, that I might communicate with Sir John Lawrence by this day's mail.

And I also waited for  
this in order to shew  
it to you, before  
writing to you.

But as it was only  
three *days* ago since  
the W. O. made up its  
noble mind to this  
~~measure~~/manoeuvre, it is not  
to be supposed that  
the letter ~~is~~/can be written  
in three days. And it is  
not.

I have now ~~told you~~/written  
the exact state of  
things with regard

to each one of your  
recommendations.

Pray excuse me that  
it is so long. I believe  
I could have *told* it  
so as to be less tiresome.  
But 1. I have been quite  
laid up. 2. I did not  
like to *waste* your kind  
offer of a visit, hoping  
to turn it to account soon,  
when we really see  
our way.

With regard to your  
kind offer of acting for us  
yourself: -

I see that Ld de Grey  
would rather you  
did *not* urge *him* -

would rather you *did*  
urge Sir C. Wood.

Because he, Ld de Grey,  
*is* willing, even anxious,  
but not ~~capable~~ -

Sir C. Wood *is* ~~capable~~  
but not willing.

It is awkward for Lord  
de G. to have to tell you he would,  
but he can't.

Of course I have  
nothing to advise with  
regard to your ~~see~~/speaking  
to Sir C. Wood, altho'  
you are so kind as  
to ask the question.

I am afraid he  
will say, " *I* have done  
all I can. We must  
wait till we hear from  
India."

-5-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
In that case, we are just  
where we were, viz. to  
act thro' Sir John Lawrence  
& to make him act  
on Sir Hugh Rose -

[But there is no occasion  
to *make him act*,  
as I have incorrectly  
~~said~~/put it.]

I saw him, however,  
once, immediately after  
{~~illeg~~} he had seen the  
Duke of Cambridge. And  
he was eager in wishing  
that the *Horse Guards*  
should put down the  
Canteen system, at least,

from here - & in saying  
that no way else could  
it be done -

Please to remember  
that the whole of this  
~~what~~ is "confidential".  
If you act, you will  
of course act from  
yourself -

Sir J. Lawrence, of  
course, writes to  
I. O. himself what  
he thinks fit.

Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Did I mention that  
Sir J. Lawrence asks  
us to write a sanitary  
code for his Commissions,  
as well as the work  
we are doing for him?

I think we had  
better write the duties,  
& *they* codify.

He also asks for  
all old Reports & Manuals  
for his Commissions.

I have sent out  
three sets, one for each  
Presidency Commission,  
of all Board of Health  
Reports &c, & all W. O.

There *is* no Manual.

F.N.

I shall write again,  
with your permission,  
in a day or two -  
Because your offer to  
act for us is too  
good to be wasted.

F.N.

[end 9:285]

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/38 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
*Confidential* March 19/64  
Dear Lord Stanley

The W.O. have really **[9:285-86]**  
written a letter - not,  
of course, in ~~(illeg)~~/time for the  
Indian mail of yesterday.  
But it is really written, &  
sent to the Horse Guards -  
with "Immediate" over  
it, dated March 15/64  
(when it ought to be  
August 15/63 - the date  
of Sir C. Wood's Despatch)

This letter contains

the following points -  
out of your recommendations

1. the discontinuance or  
limitation of the sale of  
spirits in Regimental  
Canteens, & the more  
extended use of beer,  
coffee &c
2. the suppression as far  
as possible of the sale  
of spirits in Bazaars
3. the superintendence  
of cooking by (European)  
Regimental cooks.

[Even the Regimental  
cooks, already gone out

with their Regiments  
to India, complain  
that they are not employed  
& have no control over  
the cooking.]

4. making gymnastics  
a parade
5. employing men in  
trades where workshops  
have been provided, &  
promoting Soldiers'  
gardens.

The letter proposes  
that Sir Hugh Rose  
be requested to consider  
these various points  
in conference with  
the India Government,

& to report what  
measures are most  
applicable for meeting  
the recommendations of  
your Commission.

The letter treats of  
~~those~~/Regimental points only, with  
which the Military  
authorities in India  
must deal - by means of  
the Commanding Officers -

I am to write to Sir  
J. Lawrence on the 26th  
& expound the doings  
of the W. O. (very  
difficult -) & send him  
some very good practical  
experience we have  
just had on Trades -  
He is very strong on the point.

-2-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

It is a very odd thing  
that nobody knows even now  
who are responsible  
for *Regimental* reforms.  
- nor who are to carry  
out your *Regimental*  
recommendations.

We are going to try  
now how far the new  
Army Medical Regulations  
of 1859 (Sanitary &  
Statistical) can be  
introduced into India  
by the Director General  
here, before any other

step is taken.

I am going to send  
you a Proof of the paper  
of "Suggestions", which  
included the duties of  
the Officer of Health,

- to be sent out by the  
(home) Commission to  
the Presidency Commissions  
~~by~~/at Sir J. Lawrence's  
desire -

If the W. O. has not  
sent you one, it is  
because it is not ready -

[end 9:286]

your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 854

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/39 black-edged paper

{printed address:} 115 Park Street. W.

{other hand: Nightingale Miss Ap 64}

Private April 14/64

Dear Lord Stanley [9:288]

I bear in mind that  
you said you could not  
look at any more of  
our papers after  
April 18. And I am  
very sorry for it, - for  
our sakes, not yours.

I think you will  
like to see the first  
Minute of our first  
Commission, as Sir

John Lawrence calls it,  
sent me by him.

It has made a  
great disturbance at  
Calcutta. It is strictly  
private. Please return  
it to me, that I may  
answer it ~~in~~/by the mail  
of the 18th Their great  
difficulty now is that  
the Police is under  
the Govt, the Officer of  
Health under the  
Municipality. We have

settled this difficultly  
satisfactorily in England.  
And Sir John Lawrence  
asks me to send him  
out all the information  
on the subject.

There is no doubt  
that this Minute is  
an immense step -  
And the reform has  
begun.

I shall venture to  
send you some other  
papers before ~~the~~/your"18th".  
Sir John Lawrence  
scarce lets a mail  
pass without sending

me something.

I have his Minute  
on the Commissariat  
Report. But as the  
India Office has not  
yet received the  
Commissariat Report,  
it is not of much use  
to us -

India is now far  
a head of us in ~~these~~/carrying  
out your Sanitary things. It is we who  
are hanging back -  
not they - in forwarding  
your "recommendations."

[end 9:288]

Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/40 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

Private April 15/64

[9:288-89]

Dear Lord Stanley

I send you three documents all sent me by Sir J. Lawrence. Please be so good as to return them all to me, at your convenience

1. Sir J. Lawrence's Minute about the Commissariat Report, which very likely you have, & about which I sent you Sir C. Trevelyan's Minute of

Sept 22/63. Please consider this really private, as (March 29, ~~week~~ at least) the India Council here had neither Commissariat Report nor Sir J. Lawrence's nor Sir C. Trevelyan's Minutes.

2. a pamphlet about Officer of Health's duties.

3. a newspaper article by (as I understand) Sir J. Lawrence's Private Secretary.

What comes out of all  
this is: - -

1. that your Commission  
by no means overstated  
the case

2. that the Bengal  
Commission is beginning  
in the right direction  
& vigorously

Lord de Grey says that  
he is "in a right course"  
too.

He says that he "called"  
(April 4) "on the Director  
General to report on  
the best mode of  
applying the Medical

Regulations to India".

He referred the  
question of victualling  
on board ship to the  
joint I. O & W. O.  
(home) Commission.  
[And they adopted  
the scale obediently,  
just as we told  
them.]

And he has sent  
in the letter for Sir  
Hugh Rose to the  
Horse Guards about  
the Regimental  
reforms -

==The joint (home)

Commission passed  
the building=plans for  
India last Monday.  
But (unfortunately)  
Garibaldi's entry  
distracted the attention  
of our enthusiastic  
chairman, Sir R. Airy.  
And he rushed off,  
without finishing the  
business.

I shall not fail  
to send you a copy,  
when it is done - as  
also, having your kind  
permission, ~~of~~ anything  
Sir J. Lawrence sends  
me.

As to the mistake  
of the Calcutta spasmodic  
effort about dead  
bodies in the Hrogly:  
- it first allowed the  
law to remain in  
abeyance, *without*  
making any provision  
for otherwise disposing  
of the dead - then  
it spasmodically puts  
an end to the present  
system - & that too  
in the height of an  
epidemic. What they  
want is either a  
public burning esta=

blishment, or else to carry  
 the dead to another  
 branch of the river.  
 The first the best - it  
 could be done by retorts,  
 (like gas-making,) without  
 nuisance - as was  
 done 1800 years ago  
 at Pompeii.

[end 9:289]

Your faithful servt  
 Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/41 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

May 14/64

Dear Lord Stanley

You wished to see  
 any papers sent by  
 Sir John Lawrence,  
 which shewed the  
 practical working of  
 your R. Commission.

[9:290-91]

One of the three I  
 send I think you  
 have seen before (in a  
 different form) It  
 shews that we have  
 been abused, & I  
 particularly for my

little paper, - for telling  
 in a very mild form  
 the half of what they  
 themselves tell in  
 a very strong form.

The two others  
 (discussion & Minute) -  
 in as far as they  
 relate to vice-disease,  
 would be good, were  
 the facts reliable -  
 But in the absence  
 of any correct nosology  
 of the disease, & in

the absence of any  
statement of data on  
which the foreign facts  
rest, there is nothing,  
absolutely nothing, in  
the papers to alter the  
position of the question,  
as laid down in your  
Report. And much  
to regret in that they  
did not state your  
conclusion as to this matter, viz. that  
occupation & ~~filleg~~/such  
like are the best  
remedy for vice -

If you could  
return me these

papers by Monday,  
you would much  
oblige me, as Tuesday  
is the India mail.

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

I wrote some time ago  
to India all our  
methods in England  
as to connection between  
magistrates, police,  
municipalities &  
officers of Health  
in Sanitary matters.

[end 9:291]

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/42 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

*Private* May 21/64

Dear Lord Stanley

With pardonable  
exultation (as if a  
Patient escaped out  
of a Lunatic Asylum)  
I send you the enclosed.

[9:292-93]

For 6 months Sir  
John Lawrence has  
been expecting *in vain*  
the scheme of Sanitary  
suggestions - which  
he asked for before  
his departure - &  
which was then all

but ready.

Now, never weary  
in serving us against  
our will, he desires  
Mr. Strachey, the  
President of his Bengal  
Health Commission,  
to write us the  
enclosed.

Now we are all  
in activity.

I told Sir J. Lawrence  
that nothing but a  
blue foolscap printed  
Minute with a  
(very high) printed

No, in the left hand  
top corner, would "do  
it". Poor man! he  
did not see the  
virtues of the blue  
Minute. But he does  
now.

The W. O. aggravates  
me, as usual, by  
telling me "that our  
delay has lost us  
nothing" - that "we  
now are asked  
for plans for India" -  
"which puts us in  
a good position."

It is because "our  
delay" had lost us

everything, that Sir  
J. Lawrence gives  
us another chance,  
by trying the blue  
Minute, & *summoning*  
us officially.

The W. O. might  
as well say, when  
the bailiffs are at  
the door, & an execution,  
- that they have "lost  
no time" by paying  
their debts.

However, all's  
well that ends well.

We have lost 6  
months of Sir J. Lawrence's

two years (you know  
he has only gone out  
for two years) And  
I had begun to think  
that we had lost  
the noblest game  
ever W. O had to  
play, - with a Governor  
General, as it were,  
delivered into its  
hands. For it is not  
every Governor General  
who will ~~say to~~/ask of a  
W. O., What would  
you have me to do?

Sir J. Lawrence  
said as plainly as

so modest a man  
could ~~do~~/say it: "This is a  
thing", (viz. forcing  
our Sanitary plans  
upon India) "I must  
do by my own personal  
influence. Regimental  
reforms you must  
do from your Horse  
Guards in England."

He has repeated  
this in nearly every  
letter -

However, I will  
not enter into a  
detailed Panorama  
of my grievances &

disappointments -

I write this only,  
because you wished to  
be kept "au courant"  
of the workings of your  
Commission.

Indeed you were  
right when you said,  
if Sir John Lawrence  
were for us, no man  
could be against us.

God bless him.

Please return me  
the enclosed as soon  
as possible. I ought  
to return it to the  
W. O. on Monday.

[Perhaps the concentrated  
Essence of a blue  
Minute evaporates.]

Your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:} 115 Park Street. W.

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/43 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

May 28/32 [yes, it says 32]

Dear Lord Stanley

The enclosed is from  
the *Secretary* of the  
Bengal Commission  
of Health; you  
perhaps may like  
to see it. Pray  
return it to me -

You will see how  
great are the practical  
consequences of your  
R. Commission.

Of course we think

this man is wrong  
in certain points.  
But that can't be  
helped. And Sir J.  
Lawrence has repeatedly  
used this very argument  
to induce us to hasten  
that sanitary scheme &  
plans which I should  
believe a Fate was  
against, if there were  
Fate. But the strongest  
power in the whole  
world is *want of*

power - inertia - the  
only thing which  
cannot be overcome -

[end 9:293]

Your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen, black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

May 28/64

Dear Lord Stanley

I have not heard  
one word from Sir  
John Lawrence about  
his health since he  
left England.

[9:293]

It is clearly the  
duty of Sir C. Wood  
to act upon what  
he hears from Sir  
J. Lawrence alone -  
& not upon anything

which comes to him  
through a third &  
a fourth person.

I fancied I had  
made a general  
preface (to all my  
letters to you) that  
nothing in them  
was to go farther  
than yourself, unless  
you found it was  
otherwise known.

But, in this case,  
there is nothing to

know, i.e., since Sir J.  
Lawrence left England.

No one knows  
better than Sir C. Wood  
that *he* would be  
the first to hear of  
it from Sir J. Lawrence  
himself, if a private  
Estimate were to  
become of public  
importance.

My reference, (to  
what had passed  
*before* Sir J. Lawrence  
left England) was  
simply made in  
regard to the time

lost by the W. O. and  
I. O. Commission, in  
sending out what  
Sir J. Lawrence  
had asked for so  
*urgently & repeatedly.*

It would be black  
ingratitude on my part  
towards Sir J. Lawrence,  
who can, of course,  
communicate what  
he pleases to the I. O.  
directly, to make  
difficulties in his  
path.

Pray throw any

blame you please  
upon me to Sir  
C. Wood. I do not  
feel in the least  
*deprecatory.* but,  
rather than bring  
any difficulty in  
Sir J. Lawrence's  
way, you may call  
me gossip, or busy-  
body or anything else.

[end 9:293]

your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

/6 is undated memo

920 Der 15/31 incomplete, signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

-1-

So far as the main  
causes of disease are  
concerned, viz.

[9:265-67]

1. bad Barrack & bad Hospital  
construction
  2. want of drainage
  3. defective water supply
  4. surface overcrowding from  
want of Barrack accommo=  
dation
  5. want of means of occupation
  6. intemperance
  7. want of suitable Hospital  
conveniences
  8. filthy Bazars & towns - - -
- it is difficult to see  
how India could have  
been freed from these  
causes of diseases in  
three short years,

which is about the average time ~~at which~~/since the Stational Reports were signed.

that they may have done something in the way of cleansing,

ventilation

ablution arrangements

is probable - seeing that they could hardly escape the consequences of the printed queries put to them, & the replies which they made. Besides which, they have had the General Report of

the Barrack & Hospital  
Improvement Commission  
before them - [But the  
measures recommended  
in this Report are only  
applicable to cool  
climates, like England.]

But even on the  
subject of cleansing, we  
have, as you know, the  
Report of a Government  
Commission on the last  
Cholera, dated partly  
July 21, 1862, & partly  
in the last months of  
1862, (an Extract of  
which I sent you -)  
which conclusively  
proves that, *up to*

*these dates*, nothing  
whatever had been  
done in the country  
to which the report  
refers -

I also sent you two  
printed documents of  
the Public Works Department  
one dated  
Fort William, June 26, 1863  
one

"           Sept 9, 1863  
having reference to the  
Sanitary condition of  
Calcutta - & giving at  
*these dates* a worse  
account of the city  
than the Report sent  
{printed address, upside down:}  
32, South Street,  
Grosvenor Square. W.  
to your R. Commission  
in June 1860

-2-

There is also another document from the principal Inspector General of Bengal (which you still have in your possession) dated October 16, 1863 - in which the recommendations of the Commission are virtually accepted as necessary.

~~This is not the first time that I/we have been informed of this policy -~~

The danger will be that partial improvements will be put forwards in proof that a great

deal has been done, & that little requires to be done. The recommendations of your R. Commission must be carried out entirely. The Indian Sanitary problem consists of many factors, and it will not do, in dealing with it, to leave out any one of the factors. India can be cured neither by Engineers, nor by Doctors, nor by Sanitary Officers, nor by Military authorities - but by a concurrence of all of these - And the end aimed at is: -

1. healthy Barrack & Hospital Accommodation
2. enough of good water, properly laid on
3. good drainage
4. a proper Sanitary police over Bazars & towns
5. abolishing spirit drinking
6. providing means of occupation  
& other things indicated in your Report

A moment's consideration will shew that no Engineer, & no Adjutant-General, & no Inspector-General can bring about this reform -  
Your Report asserts

this, in asking for the appointment of Presidency Commissions, to deal with the questions -

There is indeed no other way of reaching them - ~~And the India Govt may rest assured that.~~ They will never *permanently* lower the Army Death-rate by any other course of proceeding.

The Death-rate of the new soldiers, poured into the country since {printed address, upside down:} 32, South Street, Grosvenor Square. W.  
the Mutiny is, of course

-3-

considerably lower  
than past averages -  
You will hardly  
believe it. But I have  
actually seen this  
fact adduced by  
Indian *Engineering*  
Officers - in proof of  
the statement that  
the small improvements  
they have carried out  
at a few Stations have  
made the Army healthy.

[end 9:267]

F. Nightingale  
Dec. 3/63

920 Der 15/45 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged {archivist: Miss Nightingale June 64}

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:]  
June 6/64

Dear Lord Stanley

I had a letter from  
Sir John Lawrence by  
this Mail, dated "Simlah,  
May 6"

[9:293-94]

He is extremely  
indignant at the non=  
arrival of our Sanitary  
schemes -

After graciously &  
*contemptuously* accepting  
{like a great man,  
as he is) our  
Mediterranean Report,  
out of which he

hopes to "gain some"  
thing, but not much,  
[you will perhaps  
remember that in  
Genl Pears' letter,  
enclosing the Minute  
from Mr. Strachey,  
President of the  
Bengal Sany Commission,  
"Sir C. Wood presumed  
that we should use  
~~that~~/*this* as our scheme  
for reforming India  
in sanitary things] -  
Sir John Lawrence

goes on to say "but  
"our great want is  
"your standard plans  
"& rules, without  
"which we are quite  
"at sea, & so far  
"*from doing better*  
"*than formerly*, shall  
"*be in danger of doing*  
"*worse*. As it is now,  
"the reconstruction of  
"some of our worst  
"Barracks is at a  
"stand=still, until  
"we get these documents".  
It would have been

a broad farce, if it  
had not been so  
deeply painful, to  
hear Sir C. Wood's,  
Genl Pear's, & Sir P.  
Cautley's re-iterations  
that they could not  
possibly send out  
our Sanitary plans & schemes,  
"for fear of irritating  
the Govt in India," -  
when I was hearing  
by nearly every mail  
from the head of  
that Govt (personally,  
or by his people,) all  
the permutations & combinations  
that could be made out of these

phrases: -

that they were "at a  
stand still" for  
want of these plans  
& suggestions, - that  
they were "quite at  
sea" in consequence  
of our delay - that  
they were "in danger  
of doing worse", & that  
it was all our fault.

Are all official  
assurances of the  
nature of Sir C. Wood's x  
& Sir P. Cautley's?

---

x "Let us by a song  
conceal our purposes" -  
(vide Canning.)

Sir John Lawrence goes on to describe his inspections of divers Stations & Barracks.

He also ~~says~~/writes (of the Soldiers' Libraries) that there is a great improvement -

that Sir Hugh Rose has done much *in* re workshops -

that he has "issued "a G.O. reducing the "dram of spirits "which a soldier can "have, one-half."

[You know he, Sir J. Lawrence, was very anxious that the sale of spirits in Regimental Canteens & Bazaars should be entirely discontinued. I hope this is a step.]

*Private*

Sir J. Lawrence mentions casually, (& as an apology!! for not having inspected two Stations,) that he has had a "sudden attack of illness" But he writes as if he were well. And I

should not have  
mentioned this, if I  
did not know you  
wished to be kept  
*au fait*. It certainly  
is not my duty to  
keep the I.O. "au fait" -  
(nor my wish.)

I cannot sing for  
joy loud enough at  
Sir J. Lawrence's  
government - ~~(illeg)~~/for whose  
appointment we are  
in a great measure  
indebted to you -

[end 9:294]

your faithful servt  
{printed address, upside down:}  
115, Park Street. W.  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/46 archivist: Miss Nightingale June 64 Ansd}

*Private*

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}  
June 14/64

Dear Lord Stanley

[9:295-97]

I had letters, by the  
last India mail, both  
from Calcutta & Simlah.

You will perhaps  
like to see the printed  
contents, which you  
will be so good as to  
return to me. [I am  
told that, as this  
kind of papers is *not*  
forwarded to the India  
Office, I am to  
consider them private.

But I expressly stated  
that I should consider  
you ~~an~~/the exception.]

The Simlah letter  
is (briefly) this: -  
that the papers sent  
to me, at different  
times, "will shew you  
"that nothing you have  
"ever written or conceived  
"of the horrible state &  
"practices pursued  
"at Calcutta comes up  
"to the reality" -  
that a "counter blast  
"or reply to the Report

(of Lord Stanley) "has  
"been prepared by the  
"Mily Dept. & submitted. x

"Without actually  
"denying that 6 per cent  
is the real mortality  
"when taken on the  
"average of past years,  
"they contend that it  
"is not a fair way  
"of stating the present  
"mortality - or rather  
"that the present  
"mortality (which was  
"as low as 2 per cent.  
"for 1863) should only

---

x I do not know whether the I.O.  
has noticed its receipt to you. F.N.

"have been given."

[It is rather hard to withhold "the present Mortality" from your Commission, which repeatedly wrote for it, & delayed its proceedings for a year in consequence.

- & then to abuse it for not giving "the present Mortality."]

However, the India Govt (~~illeg~~)/in India seems roused to the truth - for the next sentence is a complaint that the very same absurd

-2-

objection has been made, to their (the Govt's) own statistics of Jail (& other civil) Mortality - the "authorities" stipulating that "Cholera shall be left out" - that such & such years & such & such diseases "shall be left out" -

[It is very convenient indeed in estimating mortality to say: - that all the deaths which *ought* not to have happened, shall be left out,"

as *not having* happened.

And it is certainly  
a new way of preventing  
preventible Mortality  
to omit it altogether  
on a statement of  
Mortality.]

The next ~~page~~/sentence states  
- that nearly the whole  
of the Jail Mortality  
is "preventible" -  
that, in Bengal, the  
Jail Deaths are actually  
"10 per cent" - whereas  
"4 per cent" has been (in the Punjab)  
& can be achieved -  
that the present

condition of the Jails  
"converts a sentence  
of brief imprisonment  
into one of capital  
punishment" "in many  
cases" -

---

I have a letter  
from Sir J. Lawrence's  
Private Secy, in which  
he says that, tho' Sir  
J. Lawrence has been  
ill "from excessive  
hard work", he has  
not been ill at all  
from climate - & is  
very well now.

He says: speaking

on the subjects above: -  
"it is indeed strange  
"how such revolting,  
"cruel & barbarous  
"practices could have  
"been pursued for  
"years in the Metropolis  
"of India *by Government*  
"*Officials* (sic) under  
"the very eyes of different  
"Viceroys, living on the  
"spot".

[But, you will understand,  
that is not a kind of remark  
in which Sir J. Lawrence  
himself at all indulges.]  
{printed address, upside down:  
115, Park Street. W.

-3-

The Calcutta (Bengal  
Sanitary Commission)  
letter merely says:  
they will adopt our  
"filter system" (in  
the Mediterranean)  
for their water - asks  
for advice on "recording  
of proceedings" - &c

---

I think you will  
like to see the G.O.  
& Balance sheet of  
the Regimental  
Workshops - which  
please also return  
to me - It is very  
satisfactory - Sir H. Rose

is really doing a good  
work there.

---

You will be glad to  
hear that work *from*  
India is coming in  
to the W.O. Commission.

the plan for a  
Subathoo Barracks,  
to be criticized here,  
arrived by last mail,  
"in compliance with  
the orders in Sir C.  
Wood's Minute of  
August 15."

[end 9:296]

[It is as bad as  
it can be. And  
ignorance only can  
excuse it. It tallies

exactly with what  
Sir J. Lawrence said  
in his penultimate.

F.N.]

Lastly, I am bitterly  
reminded that it is  
6 months, plus a week,  
since Sir J. Lawrence  
begged for *immediate*  
sending out of plans  
& sanitary works=  
schemes - that it is  
*12 months* all but  
3 weeks, since your  
Report came out  
(July 8, 1863.)

[9:297]

I make no reply

since Govt used the  
D. of Wellington, as they  
did in the Peninsula,  
I think there is no  
instance like that of a Govr Genl  
actually *asking* for  
work from Govt at home  
& not getting anything  
but delays - or rather,  
we are the Spanish  
troops & the British  
Govt combined (against  
the D. of Wellington.)

[end 9:297]

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:}  
115, Park Street. W.

920 Der 15/47 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged {archivist: Miss Nightingale July  
64 Ansd}

*Private*

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}

July 7/64

Dear Lord Stanley

As you are engaged  
in unmaking Ministries,  
I am inopportune.

[9:297-98]

Here is the specification  
of sanitary work  
asked for, for India,  
by Sir John Lawrence,  
this day 7 months ago -  
- upon the recommendations  
of your Report, which  
came out this day  
12 months ago.

Accompanying this

specification are 27  
lithographs, of which  
7 only are original  
- the remaining 20  
having been taken  
from our other "Local  
Govt Act Office" & "War  
Office" works -

To do 7 original plans  
has therefore taken  
the W.O. 7 months.

Up to May 20, the  
delay was occasioned  
principally by the India  
Off:, which persisted  
in repeating that we

should offend the  
India Govt by sending  
out plans which  
the head of that Govt  
was asking for by ~~the~~  
every mail - till at  
last he himself sent  
home a printed  
Minute (at my request).

But the W.O. is  
scarcely less to blame.  
For in fact, the whole  
of this work was  
nearly ready in  
December last,  
except the 7 plans,  
which ought to be  
the 7 wonders of the

world, but are not.

In short, I know  
that what Sir John  
Lawrence will say is:

-is *that* what I  
have been kept  
waiting for these 9  
months? (which it  
will be before he  
receives them.)

Finally the *Bengal*  
Presidency has not  
as yet received its  
copies of your 2 folio  
Report: as we hear by  
last mail.

I have had a  
passage=at=arms  
with the Horse Guards,

-2-

which it is as well to  
tell you -

They volunteered to  
tell me that they were  
aware of Sir J. Lawrence's  
"application & of the  
W.O. delay" - but that  
"it was Sir J.L.'s only  
interest" (sic) "whereas  
the W.O. was pressed  
by a thousand."

To which I responded  
- that the greatest  
living administrator,  
who rules over one  
tenth the human race  
- who holds in his  
hand the destinies,  
territorial, communication=al,

international, judicial,  
of 120 millions - in  
endeavouring to bring  
health & civilization,  
for the first time, to  
his 120 millions - has  
been foiled by the ~~(illeg)~~/torpid x  
self=sufficiency of a  
petty peddling War Office,  
ruling over at most  
half a million - & ~~that~~/this

---

x "cumbrous torpor" was  
poor Sidney Herbert's  
own word for his own  
Office. It suffocated  
him - it ended by strangling  
him, like that horrible  
bronze colossus, in some  
legend, which throws its  
brazen arms round the  
wretched votary, &  
strangles him.

with the ease with which  
~~races~~/soldiers are ruled over  
compared with ~~soldiers~~/races.  
- (or words to that  
effect)

There was a great  
deal more - And I  
was a little afraid  
of spoiling Sir John  
Lawrence's affairs  
by too much vehemence.

But, on the contrary,  
[you must just choke  
the colossus back again,  
if you want to breathe.  
And] I received an  
ample apology for  
Sir J. Lawrence.

I am about to send

you a copy of the  
27 lithographs - also  
of the enclosed Proof  
corrected - with your leave.

I have to write  
to Sir J. Lawrence  
by the mail of the 10th.

[end 9:298]

Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale  
I hope you have seen  
the account of our  
Aldershot Industrial  
Exh:. It does my heart  
good to see the soldiers  
& their wives beating  
the Officers & their wives  
at it.{printed address, upside down:}  
115, Park Street. W.  
But Sir H. Rose beats  
Aldershot.

920 Der 15/48 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]  
July 9/64

Dear Lord Stanley

Accompanying this,  
is the proof completed,  
of which I sent you  
the uncorrected Proof  
~~on~~/last Thursday.

[9:298]

On July 15/3, the Horse  
Guards, in the form  
~~of~~/and countenance of  
Sir R. Airey, Chairman  
of Barrack Improvemt  
Commission, "pass" this

valuable document -  
a year's growth  
seeing that your Report  
has been out just  
one year.

It will then be  
sent to the India  
Off:, with three  
documents by the  
General Register Office  
to illustrate Section  
VI on the method  
of introducing our  
registration system  
in India.

Owing to the impassable  
nature of the roads  
between Pall Mall &  
Victoria St., a considerable  
delay will necessarily  
elapse before it ~~is~~/can be  
even forwarded to  
Sir John Lawrence.

But, as I do not  
live in that direction,  
I forward all these  
documents to him  
by the first India  
mail after completion.  
And I shall forward  
this to him as soon  
as it has passed the

Commission next  
Wednesday, 13.

I trust that you  
will take into  
consideration the  
unprecedented haste  
that we have made,  
in that we have  
really completed  
this document in  
one year. which is  
12 months, which  
comprises 52 weeks.

[end 9:298]

I am  
dear Lord Stanley  
your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/49 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged {archivist: Miss Nightingale July  
64 Ansd will call on Thursday if anything wants settling}

*Private*

115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]  
July 23/64

Dear Lord Stanley

Here is the first  
(signed) copy of the first  
product of your parent  
Commission.

[9:298-99]

I send by book=post  
to Sir John Lawrence  
direct a number of  
copies on Tuesday.

It is understood  
that some time in  
the course of the present  
century the I.O. will  
send out copies officially.

By the document's own shewing, it is 7½ months since it was asked for.

Of these, about 7½ days were occupied in real work;

We understand that the surplus time was occupied by the Military members learning to write their names.

But, as Sir J. Lawrence & I have profited by your good hint "not to offend the Military", we are silent on this fact.

"Occasional papers" have now to be written & sent out, containing explanatory matter. But, if it is expected that this can possibly be accomplished during Sir J. Lawrence's Governorship, that expectation must be the offspring of a wild imagination.

The W.O. is utterly demoralized -

the I.O. does not speak the truth

the Horse Gds deserve a V.C. for their cool

intrepidity in the face  
of facts.

But I conceal my  
opinion, as Sir J. Lawrence  
does his: that the  
native races are the  
recipients of civilization  
- but that the ~~Indian~~  
military authorities  
are a savage tribe  
whom kindness cannot  
tame nor suavity  
conciliate.

However, please  
burn this note. & believe **[end 9:299]**  
me

Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale  
Of course copies of this document will  
be sent to you in regular course.

920 Der 15/50 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

*Private*  
& *Confidential*

115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]

July 28/64

Dear Lord Stanley

I have not profited  
by your kind offer to  
ask you to come here  
today; because there  
is nothing just now  
but the usual detail=  
work to do, it would  
have been only wasting  
your time as I have  
really ~~nothing~~/little to say  
but to thank you for  
your very kind note.

I have no doubt

that, at the close of  
this year, we shall  
require your master  
hand with Sir C. Wood.

I do not know whether  
you correspond with  
Sir John Lawrence - I  
sometimes think that  
he would be strengthened,  
if he knew that you &  
others capable of  
appreciating the  
greatness of his charge,  
did feel his difficulties

[9:210]

What a charge - what  
a government, great &  
glorious - I do not  
think the old Roman  
empire came near it  
in its greatness.

I sometimes fear,  
(but what follows is  
strictly for yourself  
alone,) that his fine  
heroic temper is  
rather worn by the  
constant jags & back  
thrusts it receives.  
In his last  
letter to me,  
dated June 12, Simlah,  
he says, "I am doing

"what I can to put  
"things I order out here,  
"but it is a very uphill  
"work, & many influences  
"have to be managed &  
"overcome. I often  
"think of the last visit  
"I paid you before  
"leaving England, & of  
"your conversation on  
"that Occasion. You  
"will recollect how  
"much I dwelt on  
"the difficulties which  
"met one on every side.  
"These have been  
"exemplified in a  
"way I could scarcely

"understand or  
"anticipate." He then  
alludes to the "good folks  
"of England really  
"believing that I had  
"sanctioned an attack  
"on the religion of the  
"Hindoos, because I  
"desired to improve  
"the health of the  
"people in Calcutta."

[Now this he over=  
rates to himself. They did  
not "believe" it. But]

I am sure it would  
do him good, if he  
knew that *statesmen*

appreciated the greatness of his administration & of its difficulties.

What a pity heroes are but flesh & blood, as we are -

You will see I ought scarcely to betray his confidence; even to you - But you know better than any one else what he has to do -

Pray burn this note  
Ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

[end 9:210]

Today your "Suggestions-Sanitary works" come before the Council at the I.O.

I consider this rather an epoch.

920 Der 15/51 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Private                      Hampstead  
   Aug 16/64

Dear Lord Stanley

I think you may like to see [9:372-73] the accompanying letter from Sir Hugh Rose. I must sing an Ode to *him* now for *he* has carried out the recommendations of your Sanitary Commission - (of his own accord *he* says of course - not for any one else - so they are done, we do not care). we know very well that the questions sent out by your Commission prompted the four first, & Sir John Lawrence forced upon him the last. However, he has behaved a *great deal* better to us than our W.O. at home has - or our Horse Guards - And this is the greatest real step made yet.

You will perhaps have forgotten that

in conjunction with Sir John Lawrence  
I drew up a kind of list by which  
the recommendations which he was  
to carry out himself, the recommenda{tions} {edge of page missing}  
the W.O. was to carry out, & those,  
viz. 5, which were Regimental reforms}  
& which only the Military authorities  
could carry out, were specified.

After the usual amount of delay,  
the W.O. wrote to the Horse Guards, &  
the Horse Guards wrote to Sir Hugh Rose.

And this is his answer to the 5  
points.

It is a private document. And  
I must ask you to return me this,  
which is my copy.

Would it be desirable to move  
for it in the Ho: of C.?

You will be glad to hear that the

authorities of an Invaliding Establishment  
at Netley themselves attribute the  
decrease of Indian invalids to the  
measures carried out in India according  
to your recommendations - they wrote  
this of their own accord (in a letter I  
had from the Governor today.)

I am rather sorry that, at  
Bombay, the Presidency Sanitary Commission,  
only lately appointed, has not been  
filled up according to your intentions  
exactly - There is no Civilian on it at  
all. A Medical Officer is the President.  
(Dr. Leith, a very able man) there are  
only two Members & a Secretary -  
And all, except the President, may  
be ordered anywhere any day, when  
they give up their duties on the Commission. **[end 9:373]**

Believe me

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/52 signed letter, 6ff, pen

Private

115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]

Aug 8/64

Dear Lord Stanley

In reply to your query: -

**[9:493-94]**

I knew Dr. Duncan  
Macpherson, of the  
Madras Army, well  
in the Crimea. He was  
Principal Medical Officer  
of our Turkish Contingent  
there. He is one of the  
best (Sanitary) Officers  
in our Service. He has  
large Indian experience.  
His was one of the best,

if not the best, Sanitary  
Report received by  
your (R.) Commission -  
viz. one on the sanitary  
condition of Madras  
Presidency generally -  
see 2nd Vol, folio edition  
of your Report.

Of course I do not  
know what his "grievance"  
is to you - He has made  
a "grievance" - in not  
getting one of the Presidency  
Sanitary Commission  
appointments - to us -

The matter is after this  
wise: -

some of the members  
of your (R.) Commission  
told him that he might  
"make his own terms" in  
getting one of these  
appointments.

Now Sir John Lawrence  
did exactly what your  
R. Commission told im  
to do: -

he made a Civilian  
the head, the executive,  
the responsible member,  
well-paid, & having  
nothing else to do -

he constituted the  
Sanitary Engineering,  
Medical & Military  
elements as consultative  
members -

& in order to give the  
Sanitary member a  
position & an office  
he made him Secretary  
with a salary & nothing  
else to do -

This last, of course,  
viz. who was to be the  
Secretary, & what was  
to be the salary, I  
did not presume to  
determine, when Sir

-2-

John Lawrence was  
good enough to talk  
the matter over with  
me, as I limited  
myself strictly to the  
recommendations of your  
~~the~~ R. Commission.

[I mentioned more  
than once, to Sir John  
Lawrence & other  
members of ~~the~~/his Govt,  
Dr. D. Macpherson's  
name as an able  
Sanitary man, in  
obedience to their  
request to name names.]

Dr. Macpherson is  
bitterly offended, because  
he has been offered the  
place of Sanitary Member  
& Secretary (of the Madras  
Sanitary Commission) at  
the salary, he says, of  
an Assist. Surgeon -  
it having now been  
given "to an Assist Surgeon,  
"who may be ordered  
away any day" -  
because he was not  
offered the place of  
President, which has  
been given to Mr. R.S.

Ellis, "who knows nothing about it," "a Civilian"! & some of the members of your R. Commission, he says, promised it him.

[It is really rather hard that any member of a Commission should abuse poor Sir John Lawrence for doing exactly what the ~~(illeg)~~ Commission recommended.]

Dr. Macpherson is one of the most active, energetic men I ever

knew. He has practical means & practical knowledge to carry out his Sanitary views, such as not one man in a hundred in the Army Medical profession has. He would be an immense loss to us, - [Long after he had left Kertch, - where our Turkish Contingent was - the fruits of his sanitary work were evident - & he found time, after putting all his camps &

-3-

hospitals ~~were~~ in the best possible (sanitary) order, to dig up antiquities & write a book about them.]

The Madras Government have behaved very ill to him. And I am afraid we shall lose one of our best tools. If the "Assist Surgeon" could be "ordered away" on duty & Dr. Macpherson given the sanitary member's & secretary's post at a salary *according to his rank,*

he would make the best sanitary adviser in India. And there is not a man who knows the Madras Presidency so well.

If, as is said, the India Off. at home mean to have an Officer, like Sir Ranald Martin, but to give them his whole time, (~~&~~ Sir R. Martin, who has a large practice, to resign) Dr. Macpherson would be the man for

the place -

But undoubtedly  
Madras Presidency wants  
him most.

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale  
Dr. Macpherson being a  
man of high medical  
rank, it does not  
appear as if it would  
be invidious to give him  
a higher salary as  
Secretary than the  
other "Presidency Sanitary  
Commission" Secretaries

NB. He went out ~~in~~/by the  
same mail with Sir  
John Lawrence. And  
I mentioned him to  
Sir John, who asked  
him to write a programme  
for the Presidency Sanitary  
Commissions - His, rather  
differing from that of  
your R. Commission Report,  
perhaps rather set  
Sir J. Lawrence against  
him. But this would  
not affect his *sanitary*  
work. I don't think  
he is a good administrator.  
But he has not his equal  
at the other.

F.N.

[end 9:494]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 901

920 Der 15/53 incomplete, signed letter, 1f, pen black-edged

Private Hampstead N.W.  
Oct 4/64

Dear Lord Stanley [9:498]

I have not troubled you with the printed (detail) Minutes which I receive very regularly from the Bengal Sanitary Commission, (but on condition that they shall *not* be shewn at the India Office).

But these for June I will send you, because they refer to subjects of (not only technical) interest - Lunatic Asylums & Jails. which are worse in India than in any country which [end 9:498]

[breaks off]

me of course, of his masters.  
Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/54 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Private Hampstead N.W.  
Oct. 22/64

Dear Lord Stanley [9:374-75]

I had a whole batch of papers from Simla by last mail.

I enclose one to you - the "Gazette of India".

This is the first Governmental result of your R. Commission. It is a very startling one. It will revolutionize the whole of India, either for good or for bad, by creating a number of little separate Governments.

& lots of separate Officers.

My own feeling is, that it is a very glorious revolution - & entirely due to your Commission which, while aiming at one thing, has done (not only that but) a great municipal work, of which it is impossible to see the end, but of which you have certainly laid the beginning.

If you will read at page 12 (the blue marks are Sir C. Trevelyan's) & then turn back to the first page, you will see a great deal better than

I do what I mean.

It seems to me that you have hastened the political growth of India by half a century in self-government -

[end 9:375]

[9:389]

I also send you Dr. X Leith's Report on & objections to your Report. [You will find it on the first sheet of the Bombay "Times".] *Every paragraph of it can be answered.* And, if you see fit to have it answered, we could

X Dr. Leith is President of Bombay Presidency Sanitary Commission.

send the answer for your inspection.

It really is a matter of statesmanship to decide what is to be done. And I have no opinion.

The logical result of Dr. Leith's conclusions would be - to do nothing for Bombay Presidency. *This* must not be left answered

At the same time, I have had a most kind & cordial letter from Dr. Leith (whom I do not know) by the very

same mail. And it is most important not to alienate the President of the Bombay Sanitary Commission from reform.

It is really a matter of very delicate management.

[I should add that yesterday, before a Meeting of your W.O. and I.O. Commission was brought a proposal from Bombay Presidency that, instead of draining, Bombay Presidency, it was to be laid down in Macdougall's Disinfecting Fluid - one of those notable expedients

by which people who like  
to keep their dirt, instead  
of removing it, try to  
blind themselves &/into  
thinking it safe -]

If, as is most probable,  
you have all these  
documents sent to you,  
pray return these to  
me - If with your own  
remarks, we shall  
deeply value them -

But, should you not  
have the Gazette & Newspaper,  
they will be of more

value in your hands than  
mine.

In great haste,  
Pray believe me  
dear Lord Stanley  
Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale  
I need hardly say that I  
shall (basely) take  
advantage of the  
opportunity of Dr. Leith  
writing to me to  
answer -(to him & his  
objections.

[end 9:389]

920 Der 15/55 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Hampstead N.W.  
Oct. 26/64

Dear Lord Stanley

As you are so good  
as to ask my opinion  
as to the best form of  
answer to Dr. Leith  
(Bombay Presy Sanitary Commn)  
I cannot but say that I  
think ~~it~~/he want an  
official answer & that  
I believe the best way  
would be, if you would  
be so very good as to  
induce Sir Charles Wood -  
(Pilate) to refer the

[9:389-90]

Report of Dr. Leith to your  
own. (W.O. and I.O.)  
"Barrack & Hospital  
Improvement Commission"  
to answer - my reason  
being that several important  
points, indeed the really  
important points, are  
Engineering in character.

We would ourselves get  
an answer (to the Statistical  
matters) appended separately  
by Dr. Farr.

The real evil of Dr. Leith's  
Report is that Dr. Leith  
had meddled with  
practical points which  
he is not acquainted with,

& that he contradicts the  
Engineering & Architectural  
"Suggestions," drawn up by  
the "Barrack & Hospital  
Improvement Commission,"  
apparently before having  
seen them.

Since receiving your note  
of yesterday, I have done  
over Dr. Leith's Report  
with Dr. Sutherland -  
And he & I have jotted  
down some answers,  
which will be submitted  
to you - & which, if you  
think well to refer the  
matter to the "Barrack

Commission", ~~will~~/might be incorporated into its answer. But Dr. Sutherland concurs with me in thinking that, as these answers are chiefly engineering, they ought to receive the authority of the said Commission, upon which are an Indian, an English Army, & a Civil Engineer.

With regard to the other matter, the Municipalities (in the "Gazette of India") I take

the liberty of sending you the notes I made for my answer, which is gone today, relatively to the application of Municipal powers to our Sanitary question.

And, as I have no other notes of my correspondence with Sir J. Lawrence, I should take it as a great favour if you would, at your convenience, return me themse -

In haste

yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

[end 9:390]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 907

920 Der 15/56 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.  
11/11/64

Dear Lord Stanley

Sir C. Wood has  
sent Dr. Leith's Report  
to the "Barrack Improvers"  
at the War Office,  
with a very proper(!)  
letter of "submission".

[9:391]

We (Dr. Sutherland &  
I) have already written  
our reply. I have  
already received, from  
Dr. Farr, his.

I understand the W.O.  
is to print it. And of  
course a proof will  
be submitted to you,  
before it goes any farther.

But a Meeting of the  
W.O. "Barrack Improvers",  
who are by no means  
so rapid as Yankee  
"Improvers", has to be  
held first - (who can  
tell when?)

We are getting on  
steadily in India. I

received a whole batch  
of papers by last mail,  
which perhaps I may  
trouble you with.

Had we but known  
that such skill & energy  
& wisdom were to be  
found in Bengal, it  
would have been well  
to subordinate the  
other Presidency Commissions  
(Sanitary) to theirs.  
Not one out of 100  
bodies in England  
could shew the  
experienced zeal they  
have.

I wish we shewed  
the same at home -

I wish, e.g. Mr. Gladstone  
could be brought to look  
~~into/upon~~ upon an Army  
otherwise than as the  
old schoolmaster looked  
upon women : - as  
"only the evils, that belong to  
this state o'probation, which  
it's lawful for a man to  
keep as clear of as he can  
in this life, hoping to get  
quit of 'em for ever in  
another."

The beginning that  
has been made in India

is entirely due to your  
R. Commission, & to  
the hero whom I am  
proud to call my  
"noble friend", &  
whom you have had  
so great a share in  
elevating, Sir John  
Lawrence -

[end 9:391]

Believe me  
faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/57 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

13/11/64

Dear Lord Stanley

With our usual dispatch, **[9:391-92]**  
we have succeeded in  
producing the first  
rough Proof, of a Reply  
to Dr. Leith's Report,  
this very day.

Sir C. Wood, as  
you are aware, & in  
consequence of your  
recommendation,  
referred Dr. Leith's  
Report to the "Barrack

& Hospital Improvement  
Commission". After  
the necessary delay,  
these met, & referred  
it to a Sub-Committee,  
consisting of Dr.  
Sutherland, Sir P.  
Cautley & Sir Ranald  
Martin.

The two last have  
not yet seen this  
Proof, which is only  
just arrived.

It incorporates,

as you will see, Dr. Farr's  
remarks, which we  
applied to him for,  
as a reply to Dr.  
Leith's *Statistical*  
objections.

Would you be so  
very good as to look  
over this first rough  
Proof, with Dr. Leith's  
Report, (of which  
Sir C. Wood sent  
you a copy, - a thin  
green folio), & return  
it to me here with

any remarks &  
criticisms, which  
you would be kind  
enough to make  
to help us?

I would farther ask  
you a question: but  
this is only from myself.

Scarcely a mail  
~~elapses~~/passes that Sir John  
Lawrence, Sir C. Trevelyan  
(poor Sir C. Trevelyan -  
he has been so ill -  
& tho' returned to

Calcutta, he is in constant  
danger of a relapse,  
& in absolute certainty  
of one if he does not  
return home before  
the next hot season)  
Mr. Strachey, President  
of Bengal Sanitary  
Commission, Mr. Ellis,  
of the Madras one,  
do not send me copies  
of Sanitary codes &  
those kinds of things.  
emanating from your Presidency Commissions.  
Mr. Ellis shows great  
administrative ability -

He is the only one who  
has apprehended the  
position you intended  
the Chairmen of these  
Commissions to hold,  
viz. the executive of  
the consultative.

Mr. Strachey shews immense  
energy, practical ability  
& determination to  
proceed at once.

But all these papers  
fail in the initiative.  
Nothing has really  
been done. No plan

has yet been framed  
embracing how the  
thing is to begin.

I am afraid of  
sending you even a  
selection of these  
papers - they are so  
voluminous. Otherwise  
you would see at once  
what I mean.

What I thought  
was that, if we could,  
(in this compulsory  
reply to Dr. Leith,)  
introduce something

more specific than we  
ventured to do in  
the "Suggestions", as to  
modes of initiative, of  
procedure, of  
administration, ~~they~~/it  
would then come with  
official authority, - I  
would send copies  
privately to Sir John  
Lawrence, Mr. Strachey,  
Mr. Ellis, who are  
not only willing but  
eager to receive help.

Do you think this possible or  
{printed address, upside down:}  
27. Norfolk Street.

desirable? Park Lane. W.  
yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

P.S. I have received  
a very kind note from  
Sir C. Wood, but which  
is extremely aggravating.  
He, evidently quoting  
from Dr. Leith, alleges  
the last year's Mortality  
(12) of Bombay as a  
proof that nothing  
more of progress is  
wanting. Now the  
fact is, Bombay has  
done nothing - less  
than Bengal or Madras  
- less than nothing, in

{other hand: Miss Nightingale Dec.'64 will send back paper revised  
in a few days.}

~~fact~~/truth And if they  
think that nothing  
wants doing, next  
epidemic year they  
will have a Cholera  
or something, which  
will sweep half of  
them off the face of  
the earth.

[end 9:392]

F.N.

920 Der 15/58 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Christmas Eve/64

Dear Lord Stanley

I said that I would [9:379-80]  
not trouble you with  
Indian papers. But  
I must. For we are  
in a great difficulty.

Among those which  
have recently been  
sent me, is the enclosed.  
[It is by our former  
enemy, Col: Crommelin,  
but who is adopting  
all our principles.]

It is just one of those  
papers which are of  
consequence, as involving  
Sanitary principles of  
permanent importance.  
And it should certainly  
be brought under  
revisal, before being  
issued for the guidance  
of Officers.

A good paper of this  
kind is extraordinarily  
useful: but all  
depends, of course

on the principles laid  
down.

If these papers are  
sent to me privately,  
as they now are, I  
can do some good,  
but in a round=about  
way.

If they were sent  
officially to the (W.O.  
& I.O.) "Barrack &  
Hospital Improvement  
Commission", I should  
be able to ~~have~~/give the  
same amount of

criticism (for they send  
their papers to me)  
but in a much more  
direct & official  
manner, under their  
name -

[About a year ago,  
Sir C. Trevelyan sent  
me a similar paper of Col.  
Crommelin's on the  
construction of *Barracks*  
- an uncorrected  
Proof (which I think  
you saw). They have  
never sent the

-2-

finished Paper, as they  
should have done,  
for the official revisal  
of the home Commission.]

Would you think  
well to ask Sir C.  
Wood to refer this (the  
enclosed) & similar papers  
to the W.O. Commission?

If he answers, "that  
he already does so," what he  
has referred, (besides  
Dr. Leith's Report)  
have been: - sanctioned

plans, which the W.O. Commission have been obliged to pronounce very bad. But as they were already "sanctioned", it was rather too late.

If he says that what he receives from the Govt of India are not papers at all, but plans only - then we have still a recourse, for I

might write direct to Sir J. Lawrence - Or I might write even (privately) to Col: Crommelin - whom however I do not know, but who knows me, thro' Sirs Lawrence & Trevelyan, enough not to take amiss.

We should be glad of your advice in any & every case. And we should be very

glad to find that you thought well to induce Sir C. Wood to do the thing officially. X

Mr. J. Strachey, the President of the Bengal Sanitary Commission, is at home on 3 months' leave (for his health, I am sorry to say.) The next best thing to having a Viceroy at home &

~~27 Norfolk Street~~ [printed address upside down]

x I must Park Lane. W.  
invoke your  
discretion to judge what is best to  
say, as to how this paper reached you -  
I do not know if these papers are sent to  
the India Office at all. from India -

-3-

in one's hand, is to have  
a President of Sanitary  
Commission at home &  
in one's hand -

He brought a good  
many papers for me.  
He has asked for help.  
And we might be able  
to put him in the way  
of many things.

He does not need  
to be taught.

He has shewn  
immense energy &  
ability in the Bengal  
matter - in haste

[end 9:380]

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/59 unsigned memorandum, 6ff, pen heading [9:370]

*Of your recommendations: -*

*to be done by W.O. and H.G.*

1. sending none but fully drilled recruits to India has to be done by W.O. and H.G. Ld de Grey not only willing but anxious - some alteration of law required to carry it out

---

2. suppressing issue of spirits on board ship, except on recommendation of Medl Officer - introducing change in soldiers' diet, (vegetables &c), during passage

---

has to be done by W.O. and Admiralty - since August 1861, a W.O. and Adty Commission had been sitting on this soldiers' passage diet, unknown to Ld de Grey - in January 1864, one of its members sent me its papers - result would infallibly have been that *half* the men would have been landed in India with scurvy - Ld de Grey then consented to refer the question to the joint I.O. and W.O. Commission - This will be discussed in the Meeting of the 26th.

*That is safe.*

3. regulation of  
Regimental canteens  
in India, with  
special reference  
to disappearance of  
spirits from these -  
& to extending use  
of malt liquor, tea,  
coffee, &c

(purely Horse Guards'  
thro' their Regimental  
authorities)

Sir John Lawrence  
was especially strong  
upon this: he said, "the  
Govt supply the spirit  
*on the requirement of  
the Regiment. A*  
temperance Regt would  
not be obliged to take  
any spirit. On the  
contrary, the Govt has  
said it will give up  
the profit to what is  
called the Canteen fund.  
if the Regiment chooses to drink -  
- what is the use of  
my suppressing the sale  
of spirit in Bazars,  
if the Regimental  
authorities encourage  
the use of spirit in  
the Canteens?"

He was even annoyed  
at Col: Greathed's  
evidence before you -  
when, as he says, it is  
all the Horse Guards' own fault.

4. greater stringency in the regulation of Regimental & all Bazars, over which the Military authority has control, with a view to suppress the sale of spirits in them. - (Regimental with Regimental bazars -  
- Indian with Suddhur Bazars)  
- Sir C. Wood has brought the subject before the Gov. Genl.
5. flannel under clothing in India - better boots yet undecided -  
( - business of W.O.)  
The clothing is now all from Pimlico, including boots
6. providing Regiments & Hospitals trained cooks \_\_\_\_\_ postponed, till we have supplied all the home Regiments with trained Serjeant Cooks  
(W.O and H.G.)
7. Gymnastics as a parade \_\_\_\_\_ (Horse Guards thro' Regimental authorities)  
- yet undecided
8. Encouragement of trades by Commandg Officers \_\_\_\_\_ (Horse Guards thro' Regimental authorities)  
Sir John Lawrence entirely

objected to this being made a parade, as proposed by Col: Strachey in India, who said he would not provide a workshop unless the Horse Guards would make it a parade

Sir J. Lawrence is perfectly right.

But the Horse Guards ~~will~~/have not, as yet, directed their Commanding officers even to encourage & arrange for the men working at trades

9. fixing the period of service in India at ten years

---

this is said virtually to be the case -

but it involves the *relief* question; and they have sent us papers about it -

(H.G. and W.O.)

10. applying the new Medical, (Sanitary & Statistical) Regulations of 1859 to India

---

(W.O.)

yet undecided

-2-

11. immediate shipment of invalids for England

(W.O. and Admiralty)

---

yet undecided

12. Hospital Serjeants & Orderlies to go with Regiments to India

(W.O. and H.G.) -

said to be done but

that ~~they find~~/these are given nothing to do in India.

13. all Cadets of Engineers to receive a course, of Sanitary instruction at Brompton

---

(W.O.)

doing -

-3-

*Of your recommendations:*

*to be carried out by Government in India*

1. Sanitary improvement of Stations & native towns Sir J. Lawrence has already appointed his Commission to do
2. construction of healthy Barracks & Hospitals the first five, at least, of these
3. water supply & drainage
4. improvement of existing Barracks
5. building Gymnasia, workshops, coffee rooms &c
6. question of Hill Stations under consideration
7. improved ration, with more vegetables, for India work of Commissariat in India - their report is ready - Sir J. Lawrence has sent me his Minute on it Sir C. Trevelyan's we had already

920 Der 15/60 initialed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged paper

*Confidential*

**[9:380-81]**

We are getting on very well with the business which Sir John Lawrence wanted done, to be sent out to India - Nearly all is gone to press - including the Section for having a Registration & Weekly Table of Deaths at Calcutta, Madras & Bombay - the same as we have in London. Mr. Rawlinson, C.E. who has been placed on the (home) joint

I.O. and W.O. Commission  
by Lord de Grey, is writing  
the drainage Section.  
The Commission met for  
the first time on  
Tuesday week, &  
passed a good deal  
of the work, including  
Barrack plans -  
Sir Richard Airey,  
who is its Chairman,  
since Sidney Herbert,  
has come out in the  
light of a great  
sanitary reformer  
(new.)

By Sir John Lawrence's  
desire, I have seen Lord  
de Grey to settle with  
him under whose  
respective jurisdictions  
the different  
recommendations of  
your Report came -  
And I made out a  
list - in order that  
the W.O. might draft  
a letter to the I.O.  
But this has hung fire.  
For the respective  
jurisdictions of  
Governor General  
Horse Guards  
Commandeer in Chief in India

War Office  
India Office

are as much chaos  
(in this kind of thing)  
as if India were the  
Sandwich Islands -  
And it appears to have  
occurred to these  
persons for the first  
time that it would  
be better, if their  
respective powers &  
duties were defined.  
Sir John Lawrence would  
act & not wait. But  
these persons wait &  
don't act. However, the  
thing is being  
enquired into. F.N.

[end 9:381]

920 Der 15/61 signed letter, 6ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.  
10/1/65

Dear Lord Stanley

Sir John Lawrence's

[9:507-08]

hands are so full, (&  
yours will be so full,  
if you become his  
master) that it is at  
the same time a  
scruple & an inducement  
with me, to bother  
about the relation to  
exist between the  
Presidency & home

Sanitary Commissions.

But if people are to act, they must be alive. And the difficulty of being alive in India seems one of paramount importance.

May I ask whether you have had any answer from Sir C. Wood about those papers to be submitted to the home Commission?

I find that certain of them ~~had~~/have been (or were on the point of being) sent home to the India Off:

But I had better copy for you exactly what has been told me, premising that the letter is marked *confidential*. [It is always as well to consider whether the importance of the thing justifies one in perjury. I think this does.]

Sir John Lawrence

"asks" his President (of Sanitary Commission) out there "if he sees any objection to copies of Proceedings being sent home officially for the information of the War Off. Commission."

The answer was that "far from seeing any objection, he thought it most desirable that this should be done - that the results would be in all respects good - that the more criticism

-2-

"the work gets the better, & if the Indian Commissions are worth anything, they will always be thankful for the advice & help of Sanitary authorities at home."

Sir John Lawrence says that "in these matters he is an advocate for the greatest possible publicity" - and that he "will order (if not done already) that copies of all

"Proceedings & all other papers of Sanitary interest shall be sent home officially.

*But there is a strong party in the Indian Government which takes a different view, and which desires to prevent all publication of facts which reflect discredit on our administration"* (viz. out there) "It was with difficulty obtained

"to circulate copies of Proceedings to all the local Governments and Administrations in India" - "the sanction

for doing this was only given because"

Sir John Lawrence "personally insisted upon it" x x

"Col: Crommelin's papers on construction of Barracks & Hospitals have either been actually sent officially to Sir C. Wood for the "opinion of the War Office Commission" (none such have been received. F.N.)

"or are about to be sent, together with the opinions of the Sanitary Commission (Presidency) & of the other authorities consulted, and the conclusions of the Government of India on the subject"

[Why not *before* these "conclusions"? F.N.]

"We may hope that {printed address, upside down:}

27. Norfolk Street.

Park Lane. W.

-3-

"before long, therefore, we shall see such orders issued as will render

it hardly possible  
in future that Indian  
barracks & hospitals  
should be built except  
according to proper  
sanitary principles.

"There is no doubt  
that such orders are  
as necessary now as  
they ever were. Within  
the last two months  
plans of Barracks  
& Hospitals, as bad

"as the worst, upon  
which Lord Stanley  
had written,  
have been highly  
approved & sanctioned  
by one of the best of  
the local Governments."

[So we say. F.N.]

I shall have in another  
day or two to trouble  
you with another  
part of this same  
subject.

[end 9:508]

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/62 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.  
18/1/65

Dear Lord Stanley

You will see by the  
thin blue book, herewith  
sent, that the "Barrack  
Improvement Commission"  
has adopted the reply  
to Dr. Leith's Report.  
And I have this day  
sent copies by book=post  
to Sir John Lawrence.

[9:394-95]

The great thing now  
is to have its recommendations

put to practical use  
in India. We are  
lucky perhaps in that  
Dr. Leith made the  
attack on your R.  
Commission, because it  
has enabled the  
War Office Commission  
to state more fully  
than it otherwise could  
have done (without,  
possibly, giving offence)  
the principles on  
which surveys of

Stations should be  
carried out ( v. Para.22,  
p. 12)

At Calcutta & Madras  
(as for Bombay, she  
appears to be doing  
nothing-) the Sanitary  
Commissions have been  
engaged in drawing up  
draft Sanitary codes.  
But these codes have  
dealt only with questions  
of Police & cleansing.  
There is not a word  
about Sanitary works  
in them; and perhaps  
there could not be.

What is now required  
is that the Presidency  
Governments should,  
each, direct surveys  
of Stations to be made  
in the way pointed out  
in the "Remarks."

One or two selected  
Stations in each Presidency  
would be enough to  
begin with.

If we only had a  
few of the larger Stations  
fully improved, the  
work would go on of  
itself afterwards; for

-2-

all would see the  
benefits of the new  
system.

It was in this that  
we were so very anxious  
to have your help: - in  
pressing for a few  
such surveys? - altho'  
we do not know whether  
the India Off: can  
order such -

I have been told  
by the highest authority  
in India & since  
this year began - that

there are not men  
in India (Sanitary  
*Engineers* x) competent  
to undertake the work.  
All that is wanted is  
a good Surveyor, generally  
acquainted with sanitary  
requirements, (and we  
have sent them a  
perfect library of books  
on the subject)- together  
with a Sanitary Medical  
Officer - The Sanitary  
medical member of  
each Commission might,  
in the mean time, do  
the work. [He of Bengal  
x We could send them such from England.

is quite equal to it.] What we want is a beginning.

Would it be possible, & if possible would it be desirable - in the present state of the question, to call for an Annual Report to be laid before Parliament, including Mortality Statistics, Civil & Military, - sanitary reports on Stations - proposed works sanctioned & executed works &c &c?

If the House would order these Reports from

each Presidency, it appears to us that a great deal of good would be done -

Believe me

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

I am afraid I must have made some misunderstanding as to our meaning, about the kind of communication we want between the War Office Commission {printed address, upside down:}

27. Norfolk Street.

& the Park Lane. W. Presidency Commissions.

-3-

We never intended  
that the communication  
should be *direct*.

At present Sir C.  
Wood sends what  
papers he does send  
to the Secretary of the  
Commission - and the  
Secretary of the Commission  
writes direct to Genl  
Pears. The papers do  
not pass thro' the War  
Office *in transitu*.

This answers quite  
well.

All we want is  
that *all* Sanitary papers

should be sent to the  
W.O. Commission  
by the India Off: for  
opinion.

[end 9:395]

F.N.

920 Der 15/63 signed letter, 6ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.  
19/1/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I see that you are  
good enough to say that  
when you come to London,  
we might discuss the  
Indian sanitary matter  
verbally.

[9:381]

I think good might  
come of our doing so, if  
before you become pressed  
with Ho: of C. business,  
you would be so kind  
as to make an

appointment.

I think Sir John Lawrence might be enabled to make the first step, which has not been made yet - which no Governor Genl but he ever will make - & after that, all will go of itself. And Indians will wonder how they could have lived so long as they are.

As to how far diminution in Mortality is due to Invaliding: - - in the British Army *not* in India.

if you care to turn to the system of Army Statistics, established by Sidney Herbert, & which now *publishes* its Annual Report, you will see, in these Army Reports, that the Mortality is given in two forms: -  
1. by equalizing the ages in all the Arms - & then

calculating the mortality on the numbers of men & numbers who have died in the Regiments - e.g. when Sidney Herbert's R. (sanitary) Commission of 1857 made its Report, the mortality of the Infantry of the Line (up to the last returns) was 17.9. per 1000 per annum. For the years 1859-60-61 the mortality of these regiments was 8.68. The last (published) year

-2-

1862, the mortality of these Regiments was 6.48.

The mortality of civil populations (soldiers' ages) of England & Wales is 8.91.

The comparison however is faulty, because the Infantry rate does not give its Deaths among Invalids, while the Civil rate does.

2. To obviate this error, the mortality is now given, *including* the Invalid Deaths. In the years 1860-61, the

mortality of the Infantry so counted was 9.94.

- and in 1862, 8.01.

[You will observe that the measures originated by Sidney Herbert *have* still, produced such a satisfactory diminution, *even taking in the Invalids*, as to be evidence, amounting to proof, of *how* preventible mortality is]

From inattention to the above, the Household

Cavalry presented an unexplained discrepancy, which Sidney Herbert's R.C. of 1857 laboured hard to account for on wrong principles. [We all tried our hands at it: and we all were wrong.] This Arm invalids men very rapidly. And the result to the Death-rate has only lately been fully known. Thus in 1862 their Death rate was 8.32, but the Invalid Deaths made it mount up to  
14.47

14.47

Nature is always right. These gentlemen have very bad Barracks in town. And until new Barracks are built, they ought to die at the high rate they do.

I trust that 'the Military' my esteemed Patrons, will excuse me if I say, that they are like the children whom "Papa" is trying to stop from making themselves  
{printed address, upside down:}  
27. Norfolk Street.

Park Lane. W.  
ill, or from "burning

-3-

their mouths" - they stoutly  
deny the fact. But  
when "Papa" desists,  
they say, Oh Papa, you  
don't know how much  
{ "iller"/worse } we were than  
you thought: Or, "we  
always burn our  
mouths in the nursery"  
[This I heard. F.N.]

So the Army made  
a dreadful moan  
against our injustice  
& our mendacity, when  
Sidney Herbert's Report  
came out. But afterwards

they said: - Ho! you're wrong.

*You don't know how  
much worse we were  
than you said, AND ARE.*

And even now they  
cry: - you shan't cure  
us - and we won't  
be cured - and we're  
not cured.

But, for all that,  
they are half-cured.

As regards India, the  
invaliding effect was  
of such a kind that,

after the mutiny, there  
was a clearing out of  
all the bad constitutions,  
(indeed of all, it seems,  
who had not a 'good  
life' up to 100 years of age)  
And the Death-rate  
has been much lowered  
in consequence.

But it is not safe to  
take their figures any  
way. Their 'Strength' apparently  
does not tally with  
the Muster-rolls -  
their 'Deaths' do not apparently  
tally with the Adjutant  
Genl's 'Casualties' nor  
do they appear to include  
all the Deaths in the  
Mutiny.

They are now wading  
& wandering thro' all  
the discrepancies of  
ill-kept Statistics -  
in which we were, for  
two years, (1856-8) up  
to our chins - And they  
must struggle out of  
these as we did, &  
establish reliable  
Statistics as we have  
done -

[end 9:381]

yours very faithfully  
{printed address, upside down:]  
27. Norfolk Street.  
Park Lane. W.  
Florence Nightingale.

920 Der 15/64 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

20/1/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I heard, last night **[9:396]**  
from a man, not in  
the India Office but  
in connection with  
it, that "the answer  
of the Government  
of India to Lord  
Stanley's Sanitary  
Report ~~had~~/has now  
arrived" - & that

"a competent judge  
has pronounced  
it admirable."

Pray have it referred  
to the (W.O. and I.O.)  
"Barrack Improvement  
Commission."

I really can hardly  
keep from swearing;  
not because I do not  
believe that the very  
worst state for action

is when every body  
pronounces you right;  
but because, when we  
had only just finished  
the Reply to Dr. Leith,  
(we are so slow) -  
there now is another  
reply to do - it is too  
bad.

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

I feel so violent that, if  
I were to say what I  
think, I should be put  
into Dr. Pusey's "Small

Debts Court", where he  
put Mr. Jowett. I feel  
like the Fury in Orestes,  
who wakes her sister  
Fury with a gripe on  
the back of her neck,  
& worries her, as a  
terrier does a rat,  
crying:  
Awake! arouse! rouse,  
her as I rouse thee!  
F.N.

[end 9:396]

920 Der 15/65 signed letter, 1f, pen black-edged

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.  
23/1/65

Dear Lord Stanley

As you are so good  
as to give me the  
choice between Friday  
and Saturday, here,  
Saturday at 3 P.M.  
will be quite convenient  
to me - [I have an  
engagement on Friday,  
which I cannot  
well put off -]

Many thanks for

your note. I accept  
the good augury with  
gratitude - from so  
powerful a divinity.  
Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/66 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

11/2/65

Dear Lord Stanley

A thousand thanks for **[9:510-11]**  
your note.

1. The proposal to have Sanitary Engineers arose out of a positive statement (from India) that the requisite talent does not exist in India.
2. The functions of the Sanitary Commissions  
in India

have been hitherto merely consultative - (they give opinions only when asked) they certainly have not hitherto done anything in the way of inspecting & reporting on Stations

If the Government in India were to ask them to prepare plans for improving two or three Stations, it would be found

at once whether they could do the work.

If not, they would apply for help from home, and that help should be granted.

All that we want is a beginning - plans of improvement in drainage & water-supply sent home.

This has not hitherto been done.

The Bombay Civil Engineer who is doing the drainage of Bombay city, is in

England at present, consulting about the works.

We want similar  
steps to be taken  
with the Stations.

3. If Sir C. Wood  
would look at  
para. 22, p. 12, of  
the "Remarks" (on Dr.  
Leith,) he would see  
all we want.

If he thought fit  
to press para. 22 by  
a Minute, as he did

your Report, he would  
do all we want.

I send the page,  
which contains all  
the things for Engineers  
to do.

4. There ought to be  
no danger of "disputes".  
The questions all  
regard correct principles.

We promise to  
advise Sir C. Wood  
as well as we can  
& as quietly as we can,  
& not to hurt his feelings

the least little bit,  
nor any one's else -  
certainly not the  
Governor Genl's.

We have not been  
aggressive - we have not  
been impertinent.  
Dr. Leith attacked  
us ignorantly & offen=  
lively. And we put  
him right quietly &  
inoffensively.

Indeed, I consider  
we have been models  
of lambs - [As for me,

I have been on all  
fours.]

5. A very important  
paper has reached  
our Barrack Commission  
from Sir C. Wood -  
the views of the Govt  
of India as to the  
principles of constructing  
Barracks that is to  
say, Sir John Lawrence's  
views on Col: Crommelin's  
paper, (of which I  
sent you a private  
proof to look at)  
[From India I hear

privately that 7 millions  
are to be spent on  
Barracks - And Sir  
John Lawrence says,  
it will be 10 millions.

Of course you know  
the truth of this.]

This Despatch from  
the Govt of India is  
coming up here, (I  
hope to day,) from our  
Commission.

When they have examined  
it, if you will allow  
me to claim your kind  
{printed address, upside down:}  
27. Norfolk Street.

Park Lane. W.  
offer of a "farther

-3-

consultation," (if you still  
have time then) there  
may be something to  
trouble you about.

**[end 9:511]**

Yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale  
We have heard nothing  
yet of Col: Norman's  
paper.

920 Der 15/67 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.  
19/2/65

Dear Lord Stanley

Col: Sykes has given  
notice of a question  
to Sir C. Wood, on  
Monday, as to the  
disinfectant for Bombay.

**[9:382-83]**

[About these  
abominable disinfectants,  
references have been  
continually made from  
the Bombay Govt, through  
the I.O., to the "Barrack

Improvement Commission".]

The question is one,  
as I need not tell you,  
of primary importance.  
Is India to be laid  
down in disinfectants?  
or is she to be drained  
& water supplied, like  
other civilized countries?  
Are we to have sanitary  
works, or disinfectants,  
to cure India?

Col: Sykes' question  
refers to Macdougall's

powder -

Sir C. Wood's best reply would simply be to lay the report of the "Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission" (on this subject) on the table of the House.

In that report, they enter into the question of disinfectants, for India, in its length & breadth. They show to what extent disinfectants can be used. These can never

be used as a *substitute* for works ~~&~~/and for cleanliness. They point out that lime or charcoal answer the purpose of destroying smell temporarily, ~~(illeg)~~/though not so completely as the powder - and they recommend that lime or charcoal be used, before the more expensive article is obtained from England.

The Disinfectors have,

from the first, attempted to substitute their *charlatanerie* for your (R. Commission) Report.

I wonder that Col: Sykes should allow himself to be their agent.

If you thought well to see Sir C. Wood, & induce him to lay the said answer on Disinfectants before the Ho: of C., it might

be the most advantageous  
course for the progress  
of our works.

[end 9:383]

Believe me

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/68 signed letter, 4f, pen black-edged

*Confidential*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

March 12/65

Dear Lord Stanley

About India Sanitary

[9:513-14]

papers being referred  
to the home Commission: -

Sir John Lawrence writes  
to me ("Barrackpore  
February 6")

that he *has* done what  
we asked, that all  
the Sanitary papers  
*are* sent home: -  
"but", he adds, "it

"must rest with the  
Secretary of State  
to say what should  
be sent on to the  
Sanitary Comn. I  
should be trenching  
on his prerogative,  
if I said more."

I merely send this extract  
for information.

I believe it was said  
(or supposed) that the  
obstacle, if any, lay  
"out there," not at  
home.

I do not send it as a  
complaint. For we  
have nothing very  
particular to complain  
of just now. I receive  
all the Sanitary papers  
from India. And  
therefore I feel sure  
that the most important  
are sent us from the  
India Office, tho'  
after months of delay.  
The one upon Barracks,  
founded on Col:  
Crommelin's paper,  
came to the home Commission two or three  
weeks ago; no doubt

in consequence of what  
you said to Sir C. Wood.  
Our remarks on it  
are done & printed,  
(i.e. the rough draft);  
and I meant to have  
troubled you with a  
copy. But the worshipful  
Commission have not  
done their considerations  
upon the rough draft  
yet.

The papers on Hospitals  
will, I have no doubt  
follow these on  
Barracks. [I received  
them months back]

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

2. General Peel "is [16:440]  
"going to attack  
the Herbert & other  
Military Hospitals  
on Army Estimates,"

I hear. Now Genl Peel  
is as much more  
formidable an antagonist  
to us than Ld Panmure,  
as a gentleman is  
more efficient than  
a "snob". Besides,  
Genl Peel has  
always behaved

most generously to  
Sidney Herbert's memory,  
Ld Panmure most  
ungenerously. [I do  
not mean to weary  
you with saying how.]  
My object is: would  
you think well to  
say a little word  
for our poor new  
Hospitals, if Genl Peel  
attacks them? - in the  
sense of advocating the (at -  
present) received principles  
of Hospital construction, as  
set forth in your India Sanitary Report. [end]

3. To return to Sir John  
Lawrence: - he speaks  
eagerly but rather  
despondingly - of his  
wish to accomplish  
"real sanitary improve=  
ments" of the "difficulties  
with which we are  
surrounded," And he  
says; we shall "consider"  
him- "timid & even  
time-serving." [Certainly  
there is one thing great  
men don't know, &  
that is, themselves.  
John Lawrence was  
undoubtedly the only

man who ever called  
John Lawrence a  
"time-server", except  
in the highest possible  
sense. For he does  
"serve" at the time  
most wanted with  
all his might.]

Pray burn this note;  
You will see that Sir  
J. Lawrence's letter is  
quite private. And  
indeed I am always  
afraid of misrepresenting  
him.

[end 9:514]

yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/68 {last} signed letter, 1f, pen black-edged

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

March 21/65

[16:440]

Dear Lord Stanley

I take the liberty  
of sending you a copy  
of the last "Builder"  
& of asking you to read  
the article on the  
"Herbert Hospital,"  
which is *not* by any  
of us.

Ld Panmure's  
attack in the Ho: of Lords,  
on the Pavilion Hospital  
system in general & on

the Herbert Hospital in  
particular  
has damaged us with  
people whose action,  
not whose opinions,  
we want.

And we can't afford  
to lose our Patrons.

[end]

Yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 950

920 Der 15/69 signed letter, 3ff, pen -edged

*Indian Sanitary*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

March 23/65

Dear Lord Stanley

We appear to be  
"in for" another reply.  
But so far as can be  
judged of from the  
"Times" article of to-day,  
it will be mainly  
statistical.

[9:398]

We should not  
like to do anything  
except under your  
advice. If you would  
kindly say - what ought

to be done by us? - - -

Unless there is some  
Sanitary heterodoxy,  
perhaps the home  
("Barrack & Hospital")  
Commission cannot  
interfere. But we  
have not seen the  
paper, & are in the  
darkness which Ld  
Panmure thinks so  
conducive to health.

The difference in the  
Statistical estimates

we fear to be mainly  
due to invaliding -  
i.e. in the earlier  
periods taken by Dr.  
Farr for estimating  
the Mortality, the men  
were kept till they  
died, while, of late  
years, since the Mutiny,  
sickly men have been  
sent home either to  
die or recover.

It may turn out  
that Dr. Farr's part  
of the "reply to Dr. Leith"

will cover most of the  
ground.

As we whistled, cried  
& shouted to them for  
their Statistics after  
1856 - & could get no  
answer - as we  
tried alternately  
threatening, intriguing,  
"soaping", & going on  
all fours - & they  
were as silent as if  
they were dead - it  
is truly hard upon us  
to make an accusation

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

against us that we  
have not put in the  
Statistics which they  
had not, or pretended  
they had not.

**[end 9:398]**

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/70 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

March 25/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I have not seen the  
Parly paper containing  
the Indian Govt's reply  
(sanitary), and should  
be very glad if you  
will be kind enough  
to send it me.

[9:398-99]

I am afraid it has  
annoyed Sir J. Lawrence  
very much.

Dr. Farr has asked

Col: Sykes, I understand,  
to move for the  
"remarks on *Dr. Leith*,"  
And he has also  
sent a copy to Mr.  
Delane. ("Times")

If you decide on a  
reply, another point  
for you to say will  
be, by whom the  
reply is to be signed?

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Dr. Farr says the Statistical  
points raised are  
the same as those  
raised by Dr. Leith.

[end 9:399]

920 Der 15/71 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

April 19/65

Dear Lord Stanley

You, of course, saw **[9:514-15]**  
the Calcutta papers

(Copy of Report &  
Correspondence relative  
to the Sanitary state  
of Calcutta)

in the form of a  
Parliamentary Paper  
22 February 1865.

The experience of  
the War Office Commission

might possibly help  
in the satisfactory  
solution of some  
parts of the Calcutta  
problem, if Sir  
C. Wood would send  
them a copy, of which  
they could take  
official cognizance,  
& order them to  
make their remarks.

2. By the India mail

which came in last  
night, I heard "that  
36 square feet has (*possibly*)  
been fixed as the  
minimum of superficial  
area" (for Indian Jails)  
& that new Jails are  
to be constructed  
accordingly." - "Want  
of money - the cause."

This is so very much  
~~the~~ less than the  
amount of area  
required for health  
even in England,

that it seems as if  
it were the very thing  
in which the English  
Secretary of State  
might exercise some  
"control". Because I  
understand that  
the authorities are  
disposed to plead  
*want of experience*  
(of any larger area  
being necessary)  
Our Prison Inspectors  
might be referred to.  
But the War Office

commission would do it  
much better, & would  
of course consult our  
Prison Department; (if  
referred to.)

I do not know  
whether you would  
think it well to  
interfere in these  
two matters yourself -  
by suggesting to Sir C. Wood  
to refer to the W. O. Commn.

~~It is hard enough,~~  
God knows, for great  
public men to do

their duty anywhere -  
But, I do think it  
is harder & worse  
for them in India  
than anywhere else.

And I know perfectly  
well now what  
Sir John Lawrence  
meant, when he  
said that we should  
consider him "timid  
& perhaps even time=  
serving"

[end 9:515]

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/72 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

April 29/65

Dear Lord Stanley

In returning you  
Sir C. Wood's note,  
for which I am  
very much obliged -  
may I say that the  
case is this: a set  
of papers are laid  
before Parliament,  
(22 Feb:) containing  
certain statements

[9:515-16]

as to the sanitary  
condition of Calcutta,  
with certain engineering  
proposals for  
rectifying the evils.  
Your R. Commission  
dealt not only  
with the "Military"  
points in India -  
but with the state  
of towns, & amongst  
others of Calcutta.  
(inseparable from

the "Military" question  
unless Sir C. Wood  
believes in the  
exploded superstition  
of quarantine.)

The War Office,=(or  
home Sanitary,=) Commission  
was re=constituted  
mainly by your own  
instrumentality. And  
Mr. Rawlinson was  
added to it, expressly  
for these civil matters

(chiefly by the same  
influence-)

All that is required  
is that Sir C. Wood  
should send the  
Parly paper to the  
(W.O. and I.O.) Commission  
for remarks.

We think it would  
not be difficult to  
find a way out of  
the Calcutta difficulties;  
and it is our duty  
to help them.

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

[I don't know that  
Sir C. Wood has any  
business with what  
Sir J. Lawrence or the "Sanitary Commission in Bengal"  
writes to me about "wishing for advice." These  
papers were, it is  
true, sent to me  
confidentially. But  
they are now Parly  
papers. I think  
I sent them to you  
(in the spring of  
last year.) I told

Sir J.L. that I  
should - (i.e. submit  
to you all the papers  
he was so good as  
to send me that  
I thought worthy  
your notice) I  
think I sent you  
an Ext. from his  
letter saying: - that  
he *did* wish all  
these papers to be  
referred to the "home

Sanitary" Commission -  
but that, having  
expressed that wish,  
~~he~~ it would be  
interfering with Sir  
C. Wood's 'prerogative'  
to interfere farther  
- or words to that  
effect. I have not  
Sir J. Lawrence's  
letter before me]

I trust that you  
will hear "about the  
Prisons", after Sir C.

Wood has "asked"  
about them.

The Colonial Office  
is putting its house  
in order about  
prisons. And it  
would not do for  
India to be left  
behind. The awful  
Epidemics in her  
prisons are beyond  
parallel.

Pray believe me  
your most faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

P.S. It appears to me  
that Sir J. Lawrence  
& Sir C. Wood are  
playing at  
cross purposes.

The former says: -  
I have asked.

The latter says: -  
if he will ask -

F.N.

in haste

Please burn -

[end 9:546]

920 Der 15/73 signed letter, 7ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

34 South Street  
W.

May 13/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I am afraid you  
will think me very  
troublesome - not  
only that but turbulent;  
"a turbulent fellow -  
vide Lord Panmure.  
And I am afraid  
you will also think  
me over-eager, which  
is true - & unreasonable  
& sometimes

**[9:546-47]**

contradictory , which

I don't think is  
true, but apparently  
so -

So I had better proceed  
at once to business.

1.

I beg leave to send  
you a Proof copy of  
the remarks of the  
Army Sanitary Commission  
(here), on the conclusions  
of the Government of  
India, in regard to  
the building of

Barracks - which  
"conclusions" we  
received from Sir  
C. Wood, owing to  
your intervention,  
as perhaps you will  
remember, some  
weeks, not to say  
months ago.

[We have accomplished  
our part with all  
our usual celerity -  
seeing we might  
have done it in  
as many days.]

The whole subject

has evidently been well  
considered in India;  
and the only points  
in which the (home)  
Commission has  
suggested improvements  
are those necessary  
for more completely  
embodying the views  
of ~~the~~/your R. Commission.  
The India Govt has  
evidently profited  
by the "Suggestions"  
formerly sent out  
by the (home) "Army

-2-

Sanitary Commission."

[That is the way they  
choose to style  
themselves now.]

2.

Nothing has yet been  
heard from Sir C.  
Wood about the  
sanitary state of  
Calcutta.

I venture to send you  
(& to ask the return  
of) a Report 25  
years old, on the

same subject exposing  
a state of things  
the father of that  
denounced by Mr.  
John Strachey. But  
the enclosed Report  
is nearer the truth -  
on the subject of  
sanitary works -  
than the document  
laid before Parliament.  
(22 February 1865)  
I send ~~my~~/this *old* Report  
in order that you  
may see what our

-3-

case is - and how old  
the evils are they  
have to deal with.  
From these two Reports  
you will easily see  
how needful it is that the (home) Army  
Sanitary Commission  
~~could~~/should point out the  
great leading  
principles applicable  
to the improvement  
of Calcutta, if only  
they had the  
opportunity of so doing  
afforded them by  
Sir C. Wood.

All that he would  
have to do would be  
to send the Parly  
paper to them for  
"remarks" in the  
usual way - and  
they will send as  
much information  
as they can. Sir  
C. Wood, if he saw  
fit, might then  
send it to India.

He is aware that  
Sir J. Lawrence  
wishes it. (generally.)

3.

You have probably received by this time Dr. Farr's Reply to the statements made by the Govt of India about the Mortality. He sent it here. And we asked him to add a little summing up. I need hardly say that, if you would wish us to add any thing, we are more than ready.

It was thought that, as the Army Sanitary

Commission had signed the reply to Dr. Leith, it would be better ~~if~~/that this reply to the Govt of India should be independent, & signed only by yourself, (if you approved it at least) - But this is of course a matter for yourself alone to decide.

We will try to alter & improve it, if not approved, as often as you think well.

-4-

4. Nothing further  
has been heard  
about the Indian Jails,  
& their 36 square feet  
per ~~person~~/prisoner which  
it is proposed to  
give.

To shew in what  
a condition the  
intelligence of India  
officials is on this  
subject, may I say  
(what I dare say  
I have troubled  
you with before,)

that our R. Engineer,  
who has been  
engaged in Turkey  
upon improving  
the Turkish prisons,  
says that the superficial  
area there to be  
allowed is 72 square  
feet per prisoner -  
or just double  
what Indian want  
of sense considers  
sufficient for  
India.

The fact is: that  
India has set up

her new housekeeping  
with not a house  
over her head. She  
wants new Jails,  
new Hospitals, new  
buildings of all kinds.  
And she wants to be  
helped. God help her!  
and you too, I hope.  
I would renew my  
excuses to you. But  
I think it more  
respectful not to  
take up any more  
of your time with

my "sornettes". So I  
will only say that  
they are doing a  
good deal, "Deo  
gratias" & also to  
you - in India -

[end 9:517]

Your very faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/74 signed letter, 7ff, pen black-edged

*Confidential*

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

May 17/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I hope you will not  
think me profane if I  
say that God and Lord  
Stanley & Sir John Lawrence  
being on our side - we  
have nothing to fear.  
And indeed your very  
kind note encouraged  
me more than I can  
say. But Sir John  
Lawrence is in very  
low spirits.

[9:384-85]

My immediate reason for troubling you again, (in consequence of the kind encouragement you have given) is the enclosed Extract from one of the Calcutta papers, sent me by Sir J. Lawrence, which shows the backward state of opinion, and also of practical Engineering ability in Calcutta.

I forwarded the Article to Mr. Rawlinson, C.E. (Local Govt Act Office) for his opinion. And he has sent me the accompanying paper. I intend writing to Sir J. Lawrence & shall enclose the Rawlinson reply. [Tomorrow is next Indian mail, by Bombay. But it is of less consequence for me to catch that mail than to communicate with you.]

The whole matter shows the need of giving them the benefit of home

experience - & pointing out to them how to meet difficulties which were at one time the same here.

It was partly to meet these civil cases that we wished the W.O. Commission to be put in communication with India, & Mr. Rawlinson to be put upon it - which you brought about.

So far as the troops are concerned, you have well said (in your Report) that the sanitary state

-2-

of the Civil population is so intimately connected with that of the troops that they cannot be separated. So long, e.g. as the smell of Calcutta reaches Fort William - and it will cease to do so (and thank God that it does do so) only when the city is improved - so long will the troops suffer in health.

The same principle holds good in all large groups of population where there are troops stationed. They may

build Barracks - & spend their seven ~~or~~/and their ten millions - as Mr. Massey told me, just before he went out, they should - but, till they improve the water-supply & drainage of the Stations - they will not save their men.

2. As to Sir J. Lawrence:  
his letter is dated Calcutta  
7 April.

Of course he touches sadly upon the Finance question. But, as I know nothing about Indian Finance,

& you know everything, it is  
no use my troubling you -  
[I hope that the discredit  
of this will not recoil  
upon Sir J. Lawrence's  
administration. We feel  
rather as if India were  
holding down his head.

- and we cannot be too  
thankful for your powerful  
words in time of trouble]

Sir J. Lawrence says:

"our difficulties are  
very great - very much  
beyond your conception."

[Yes: I can conceive - But  
you can conceive better.]

also: -

"Every body (English) is  
a bird of passage;

"none look to India  
as a home; all are  
anxious to get away  
as soon as may be  
practicable. This  
evil tendency has  
greatly increased  
of late years. The  
general idea is that  
'sufficient for the day  
is the evil thereof'  
in the worst sense.  
Few take any real  
interest in  
improvements. The  
natives themselves

{printed address, upside down:}

34 South Street,

Park Lane,           are ignorant, apathetic  
London. W.           or even opposed

-3-

"to sanitary improvements.  
They will not expend  
money on such matters.  
We have no easy job  
in raising the necessary  
income to meet the  
public demands. Then  
the very reforms in  
themselves are difficult  
of execution, & are  
very expensive."

He then goes into some  
details about Calcutta  
water supply & says: -  
"though Calcutta is the  
richest place in  
India, the inhabitants  
grudge the expence,

"and I doubt much  
if they will consent  
to incur it.  
The city is under  
municipal  
management, which  
is defective & feeble  
in its character,  
but, if one abolished  
it & put in a  
Dictator, ten to one  
but we put every  
body against the  
Govt. Then would  
commence vituperation  
& lamentations *which*  
*re-echo in England.*"

However, Sir J. Lawrence  
does not succumb. On

the contrary, he goes on to  
say that he is going to  
"see what can be done."

I need hardly say that I do  
not communicate Sir J.  
Lawrence's letters to any  
one but yourself. ~~{I/Sir  
told/Sir John Lawrence/illeg I-  
illeg illeg wrong}~~

With regard to Sanitary &  
Statistical matters, you  
know Sir J. Lawrence  
is no Statistician &  
~~no~~ only an amateur Sanitarian.

It would be very odd  
if he were otherwise.

He does not see, either,

the defects of the enclosed newspaper  
Article. But he is  
always willing to do  
*more*, instead of less,  
*than he says*. And of  
all men he should  
have help -

Would you please return  
me the newspaper  
article & Mr. Rawlinson's  
paper - with your remarks,  
if you will be so good as to  
make any.

3. We have seen the  
copy of Dr. Farr's  
reply, with your alterations  
{printed address, upside down:}  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane, inserted. It is  
London. W. very greatly

-4-

improved - if I may say  
so. Dr. Sutherland  
will be glad to sign it;  
and Dr. Farr agrees to this.

[end 9:385]

in haste

Your very faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Sir J. Lawrence says he  
shall be at Simlah  
"before long", where he  
has had to "send" his  
Bengal Sanitary Commission,  
- "they were so ill" - &  
where he will set to  
work with them upon  
our sanitary matters.

920 Der 15/75 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

May 20/65

Dear Lord Stanley

Drs. Farr & Sutherland  
signed the Reply to the  
Govt of India yesterday  
- and you probably  
received it last night,  
with a request (which  
nevertheless I take the  
liberty of seconding- )  
that, if you saw no  
objection, you might

[9:400]

think well to move for  
it on Monday.

Also, that, as the Reply  
to Dr. Leith is referred  
to in the reply to the  
Govt. of India, and as  
it completes the case,  
we should be very  
glad if you thought  
well that both  
documents should be  
moved for together -  
on two separate notice-

papers, so that each  
might be separately  
printed.

[Col: Sykes promised Dr.  
Farr some time ago to  
move for the reply to  
Dr. Leith, but has not  
done so.]

The titles are: -

1. Copy of letter addressed  
to Sir C. Wood in reply  
to Despatch of Government  
of India on Report of  
the R. Sanitary Commission  
for India - and
2. Copy of Remarks of  
Barrack & Hospital

Improvement Commission  
on a Report by Dr. Leith  
on the General Sanitary  
Condition of the Bombay  
Army.

~~I am extremely~~  
grateful to you for  
your kind letter about  
Sir J. Lawrence

[end 9:400]

& am always  
Yours most faithfully  
F. Nightingale

920 Der 15/76 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

May 23/65

Dear Lord Stanley

If you saw fit, I think  
the true way of putting  
the case to Sir C. Wood  
is: -

**[9:517-18]**

that it is not whether the  
'Calcutta people' desire  
to be improved or to  
ask advice - It is this: -  
Sir C. Wood, having  
granted to the Ho: of  
Commons certain papers  
exposing a state of  
things in Calcutta,

which has brought out  
severe public criticism  
- and these things  
being the very things  
most important for  
the "Army Sanitary  
Commission" (this is  
the name by which  
they are to be called)  
to advise the India  
people about - would  
it not be desirable  
to have the sanitary  
(not administrative)

questions simply therein  
raised, brought  
officially to the cognizance  
of the Commission, in  
order that it may  
give its best advice  
as to the methods  
most likely to remove  
the acknowledged causes  
of disease - especially  
as the plans proposed  
are obviously by no  
means ~~poss~~ the best  
possible?

[I need not tell you that

Sir John Lawrence does  
wish to be informed  
& to ask advice - &  
that he has informed  
me that he *has* told  
Sir C. Wood so - because  
I think I have  
uniformly sent you  
extracts of his letters,  
& because you probably  
know it by much more  
direct means -

But it is impossible for  
me to quote his letters,  
or those of the Bengal  
Sanitary Commission,  
except to yourself - or  
of course to ask you to

quote them.]

There may be reasons  
of which I know  
nothing, to prevent you  
from thinking it well  
to urge Sir C. Wood  
upon the general grounds  
stated above -

I have done what I  
could in sending privately  
to Sir J. Lawrence  
Mr. Rawlinson's opinions.

But what I feel - &  
what I am sure you  
must feel much more  
strongly - is that it  
does not do to leave

these vital questions  
at the mercy of  
private or accidental  
agency.

God bless you for taking  
them up -

I have kept the enclosure  
back, because I had  
a question to ask of  
the W.O. But I need  
scarcely say that I have  
not shewn it, nor  
your letter. In haste,

Believe me

very faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

[end 9:518]

920 Der 15/78 unsigned memorandum, 10ff, pen [9:519-21]

Sanitary Commission MADRAS Presidency  
June 2/65

"have now been nearly 14 months in Office and during the whole of that time have had to combat with the most determined opposition from the Govt. The public is kept in entire ignorance of their labours and Reports and Letters are disposed of summarily & seldom acted on."

"What is really required is that the suggestions of these Commissions should be dealt with by Govt on their own merits, and not referred to the Quarter Master General or the Commander in Chief for their observations"

"In example of the mode of dealing with Reports: - shortly after submitting the Bangalore Report a reference was made to Govt regarding the site for certain buildings on the "Race Course" at that Station. A Committee was ordered by Govt to decide the points at issue and of this Comtee Dr. Macpherson (as President Sany Com:) was nominated (officiating) during Mr. Ellis' absence.

"a member. Dr. Macpherson &c proceeded to Bangalore where H.E. the Commander in Chief then was, and the Comtee ordered by Govt was *not* held. But Sir Hope Grant did order a Comtee of 4 military and 3 medl officers to report on the recommendations of the Sany Comn regarding Hospitals & Barracks occupied by Europeans at Bangalore.

[For 4 days (for from 3 to 4 hours daily) the whole business was to defend ~~this~~/the Comn from the repeated attacks & inuendos of the Qr Mr Genl's Dept] Finally the Comtee adopted every suggestion of the Sany Commission, with the exception of one or two minor points - (and it (their Report) is now before Govt)"

*"Our only remedy must come  
from England"*

"The high officials here consider

that the Sany Commissions are not authorized to do more than suggest & that it is not necessary to do more than *record* the Commission's views."

{note in margin}

This refers exclusively to the *Madras* Commission - The Bombay does not *want to do any* thing, but writes only. The Bengal has Sir J. Lawrence - But it is to be regretted that he does not make it a Govt Office or Dept. Perhaps he can't.

"If such a state of matters is to continue, then the sooner these Commissions are abolished, the better. The most carefully considered suggestions are set aside for insufficient reasons or for no reasons at all.

"Our Army enjoys, as a rule, good ? health, but of the carelessness of the Military authorities the sad misfortunes of the 74th Highlanders at Madras, and of the Artillery marching from Mhow are abundant & most painful examples."

{note in margin}

This paper was sent me. a capital paper. "It is now 14 months since the Sany Commn first addressed Govt on the subject of selecting camps for Europeans if attacked with Cholera at Stations and it is little more than so many days

The *Bengal*  
 Commn wrote  
 to me to get  
 them the  
 best methods  
 of water analysis.  
 And after  
 much that was insufficient  
 had been  
 sent me by  
 English savans,  
 Dr. Angus Smith  
 sent me a  
 full & sufficient  
 paper, now  
 in the press,  
 for them.  
 This too is  
 an excellent  
 paper.  
 Mr. Ellis  
 hopes to  
 carry it, (the  
 scheme)

Better they  
 never had  
 been adopted

"since anything has been actually  
 done on the subject.

"An enquiry into the character of  
 the drinking water in Madras  
 was instituted 11 months ago -  
 at the request of the San. Comm.  
~~who~~ and they are now told that  
 it cannot be completed until  
 the end of this year.

"7 months ago, they submitted a  
 scheme for a Public Health Service  
 to include registration of Births  
 and Deaths: on this nothing has  
 been done.

"For 12 months certain suggestions  
 of rules for the {illeg control{?} of public  
 women were forwarded to Govt  
 and have only just been adopted  
 after the preliminary process of a  
 Comtee who only interfered in minor  
 details.

"To detail all the many instances  
 of impassiveness on the part of  
 this Govt would only weary."

-2-

"Here are some of the good results  
of the *Madras Sanitary Commission*.

"At a native town some 30 to 40 miles  
from Madras, the annual assemblage of  
pilgrims was followed almost invariably  
by the appearance of Cholera which  
speedily found its way to Madras.

"On their own responsibility & by Mr. Ellis'  
influence, suitable measures were  
adopted for the Conservancy of the  
town during the Festival and for the  
provision of 'places of convenience',  
the removal of cattle and the cleansing  
of the streets &c.

"20,000 pilgrims attended and not  
a single case of Cholera occurred.

"Similar measures were, at their (San. Comm.  
suggestion, again adopted this year  
and with similar success.

"Although this was brought to the notice  
of the authorities, *no* similar measures  
were adopted elsewhere & Cholera  
is now raging in Bellay, Sangor & other  
districts where disease has been  
introduced by large bodies of Pilgrims.

"Without a well-planned, and active Public Health Department these unhappy occurrences can scarcely be prevented.

"The subject of the marching of troops has engaged the Commn's attention, and certain recommendations offered on the point, but opposed by the Military authorities.

"These latter caused by their neglect the march of the 4th M.N.I. Regt to be made in Feby through the most unhealthy district of the Presidency (the hot bed of Cholera and Fever) and when the Regt reached Seconderabad some considerable number of the whole Regt had been attacked. One European Officer died.

[end 9:521]

	Attacked	Died
Non=Comd, Rank & File	100	44
Male Followers	76	44
Female "	123	59
Children	120	48
Total Deaths		195

*plus the Officers*

"in the hope that, before long, the Commn may be placed in its proper position as the advisers of Govt  
&c &c

This, the following, is by a totally different hand.

June 12/65 "The Commission, in their early instructions were directed by Government to do their best towards introducing a more wholesome system of Conservance into the city of Madras, the filthy state of which is equal to that of Calcutta. The Municipal Commissioners have a large sum for conservancy & scavengerage expended annually. Conceiving that much of this was misapplied, the Sanitary Commission desired in friendly communion with them to give advice. But they decline

"and on goes the old system of making drains with brick & mortar of an ill-constructed shape and so directed that the sewage sticks in it instead of flowing through - scraping up the solid contents of these drains & placing it to bake in heaps in the sun - and so forth. - fish & vegetable markets, throughout the city which are never cleaned - And now with this furious hot weather, & with sporadic Cholera around, these Solons of Commissioners are doing just what invites it on.

And then they say that Lord Stanley's Report is exaggerated.

"Independent of a large civil community, there is a considerable European and native Garrison at this place - Madras. The same absence of properly applied conservancy exists every where. Hedge rows - 20 to 30 ft high - and dense underwood impede the free flow of sea-breeze - contents of latrines, private house filth pitched beneath. All this, *with the*

-3-

*funds at the disposal of the Municipal Commissioners,* would have been rectified by the Sanitary Commn - for the Mun: Comm: have no Health Officer of their own. [It would have been no use going up to Government with a long scheme for they Commission (Sanitary) would be at once *stumped* by "no funds" - "highly approve" "action postponed" &c &c. And so it is in all they recommend.

Character of Sir W. Denison

"The Governor has, like all others who can do so, taken flight from Madras - the spot of heat & stink.

"The entire purport of his replies to the Sanitary Commission ~~have~~/has been: - '*Do as I do: keep out of the way of stinks.* When subjects are referred to you for an opinion, reply. But don't go & be knocking

"`your heads in all other men's work.'

"In vain it was argued that it was as much their business to search out `stinks' as it was the Police man's duty to put down crime.

"`All bosh' was his reply.

"He was told they were only acting on the orders of his own Govt.

It is very obvious  
now why Sir  
John Lawrence  
cannot control  
the Governors of  
other Presidencies  
And why the  
'control must  
come (if at all)  
from England.'

"On which he Sir W. Denison said, `Gammon  
the Government of Bengal;  
those fools there, knowing  
nothing of our wants, lay down  
rules which they think are  
as applicable to us as they  
are to them. *And the people  
at home are still greater  
fools.'*

"As matters now stand, it is  
a perfect farce. And the  
Sanitary Commissions are a  
laughing stock to every one."

920 Der 15/79 signed letter, 6ff, pen black-edged

*Private &*  
*Confidential* June 7/65  
34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

Here I come troubling [9:521-23]  
you again.

But the *Madras* Govt  
is betraying us (this time).  
And we want you, if you  
thought well, to interfere,  
as no one else can, to  
bring them to their senses.

A Mr. Ellis, a (kind of)  
cousin to Lord de Grey,  
was appointed President  
of the Sanitary Commission  
for Madras, (one of the  
three Presidency Commission  
inaugurated by your  
R. Commission.)

He was an ignorant  
amateur. ~~But~~ And his  
appointment made a  
great "row". But he set  
his shoulder to the wheel,  
& worked like a man -  
but found he could  
really effect nothing, &  
is now coming home to  
see if he cannot move  
the *home* Govt to do

something, thro' Lord de Grey.

[Cousin or no cousin, I don't think Lord de Grey will do much for him. But I am "a dirty bird, who fou's its own nest."]

Dr. Macpherson, a man whom perhaps you will remember as writing to you "with a grievance", - but quite the ablest man in India in *Sanitary* administration, - has been appointed, mainly by Sir J. Lawrence's personal interference, *locum tenens* to Mr. Ellis for 6 months, as President

of the Madras Sanitary Commission. Whatever energy & ability can do, Dr. Macpherson will do.

I think I can best tell you the difficulty by making some extracts from ~~my~~/various letters, received by last mail. After a summary of

"all that is being done,  
"I should say *written*  
"by the Madras  
"Sanitary Commission.  
"They are allowed to  
"write as much as  
"they please, but  
"they are not allowed  
"to do anything."

-2-

Another letter says: -

"Mr. Ellis, the President,  
has spared no pains  
to get up the subject,  
& to put matters in  
train for action."

[Mr. Ellis, whom I do not know,  
has been kind enough to  
send me all ~~the~~/his papers,  
which are *masterly*.

But you see, he could not  
quite tell me what a  
fine fellow he was. So I  
prefer to quote from other  
letters *about* him]

"But not a single rupee  
is granted by the Governor,  
who, with Colonel  
Herbert Marshall,

"Military Secretary to Govt.,  
& Colonel Scott, the  
Quarter Master General  
make no secret of their  
opinion 'that the whole  
thing is bosh from top  
to bottom.'"

In another letter, I ~~see~~/read, that  
"the Madras Govt is doing  
"worse than nothing -  
"for it is laughing."

"Mr. Ellis' chief object  
in coming home is  
to endeavour to get  
some pressure put  
on the local authorities.  
If he fails, he intends  
to resign in disgust,  
& return to his old

duties."

"Dr. Macpherson has  
gone over with Mr.  
Ellis all that has  
been written &  
recommended, which  
substantially is  
what we have urged  
on the Government  
for the last ten years."

But "nothing has been done,  
"because not a rupee is  
"available, & *nothing*  
"will be done, until  
"public indignation at  
"home is aroused &  
"directed against the  
"obstructions."

"Mr. Ellis has done  
"much good work. He  
"is an able man & has  
"thrown himself with  
"all zeal into his duties.  
"He is fully alive to  
"their importance but,  
"having had much passive  
"& not a little direct  
"resistance - little or no  
"good has, as yet,  
"resulted from his  
"recommendations.  
"One great object he has  
"in going home now is  
"to get power placed in  
"the hands of the Commission.  
{printed address, upside down:}  
34 South Street, "to carry out at once  
Park Lane, "such points as are  
London. W. "of urgent necessity."  
[This is from another letter.]

-3-

[I will only just add  
that Mr. Ellis' appoint  
ment was a direct  
result of the  
recommendation of the  
(your) R. Commission,  
viz. that the heads of  
the Presidency Sanitary  
Commissions should  
be Civilians & administrators,  
and *not* Doctors -  
that the signal failure  
of DR. Leith, as President  
of the Bombay Sanitary  
Commission, has only  
justified your  
recommendation - &  
that "we" have always  
done our little all  
to support Mr. Ellis.]

A suggestion made to me

is: -

"either that Lord Stanley

"should prevail upon

"Sir C. Wood to write at

"once to Madras on the

"subject, in order to

"bring the Madras Govt

"to its senses -

"or that Lord Stanley

"should move in the

"Ho: of C. for a Return

"of the sanitary work done

"& the money spent in

"sanitary improvements

"in the Madras Presidency

"since the Sanitary

"Commission was appointed."

You will alone be able to  
decide what is best to be  
done. I need hardly  
say, that it is a point on  
which I have no judgment  
at all - ~~nor~~/or that I have  
not, in my replies, said  
a single word to imply  
that you grant me the  
liberty of bringing these  
things before you -

I know perfectly well what  
Sidney Herbert would  
have done, if he had  
been now S. of S. for War.  
He would have called  
upon the Army Sanitary  
(W.O. and I.O.) Commission

to furnish such queries & forms  
of Returns as, when sent  
out to the Madras Govt  
& replied to, would have  
brought out the whole  
subject & facts of the  
case, as they now stand.  
But this is past praying  
for. And I should  
have a "predestinate  
scratched face" for so  
much as suggesting it.

[end 9:523]

Believe me

dear Lord Stanley

Your very faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:}

34 South Street,

Park Lane,

London. W.

920 Der 15/80 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

June 14/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I take the liberty of  
sending a copy of the  
remarks of the Army  
Sanitary Commission, - in  
case it has not reached  
you, - on the Barrack  
plans which you  
persuaded Sir C. Wood  
to send to them for  
criticism. [I think you  
had a proof.]

[9:524-25]

You will see that  
the requirements of your  
R. Commission are now

fully provided for, i.e.  
if the India Govt adopt  
the few changes proposed.  
And then the Indian  
Army will have the  
best Barracks in the  
world.

But indeed the original  
plans, the devices of  
Col: Crommelin, our  
original enemy - the  
Minutes of the Govt of  
India upon them,  
including Sir J. Lawrence's  
own, & Col: Strachey's  
(the Secretary) shew

how they are a hundred  
years ahead of what  
they were but 18 months  
ago.

I wish Sir C. Wood & the  
India Govt did but know  
how a single Epidemic  
costs the country more  
than all the works  
necessary to prevent  
epidemics. It is like  
a poor *savant*, who  
denies himself food &  
fire to finish his  
education - & ruins  
his constitution or dies -  
and then what is the  
good of his education?

Men must *live*, first.

Yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

[end 9:525]

920 Der 15/81 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

June 17/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

The man whom I **[9:525-26]**  
mentioned to you, President  
of the Madras Sanitary  
Commission (R.S. Ellis -  
he was Member of Council  
at Calcutta as I dare say  
you know) is comHe  
is much the best I have  
(illeg)/known of the India Sanitary

Presidents.

He devotes his 6 months'  
leave to seeing practical  
Sanitary works in England.  
But that is not his main  
object. The most important  
thing he has to do: is to  
induce the home Govt to  
settle the question of  
the position which the  
Madras Sanitary Commission  
should occupy with  
regard to the Madras  
Government.

At Madras the Sanitary Commission has no direct relation to the Govt. It writes only to the Mil. Sec. And this is dead against all progress.

As the holding of India depends so much on the health of troops, the authority vested with the duty looking after this, should certainly be in direct communication with the Govt.

When you desired me to see Sir J. Lawrence before ~~you~~/he went out as Gov. Genl, in order to urge upon him the recommendations of

~~th~~/your R. Commission, I wrote a paper for him, at his request, - a kind of Sermon on the texts of your recommendations - in which it was proposed that the President of the Commission should be Minister of Health for the Presidency. x

At present his position is less influential than that of an Officer of a London Vestry.

Mr. Ellis proposes that the San: Comm: President ~~x I mention this now, in~~ order to shew that Mr. Ellis' object is entirely in accordance with the views of your R. Commission.

should be in the position  
of a Secretary to Govt,  
so as to communicate  
directly with members  
of Govt - to have the title  
of Inspector Genl of Public  
Health (which word as  
he says, would involve  
no expence)

At present the progress  
of Sanitary works in  
Madras Presy is *nil*. tho'  
they have a man, in Mr.  
Ellis, at the head of  
their Sanitary Commission,  
who, of all men, answers  
to your recommendation  
to put an administration  
& a Civilian

as President (of these  
Commissions)

Mr. Ellis has carried

1. a Military Cantonments  
Act to give power over  
these, which was absolutely  
necessary

2. [which is not yet  
carried, but on the point  
of being so,] a Towns  
Municipal Improvement  
Bill - of which he has  
left me the Draft - if  
you would care to see it.  
He is anxious to carry: -

an organization of the Public  
health Service for  
Madras Presidency - of  
which he has also left  
me the Draft - if you  
would care to see it -  
which would cost only  
£10,000 or £12,000 a year.

2. that, in the Madras Budget,  
from £10,000 to £15,000  
a year should be devoted  
to Sanitary works.

It is evident that the  
crisis is come which  
will decide whether the  
Sanitary Service is to  
be something like  
spirit-rapping or table=

turning - or whether it is  
to be a real Service -  
I do not offer any suggestions  
to you, simply because  
the way of using pressure  
on Sir C. Wood is a  
sealed book to me -  
Mr. Ellis was to see Lord  
de Grey, (whose cousin he  
is) today.

I do not know whether you  
would think well to  
see Mr. Ellis, whose  
address is: 4 York Street  
St. James' Square  
ever your faithful servt

[end 9:526]

{printed address, upside down:}  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W. Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/82 signed letter, 1f, pen black-edged

June 19/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

In case Dr. Farr has not **[9:401]**  
sent you your Parly Return,  
with the rates calculated  
by himself, I send you  
my copy. But, if he has,  
I think I will trouble  
you to return me mine.  
You will see how, alas!,  
the rates of Invaliding  
increase with the  
diminution of the rates  
of Mortality - [Still  
there is an improvement  
during the last 5 years.

[This is the first Return  
we have had of the years  
'57, '58, '59.]

your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

The Return for the E.I.C.'s  
troops, which you  
called for, is not yet  
come. Probably it will,  
in 5 or 6 months.

**[end 9:401]**

920 Der 15/83 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

June 23/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,

London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

Knowing how extraordinarily  
heavy the work is now, I  
feel like a culprit in even  
forwarding a request to  
you to do more.

Perhaps I ought not to  
have undertaken to do so.  
But you will pardon me,  
even if you refuse.

The Committee for the  
establishment of a Museum  
in the South of London

(something after the manner  
of the S. Kensington)  
propose having a Meeting  
of the principal inhabitants  
of S. London on or about  
July 5, at 2 p.m. at the  
"Horns Assembly Rooms,  
Kensington Park", for the  
purpose of ascertaining  
what amount of support  
may be expected from  
them towards such an  
object.

These good people have

set their hearts upon having  
you for a Chairman; and,  
at their last Meeting, I was  
deputed by them to ascertain  
if you would kindly  
promise to preside at  
their Meeting of July 5,  
which would be very  
much to their advantage  
( & very little to yours )  
of course.

This Committee is for the  
establishment of a  
Museum *with educational*  
*classes* &c &c

It is a very strong Committee -  
their names are not

yet printed - but will be  
printed on the back of  
the Circular, convening  
the Meeting, as soon as  
they know if you will  
favour them.

Perhaps it will take  
up less of your time to  
answer me with a  
simple "Yes" or "No" than  
if these gentlemen were  
to come & take you by  
storm: - or I should  
scarcely have ventured to  
trouble you.

Pray believe me

Your very faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/84 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

June 23/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I am ashamed to worry  
your life out. But this  
is a question which  
concerns our very  
existence.

[9:527-28]

I hear (from the War Office)  
that "Colonel Percy Herbert  
"is going to attack the  
"whole system of  
"sanitary improvement  
"of the Army, in his  
"speech on the question  
"he has given notice

"of tonight (about  
Dr. Sutherland)".

There is no one in the House  
who understands the  
Sanitary question, as  
you do. There is no  
one in the House who  
would be listened to,  
as you would be -

Also, you know Dr.  
Sutherland's peculiar  
merits (though he  
does think the world  
moves round himself.)

- none of these Royal or  
permanent Sanitary  
Commissions could have  
been accomplished  
without him, as you  
know -

*Could you defend us?  
to night?*

There is no time to prime  
any M.P. who did not  
know the subject. And  
if there were, he would  
be of no use. No one  
but you would have  
any weight - Unless  
Genl Peel would do it,

who has always been  
most generous to Sidney  
Herbert's memory.  
But he is not sound  
on the Sanitary point.  
And it would be of no  
avail for any one but  
you to ask him, even  
if he were -

In haste

Your very fervent suppliant  
Florence Nightingale  
Capt. Galton, Assistant Under  
Secretary at the War Office,  
would, I have no doubt, be  
in the House to-night, if  
you wished any information  
on detail points.

[end 9:528]

920 Der 15/85 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

Private

July 26/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I have refrained from **[9:531-32]**  
worrying you till after the  
Elections. But your kind=  
ness obliges me to report  
progress, or rather no=  
progress, a little, now.

Mr. Ellis, the President  
of the Madras Sanitary  
Commission, has not as yet  
any satisfaction out of Sir  
C. Wood, with regard to  
establishing him as a  
kind of Minister of Public  
Health & Secy to Govt at  
Madras.

I have had a number  
of letters from India from  
quite different hands -  
all describing the unsatisfactory  
condition the Madras  
Commission is in - Of these  
I venture to send you  
some Extracts. You will  
see that they are ~~so~~ entirely  
"Private & Confidential," -  
especially those referring  
to Sir W. Denison's 'views' -  
as when he tells his  
Commissioners for the  
purpose of *removing*  
'stinks': - 'Do as I do - keep  
away from stinks.'  
Though I am sure that it

was intended that this information should reach you, I ~~can~~/must not even tell you the names of the writers.

The object is, I believe, to induce you to induce Sir C. Wood to write to Sir W. Denison that it would be desirable to place the Sanitary Commission on a proper footing as advisers of the Govt.

Of course, I do not presume to urge you to do any such thing. But it is quite evident that this Madras Commission must be put in some better position. The men know their work. The Military

people are ignorant and prejudiced. They should certainly adopt the principle of taking the advice of those who know the subject, & not submit to be guided by those who don't know - I think you will be glad to hear that your Bengal Commission wrote to me to get them the latest methods of Water Analysis - & that, after some delay, your protégé, Dr. Angus Smith, has given an invaluable paper, which shews for the first time the results of the labours of his whole life on this vital point: (of testing water, as he did air, for organic matter.)

Believe me

Yours most faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Mr. J.S. Mill, since being returned, has sent us a message to the effect that he would like to serve us in India Sanitary matters in the Ho: of C., previously, of course, communicating with Sir C. Wood.

I was rather pleased at this, as I always thought he considered the whole Sanitary thing a humbug.

We shall not, of course. begin "intriguing" with him, without the concurrence of our head.

[end 9:532]

F.N.

920 Der 15/86 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

34 South Street,  
Park Lane W.  
Aug 16/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I think the enclosed batch of Minutes from Madras is rather comforting.

[9:532-33]

Please to look at page 111. I recognise your hand there - You will see that Sir C. Wood has done exactly what you asked him.

Please also to look at p. 115 (19)

It is an agreeable variety (to abuse) to find that the Engineers have taken kindly to the "Suggestions" & declared them generally to be practically applicable to Indian Stations.

Such a vast deal of nonsense had been talked as to the impossibility of draining India.

You will find also at p.p.5,7,123, that they are making progress in their ideas as to the possibility of making sick native soldiers comfortable. But this is a matter in which we can, of course, interfere with them but little

But what is aggravating & distressing is the manner in which all good seems to stick fast when they come to Jail Construction. Please look at p.136, (38)

It will never be better until you have the subject referred to the W.O. and I.O. Commission at home with the view of their preparing model plans. [They would

-2-

of course consult  
the Inspector of Jails  
Office here.]

I have done what I  
could with Sir J. Lawrence  
privately. But of  
course what is wanted  
is that Sir C. Wood  
should refer the  
matter officially.

Then he will say that  
the W.O. & I.O. Comm:  
have nothing to do  
with Civil lives. But  
this is the very thing which they do not  
say in India. They do refer Civil cases  
to the Presidency Commissions, *vide* this very case:  
Please look also at

p.12 No.23. How those  
Quarter Masters Genl do hang  
back from all common sense.

You will see that the  
practical backward=  
ness of the Executive  
authorities continues.  
India would have  
been cured by this  
time, if every thing  
*said* by the Presidency  
Commissions had  
only been done by the  
Executive govt.

However, we have  
great cause for  
thankfulness to you  
& Sir C. Wood. [He

has been quite in a  
"coming-on" disposition.]  
This Madras Commission  
has practical *nous*  
to a remarkable  
degree - more so, I  
think, than the Bengal  
one. But the Bengal  
Comm: are backed  
by Sir John Lawrence;  
& therefore *do* more.  
I am obliged to  
trouble you to let me  
have back these

Madras Minutes; as  
they have desired me  
to reply to them.  
They are now engaged  
in reporting on  
Madras itself; its  
impure water, bad  
surface drainage &c  
Every well in Madras  
averages 5½ gr. organic  
and 41 gr. inorganic  
matter. And they  
have nothing else to  
drink. The only wonder  
is how they live at all.  
I hope we shall get

-3-

Dr. Angus Smith's  
method of analysis,  
when he sends it  
me complete, used  
throughout India.  
But they may analyse  
all day long, & do no  
earthly good, of course,  
unless the authorities  
will do their part.  
If these will not, one  
would rather *not*  
know that one is  
drinking 46½ grains.  
Pray believe me  
Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

P.T.O.

I think we may encourage  
*us* by the great progress  
in Soldiers' Workshops  
in all 3 Presidencies -  
At Belgaum they have  
had a Bazaar, all  
the articles produced  
by the men & their  
wives - & all sold.  
The result was most  
profitable, as the  
articles could be  
obtained in no other  
market - & both  
buyers & sellers were  
equally benefited.

What a reply this is  
to all the objections that  
have been made, such as ~~to~~  
"no market" for Soldiers'  
produce.

F.N.

[end 9:533]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1006

920 Der 15/87 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

Oct 4/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I have received in **[9:401]**  
the most "Confidential"  
manner from the I.O.

(and I am to swear that  
I have never seen it)  
the enclosed Reply of  
Dr. Leith, President of  
Bombay Sanitary Commn,  
to the "Remarks" of our  
home Commission.

The reason of the "Confidential" is: that the  
Govt means to smuggle

Dr. Leith's Reply, & to  
close the controversy.

I must say I think Dr.  
Leith has written this  
in a very nice spirit  
(he was obliged to say  
something)- and that  
the gist of it is that  
he had no business to  
make any answer to  
your Report before -  
& that the time is  
come now, to make  
practical progress &

not to quarrel -  
[He and I have had, in  
a most "coming-on  
disposition" ~~in~~ a private  
correspondence -]

Please return me  
this document by return  
of post - and, whether  
they have the grace to  
send you a copy or not,  
please to say that you  
have never had one  
from me -

[I am completely  
callous about telling  
lies - the I.O. tell so  
many. So do we.]

**[end 9:401]**

            
I believe I am going  
to assault you again  
about the positions of  
the Presidents of (Indian)  
Sanitary Commission,  
with regard to Govt.

**[9:533-34]**

[Mr. Ellis, Prest of  
Madras Sanitary Commn,  
is still in England -  
working at this, & at  
gaining practical  
knowledge. He is one of  
the ablest men they  
have.]

We think that, unless  
they are made Secretaries

to Govt, as it were, they  
will do nothing -  
I have a private letter  
from Sir John Lawrence  
on the subject - dated  
July 24 - saying that  
*he* cannot make  
them so without Sir  
C. Wood -

[He says that *his*  
"Prest" does very well -  
because he *has* constant  
access to him, Sir J.L.

That is all very  
well for the Bengal  
Prest - but not so well  
for the Madras & Bombay

ones.]

I see that Lord de Grey  
means to do nothing.  
with Sir C. Wood - tho' he  
says he does -

And I believe I shall  
have to worry you  
again upon the matter.

[end 9:534]

Pray believe me  
Your very faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1009

920 Der 15/88 signed letter, 3ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

Oct 22/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I thank you very **[9:534]**  
much for your note of  
yesterday.

I send you a "D. News"  
article, which came out  
while you were away.

Also, a rough proof (or  
rather a sixth revise) of  
Dr. Angus Smith's paper as  
to how to find out how  
much dirt there is in water,  
which, at Sir J. Lawrence's  
desire, I have had on hand  
- and these five mortal  
months too. I think Dr.

Angus Smith is as difficult  
to manage as the whole India  
Govt. He writes one thing -  
then he writes the reverse -  
then he listens to what his  
"nephews & nieces in Argyleshire"  
say - (sic) & tears up the paper.

[But I had it in type.]

And there is now scarcely  
a single word in this, the  
6th Revise, of what there  
was in the first. But he  
is the only man in Europe  
who can do it. And this  
is well worth all the  
trouble. When it has  
reached the 60th revise,  
I shall make the India  
& War Offices circulate it.

---

But this is not what I wanted to write to you about. - which is: our great matter of making the Presidents of Sanitary Commissions, Secies to Govt & Ministers of Public Health. Sir J. Lawrence has written to me that it must be done at this end. - at least that his "master, Sir C. Wood," must tell him to do it. There will be no real action on the part of the Sany Commns till it is done. Mr. Ellis, who is the ablest of their Sany Prests, is in England with this object. A paper has been drawn up (Indians

are so fond of paper, as you once said) of which I hoped to send you a copy today. None of our great masters have seen it yet.

If you think well to take it in hand, it will be done. If not, not.

[Ld de Grey is no use with Sir C. Wood, who treats him as I treat my infant kitten. It must be playful but not troublesome -]

I mean to do myself the honour to be troublesome to you at greater length

when I send this paper,  
if you will allow me -  
& also to tell you at  
greater length what Sir  
J. Lawrence said.

Pray believe me  
Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Lord Palmerston is a  
great loss to our Sanitar{y} {edge of page missing}  
(& Poor law) things genera{lly}  
I never asked him  
to do a thing for the  
last nine years (You  
may be sure I did no{t}  
ask him often) but h{e}  
did it. He made a

joke - but he did it. **[end 9:534]**  
F.N.

920 Der 15/89 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

*Private* Oct 24/65  
34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley **[9:535-36]**

May I send you Mr. Ellis'  
papers? [Mr. Ellis,  
President of Madras Sanitary  
Commission - now at home,  
partly for this - viz. to obtain  
a more definite position  
& responsibility for these  
Presidents - partly to  
make himself personally  
acquainted with the  
working of Sanitary acts  
in this country.]

When you first proposed  
these Commissions in the

Report of the R. Commission,  
you made their position  
as general as possible,  
because, without experience  
you could not have done  
otherwise. You however  
indicated clearly that  
their duties were not  
to be wholly consultative-  
(You said: *mainly* consultative.)

They have had a year's trial.

And their work, from  
apathy or neglect of other  
departments, has been  
wholly consultative, leading  
in some cases to the  
most absurd delay and

loss of time.

Mr. Ellis & his Commission  
(his Secretary is now in  
England) are unanimously  
of opinion that the time  
has arrived to change  
the position of the President,  
so that he may have a  
distinct personal  
responsibility & direct  
communication with  
the Government.

In order to further this  
object, Mr. Ellis has  
drawn up the paper I  
venture to send you. [It  
is "*Confidential*", and has  
not been yet shown to  
the I.O.] If his proposal  
is acceded to, he will

become a Secy to Government,  
& will be assisted in all  
Sanitary questions by his  
Commission. In this way,  
progress will be more  
rapid & certain - and we  
shall escape the present  
danger of having the  
whole future of Indian  
civilization placed at  
the beck of an ignorant  
or indisposed Governor  
& his departmental heads.

N.B. As to Sir J. Lawrence's  
last communication to me  
on this subject, the gist of  
it is: -  
that it must be done  
at *this* end -

-2-

[i.e. if Sir C. Wood would  
say to Sir J. Lawrence,  
"if you (Sir J.L.) see  
no objection, I, (Sir C.  
Wood) see no objection,"  
it would be done]

Sir J.L. adds that his own  
(Bengal) President of  
Sany Commn has constant  
access to him - & that  
this answers.

We say: that is all very  
well for Bengal, and  
while Sir J.L. is G.G. -  
it is not so well for the  
other Presidencies also  
there is an unfortunate  
fact that Sir J.L. is not  
immortal.

[What would become of  
us in England, if all  
our Public Works  
had depended on the  
life, personal humour,  
& Premiership of  
(say) Lord Palmerston.?)

Then Sir J. Lawrence thinks  
all men are like himself.  
He does not take into  
account what a "devil"  
of a life (excuse me)  
Sir W. Denison, e.g. has  
led us.

Farther, Sir J. Lawrence  
asks: - 'what will become  
of the Commission, if its

head is made Secretary  
to Government?' We  
think there would be  
no difficulty - no more  
than there was in  
arranging the duties of  
the Head of the "Board  
of Supervision" in Scotland.

But you will tell us whether  
this question - Sir J. Lawrence  
puts it as no more than  
a question - is answered  
in the paper.

Lastly, in the interview  
which you desired me  
to have with Sir John  
Lawrence before he left

England - & when he did  
me the honour to ask  
me to put in writing  
the views of your R.  
Commission, & to take  
the M.S. with him, it  
was expressly stated  
that the ultimate position  
of the Presidents of  
Sanitary Commissions  
would necessarily prove  
to be: - Ministers of Public  
Health -

The present question I do  
{printed address, upside down:}  
34 South Street, not pre-judge  
Park Lane, but only leave it  
London. W. to you.

-3-

[2nd N.B.] Mr. Ellis is very  
anxious to meet you  
for half an hour - if  
you can spare the time -  
not only to speak to  
you about this Sanitary  
matter - but about  
one or two other Indian  
subjects, in which  
your aid is much  
required.

He is an able man  
& a Supreme Council  
man -

I have not, of course,  
led him to suppose that  
I should tell you this.  
He can quite well  
seek Lord de Grey's

introduction to you -  
I rather mention it,  
because I am anxious  
for it myself - (he  
would explain things  
better than I, who am  
too eager) - & because,  
at the same time, you  
can quite well refuse  
it to me -

[end 9:536]

Pray believe me  
Your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/90 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

*Private* Oct 28/65  
34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I received some little  
time ago from India the  
enclosed M.S. about  
51 Jails in Bengal  
Lower Provinces.

[9:698-99]

The facts are so very  
startling that I feel  
inclined to trouble you  
with it.

It is true that we  
rely upon no Statistics  
which we receive, even  
from Head Quarters in

India - they continually  
contain blunders.  
It is true that they are  
themselves so aware of  
this, that quite lately  
I received a request  
to get them a Method  
of computing Jail  
Mortality Statistics  
from our General Register  
Office, which I have  
done - [not yet  
received in India.]  
But, even if you put  
a pound of salt into

this paper, it is sufficiently  
appalling.

It is not that cubic space  
is the only sinner. It is  
that the whole management  
& laws of Indian Jails  
require to be entirely  
raked up & set to rights.

*Could not Indian Prison  
Returns be moved*

*for  
in Parliament?*

I must please, ask  
you to make no use  
of this identical paper -  
but to return it to me -

This kind of paper  
does not, I believe, reach  
Sir C. Wood- And I once  
erred in this matter -  
for which I repent  
in sack-cloth, (but as  
I am luckily a "female  
criminal", I shall have  
"1097 cubic feet" to  
repent in.)

[end 9:699]

ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1018

920 Der 15/91 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

Private 12/11/65  
34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I particularly dislike  
worrying you about things  
which do not (& perhaps  
cannot) advance just at  
present.

[9:536-37]

This is: the matter of  
the Presidents of Sanitary  
Commissions in India  
& their position.

I wrote to Sir John  
Lawrence (mail before  
last) in the sense you  
indicated - ~~The~~/A letter,

of which I now send you  
an Extract, arrived one  
hour too late for me  
to send him by last  
mail. But it will go  
to him by the next.

I have not heard the  
result of Mr. Ellis'  
visit to Sir C. Wood  
with your letter. Or  
rather I believe Mr.  
Ellis did not see Sir  
C. Wood before he left  
London, [and had his  
accident, poor man.]

I am rather afraid you will be indisposed towards us by the tone of the Extract I now venture to send you. But Indians, I think, always express themselves more like Irish than English.

The matter is this: - Sir W. Denison's proceedings at Madras justify all we fear as to the impossibility of the Sanitary Commissions doing any good without a fixed position, independent of the mood of the Governor (or G.G.)

Some time ago, the Madras Commission, as

was its duty to do, made an examination of part of Madras with the view of reporting on its sanitary condition, and of suggesting improvements.

[I have a copy of their Report, if you would like to see it.]

It is signed, in name of the Commission, by Inspector=Genl Macpherson, Acting President in absence of Mr. Ellis.

The Madras Govt had, it appears, taken some steps of its own in the matter, & proposed extensive

& costly works, which would have required years to complete. The Sanitary Commission made certain *interim* proposals for improvements which, in their opinion, would do *interim* good.

Without, of course, offering ~~our~~/any opinion as to Engineering merits, I think that (you will agree) the subject was one which ought to be fairly discussed & considered.

The course taken was that detailed in the enclosed (private) letter - (from Madras, received here by last home mail.)

of which we have other confirmation.

This ~~course~~/ & similar steps taken by the

Madras Govt will, it is feared, end in the resignation of the Commission, unless it can have its position strengthened.

They feel the proceeding as a "deliberate insult" - (I am afraid of being Fenian)- put upon zealous public servants by men who know little or nothing on the subject.

But the end will be good, if it leads to the Presidents becoming Secretaries to Government, or having

some other equally authoritative  
position conferred on them  
I worry you now, merely for  
the sake of information as  
to how we are going on.  
The Extract is emphatically  
private, as I need not  
say. And neither writer  
nor receiver have any  
knowledge of how I  
meant to use it.

[end 9:537]

Believe me  
dear Lord Stanley  
Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/92 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

Private Dec 28/65  
35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I don't like to let  
anything go on in the  
India Sanitary Departmt  
without your being  
cognizant.

[9:537-38]

Sir John Lawrence has  
written a Despatch  
home (this was *before*  
he received Mr. Ellis's  
paper) - proposing to  
modify the constitution  
of the India Presidency  
Sanitary Commissions,

as follows: -

that, as the opinions of the Insp. Genl of Hospls, Quarter Mr Genl, & Insp. Genl of Works can always be obtained by the Commission or by the Govt, in future there shall only be a *Sanitary Commissioner* and a *Secretary*

- the latter to be a Medical Officer - the present "President" to become the Sanitary Commissioner.

Whenever it may be necessary to assemble Committees for any particular object, those officers, Civil, Military or Medical, who are best up to the subject, to be associated with the Sanitary Commissioner.

Sir John Lawrence gives three reasons for modifying the constitution of these Commissions: -

1. that it is unnecessarily expensive
2. that the several members who have other duties to perform are

practically of little use.

3. that, constituted as it is, there is risk of disagreement between the Commission, & Head of Medical Department &/or of other Departments.

[To this 3rd reason, the India Office says: "the fact of the Depy Insp. Genl being on the Commission when his Chief is not: and the chance of there being differences of opinion between the Inspector General & the Commission renders it inconvenient

-2-

"that the subordinate should in any way be likely to clash with his Superior".

Sir John Lawrence says farther: - "independently of pecuniary saving, there will be positive advantage to the cause of Sanitary improvement."

This, in a few words, is the substance of the Despatch, which farther proposes: -

on the occurrence of a Vacancy in the Presidentship, it is proposed to

reduce his Salary from  
3500 to 2500 p month  
in Bengal, and to 2000  
Rs pr. m. in Madras &  
Bombay.

The Secretaries to be  
carefully selected Medical  
Officers, & to receive  
600 pr. m. in Bengal &  
500 in Madras & Bombay,  
in addition to *new* scale  
of pay. [At present  
they only have 600 &  
500 in addition to *old*  
rates of pay.]

Wonderful to say, the I.O.  
"wished the salaries of

"Presidents had been let  
alone."

No action has been  
taken at present on this  
Despatch. And I have  
obtained that the  
papers shall be officially  
referred to the War Office  
Sanitary Commission.  
They are already there  
by this time.

Upon what *they* say, &  
upon what *you* say,  
will virtually depend  
what determination

the I.O. takes.

What I strongly feel  
is this: - we must go  
on the "give & take"  
principle -

If *they* will give us  
the principle, as set forth  
in Mr. Ellis' paper,  
of putting the Sanitary  
Commissioner in some  
way in connection  
with the Finance  
Dept - let us take  
the modification now

{printed address, upside down:}  
35 South Street, Proposed - it  
Park Lane, is not so bad.  
London. W.

-3-

But don't let us accept  
it without.

[I send Mr. Ellis' paper,  
in case you should not  
have a copy by you.]

We have not yet seen  
the papers - and we  
cannot judge till we  
know the details - as  
to how the proposed  
modification will  
work. [It appears  
that the "Sanitary  
Commissioner" is to be  
simply an advising  
Officer-]

I cannot make out  
that Sir C. Wood has  
ever seen Mr. Ellis -  
or ever read his paper  
- or ever received your  
letter - given to Mr. Ellis.  
But then he has been  
ill.

[end 9:538]

in haste  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/93 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

1/2/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I am very grateful for  
your note of Jan. 29.

[9:544-45]

I only wish we *did*  
"want" your help.

There is no condition  
so desperate as that  
which does *not* "want"  
help.

The I.O. is dead. We  
are abominably dead at  
the War Off. - But at least  
we are not buried. At  
least we can find a

paper in 6 weeks - At least  
we know whether we have  
one or not.

The Despatch of Sir John  
Lawrence concerning the  
modifying of the Presidency  
Commissions - an Abstract  
of which was sent to me  
(with this I troubled you)  
- and which the I.O. told  
me was sent to the  
W.O. Commission for reference - hangs  
fire. The fact is, I believe,  
they (the India Off.) have lost  
it. Any how, it has not  
reached the W.O.

~~On~~ On the other hand, we are  
always doing the most  
spasmodic things.

They have sent as a Commission  
to stare at the French troops  
in Algeria - (they might just  
as well have sent them to  
stare at Astley's-) Dr. Sutherland,  
Mr. Ellis, the Madras Sanitary  
Commn President, whom you  
were so good as to see, &  
others - They have been  
gone a month & may be  
gone another month.  
And this just at the  
most important time of  
our year.

I should not make my  
moan so loud but that

soon people will be so busy  
in politics - & you will be  
turning out Ministries &  
upsetting power & principalities  
- and you will be too busy  
to think of us when I come  
to claim your help -  
==But what I write about  
now is to ask you, if you  
would not think fit to  
talk to Lord Napier (he  
~~came in~~/was expected in town on Wednesday (yesterday)  
& sails at the end of  
this month or beginning  
of March) about our  
affair of the Presidency  
Sanitary Commissions.

-2-

[I do not mean as to Sir J.  
Lawrence's proposed  
modification but as to the  
general principle]

What we want is: to  
have it *ordered* from home  
that Public health in  
India is entitled to a  
place in the Budget -  
& that the I.O. (~~illeg~~)/should be in  
earnest in wishing  
that the Public health  
Dept, civil & military,  
should have a recognized  
position as a branch  
of the administration -  
that the head of it should

be in direct communication  
with the Government - &  
not be impeded by  
passing thro' the offices  
of half-a-dozen Secretaries.

I believe this is, generally,  
your own view. Would  
you not think well to  
impress it on Lord  
Napier?

Sir J. Lawrence has not  
the least idea how  
the Governors of the  
minor Presidencies thwart  
& insult the Sanitary  
principle. If he had,  
I think it would in

some degree modify his view -  
But he thinks every man  
like himself -

However, he has never said  
one word - at least not to  
me, or so far as I know -  
against the above  
principle - Only his own  
virtues, as I think, prevent  
his seeing the necessity &  
force of it as we do. What

he has said has been, generally in its favour.

But I wish he would PRESS it on the Secretary of State.

[Lord Dufferin, I was told,  
declined Madras except  
with the reversion of the  
G.G.ship. It seems an odd  
bargain for a man to make -  
It is said that Lord Napier  
expects this same reversion.  
You know about all this

much better than I. Anyhow,  
Lord Napier would be a  
most valuable convert  
for us, if you would  
undertake him.

~~I~~ only wish I could  
accept your most kind  
offer of calling upon me.  
But just at this time I  
am entirely a prisoner -  
even to one position - from  
illness.

[end 9:545]

ever your most faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale  
{printed address, upside down:}  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

920 Der 15/94 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

PRIVATE

Feb 18/66  
35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

Lord Napier is to go [9:545-46]  
on the 23rd.

He is at 24 Prince's Gate.  
There has been some  
correspondence between  
him & me - & I hope  
to be able to see him  
for a minute before  
he starts.

But all this would  
be nothing compared  
to your seeing him -  
And of course I shall  
not know from him

whether he has seen you  
or not.

He is clever & able but  
false. [I had had a  
previous acquaintance  
with him at Constantinople  
- you know he was  
Secretary of Embassy there  
during the Crimean War.]  
I shall be sorry if he  
becomes G.G. - tho' it  
is not deliberate false-  
ness, but half of it the  
falseness of genius.  
[He did a thing by me

which is so common it is  
hardly worth mentioning -  
warned me against  
his Chief, & then took  
his Chief's word against  
me - & threw me over-  
board in the midst of  
my greatest difficulties -

But of course he is too  
much of a man of the  
world to remember this.

We are very *civil* together.]

Please burn this note -  
the object of which  
merely is to tell you  
of Lord Napier's move-  
ments.

He is reading your India Report.  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

[end 9:546]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1032

920 Der 15/95 signed letter, 12ff, pen black-edged

*Private*

April 8/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

At the risk of being a [9:547-50]  
nuisance to you, I always  
like to let you know what  
is going on about your  
India Sanitary Commissions.

And I think I had  
better tell my story, thro'  
Sir John Lawrence's mouth.

I have had letters from  
him of January 19 and

February 22  
marked *Private*, but of  
which I shall venture to  
give you the substance.

[Both of these letters are  
written after he had  
received Mr. x Ellis' paper,  
of which you have a copy.]  
Sir J. Lawrence says: -

"As regards the reconstruction  
of our Sanitary organization: -  
we are sending home to the  
S. of S." a Despatch "proposing  
a further change," x x x x

"I have no doubt that you  
will see the Despatch &  
therefore I had better not  
send it you."

[This Despatch has never  
arrived. I have had  
a sharp look-out  
kept for it - (for which  
I have the means now  
which I had not under  
Sir C. Wood.) It is certain

~~x Mr. Ellis, the President of the Madras Sany Commn~~

it is not arrived: thus I say.  
I waited impatiently for its  
arrival, before  
communicating with  
you. But now the  
Easter recess is all but  
over. And I am afraid  
to wait any longer, lest  
I should not catch  
you at all.] F.N.

Sir John Lawrence says: -

"We propose that, as  
regards the Army, the  
President of the Committee  
shall be a Sanitary  
Commr, with a Secretary,  
working through the  
Military Department, &  
that in all Civil matters,  
he shall be a Deputy  
Secretary in the Home

"Department. I incline  
to think that this  
scheme will answer  
very well - but, after  
all, the main point  
is the motive power,  
which guides & impels  
the whole concern. If  
this prove defective,  
no system, which can  
be devised, will work  
satisfactorily."

"A separate Department  
of Health, unconnected  
with any other, would  
not I think answer.  
All they do, whether  
in procuring funds, or

-2-

"in spending such funds,  
must go through other  
Departments. And as  
regards the troops,  
unless, at the outset,  
the Sanitary chief can  
carry the heads of the  
Military with him,  
nothing can be done.

"We propose that  
in each province the  
Inspectors Genl of Jails  
should be the Deputy  
Secretaries to Lt Govrs  
& Chief Commrs on  
Sanitary matters, &  
that in Districts  
the Civil Surgeons

"should be the Health  
Officers. In this way  
we shall be able to  
organize a regular  
system all over India  
at a moderate cost.  
At any rate, we  
shall make a  
beginning - I hope  
therefore that you  
will be satisfied  
with the scheme."

[In all Sir J. Lawrence's letters,  
there is a tone of discouragement  
& sorrow. In this very letter,  
speaking of another thing,  
he says: how people "in utter  
"ignorance or in defiance of  
"circumstances, urge" him -  
"while they will be the first  
"to break out in reproaches.

"so much for the happiness  
of holding a high position  
& trying to do one's duty."

He scarcely ever writes to me  
without some expression of  
this kind. And indeed our  
Cabinet & Governors of  
Presidencies are full of  
prejudice against him.  
But I don't betray him,  
except to you - People  
might think him  
disappointed. F.N.]

The letter of February  
22 enters much more  
into detail: -

still speaking of the  
Despatch as gone  
[but it is not come -  
F.N.]

After speaking of  
"propositions" "lately sent  
to the S. of S." "which will,  
I hope, lead to the  
establishment of working  
sanitary bodies throughout  
India" - - - -

"The great difficulty  
hitherto with which we  
have had to contend  
on this side of India  
has arisen from the fact  
that the Govt of India,  
to which the Sany Commission  
is attached, does not  
itself directly administer  
the Government. In all  
{printed address, upside down:}  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane, matters of detail,  
London. W. it has no more

-3-

"means of interfering -  
{so far at least as  
Civil administration  
is concerned) - in  
Bengal, in the North  
Western provinces  
or in the Punjab, than  
it has in Madras or  
Bombay. When any  
thing has to be *done*,  
it must be done by  
the local Governments  
& not by the Govt of  
India, and the local  
Governments are always  
jealous of interference.  
No Sanitary advisers  
have been given

"to the Lt Governors &  
Chief Commissioners  
in this Presidency,  
although some of  
our Provinces are,  
in everything but  
nominal dignity,  
more important than  
the presidencies of  
Madras & Bombay,  
each of which has  
its separate Sanitary  
Commission.

According to the  
proposed scheme,  
there will be a Health  
Officer in every  
important District  
& Station, and a  
Principal Officer of

Health at the head  
quarters of each of the  
local Govts & administrations  
in this Presidency -  
Under the Govt of India  
itself, it is proposed  
to have, instead of a  
Sanitary commission as  
at present, a Sanitary  
Commissioner, with  
a Medical Officer  
as a Secretary *for*  
*the Army*. This  
Sany Commissioner  
will also be a  
Deputy Secretary to  
the Govt of India in  
the Home Department.  
In the former capacity  
he will act just

“as the President of the  
Sany Commn does now.  
The only difference  
will be that there  
will not be any  
paid members of  
the Commission except  
the Secretary. These  
members have been  
found to be almost  
useless in all three  
Presidencies. If the  
President of the Commn  
requires more help  
than the Secretary can  
give him, he has  
practically to get it

{printed address, upside down:}

35 South Street,           from outsiders and  
Park Lane,               not from the  
London. W.  
members of the Commission.

-4-

"in the great majority of cases. As Deputy Secretary to the Govt of India in the Home Department, the Sanitary Commissioner will have the means of keeping up a constant supervision of the proceedings of all the sanitary officers under the local Governments. According to this plan, the primary responsibility will rest with the local Govts & Administrations, with whom is all the power of action - In need not now trouble you with more details, but

"I believe that, if the Home Govt approve the scheme, sent to the Secy of State, we shall have a really practical system of Sanitary administration.

x x x x

"In the Minute ~~sent~~ in which the propositions were sent to the Home Govt [this has not yet come

F.N.]

"it was shewn that x

x x x x

"Mr. Ellis ignored the fact that, in the Presidency of Bengal, which comprises three fourths of India, the Govt of India has (as I have said above)

"no direct control over the details of the Civil Administration. Consequently plans which may answer for a Government like that of Madras are quite inapplicable here - x x x

"Another defect was that he (Mr. Ellis) misunderstood the position of our Indian Secretary to Government. In India this Officer is not an Executive Minister, as he is in England. If he be a man of talent, he will doubtless practically have much influence, but he can never be

"the nominal head of a Department. The *theory* of the Indian Secretariat is that the Secretary is a mere *clerk*. According to the arrangements proposed for Bengal, the Sany Commissioner will belong to the Secretariat, but this will be proper because the executive work will rest with the local Governments & Administrations."

[Sir John Lawrence's propositions  
{printed address, upside down:}  
35 South Street,

Park Lane,            have been sent  
London. W.            home in the shape

-5-

"of a very full minute  
of his own, concurred  
in by the whole Council,  
and I hope that they  
may be sanctioned, for  
they will, I am sure,  
produce excellent results."]

The last Paras are not,  
as you will see, from Sir  
J. Lawrence's letter, but  
from Mr. Strachey's, the  
late President of the  
Bengal Sany Commn, & now  
Chief Commissioner in Oudh.

F.N.

My letter will grow out to  
such an immense length  
that I must only ~~say~~/add  
that Lord de Grey is well

disposed towards us. [But  
he has no fight in him.  
And he is *little*.] I know  
that, if you thought well  
to shew him a strong interest  
about these Sanitary  
matters, it would do us  
a great deal of good.

Ld de G. has, as yet, (in our  
matter) merely written a  
private letter to Sir J.L.,  
telling him how much  
interested he is in the  
Sanitary Commns, enumerating  
the works they have to do,  
& hoping Sir J.L. will  
give them importance  
& will send him home  
a scheme for the development

of the Organization of a Public  
Health Service &c &c &c

[I think I mentioned to you  
that Lord de G. had sent  
Mr. Ellis, Dr. Sutherland  
& others to Algeria to see  
what the French have  
been doing there in our  
matters. Their Report  
which is not yet out,  
bears closely on the  
Indian question - It shews  
that it is no use  
improving Barracks,  
Military administration  
&c, without improving  
Stations & country round  
Stations, so far as health  
is concerned.

Mr. Ellis sailed yesterday  
for India]

The India Office swears by  
all his Gods, if he has  
any, that Sir J. Lawrence's  
Despatch or Minute is  
not yet arrived. And  
Lord de G. empowered Mr.  
Ellis to ascertain this  
for himself with Mr.  
Oliphant who keeps the  
Register of Despatches.

[It's my belief it is there all  
the while. F.N.]

Finding this & finding  
that Mr. Ellis would not  
see the Despatch, in  
which his paper was  
{printed address, upside down:}

35 South Street,

Park Lane,  
London. W.

mentioned &  
answered by

-6-

Sir J.L., I told Mr. Ellis,  
without of course shewing  
him Sir J.L.'s letters,  
the substance of them.  
And he has written the  
four Mema enclosed -  
copies of which have  
been sent to Lord de Grey.

[I must ask you to  
consider all this as  
"private", & to return  
me Mr. Ellis' papers.]

If when the Despatch  
comes, I write to Sir J.  
Lawrence, as he has been  
so good as to write to me,  
I think I must not  
criticize his scheme, or  
Indian administration or

anything of that kind, which  
we know nothing about -  
but simply go into the  
work to be done & the  
means of doing it, which  
we know more about  
in England than they do  
in India.

I think I might go into  
the subject of Mr. Ellis'  
note (enclosed) on  
"Sanitary Commns to be  
retained" - but not  
into that of the note  
(enclosed) on "Initiative  
of the supreme Govt"  
or "Functions of Secretaries  
to Govt" - And ~~(illeg)~~ which it would  
be a simple impertinence for me to go into with  
the Governor General -  
I have put off & off troubling

you about all this, till the  
Despatch had arrived  
& till we knew Lord de  
Grey's view about ~~it~~/answering  
it. But, as I say, the  
Despatch being invisible  
& the political fight  
imminent, I am afraid  
to put it off any longer -  
I think Lord de G. will  
answer in that sense -  
viz.- enumerating the  
objects of Sanitary work,  
does Sir J. Lawrence  
think that his scheme  
will still answer to  
carry out these?

If not, will he propose  
some further scheme?

I have made my letter of

such a hideous length that  
I will only just mention,  
with regard to Irrigation,  
that the idea has been  
propounded, both at home  
& by Lord Napier, that  
a clause might be put  
into any Irrigation Act  
(or whatever you call it)  
making certain sanitary  
restrictions - e.g. such & such  
conditions to be submitted  
to Govt.

[end 9:550]

Believe me

dear Lord Stanley

ever your faithful servt,

Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:}

35 South Street,

Park Lane,

London. W.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1044

920 Der 15/96 signed letter, 5ff, pen black -dged

*Private*

May 24/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

Again I trouble you **[end 9:555-57]**  
for no better reason than  
this: - that you may not perhaps  
have time to attend to us  
when our affairs are  
farther advanced.

Since I wrote to you  
last, I became so certain  
from letters from India  
that Sir John Lawrence's  
Minute on the Public  
Health Service *had*  
arrived that I assaulted  
Lord de Grey again, driving  
the poor man

~~him/man~~ to the verge of desperation  
- which was attended  
with this excellent effect  
that he found the Minute,  
[I believe with his own  
hands,] on the 5th of May,  
which had been despatched  
from India on January  
19th.

[As the India Office is,  
I understand, very much  
ashamed ~~at~~ not at  
having left a Despatch  
unopened for 3 months,  
but at having been  
detected in it, - all this  
is quite private.]

Here is the Minute (enclosed)

I have written to Lord de Grey, as he desired, upon it, & also to Sir John Lawrence, as he desired.

We do not think Sir J. Lawrence's proposals will meet the necessities which he point out himself.

P.10, Para.11 of Minute

(1)

To fulfil these functions, we think the I.G. of Prisons would require to be a very different man. He would need to have years of practical training at home to be fit for such duty. It is true that the I.G.'s are Medical Officers. But the duties

are far from being medical.

To do the work properly, a man should have a thorough knowledge of what sanitary works are - Otherwise, he would be in no position to judge as to whether certain proposed measures would be useful or injurious. The best Indian Medl Officers could advise on epidemic questions. - but on questions involving sanitary works & expenditures. certainly not. Use them by all means to keep a general superintendence over the Public Health. But we must have some other Officer to say

-4-

And, as regards health questions he is assisted by a special *permanent* Council, the Comité d'Hygiène, which contains the best men in France in their several departments of Medicine physiology, hygiene, chemistry, applied arts, mechanics, architecture, engineering &c The office is one of high honour, besides being paid. Their reports are always acted on, altho' their position is simply consultative. And when the Minister gives his decision on any papers involving health questions the health element is provided for in the reply & not separately.

Of course all this is not new to you. I only recapitulate, in order to compare Sir J. Lawrence's Inspector of Jails & Medical Secretary, acting without advisers.

I have not touched the Army question, for it is really subsidiary to the other.

And the point would be:- whether Sir J. Lawrence should not be asked to re-consider the whole question, with special reference not so much to inspection (the necessity for which always involves somebody's neglect) as to providing an

administrative machinery  
capable of dealing  
practically with the  
questions.

I believe I am to hear from  
Lord de Grey further, before  
he replies to Sir J. Lawrence's  
Minute. [He had already  
written a private letter  
to ~~him~~/Sir J. Lawrence urging the  
multiplicity & importance  
of the Sanitary objects.]  
I am not uneasy at not  
having heard yet from  
Lord de Grey in reply to  
my answer to his of  
May 5. Of course, if it  
takes 3 months to find  
a Minute, it must  
take 3 years to answer

it.

Would you have the  
goodness to return me  
the copies & letters (which  
I enclose) as soon as  
possible, as I shall not  
mention to any one that  
I have sent them to you -

[And I have to answer  
the Ind. Off. in 3 hours,  
if they write to me, tho'  
they can't answer in 3  
months.]

I come now to my  
practical object in  
troubling you - You were  
so good as to say that,  
{printed address, upside down:}

35 South Street,

Park Lane,           tho' you did not  
London. W.           see fit to interfere

-5-

with Lord de Grey, you  
would not object to seeing  
me - which I interpreted  
to mean that you would  
not object to giving me  
your advice viva voce,  
altho' not formally to the  
India Off.

If you would kindly, after  
reading the Minute, tell  
me whether you would  
not advise us in this  
matter of life & death  
for India, I should be  
deeply grateful -

I am afraid I could not  
see any one this week -  
[For I am very ill-] even  
if you were so good as to

propose it. But I should  
like to hold myself at  
your disposition as much  
as is possible, knowing  
well how busy you are,  
if you will kindly think  
whether you could not  
advise us -

Pray believe me  
dear Lord Stanley  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

You will see that I write  
in much confusion & with  
many interruptions - But  
I hope you will put  
the meaning into it  
which is not there.

F.N.

[end 9:557]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1049

920 Der 15/97 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

PRIVATE

June 10/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

This is only to ask  
whether you would like  
to look over the accompanying  
Report of Dr. Macpherson,  
of Madras.

[9:558]

It shews how true  
your Sanitary principles  
were. & what results  
(unlooked for by Indians)  
have followed even the  
very partial application  
of those principles.

Our conviction is strong  
that the 10 per 1000  
which your R. Commission  
estimated as the possible  
mortality of a distant  
future in India  
will be arrived at by  
the time the Station  
improvements are  
carried out.

Pray be so good as  
to return me Dr.  
Macpherson's Report &  
Surgeon Macbeth's fly

sheet.

I hope to be able to  
say next week what  
Lord de Grey's reply to  
Sir John Lawrence's  
Public health Service  
proposals will be - **[end 9:558]**  
Pray believe me  
dear Lord Stanley  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/98 signed letter, 6ff, pen

*Private*

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

July 4/66

Dear Lord Stanley

I write to you about India, **[9:559-60]**  
merely because I am  
desperate.

I know quite well that you  
have no time to attend  
to us.

In the universal crush, it  
is no use my crying  
over my share of it,  
tho' it comprises 150  
millions of H.M.'s  
subjects.

Had you been going to the

India Office, & left Europe  
to take care of herself,  
(tho' we knew it could  
not be so,) it would  
have been nothing but joy.

As it is, I do think Sir  
John Lawrence will  
break his heart.

And what will become of  
the 150 millions?

But to my work: -

you may perhaps  
remember that Sir John

Lawrence wrote a Minute  
on January 9, organizing  
a Public Health Service  
for India -

that this was not found  
at the India Office  
till May 5.

With the business-like  
promptitude which so  
characterizes us - the  
Minute, which should  
reply to Sir J. Lawrence's,  
was not determined  
upon till June 18 -  
the very day Ministers  
resigned -

Lord de Grey then thought

he could not pledge his  
Council to any course  
& postponed to submit  
his Minute (replying  
to Sir J. Lawrence)  
to a *special* Committee  
of five of the Council  
- ensuring thus that,  
at all events, it would  
be brought before his  
Successor.

[Of these five, only  
one would be for us -  
Or rather, only one  
knows anything about  
it.]

-2-

The purport of the Minute  
was: -

to point out: what was the  
work to be done in India  
in the way of Public Health.  
- what were the intentions  
of the original R. Commission  
(yours) -  
- how these could only be  
fulfilled by a competent  
executive Department -  
to prepare schemes of works  
& to make provision,  
financial & otherwise  
for the execution of  
improvements [of which  
an outline was given.]

After shewing that there

should be an able *administrative*  
Officer as the head of  
the Health Department -

with certain permanent  
sanitary & engineering  
advisers - & others  
temporarily attached,  
to answer questions -

the head of the Health  
Department having a  
responsibility towards  
the Government distinct  
from that of the *Commissions*.

- the Governor-General was  
then requested to re=  
consider his scheme,  
with a view rather to  
the *execution* of works

than to *inspection*.

[And he was asked to shew how he proposed the Inspectors of Prisons to carry out the duties enumerated.]

I have a letter from you dated May 24, in which you say that you  
"agree in thinking  
"that prison-inspectors  
"are not the men  
"wanted for the places  
"in which Sir J.L.  
"proposes to put them.  
"you require a higher  
"class of administrators.

"In the main I  
"go with your  
"letter."

You most kindly offer to  
"try & be at" my "disposal".

I am not now, of course,  
even dreaming of  
claiming such a promise.  
What I thought of  
was: - that if - India  
being your child - you  
could & would give  
the moment's pressure  
necessary to influence  
the fate of this  
unfortunate Minute,  
the thing would be done.

-3-

Scarcely expecting that you will have time to read this note, I have merely *indicated* the purport of Lord de Grey's minute.

But I would send you a very brief analysis of it - together with Sir J. Lawrence's original Minute, (which you have seen before) - & some details on the special (India Council) Committee of five which is to consider it - if you could & would take the subject up.

If not, pray don't

trouble yourself to answer this letter.

I shall know, by receiving no answer, that you cannot "undertake for us".

And, tho' I shall be bitterly grieved, I could not, I feel, have expected it.

Perhaps, at some future time.

Please burn this letter, at all events.

[end 9:560]

Pray believe me  
dear Lord Stanley  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1055

920 Der 15/99 signed letter, 4ff, pen

Private

35 South Street W.  
July 6/66

Dear Lord Stanley

I cannot tell you how extremely grateful to you I am for your truly kind note, promising that you will speak to Lord Cranborne on the Sanitary question. & inferring that you will keep up some degree of supervision over poor India.

[9:560-61]

Lord de Grey has left on record at the India Office the Minute in reply to Sir J. Lawrence's of January 9, on the organization of a Public Health Service in India,

- the purport of Lord de Grey's minute being to ask Sir J. Lawrence to re-consider his proposals, with a view to execution rather than to inspection.

the immense amount of works to be done in India being shewn - the original intentions of the R. Commission recalled - & the probable inadequacy of Prison Inspectors to the task.

I must not trouble you with the detail I will only mention that Lord de Grey did not name the special Committee, which he at one time thought of appointing, to take this Minute in charge & bring it before his successor - because, as he could not have followed the proceedings of the Committee, he had doubts whether it would not have been wrecking the Minute - Sir Proby Cautley being the



Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1057

920 Der 7/146 920 Der 7/146/1 signed letter, 3ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St.

July 21/58

[9:52-53]

Dear Lord Stanley

Pray excuse me,  
in the first place for  
this note -

It has occurred  
to me, (although probably  
it has occurred to you,  
if feasible, long ago)  
that, as the new Govt  
for India will soon  
be initiated, the  
Sanitary state of stations

& cantonments, to be  
henceforth occupied  
by British troops, is  
one of the very first  
subjects for attention.

I suppose it is  
not questioned that  
our Indian Empire  
must now be held  
by British troops.

And a great point  
to be considered will  
be where these troops  
can best be placed

for the two-fold  
purpose of preserving  
their health &  
retaining possession  
of the country.

without attention  
to the first, the drain  
upon us may prevent  
us from accomplishing  
the second.

Perhaps an enquiry  
into the whole subject  
of the Sanitary state  
of the Indian Army,

the positions it has hitherto occupied, & the more healthy positions where it may be possible to place it, without risking its military efficiency, might be entrusted to competent people, who should also point out the special precautions required as to Barrack, Hospitals, Encampments & the selection of "Sanatoria", to which

invalids might be sent for recovery within a reasonable distance of their Corps -

There would be many kindred subjects of enquiry.

I will not weary you with excuses, but remain, as shortly as I can, which is the best excuse,

[end 9:53]

Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale.

{in other hands: 1858 Jy 21 Nightingale Miss Sanatoria & Barracks for Troops in India (Ansd by Ld S.) July 22}

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1059

920 Der 7/146/2 signed letter, 4ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St.

July 24/58

Dear Lord Stanley

I ought to apologize  
for writing again -  
but that I take a  
much more hopeful  
view of the Indian  
sanitary case than  
you do -

[9:53]

I know that you  
have been in India  
& understand it  
much better than I  
do. On the other  
hand, the greatest  
Sanitary remedies are  
those discovered within  
the last 5 or 8 years.

The difficulties are,  
as you say, very great.  
But what is really  
wanted, in the first  
instance, is intelligent  
enquiry.

Formerly the loss  
in India was much  
greater than it is  
now. It has been

reduced by various Sanitary measures, and there is no reason to doubt that it can be much further reduced.

Formerly the West Indian Stations were far more unhealthy than any in India. The losses were considered inevitable, until, after careful enquiry, it appeared that the chief causes were quite removable

& they were removed accordingly.

I believe there is no reason to fear but that India may be held quite safely by Englishmen - All the accounts I have received from these stations shew that they are in what we should consider, even in England, a detestable Sanitary state; I mean what would produce a dreadful Sanitary

destruction even here; & that they may be greatly improved.

The difficulties you mention about the stations are precisely those which modern science has coped with & has overcome; & may cope with & overcome again, in order to render the military tenure of the country compatible with the safety of the Army.

When you have

time to consider this subject more fully, I need not say that any help you

thought we could  
give would be most  
eagerly given.

Much information  
already exists in  
this country. Should  
you be willing to  
grant us permission  
& afford us facilities  
for obtaining it, I

think the first  
thing we could do  
would be to reduce  
it into a tangible  
shape for you -

**[end 9:53]**

Yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Pray forgive me,  
once for all, the  
impertinence necessary  
for writing such a  
letter in answer to  
your note of July 27.  
And take for granted  
the "I think"s & "in  
my opinion" s & "I  
humbly suggest"s, which  
I perhaps feel in  
more sincerity than

**[9:53-56]**

if I were to write them,  
ought to begin every  
sentence of mine to you.

I entirely see the  
difficulty but I see  
no impossibility in an  
efficient Sanitary  
enquiry for India.

1. It must be  
conducted in England,  
because in India  
there are not the  
men for it -

2. There are  
very few men in

England who can do it.  
The Netley enquiry, of  
which you may have  
heard, shews this.

[16:265]

It is alarming, - not  
because we have lost  
a good Army Model  
Hospital by it, though  
that is a great loss -  
but because it shews  
what an amount  
of error in opinion  
& information is  
always at the  
command of Government.

[end]

What should be now  
obtained from India  
are facts, not opinions.  
The opinions should  
deduced ~~f~~ at home  
by competent people.

3. I can see no  
way of doing this but by  
~~some~~ a course something  
similar to that  
adopted by the R.  
Commission on the  
Sanitary State of the  
Army. Had the India  
Bill passed before that  
Commission sate, would  
it not have had to

-2-

include an Indian enquiry? If so, ¶/this is only an extension & a continuation of that Commission.

4. There is a great deal of document=ary evidence at the India House-

There are a great many Indians who might be examined at home by a Commission.

Lastly, the most important information would be obtained by Form of Returns & printed questions to be constructed & sent out to India by & returned to the Commission, filled up.

This is always a much safer plan than that of ~~asking~~/sending for opinions, instead of facts, provided there is some one capable of *reading* these Sanitary Statistics & shewing what they indicate.

Therefore I think that

1. this enquiry must be instituted in England.
2. by a Commission of a few men of great experience, or it will fail
3. that the course taken by the R. Sanitary Commission gives good hints for it -
4. that it must have power to institute enquiries in India & to issue Circulars of printed questions to be filled up in India.

Sanitary matters are such a speciality & so new & the subject is so enormous & of such immense importance, when applied to India, that I know no man, except yourself, who could preside over such a Commission but Mr. Herbert - I have not the least idea whether he would - & venture to mention him only with the proviso

-3-

that I know nothing  
at all about it.  
Should you have time  
to preside over such  
a Commission, I  
conclude that it is  
always best &  
shortest for the  
Minister to do his  
work himself -

I venture to  
enclose a kind of  
sketch of

(1.) what ~~the~~ a  
Commission would  
have to do

(2) what papers

will be wanted for  
the very outset.

Should you think  
well to ask me to  
suggest names of  
Commissioners or plan  
a proceeding for your  
consideration, I need  
not say I should  
be too glad.

I could fancy  
something like the  
following Commission  
working well.

Chairman -	Lord Stanley
	or Mr. Herbert
Sanitary } Members } Medical	Dr. Sutherland & Mr. Martin Mr. Alexander
	{Director General
Engineering & Topographical	Indians
Military	Indians
Statistical	Dr. Farr

(1)

1. Altho' the subject of enquiry is in India, the enquiry itself would be best conducted in England & extended to India, if necessary.

2. The best means of conducting such an enquiry would be by constituting a special Commission, composed of persons conversant with the various matters connected with the Enquiry. viz.

Sanitary  
Medical  
Engineering &  
Topographical  
Military  
Statistical

3. The Commission should have ample powers of obtaining information & documents. It should have access to all documents in the India House, relating to Topography, Diseases, & Mortality among the troops, Supplies &c of every district in India where Military Stations have been or are likely to be placed.

Likewise, to all documents relating to Hospitals.

4. It should examine

retired/~~ing~~ or acting  
Medical, Engineering  
& Military Officers,  
conversant with the  
stations in each of  
the Presidencies. It  
should enquire into  
the Sanitary condition  
of existing stations,  
with a view of  
recommending improve=  
ments. It should  
recommend improvements  
in existing Stations,  
Barracks  
& Hospitals  
& in the diet, drink,  
dress, duties & exercises  
of soldiers.

5. It should point  
out the best positions  
for Sanatoria & the  
method of using them  
so as to be most  
conducive to the health  
& efficiency of the troops.

6. It should enquire  
into the whole question  
of Hill Stations &  
recommend the best  
positions available for  
troops in a Military  
& Sanitary point of  
view.

7. It should further  
indicate the special

[9:56]

provisions necessary  
for Field Hospital=  
& Field Sanitary  
service, suitable to  
the different Presidencies.

8. Also, Any specialties in  
the organization of  
General & Field  
Hospitals, to make  
them more suitable  
for Indian service

9. Also, The organization of  
Medical Boards for  
regulating the Medical  
& Sanitary service  
in the Presidencies

10. The Commission to  
have power to extend its  
enquiries to India & to  
appoint persons for the  
purpose, subject to  
the approval of the  
Minister.

(2) *Wanted.*

1. The best India House  
map of India
2. The trigonometrical  
survey, as far as  
completed.
3. List of all Military  
stations, to be  
marked also on  
the maps -
4. Copies of all periodical  
reports of Medical  
Boards in Presidencies  
which have been  
published.
5. Copies of all published  
Army (Indian)  
Statistical tables -  
Same - Queen's troops
6. Lists of all places  
where there are

permanent Barracks  
& Hospitals.

7. Access to catalogue  
of documents at India  
House & to all  
documents there,  
bearing on the enquiry.

Note. Upon the above  
data might be construc=  
ted Forms of Returns  
or printed questions  
to be sent out to  
India & returned,  
filled up for the  
Commission to work  
upon -

[end 9:56]

920 Der 7/146/4 unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

Great Malvern

Dear Lord Stanley

Thank you very  
much for your note  
of Aug. 5 & for your  
promise of consideration.  
From you to whom the  
subject is not new,  
from you who have  
already given ~~you~~/so much  
attention to it, the  
promise of consideration  
is equivalent to the

[9:58-59]

greatest benefits accruing  
~~to~~/from it for India.

The history of all our  
wars & of all our  
possessions has clearly  
shewn how much it  
may cost the mother  
country, *unnecessarily*,  
in valuable life, to  
keep possession of  
even a few square  
miles, unless we  
master the conditions  
on which the soil of

a country can be held  
by foreigners. Over &  
over again our troops  
have been actually  
destroyed without an  
effort to save them;  
& it has never (hitherto)  
been until public  
attention has been  
called to the subject  
that very ordinary &  
very well-known  
precautions adapted  
to the climate have  
been put in force,

when our mortality  
has immediately  
diminished.

In India, the same  
problems are presented  
in another way. They  
must be carefully  
examined & studied  
by themselves.

In this way will  
be found what are  
those natural laws  
which must be obeyed,  
before the White man  
can hold this vast  
Empire with the

least risk to himself.

These laws will vary edge of paper missing}  
of course, (within limits}  
in such an extent {of}  
country - of such  
different degrees of  
elevation & occupy{ing}  
such very differen{t}  
zones -

Your Commission  
will have to determ{ine}  
what these laws are.  
The subject, as a  
Government enquiry  
is a special one

probably, except to  
yourself, almost a  
new one -

But there is no  
doubt that, by bringing  
European experience  
to bear upon it,  
many of the problems  
affecting the health  
of ~~the~~/this White man in  
our Eastern empire,  
will be speedily solved,  
& the military occupa=  
tion of the country  
rendered much more

easy in time to come.

I need not say that,  
whatever experience  
we have is at your  
disposal a month  
hence, or any time  
you may choose to  
call for it, if you  
think it will be of  
any good.

I have hesitated  
even to write thus  
much, in your  
present press of  
business.

You have doubtless  
heard of a discovery  
which seems likely to  
afford ~~the~~/a test you were  
enquiring after - Angus  
Smith has clearly proved  
the possibility of testing  
the quantity of organic  
matter in any given  
air. He has not yet  
determined the scale -  
But he has shewn  
that the scale is  
*determinable* - he  
finds that blood,  
when shaken together

[end 9:59]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1072

920 Der 7/146/5 initialed memorandum, 2ff, pen [9:59-60]

PRIVATE

The Remarks which you have been so good  
(illeg)/as to send (enclosed) contains the substance  
of the objections generally raised against  
India. They are founded on the  
assumption that there is something  
deadly, inherent in all tropical  
climates - And that, somehow or other,  
disease & death are to be the penalty  
of "subduing the earth."

The discovery of the reasons for local  
unhealthiness is often difficult. And,  
when people unaccustomed to such  
enquiries come in contact with these  
problems, they are apt to overlook  
them/such reasons, & take refuge in fatalism.

Ague prevailed in temperate climates,  
until draining was discovered, &  
the fevers mentioned (in the enclosed)  
as growing in gardens will grow there,  
until man has learnt how to use  
water in tropical climates.

This, in fact, is the main  
problem to be solved by your Committee.

The very last Report which

proceeded from the defunct Board  
of Health, but a few days ago,  
lays the blame of the excess of  
infantile mortality (which, since  
the first Board was broken up,  
it has taken no pains to present,)  
on infection & contagion. It adduces  
that sanitary measures are not  
of much use, a scheme which every one,  
conversant with statistical enquiries,  
knows to be simply nonsense.

If this be done in the green  
tree, what will be done in the dry?

So far from blaming the "old  
Indians" if/let science & experience are/be  
brought to bear on the Indian question,  
there is no doubt it can be solved.

The enclosed is the case against us. Let us give  
the case for.

F.N.

[end 9:60]

Aug 12/58

920 Der 7/146/6 initialed memorandum, 2ff, pen

PRIVATE IN RE MR. SIMON

There are few things  
more painful to have  
to do than to discredit  
a professional man,  
And one would only  
do it for the sake of  
numbers.

[9:60-61] [16:505]

Mr. Simon's work  
has always been what may fairly  
be called "scampish",  
in the language of the  
trades: his writings  
must always be considered  
as the result of a  
"prospecting" expedition,  
as they call it in

the gold countries.

The last Report of  
the Board of Health,  
to which I have alluded,  
and the Report on  
Netley Hospital are  
indications of this.

'All Sanitary  
precautions are to be  
undervalued,' because  
they have become  
unpopular: 'epidemics  
to be declared inevitable,'  
& 'quarantine to be  
substituted for Sanitary  
improvement' - Quarantine

which it was well nigh  
hoped had become  
an extinct superstition. [end 16:505]

This last Report  
of the Board of Health  
has all the error of  
what Dr. Farr's  
forthcoming Report  
will have all the  
truth. [end 9:61]

F.N.  
Aug 15/58

920 Der 7/146/7 signed letter, 9ff, pen

Great Malvern  
*Private* Aug 15/58  
Dear Lord Stanley [9:61-63]

I will lose no  
time in answering  
your note.

From the experience  
of similar Committees,  
it may be gathered:

1. that to collect  
evidence *merely* in  
England will not  
fulfill the object. Sir  
G. Clerk's Mema is an  
example of this. For

altho' it states facts,  
it grounds opinions,  
now considered untenable,  
upon them. Present  
knowledge leads us to  
believe that the very  
unhealthiness, of which  
he complains, might  
be prevented.

Similar statements  
would be repeated  
before the Committee  
without end. And the  
practical result would

be 'voted to be this,' viz.  
that India is *essentially*  
an unhealthy country,  
a result upheld by  
every "old Indian" till now.  
Hence

2. the Committee  
might have to make  
personally , or to direct  
to be made by practised  
persons enquiries on  
the spot, in order to  
test the truth of such  
allegations.

Considering the supreme  
importance of the subject,  
it would be necessary  
to give the Committee or  
Commission as wide a  
scope as possible.

#### II. As to the Constitution

1. It would not answer  
the object to exclude  
every element from the  
enquiry except the  
Medical. The subjects  
of enquiry, Engineering,  
Military, Sanitary &  
Medical must be  
exhausted before it  
can

-2-

drawing up a/its Report.  
Persons acquainted with  
only one of these  
Departments would  
never be able to draw  
up either Report,  
Regulations or Instructions,  
involving necessarily the  
duties of Engineers,  
Military & Sanitary  
Officers.

Whether Committee  
or Commission, it  
should consist of

1. Indian Military Officers  
of high rank
  2. Indian Military Engineer & topographer
  3. Indian Medical Officer  
conversant with  
Sanitary subjects
  4. Civil Sanitarian  
conversant with  
Army arrangements,  
Barracks, camps &c
  5. Civil Engineer  
conversant with  
Sanitary practice
  6. Statistician
2. Gol Goodwyn: Bengal Army  
???
  - [Col. Waugh? I suppose one might  
as soon ask for Sir C. Campbell]
  - 3 Mr. Martin
  4. Dr. Sutherland
  5. Mr. Rawlinson C.E.  
by far our best Water  
Engineer
  6. Dr. Farr  
The Statistics could not  
be "read" without him.

2. & MOST IMPORTANT

I cannot conceive any practical result coming out of a Committee without a Chairman, who, from his position, as well as from his knowledge, can keep them in order. There will otherwise be no consistency in the whole enquiry, and there will be infinite difference of opinion. Co.s never do anything very well or very ill.

-3-

They come to a compromise, Who is to reconcile jarring opinions?

The Chairman must be conversant with such subjects, in order to direct the enquiry in a proper channel: and must be selected with special reference to his experience & to his capacity *for good principle*. [I only know of two such.]

3. The enquiry cannot be a hurried one - And those who

undertake it would have to devote themselves to it for such time & in such manner as may be (& will be) found to be indispensable for success.

III. The result of forming a committee of the three persons you have named, & of making the enquiry in the manner proposed would be this: viz - to arrive at nothing

more than an Abstract of existing opinions: valuable in itself - But it could be nothing more than an *aide-mémoire*.

[One of the persons named (Mr. Simon) has no practical opinion at all - & no experience of *Army* or *topographical* questions - Of him more anon.]

To sum up:

The object of the enquiry is, undoubtedly, to obtain the practical results you mention -

But, to do so, there

must be competent  
engineering assistance  
& evidence. Because  
the result of the  
enquiry ought not to  
be *only* to point out  
positions for canton=  
ments, but also the  
precautions to take,  
in order to make  
sites more healthy -

-4-

Such precautions  
being for the most  
part engineering works,  
it is necessary that  
such works should be  
recommended by capable  
Engineers, & the proposed  
"manual" stamped  
with engineering authority.

Such a manual  
would be useful. But  
proper regulations to be  
always followed would  
be far more useful.

The Committee or  
Commission should  
draft these for

consideration. And such Regulations will involve Military, Engineering & Medical points. The Committee must, therefore, contain all these elements.

Also, it must speak "as one having authority" Its Report must command attention with the country. A Report from the three men *alone*, mentioned by you,

would not. If you were to be m/Minister for India for the next quarter of a century, this would, comparatively! not signify. but, with an India Council, to be composed probably generally of "old Indians", what would the Report of such a Commission do ~~with~~/as to ~~them~~/influencing them without you? It would simply carry no weight.

Believe me to be  
very faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

If you think a Royal Commn  
unadviseable, at all events  
it will be as much more  
"distingué" (as Lord Castlereagh  
was without orders) to be  
without one -

The only points to be  
secured are

1. that the men are  
specially suited for all  
Departments of the work
2. that the Committee  
have power enough
3. that the Chairman  
be *au fait* of the subject
4. that there be power  
to extend the enquiry to India,  
if necessary.

If you see fit, I would write  
down a few heads for the Instructions.

F.N.

P.S.

Out of the following  
list of names of Indian  
Engineering Officers, now  
in England, I believe  
a really good man  
might be chosen to  
serve on the Committee.

Col. Henry Goodwyn	{	Bengal
" G. T. Greene	}	Army
Capt. J. Ouchterlony	}	Madras
		Army
Lt. Col. C.N. Grant	}	Bombay
		Army

[end 9:63]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1081

920 Der 7/146/8 signed letter, 1f, pen

Gt Malvern  
Aug 31/58

Dear Lord Stanley

Do you think that  
you would be so  
good as to let me  
see a copy of your  
Instructions, under  
which the Royal  
Commission on the  
re-organization of  
the Indian Army is  
acting? if not illegitimate  
the asking.

[9:63]

Yours very faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

[end 9:63]

920 Der 7/146/9 signed letter, 2ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St  
Sept 5/58

Dear Lord Stanley

I have no doubt  
that the amount of  
amateur advice you  
receive is to you the  
"intolerable deal of  
sack" to the "ha'porth  
of bread" - which last  
you don't get.

[9:63-64]

Nevertheless I  
remembered what you  
said, that you wished  
to turn your attention

to the Sanitary subject,  
after you were  
crowned king of the  
Indian Council.

And, seeing that  
event had taken place,  
I came to town.

~~After~~/Since I wrote to  
you, I have received  
farther information  
& made more enquiries.  
The farther I go, the  
deeper in importance  
to the interests of the  
Empire does the

subject appear.

I also wrote to  
Mr. Herbert who is  
(or was) in Austria;  
he fully sees the  
immense importance  
of the question - and  
its connection with  
the general Army Sanitary  
question (which came  
before his own Commission),  
as well as with the  
spécialités of the Indian  
Army. And he will  
give every aid, I know,  
in any proceedings

you may wish to  
take in the matter,  
if you wished it.

[end 9:67]

faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1083

920 Der 7/146/10 signed letter, 3ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St  
Sept 12/58

[9:67]

Dear Lord Stanley

Thank you for  
your note, received  
from Malvern.

I expected that  
the "Organization" Commission  
would not touch the  
Sanitary question - And  
I am glad it does  
not - As the subject  
is *special*, & will  
require very careful

& full investigation by  
persons competent.

The experience of  
the R. Sanitary Commission  
is important & will  
afford much assistance.  
The report gives the  
results simply; but it  
does not shew the  
immense care required  
in dealing with the  
question. There was  
hardly anything to  
begin with. The thing,

in fact, from the Statistical  
enquiry with which we  
began, up to the final  
recommendations, (with  
the important practical  
proceedings now flowing  
from them,) had all to  
be worked quietly &  
with the utmost care.  
And the result was  
that we laid the basis  
of a Military Sanitary  
system for the first  
time in Europe, & which  
promises to bear fruit.

The same course will  
have to be taken with  
the Indian Enquiry. Those  
who touch it must  
devote themselves to it.  
And I have no doubt,  
if you fairly launch it  
& select the proper  
working men, similar  
results will follow -  
What we found of  
most use was practical  
Sanitary experience -  
Mere figures & Scientific  
talk did very little for  
us - I am sure that

the men who did the  
practical work of the  
R. Sanitary Commission  
will be willing in the  
public interest to do  
the Indian work also.

I did not expect  
that, with the immense  
interests now in your  
hand, you could  
attend immediately  
to the Sanitary question,  
however important -  
And I should apologize  
for having written to

you, had you not  
named the period  
of the Meeting of the  
Council for the time  
you would wish to  
attend to this -

very faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

[end 9:67]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1085

920 Der 7/146/11 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

30 Old Burlington St  
London W.

Oct 9/58

Dear Lord Stanley

I am glad you  
received the Vols:  
which I sent to you.  
You will see that  
they are strictly "confi=  
dential". I thought  
you would like to see  
them - And indeed  
I felt bound to send  
them, as they have so  
direct a bearing on

[9:71]

the subject of our  
correspondence about  
the Sanitary State of  
the Indian Army.

You will find at  
Page VIII, Preface to Section  
X, P.234, the Statistics  
of the present state of  
that Army; - and I am  
persuaded that four  
fifths, if not five sixths,  
of that dire loss may  
be saved to the country.  
The Indian enquiry  
which one would be

glad to see begun is  
a necessary pendant  
to that regarding the  
Army at home. Its  
Hospital questions must  
be gone into. They are  
identical. Indeed the  
whole Hospital question  
as regards India require  
re=organization as  
much as our own  
home & War Hospitals.  
The Barrack arrange=  
ments also require to  
be considered. I con=  
stantly receive evidence

to shew that removable  
defects are destroying  
& have destroyed (in  
times past) the lives of  
multitudes who might  
have lived to serve  
their country - And there  
is no doubt that many  
lives are annually  
sacrificed by the state  
of the Hospitals - The  
subject is of far too  
great importance to  
the interest of the Empire  
& of humanity to be left  
in abeyance -

faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

[end 9:71]

920 Der 7/146/12 signed letter, 3ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St  
London W.

*Private*

Oct 16/58

Dear Lord Stanley

A more painful case in  
point could (~~illeg~~)/hardly have occurred  
than the one I feel bound to  
enclose to you, altho' you may  
have seen it - It illustrates all  
that has been said, all our  
administrative defects. It is as  
bad on a small scale as any  
thing which happened in the  
Crimea on a large one -

[9:71-72]

Observe - Commanding Officers,  
Medical Officers, Government  
Officers - all doing the same thing -  
All ought to have been brought to  
a Court Martial -

What was Shah Sorja & his Black Hole to this?

And all within 5 miles of Calcutta -

Observe the want of any military organization - of the most ordinary Sanitary knowledge -

And then the man drives back to Calcutta & makes a minute - meanwhile the women are dead.

Yet I know the people existing now who will say - "the ordinary & inevitable effect of the Indian climate! what could you expect? "women & children *will* die in "India"!

I understand that Sir A. Tulloch & Mr. Martin are to be

examined on the 23rd before your Organization Commission - Sir A. Tulloch on Sanitary points.

After what you told me that there was not a man on that Commission fit to touch these points, it is perhaps an excess of caution to tell you that Sir A. Tulloch is quite unfit to be examined upon them - His figures are unimpeachable. He & Sir J. McNeill were the saving of the Crimean Army as to supply - But as to Sanitary things, Tulloch has never turned his attention to them & will only mislead -

The subject is a special one & demands a special enquiry, as you say -

With many apologies for again troubling you, believe me to be faithfully yours

[end 9:72]

F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1088

920 Der 7/146/13 signed letter, 1f, pen

30 Old Burlington St  
London W.  
Dec 23/58

Dear Lord Stanley

Might I ask a  
very few minutes'  
conversation with  
you, as I am going  
out of town for  
some time in a  
few days -

**[9:73]**

I am quite aware

of the presumption  
of this proposition.  
Please refuse it,  
if it is very  
inconvenient.

**[end 9:73]**

Yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

920 Der 7/146/14 signed letter, 4ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St  
March 22/59

Dear Lord Stanley

I have just been  
put in possession of  
the general tenor of  
the Report of your  
Commission on the  
organization of the  
Indian Army.

**[9:77-78]**

I find, as you  
yourself were good  
enough to write to me  
once

would be the case,  
that it enters little  
into that which most  
interests us all, viz.  
the best way of  
preserving the soldier's  
health & employing  
his energies in a  
country & climate,  
like that of India.

The number of  
European troops which  
you have proposed  
(in that Report) to

place permanently  
in India is, I believe,  
80 000, & the period  
of service 12 years.  
Yet nothing has  
been ~~con~~ as yet  
considered as to  
how the waste of  
life (70 per 1000)  
on such a service  
is to be prevented  
or diminished.

The problem before  
the country is how to

keep up an Army of  
80000 men under  
such conditions -  
And not one  
consideration seems  
to have presented  
itself on this subject,  
except that possibly  
the Mother country  
will be able to  
supply this great  
annual loss *inevitably*  
following (at present)  
from *evitable* disease.

Men may flock to  
our colours when there  
is to be fighting - but  
will they come when  
there is to be dying -  
especially from disease  
which they will very  
soon learn can be  
prevented or diminished.

I believe they  
will not - And now  
seems to be the time  
to institute enquiry,  
to be followed by  
active measures,

having for their object  
how to hold India  
with 80000 British  
troops; every man of  
whom, who does  
not dies in the  
interim, will be  
exposed for 12 years  
to the climate &  
- what is far worse -  
to the Sanitary neglects  
*abounding* in every  
Station in India.  
This is a question

which will very  
soon be raised by  
the country unless  
taken up by Ministers.

[end 9:78]

Believe me to be,  
dear Lord Stanley,  
your faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

{920 Der 7/146/15 is not here}

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1091

920 Der 7/146/16 signed letter, 1f, pen

30 Old Burlington St  
W

April 14/59

Dear Lord Stanley

In relation to  
your wish that Mr.  
Herbert should act  
as chairman to your  
proposed Indian  
Sanitary enquiry, he  
says this morning"

[9:78]

"I am ready to begin  
"I have no contest  
"& could run up to  
"town twice a week

"without difficulty  
"If a contest should  
"arise, I can but  
"adjourn for a few  
"days. There must  
"too, I should think,  
"be some preliminary  
"work in getting at  
"documents, maps  
"&c &c"

[end 9:78]

Pray consider this &  
forgive me

yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Lord Stanley, Liverpool Record Office 15/11

[16:578]

22 April 1863

A remarkably stupid advertisement has been appearing in the *Times*, asking everybody to send in plans for a civil hospital at Bombay, without giving any information, such as would enable any living being to make a plan, and "topping up" with stating that the local authorities and the railway authorities were to be judges of excellence.

The whole thing was so absurd, and it was besides such a re-enacting in India of what we have given up here, that I made an effort to prevent mischief, as far as I could.

I am told that Sir Charles Wood will consult you about it, which I was very glad to hear.

Some time ago, we recommended Mr T.W. Wyatt as architect for a civil hospital at Malta. And he produced, with our aid, one of the very best plans in existence. Would you think well to put the matter into his hands? He has shown great ability. Any help we could give him would be willingly given, for the good of helping. [end]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1092

Derbyshire County Record Office, paper copies

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f1**

Would you not have *luncheon* } 27/10/76  
here? {curly bracket encloses both lines}

My dear Sir

Could you see *Mrs. Swindell* who is still  
at *her own home* with your usual kindness?

And could you also kindly see *Widow  
Henstock*, who is said to have vomited  
blood a few days ago?

[I am very sorry not to be able to see you today  
but I am ~~pi~~ due with my Mother at this hour.]

Perhaps you will kindly write me word how  
*Mrs. Swindell, Widow Henstock, & the girl Holmes* are?

Yrs v. ffually F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, f1, pen

**f2**

Lea Hurst

Oct 20/76

6. a.m.

My dear Sir

Your poor (Typhoid) Patient, *Mrs. Swindell*,  
has promised to go to Cromford to her  
Sister's *to-morrow, Saturday, or Sunday*.

She says she has more relish or less disrelish  
for the food sent her. But her feet &  
ancles have begun to swell: & she does  
not seem to gather strength.

Yr faithful servt

F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1093

signed letter, f1, pen {copy of letter above?}

**f1**

Would you not have *luncheon* } 27/10/76  
here? {bracket encloses both lines}

My dear Sir

Could you see *Mrs. Swindell* who is still  
at *her own* home with you usual kindness?

And could you also kindly see *Widow*  
*Henstock*, who is said to have vomited  
blood a few days ago?

[I am very sorry not to be able to see you today  
but I am ~~pi~~ due with my Mother at this hour.]

Perhaps you will kindly write me word how  
*Mrs. Swindell, Widow Henstock, & the girl Holmes* are?

Yrs v. ffully F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f3**

July 12/77

My dear Sir

Do you wish your Patient's hair to be shaved or  
cut short?

---

Would you say whether he must *not* leave off  
the cotton Jersey next his skin? for if he must  
not I must get him some more to change?

---

I think the new Nurse is a capable woman.  
Perhaps you would suggest to her what you  
think best about who is to sit up.

---

Please write me your opinion about the Patient  
-& tell me what hour you will come tomorrow.

yrs v. ffully F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1094

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

**f4**

Lea Hurst [6:632]  
Cromford: Derby  
Aug 22/77

Dear Sir

1. I understand that Adelaide Peach, the girl with Pericarditis, has *bed sores*. If this be so, you probably know it. Would you wish her to be put on a Water bed or water pillow: and if so where could either be had?
2. It is said that poor Hitchcock, the man with heart disease, is worse: could you see him to-morrow? - and would you kindly tell him to make his mind easy; for I wish to undertake all that part of his debt to you which

**f4v**

can be repaid with money?  
in haste

Sincerely yours [end 6:632]  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N Dunn Esq

3. I am told that there is the most abominable [6:558]  
drainage smell at 'Mount Pleasant' -  
If the "Nuisance man" would put that to  
rights, & say the Small Pox arose there,  
I would gladly be the Scape-goat.

F.N.

Derby, signed with initials letter, 3ff, pen

**f5**

23/8/77

My dear Sir

*Ad Peach:* Could you tell me, besides your opinion of the poor girl, where to get the "powders for the bed sore," which I understand you ordered: & also what to do about getting her a *water pillow* or bed, if you order the use of one? & generally what to do?

*Hitchcock:* Is there *anything* to be done for him? - Is he sinking?

*Disinfection:* I was told (only yesterday) that a *wooden bed-stead, feather bed, feather pillow & bolster & straw mattrass* {FN's spelling} were removed *out of the lad's room the day or the day after the*

**f5v**

lad took to his bed with smallpox. The bedstead is out of doors: the bedding in an empty room behind the Stables. I am always for being on the safe side, & should have destroyed them, had I known *What would you recommend doing Now?*

*Widow Brown* was not gone to Cromford this morning.

Please give me *your opinion* (tho' I know you will laugh) of *all* the Invalids in *all* the departments of this house.

**f5b**

*Alice:* Please also see my *Alice Mundy:* here I am *sure* you will laugh: [she has become so *stout* since she has been with me: is not this a sign of weak health in a girl of 22?]

Please send me *your Acct*, including poor *Hitchcock's:* I know that we shall never cease troubling you all the time we are here: So it is no use waiting for the end.

F.N.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1096

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

f6

Lea Hurst  
Cromford

Sept. 12/77

My dear Sir

Would you be so good as to see [13:284]

*Widow Limb*, I believe a former Patient  
of yours for Rheumatism?

If you recommend *Buxton* for her, I would  
gladly send her, if there be room for her.

[Her husband worked many years for my Father.] [end]

When may we see you again here?

ever yrs ffully F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

f7

Lea Hurst  
Oct 10/77 [12:327]

My dear Sir

Andrew Lee's child will go up to St. Thomas' on *Friday*.

The `board' for it is come: & I will send  
it to Andrew Lee's to-night.

Could you be so very kind as to see the  
*child tomorrow*, Thursday, -look at `board' & child,  
& tell me whether both will `do'?

2. Is there much the matter with

*Hitchcock's wife*?

[end 12:327]

in much haste  
yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1097

Derby, signed with initials letter, 1f, pen

**f8**

*Andrew Lee's child*

Oct 7/77

My dear Sir

Many thanks: very many

**[12:326]**

Could you kindly give directions to some one  
as to the "small padded board" for the child: -  
& charge it to me?

I am ashamed to trouble you: but the parents  
are too stupid: & I have no one here that is  
clever about these things.

**[end 12:326]**

---

Anent Mr. Bismark: Is there a Mrs. Johnson? &  
if so is *she* at home, & would she receive him, the  
cat? And what is the name of the place? F.N.

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f9**

Lea Hurst

Cromford: Derby

Oct. 12/77

My dear Sir

It is good news indeed that  
*Widow Limb* may be able to go to  
*Buxton* this year.

I should be prepared to send her  
as soon as you recommend it.

2. This morning I started off 'board'  
& child & Andrew Lee. And I wrote  
yesterday to the Surgeon of St. Thomas'  
under whose care it is to be:

**[12:327]**

**[end 12:327]**

in haste yours sincerely  
C.B.N. Dunn Esq F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f10**

Lea Hurst  
Oct 14/77

My dear Sir

I shall be very glad to see you  
"tomorrow afternoon".

Old *Thomas Alison*, whom you know,  
has a sort of redness or breaking out  
all over his head. I trust it is not  
Erysipelas. *Would you kindly*  
*see him tomorrow?*

yrs sincerely in haste  
F. Nightingale

CBN. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f11**

Rose Wren} {large bracket} Private Lea Hurst  
Oct 14/77

My dear Sir

A very painful matter to me has arisen:  
Rose Wren (whose father is, wonderful to say,  
recovering) is unable to remain in her situation  
"on account of her arm."

1. She states that "Mrs. Horton told ~~her~~ me  
"that Mr. Dunn said that I had scrufula (sic)  
"& that it was *infectious*."
2. She has seen "the Doctor that was  
"attending father: and he said that nothing  
"would do it any good but absolute rest: &

**f11v**

"he put a blister on it, & he said it was no  
"use him doing anything to it unless I  
"could rest it, & he said it would take  
"a month if not longer, and I told  
"her & she said a month was a long time  
"but (sic) I am going as soon as she gets  
"suited".

I will not disguise from you my opinion  
that, as long as that figure-head remains,  
no girl can stay with any safety to her health.

**f11a**

And the "Doctor's" opinion very much tallies  
with your own.

But I should be very much obliged to you  
if you could now kindly give me an  
opinion that ~~you~~ I could quote to Mr. & Mrs.  
Shore Smith: [I did five copies of yours  
as to 2. written on Oct 1)

to the figure-head & to my Mother's maids.)  
& also if you could kindly remember what  
you did say to that figure-head: *vide 1.*

in haste yours very sincerely

F Nightingale

The Lee child is safely & happily housed at St. Thomas'  
Hospital.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1100

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

**f12**

Lea Hurst  
Oct 16/77

My dear Sir

For any real good that can be done  
while that figure-head is there, you  
& I might have spared our pains, & I  
my anxiety.

Poor *Emma Collins* is so ill again that,  
having no home, she has been sent off to  
the Hospital.

I expected it: but not so soon.

This is the second:

We have executed what you kindly ordered

**f12v**

about *Peter Cotterill's wife*, poor thing -  
& are awaiting fresh orders.

Mrs. Swan dined here & went off to her Patient

---

Have you any orders with regard to  
*Widow Fern* & the poor little Duke?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1101

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen D25462/213}

**f13**

Lea Hurst  
Oct 19/77

My dear Sir

I was very sorry not to see you when you so kindly called yesterday: with the Buxton Admn

I had the mother of your former Patient, Elizth Holmes, with me.

I conclude that you recommend us to accept "October 31" for *Widow Limb's* admission to Buxton Hospital. [13:284]

And I have already sent her up word of it. Possibly however you kindly saw her yourself.

I will write to the Secretary unless I hear from you to the contrary accepting,

**f13v**

& ~~asking~~ telling him that the 30/ will be sent by the Patient: When she goes. Probably the information you kindly gave him will enable him to draw up & send a Form of Admission. [end]

I ascertained from Mrs. Holmes what was the difficulty in her daughter's case. The Secretary having mislaid your Medical certificate, owing to the time which had elapsed between its date & that of Admission, they would actually have turned the Patient away, had

**f13a**

her Mother not taken her to the Medical Officer's residence & there obtained a fresh Examination & a fresh Order from him.

This would be impossible in poor crippled *Widow Limb's* case:

Would you therefore be so very kind as to send a *separate Medical Certificate* or 'Recommendation' by her as the Bearer of it? addressed, as I understand, to the *Medical Office*

She complains of feeling so very weak: she has her dinner every other day, & pudding the alternate days: (also milk: also Cocoatine) from here:

is there anything more we could do?

I conclude that you would have ordered any *stimulants* from here, had you wished it.

**f13av**

*Widow Fern* is very nervous & declares her lungs are fatally affected: I believe this is not at all your opinion. Have the two poor little 'Dukes' hooping cough?

I wish she could be cheered up a bit.

*Mrs. Cottrell* seems progressing very well.

Old *Thomas Alison* {Allison?} says "his head is bad:

I could not learn whether you had kindly seen him again:

Any "orders" you give me are "thankfully received  
& promptly attended to". (as Wine-men advertise)

Yrs very ffully

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

F.Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1103

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f14**

Lea Hurst  
Oct. 25/77

My dear Sir

I am sorry to say that I have a Patient  
here for you kindly to come see.

It is my 'Fanny', She seems to have  
strained something in her heel.

yrs mo. ffully  
F. Nightingale

CBN. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f15**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 24/77

My dear Sir

Would you be so very good as to send  
some more pills (Aperient, I suppose)

for my "Fanny"? - *Such as you gave her last:*  
she says she was 'bilious': she has

& could not take }  
the Cod Liver Oil }

taken all the pills: & lost the box:

yrs sincerely (in haste)  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1104

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f16**

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
Jan 4/78

My dear Sir

I heard that Samuel Hitchcock had not lived out the Old Year: One cannot regret that he has another New Year than ours.

I am sure that I owe you many thanks for your kind care of him. I should like to have known whether he was sensible quite to the last: & whether he was ever able to be up.

I was very sorry to hear that good old Allison was failing. I should be very much obliged to you kindly to do all that can be done for him. He is a very old friend of ours: & it was quite pathetic to see him with his grandchildren. I will tell Mr. Yeomans not to spare the money for his diet:

Also: I hope that you will be so good as to attend to Widow Limb: & send her back to Buxton if you think well. Do you think that she ought to have staid there longer?

Elizth Holmes has written to me that she is very grateful for your kind care.

Did the Carbonate of Soda treatment answer with the burn of Wheeldon's child?

My maid Fanny is much the better for your

**f16a**

last prescription. thank you.  
I have enquired as you desired for  
Stained Glass Manufacturers  
anent a Window for Crich Church  
in memory of Mr. Chawner  
Morris

Queen Sq.

Bloomsbury

is the one recommended.

If you would like to send

*subject* required

size of window

& about the sum to be expended

Mrs. Shore Smith would gladly go to  
Messrs. Morris, & see what could be  
done both as to beauty & economy.

I ought to mention little Lee at St. Thomas [12:327]

Hospital. We have sent to see him &  
several times & sent him toys, of which  
however there is no lack. They say  
he looks 2 years bigger, better, stronger  
& solider than when they saw him, before he went 3 months  
{printed at bottom of page: D2546 2/2 16(1)}

**f16b**

ago. He is perfectly happy & contented.

The whole ward was dressed up at  
Christmas: & a musical box, an elephant  
which would wind up & walk about,  
a Rocking horse which would hold four  
children, & various other wonders  
bestowed on the Ward, delight the little  
Patients daily. All have scarlet cloaks:  
Little Lee is always good & never cries.  
He is kept lying in his cot:

May all New Year's blessings be  
showered upon you & yours [end 12:327]

ever yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Please give my kind regards to Mrs. Swan,  
if you see her: & ask her to remember  
her promise to see Mrs. Cottrell  
& let me know how she is:

I hope Mrs. Swan is well herself.

F.N.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1106

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

**f17**

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
June 25/78

My dear Sir

Thank you very much for your letter about  
the poor lad, Edwin Bunting, to whom you  
have been so kind. I hope he will quite recover.

Would you kindly pay a visit to your old  
Patient, *Widow Limb*, & if you would think  
well for her to go to Buxton while the weather  
is warm & she can be admitted, & you  
would be so good as to take the trouble to  
arrange it, I would thankfully pay.

[13:284]

Would you be so good as to send me my Quarter's  
Acct: & believe me ever yrs ffully

[end]

C.B.N. Dunn Esq F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

**f18**

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
June 27/78

My dear Sir

I am extremely indebted to you for your kind  
account of `the Patients': & most thankful that  
the boy Bunting will recover entirely, & that Mrs. Bratby  
is so much better. I hope that you will be able  
to get Widow Limb into Buxton Hospital again.  
You have another Patient who is much better &  
able, I hope, to go out every day. And that is  
My Aunt at Lea Hurst.

I send a Cheque with many thanks. pray  
continue your kindness to my Patients.

I am sorry, for *her* sake, that I have Rose

**f18a**

{upside down: D25462/218}

Wren (with the strain & swelling on her  
arm) back on my hands for Medical advice.

I found her an out Patient of St George's  
Hospital, & have taken her away & given  
her good Medical advice.

in haste ever yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1107

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 2ff, pen

**f19**

Lea Hurst  
Cromford, Derby  
Aug 13/78

My dear Sir

I have more patients for your kindness:  
Old *Lyddy Prince* complains of her head:  
I hope she is not about to have Erysipelas again.  
*Lizzie Holmes* complains of rheumatic  
pains again.

A poor woman, *Mrs. Bromhead*, {must mean Broomhead} who has  
an, I fear, incurable goitre, is suffering so  
much that I thought I would ask you  
kindly to try & alleviate her pain.

**f19a** {upside down: D25462/219}

Young Widow Prince is much the  
better for your care:

in haste ever yrs faithfully

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1108

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 2ff, pen [1:509]

f20

28/8/78

My dear Sir

If, after having seen *Mr. Shore Smith's* angle, you think he ought not to go to-morrow, would you kindly tell me as well as him?

[end 1:509]

---

2. *Jane Alison* is a second time in a state of religious mania. She is with her Sister (Mrs. Stone) in Gregory Tunnel. She is very 'bad' at times. *Will you be so good as to see her?*

When you come, she knows that you are watching her & she keeps quiet while you are there. But

f20a {upside down: D25462/220}

there is no doubt that she has terrible fits of religious despondency.

The first thing is: if you could certify that she is a fit subject for an Asylum - where she has been once before.

Out of respect to her father, Thomas Alison, I would gladly pay for her for a few months. Wherever you thought she had a *good chance of cure*, whether at Mickleover or elsewhere

---

3. I hope that you will think well of your Patient, *Arthur Cottie*.

yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

CB.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1109

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

**f21**

3/9/78

My dear Sir

Many thanks for calling on poor Miss Shardlowe  
- She says she is better already: I hope you will  
kindly see her again.

But it is so difficult to know what to do for her.

I sent her yesterday a bottle of Port Wine:

If you could suggest ~~her~~ anything else? One  
can hardly send her things as one does to old  
Widow Gregory: Does the Sister eat them?

---

Would you be so very kind as to call  
upon the Sister of *Adelaide* Peach - who died

**f21a**

last year: I am told she is very ill.

---

Do you think there is any chance of  
Widow Dolly Prince recovering her eye-sight.  
She has been ill again with 'flooding': but  
you have done her much good.

---

Miss Mochler I am sorry to say is out.  
She wanted much to see you about some of  
the Patients:

You would not be in this neighbourhood  
again at 2 *to-day* to take luncheon with

**f21b**

her - or tomorrow - would you?

I hope you will take something at all  
events now -

I am just going to my Mother.

---

Is old Lyddy Prince recovering at all?

---

Would you be so good as to write me a  
note & believe me (in haste  
yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1110

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

**f22**

8/9/78

My dear Sir

I am so very sorry that *Arthur Cottie* is gone to Chapel.

His medicine has been finished since ~~Saturday~~ Friday.

---

If you are making any calls in the village, would you not come back here & have luncheon at 2 o'clock? Miss Irby is here: & Mr. Jowett. & see your Patient too?

**f22a**

Could you tell me what *Adelaide Peach's sister* ought to have? & what *Martha Sheldon's brother*, (formerly a Patient of yours) ought to have? He is unable to work -

I shall have a long story to tell you about little (spine) *Lee* whenever I have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yrs sincerely

How is *Miss Shardlowe*? F. Nightingale  
& does she want more wine or &c?

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1111

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f23**

Lea Hurst  
Oct 5/78

My dear Sir

I have to apologize for not answering your kind note before: I have been so exceedingly overworked.

*Widow Gregory*: I have long urged that she should have her bed down-stairs & remain in it: & offered to provide a Nurse. I have succeeded in providing a Mrs. Dayban to remain with her: but I do not even know whether she stays all night: & I am pretty sure that *Widow Gregory's* bed is *not* moved: & that they have *not* sent for the bedstead (from the Co-ope Store) which I told them they might order

**f23v**

on my Acct for the Nurse.  
And I have no Miss Mochler to enquire for me for she is gone with my Mother.  
*Widow Gregory* eats well still: do you know that she takes "Gentian Tea for her appetite"?

---

2. *Widow Limb's* daughter with the Quinsy?  
Is there any different diet you would wish her to have now that it is burst?  
She has now only Beef Tea twice a day from us:

---

**f23a**

3. Should you think it possible that *Widow Broomhead* might undergo an Operation in London?  
If not, how long is she likely to live, & what, poor woman, will be her end?

---

4. *Widow Peach's* daughter is said to be MUCH better under your care:  
My Mother & all her belongings have left us:  
I stay on for about a fortnight: & shall hope to see you before I leave:

CBN Dunn Esq  
yrs ever faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1112

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pencil

**f24**

Lea Hurst  
Cromford Derby  
Oct 10/78

My dear Sir

Would you be so good as to come & see Lizzie Brooks? I don't suppose there is much the matter: but she complains of pain in the back & chest. & Menstruation should have been a day or two ago & was not. You will smile. I should not be uneasy about her but that she had an extremely sharp fit of Indigestion in London, owing, I am ashamed to say to over-eating & over-drinking & too little work. The Physician who attended her said he had

**f24v**

never seen so foul a tongue. And this, the fetid breath & the *fetid odour in her bed* makes her a rather anxious inmate for me He strictly forbade Beer, heavy breakfasts & suppers, butter, Pork &c - in short, all that the Kitchen most loves: & put her on a mild nourishing diet with milk &c & Lime Water. And I look after this as much as I can. & by this means keep the enemy, the dreadful smell, in abeyance. She always struck me: like an animal which has been starved & feeds voraciously.

**f24a**

And I am rather glad to bring her under good Medical care again.

[I was obliged to have a Dentist to her in London & put her mouth entirely to rights.]

Excuse haste. & believe me  
yrs sincerely

CB.N. Dunn Esq

F. Nightingale

Widow Limb's daughter with the Quinsy says she has caught cold again: I suppose it is only trifling Poor Mrs. Bromhead [Broomhead] seems sadly suffering: she can hardly lie down, she says, in bed -  
Widow Gregory I have moved downstairs: according to you

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1113

initialed letter, 1ff, pen

**f25**

My dear Sir

*Is this admission* for Elizth Holmes for Oct 16?  
& may I trouble you with the Medl Certificate  
to be filled up?

Please return me the Card. [It is a pity that the P.O. stamp is  
I enclose the Form for Medl Certe. always over the date  
of admission.

---

Could you tell me what you think of Lizzie  
Brooks? And shall you be coming to see her again?

---

May I ask you what you think of Mrs. Broomhead  
You will see that I have moved Widow Gregory  
down stairs

---

Could you fix any day & hour this next week *after*  
Monday that you will be coming this way  
about 4 or 5 o'clock or 6 that I might  
have the pleasure of seeing you?  
11/10/78 F.N.

Derby, signed letter, 1ff, pen

**f26**

Lea Hurst  
Oct. 11/78

My dear Sir

In sending for Lizzie Brooks' medicine, might  
I ask you if she may go, as she has asked, on  
Sunday afternoon to her Mother's "for the Wakes".

I have no reason against it except a  
profoundly bad opinion of her Mother:  
but I own I should not be sorry if you  
thought that she had better not go (medically)

yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1114

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

f27

Lea Hurst  
Oct 13/78

My dear Sir

Your old Patient, Mrs. Bratby, is looking very ill: she & her husband are thinking of going to Ramsgate for 2 or 3 weeks, if you approve: & if you recommend *warm* sea water baths for her

Could you kindly see her within the next day or two? - And would you, among other things, tell me whether she ought to have stimulants? & if so what?

---

2. Do you sometimes see the boy Bunting who

f27v {upside down D25462/2 27}

recovered so wonderfully under your care from that accident?

I have an idea sometimes that he is allowed to work too much: & that he wants looking to medically: If you could make a friendly call & charge it to my Acct I should be very grateful.

Thanking you for your kind note & hoping to see you on Tuesday about 4.30, as you were so good as to propose,

believe me yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1115

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen

**f28**

Lea Hurst [1:815]  
Cromford, Derby  
Oct 22/78

My dear Sir

*Old Lyddy Prince*: I saw her last night: & she expressed the greatest gratitude for your kindness to her.

There is some magic medicine of yours (for "palpitations," she says) which ~~she wants~~ to have another "bottle" of: she prays.

It would be extremely desirable if she were not to put off any longer applying for parish relief. The Guardians would then compel her 3 sons who can well afford it to do something for

**f28v**

her. She has supported *herself* for 53 years.

She does not like to ask you to say whether she is 'past work.' But if you could give her your Medical opinion on this point, or ~~even~~ a line of Medical certificate, it would greatly facilitate any application of hers. [I have spoken to Mr. Yeomans as a Guardian]

*Widow Limb*: would you kindly tell me [13:285]  
what is your opinion of her, p  
Since I began this, I have had your kind note.:

**f28a**

do you think that her state is owing to any want of Night Nursing at Buxton Hospital, or to neglect there?

do you know anything of the Nursing at that Hospital? [end]

*Miss Shardlowe*: I have my "Forms of recommendation" for the Derby Infirmary: sent me: & only await your orders to fill up one for her:

*Mrs. Deebank*: Would you be so good as to prescribe for her, if you think she requires

**f28av**

Medical advice  
& oblige yours very sincerely  
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1116

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f29**

*Miss Shardlow*

Lea Hurst  
Cromford: Derby  
Oct 25/78

My dear Sir

Would you be so good as to fill in the "Disease"  
on the enclosed form, & return it to me?  
The Patient is going on Monday early

---

Mrs. Holmes:

What will happen if she will not submit  
to an Operation to the leg?

What will be the Operation? What its magnitude?  
Are there any palliative measures which

**f29v**

it is any use trying? for present ease.  
I think possibly she might be persuaded  
to submit to an Operation if I knew  
more:

Is there any risk of her losing her leg?

**f29a**

*The Sisters Allen:*

Could you be so good as to call upon them?  
the eldest, Hannah, is suffering from  
rheumatism & is generally feeble.  
She is an excellent old body but not  
very amenable to Medical influences.

in haste

yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1117

letter {1st page only - last page missing}, 1f, pen

**f30**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 3/78

My dear Sir

Would you be kind enough to look at the  
boy Herbert Crooks who brings this?  
He suffers frequently from sick head-aches,  
& as he is growing very fast, I thought  
a little of your "magic" might do him good:

---

Elizth Holmes has only just begun to take  
baths at Buxton: & wishes for another  
3 weeks: which with your sanction I  
will give her?

[13:285]

[end]

---

I have failed in my attempt to find a lady

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen and pencil

**f31**

Lea Hurst  
Nov. 13/78

My dear Sir

I am due in London on Friday:  
but I have a troublesome little inflammation in one  
eye (& for some weeks the other side of my face has  
been swollen.) I wanted to have some of your  
excellent advice. & to know whether I ought  
to make the journey the day after tomorrow, on  
account of this eye. You will be amused at my sending  
to you for this trifle.  
Could you make it convenient to call to-day  
& if so at *what time*?

---

Herbert Crooks is ~~quite~~ almost laid up with his chilblains.

---

I had meant to have sent my contribution to the

**f31v**

Church Choir at Crich, to which Mrs. Dunn  
is so kind:

Might I trouble you with this contribution  
(enclosed)?

yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1118

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen

**f32**

10 South St  
Park Lane W.  
2/1/79

My dear Sir

I hope you will be good enough to send me my  
Acct for the Quarter: & allow me to thank you  
for all your goodness to our Patients.

I was very sorry to hear of your severe strain  
but hope that you have quite recovered it: as  
I have heard from some of the Patients of your  
presence among them.

Will you be so good as to look after *Lizzie Holmes*? [13:285]

I am afraid she is none the better for Buxton. [end]

**f32v**

Confidentially & *between ourselves*, I have set on  
foot an enquiry into that abominable place. The  
master & mistress are leaving (drunk:) And I hope  
the Nursing will be looked into now.

I hope to hear of good Mrs. Bromhead, {Broomhead} & poor  
old Gregory {?}, & the Allens & all our other friends.

Little (spine) Lee has been making great progress  
at St. Thomas' - & is now gone back to the Ascot  
Convalescent Home. He is growing quite big.

---

Our (trained) Miss Machin entered from here on her [13:80]  
duties as Matron to grand old St. Bartholomew's  
on New Year's Day: [& we had placed 2 of our `Sisters'

**f32a**

2

there already] - She has been most graciously received  
& please God there will be a reform in the Nursing there. But

I have warned them to hold their tongues & not to  
be quoting St. Thomas'- [end 13:80]

I have heard the most pathetic accounts of our  
Princess Alice from the German lady, trained here with us.  
Who, with 6 nurses, nursed her to the last: & all  
the family in ye Diphtheria - Princess Alice was always  
the first in our Hospital Work. [Our Nurses sent a  
wreath of & Cross of flowers for the grave].

I have been so overworked & ill since I came back

**f32av**

[Christmas time is no sinecure in seeing of Matrons  
& Nurses &c &c] that I must beg you to excuse  
this scrawl.

And with heartiest good wishes for the best of  
New Years to you & Mrs. Dunn & all the  
old friends & the dear old place  
ever sincerely yours  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 8ff, pen

**f33**

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.  
Jan 21/79

My dear Sir

I have to ask your pardon  
for not having written before.

The truth is: I came back  
so much worn out to my  
usual hard winter's work  
& pressure of business that  
I am ashamed to think how  
much I am in arrear. And  
the hardest work is that  
which one does not do -  
You have, I hope, quite  
recovered your strain.

I was very much obliged  
to you for writing to me  
about Lizzie Brooks' mother.  
I have placed Lizzie in  
a very good situation at

**f33v**

Bath, not out of my reach,  
but I hope out of reach  
of her mother who harassed  
her continually. Yet I feel  
sorry for her little sister  
& brother at home. And  
I do not think it right for  
the girl to break off entirely  
with her home. She must  
try to be of use to the little  
sister.

Pray remember me kindly  
to Mrs. Swann: I was sorry  
not to see her before I left  
Lea Hurst: and pray ask  
her what is become of the  
little girl Cottrell she had a  
year ago a place for: & of the Mother  
whom you so kindly attended.

**ff33a**

Good old *Lyddy Prince* -  
one of the best women I know  
& a sort of Saint - I am  
afraid she is very uncomfortable  
with her sons - they not  
assisting her as they ought.  
Please be so good as to keep  
your eye upon her health.  
I shall be very glad to give  
*Dolly Prince* the benefit of the  
Nottingham spectacles: I left the money  
with Mr. Yeomans.

As for *Sister Allen*, who always  
reminds me of a prophetess of  
the Old Testament,- it is quite  
remarkable to hear her talk  
Scripture - I am overjoyed  
that she is so much better  
under your kind care. Please  
continue it & tell her to  
write to me & say whether  
she has had what I said  
from Mr. Yeomans.

And is there any particular

**f33av** {D25462\330}

diet she ought further to have?  
As for *Widow Gregory*, poor old  
Soul, if the others are a {illeg}  
Saint & a prophetess, or some-  
thing like it, she is an animal  
or something like it, thinking  
of her `creature comforts' & of  
Philip's (the lad ought to be  
in the Workhouse: he is dangerous).  
I am glad her nurse, Deebank,  
is so much better: she sees  
well. I suppose after the old  
body.

Poor *Mrs. Broomhead*: how  
patient she is: it is quite  
beautiful. I should like  
to have seen her as she wished  
to see me: but I scarcely  
can wish her to live another  
year. Please tell her  
I always remember her: &  
continue your kind care. Is there  
anything else she should have?

**f33b**

2

Is *Miss Shardlowe* returned from the Infirmary? She wrote to me from there. But I have not heard from her since. How is she? I am very glad to hear good news of the boy Bunting: & glad that poor old James Foulds is at rest.

Mrs Bratby, your Patient, is still at Ramsgate: & doing well.

Your little Patient, the spine-child, Lee, is very much better, & gone back to the Ascot Convalescent Home.

Please be so good as to look after *Lizzie Holmes* still:

**[13:285]**

I hope we shall clear out that abominable place at Buxton. But we must do it

**f33bv**

with quietness & caution. I am afraid Mrs. Holmes has not submitted to you yet.

**[end]**

I trust that you will also be so good as to look in from time to time upon poor *Widow Peach's daughter* & tell me whether she wants for anything more. She has such a hereditary weight of sickness in her. She became wonderfully better under your care.

Poor *Mrs. Limb*: she is such a good woman: so unmurmuring. I am very sorry to hear of these heart symptoms: but I hope she may still get better under your care. Please remember me to her.

**f33c**

I hear often from Miss Irby. She has a hard battle to fight. Almost all her fugitives are gone back into Bosnia, without homes, without seed, implements or cattle: food so dear that the Austria money allowance is insufficient quite: dying of hunger & exposure.

The Famine Mortality figures are coming in from India: they are heart-sickening: rather more than 2 millions Deaths in Madras Presidency alone: altogether it will not be short of 3 1/4 millions ascertained Deaths in Mysore & Madras alone: & Bombay & Hyderabad figures yet to come in: perhaps 2 millions more.

**[9:823]****[end 9:823]****f33cv**

But we have distress at home, Leeds & Sheffield & Manchester.

Excuse this scrambling letter.

I hope that you & Mrs. Dunn are well:

pray believe me  
ever yours ffully  
Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq.

letter {signature may be cut off}, 4ff, pen

**f34**

March 6/79

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir

I am extremely obliged  
to you for your kind letter,  
containing news of so many  
in whom I am so much  
interested & to whom you  
are so good.

For *Jane Allison's* recovery,  
even tho' only temporary, I am  
truly grateful to you & to God.  
That is a case one has  
unmitigated satisfaction in  
helping. Thro' no fault of  
her own, (that I have ever  
heard of,) she is subject to  
"special infirmity." And  
"special infirmity, physical  
or mental," I think one  
CB.N. Dunn Esq

**f34v**

may help without danger  
of pauperizing.

But on these &  
similar points I have often  
wished to consult you.

*'Miss Allen'* again is a case  
I commend to you: & do  
most sincerely thank you  
for doing her good. They  
are two Sisters doing their  
best to keep their home  
together (notwithstanding  
infirmity & defective sight)  
for each other by needlework  
whilst they can. They are  
the very reverse of paupers:  
& they are educated much  
above the average & have  
higher tastes than mere drinking  
& eating.

*Mrs. Henstock* is an  
industrious woman, an active  
but

**f34a**

mismanaging Mother &  
 not very truthful. Are  
 "spiritualists" people who  
 believe in those disgraceful  
 `rapping' impostures? I did  
 not know this mean & incredible  
 superstition had reached  
 Holloway: but, if it has, am  
 not surprised that the  
 Henstocks are of it. She  
 is a person whom I am too  
 glad to help 1st to your valued  
 Medical advice: also to ~~going~~ a Convalescence  
~~at~~ to the sea, & to a Sewing  
 Machine,- to enable her to  
 help herself. But giving  
 little doles to her & others  
 is a thing which has much  
 troubled my conscience &  
 which I have often wished  
 to consult you about.  
 I fear I have made some  
 beggars at Holloway, while

**f34av**

conscientiously desirous  
 to avoid it.

[13:285]

*Lizzie Holmes*: I am so  
 thankful to hear is better:  
 There is no danger of  
 making the Holmes beggars.  
 They not only do not beg,  
 they *give*.

Besides, I always feel I  
 owe Lizzie Holmes something  
 - for I am afraid I only  
 made her worse by that  
 abominable place Buxton,  
 - did I not?

Restoration to health is a  
 thing, I hope, one need never  
 feel afraid of being made  
 into a pauperizing agent.

[end]

note

14/3 I should say, with regard to  
 the `Spiritualists,' that I have  
 enquired, & I find they hold forth,  
 in the name of a "deceased Doctor,"  
 against intemperance!! They might

{this line is cut off. Her signature might be under it as well since she has gone  
 across to bottom of f34 for CBN Dunn Esq}

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1126

Derby, unsigned letter, f35a labelled Private & confidential, 4ff, pen

**f35**

April 12/79

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir

I hasten to send you a  
Cheque for your Qy Acct for  
the people to whom you are  
so kind & to thank you for  
your kindness.

I venture to ask you to be  
so good as to give £2.2  
(which I have added to the  
Cheque) to Mr. Acraman for  
his *School* subscription, for  
which he wrote to me. I  
must apologize both to you  
& to him for this unceremonious  
way of doing it. It is only the  
severe stress of overwork & illness

**f35v**

which compels me to economize  
every line I have to write.

Poor Widow Limb & Broomhead  
- I feel so very sorry for  
them. Will you when you  
see Mrs. Broomhead again  
thank her for her letter:  
And will you kindly tell  
Mrs. Limb how much I  
should like to hear from  
her thro' Rose, who ought  
to be able to write now?

I am thankful that widow  
Merchant's daughter is so  
much better thro' your kindness.  
And will you kindly tell her  
to write too & say how she is?

And the same as to Widow  
Peach's daughter.

**f35a**

{obliquely across L corner}

Private                    You ask me about Buxton  
& *Confidential*        Hospital Nursing. I have  
tried various ways to have it  
cleared up & cleared out,  
chiefly thro' ladies who I was  
astonished to find knew of its  
abominations before - did  
nothing then & as far as I know  
have done nothing now.

Except that in December  
I believe the Master & Mistress  
were dismissed for drinking.

I have now appealed to the  
Duke of Devonshire: & I hope  
that something may be done.

but this is of course *strictly*  
*between ourselves.*

The D. of Devonshire had much  
better appear to be acting from  
himself: without mentioning  
me.        But I really pray

**f35av**

that the enquiry may be  
rightly conducted, & not  
made a blunder of.

I am such an old 'hand'  
& I know what blunders may  
be made by the best  
intentions not practically  
acquainted with Hospital  
Nursing.

Derby, unsigned letter, 8ff, pen

**f36**

May 24/79

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir

You are so occupied, & I am  
so occupied that I scarcely  
like to say:-how little intercourse  
we have now about our poor  
Patients!

But I venture to trouble you  
now with some questions about  
some of them: for whom I am anxious.

I have also this reason that  
Mrs. Yeomans has most  
kindly done the cooking for  
poor good widow Broomhead  
& for poor old widow Gregory  
ever since I left Lea Hurst  
And she cannot be expected  
to go on cooking for them always.  
She has never complained of the  
trouble But Mr. Yeomans & I have

**f36v**

both suggested that she should  
stop. And had I not been  
cast down & overwhelmed with  
work, I should have written  
to you before to take your wishes  
with regard to these poor people.  
My aunt, Miss Julia Smith,  
is now, as you know, at Lea Hurst.  
And she is very kind to some of  
them. And spring is come at last.  
She & Mr. Yeomans thought  
that it was time now "to stop"  
*altogether with poor old Gregory:*  
except what she will have from  
Lea Hurst, where we shall too  
probably, if it please God, succeed  
my Aunt.

*Do you approve of this?*

And would you wish her (Gregory)

**f36a**

still to have her allowance of  
*Brandy* from Mr. Yeomans  
(which has been continued ever  
since ~~a year~~ or last autumn)?  
People are strongly of opinion that this  
should be *discontinued*. What do you say?

*Widow Broomhead*

I am afraid she is a great  
sufferer & so good & patient.

Is she near her end?

I feel that I cannot longer ask  
Mrs. Yeomans to cook for her.  
But I should be truly obliged  
to you to tell me *what she  
really requires*: occasionally  
or *regularly* if necessary.  
And this she shall have.

She has also an allowance of  
*Brandy*: & shall continue to  
have it, if you order it.

[Indeed, as you know, I never  
give *Brandy* without your orders]

I am sure you continue your  
kind care of this poor woman.

She is on *cocoatina*.

So is old Gregory:

**f36av**

*Widow Limb*

how is she?

I am afraid you think very  
badly of her prospects:  
she is a good & most patient  
sufferer.

Would you kindly also tell  
me *what she really requires*?

And she shall have it.

She is on 2 lbs. Meat weekly:  
*Cocoatina*, Milk &c.

Her sons are very good to her.

*Widow Peach's daughter*:

how is she?

She has 2 lbs of meat weekly:  
milk &c

would you kindly tell me  
*what you wish* for her?

*Martha Sheldon*

I understand is very ill:

If she requires something  
occasionally, would you kindly  
tell me *what would be best*

{D25462/237 1}

**36b {?}**

without further `order.'  
But if she requires another  
`letter of admission'  
from me, I will send you  
one for her.  
Poor soul: it is a painful  
case in many respects.

*Jane Allison*

Mr. Yeomans has written about her to  
me, & your opinion of her: &  
that he thinks she should  
go back to Mickleover.  
I have written to him that  
this is a thing for you to  
determine.  
But one trembles to think  
what she *might* do at home.  
And it is very bad for the  
little grand-child, the eldest,  
to see her.  
I had a great respect for

**f36c {?}**

the old man, her Father.

And I have told Mr. Yeomans  
that I would tell you that, if  
you thought it would give her  
a better chance to try her at  
home say for a month with  
a Nurse, & if you could  
recommend a proper Nurse,  
I would pay her.

But it must remain with  
you; [I cannot say I have  
ever made an arrangement  
of that kind to compare  
with the care of a good Asylum.]

I am most truly sorry for  
the case. The old man was  
a sort of patient humble hero  
in his way: at once independent  
minded & tender hearted.

*Lydia Prince*

I have told Mr Yeomans to  
allow her the 2 oz Brandy a day.

**f36cv**

3

*Lydia Prince* is one of the most difficult cases one has to deal with (I do not mean in your kind Medical attendance which I hope will never fail her: & would you order her *Brandy* of Mr. Yeomans, if she needs it) Her sons were so good as to inform me, thro' Mr. Yeomans, when I was at Lea Hurst, that *they* `did not do anything' `for her, because I did'. And it is true: I put money into Adam Prince's mouth to drink by helping his mother. Yet the old lady will not *apply* for parish relief: which is the only way, I suppose, of summoning the sons? I am trying to make some

**f36bv**

arrangement for her with Mr. Yeomans. She is a case constantly on my mind. She is a splendid old lady: and I cannot bear that she should want. While to spend money in making that vagabond Adam more of a vagabond is a sin. Please continue, if you will be so good, ~~as~~ to attend Old *Lyddy*. Thank you for your kindness to that poor old creature *Gregory*. *Mrs. Bratby* is come back from Ramsgate. Would you kindly look in upon her sometime?

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1132

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

[6:558]

£37

May 30/79

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir

Thank you very much for your  
kind letter. I have written  
to Mr. Yeomans your orders about  
the sick.

These Deaths from Typhoid are  
shocking beyond measure. Because  
Typhoid means bad drainage.

I trust that you will be  
successful in your *War*: &

I hope that Mr. Yeomans  
will help you.

You say that poor Mary Shardlow  
"hopes to go to the Infirmary."

I enclose an Order, which  
please fill up. If there is  
any difficulty in paying for  
her going, Yeomans will pay:  
Excuse haste: ever yrs ffully  
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f38**

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
July 21/79

My dear Sir

Very many thanks for your  
very kind note.

I am writing in haste to say  
if you could do anything for  
poor Mary *Shardlow* on my  
account, I should be very  
much obliged to you. [I do  
not know on whose account  
you are attending her] And  
if you wish to order her  
Port Wine or anything of that  
sort for me, please do so.

If you will kindly let Miss  
Mochler know, she will  
provide it. I am writing  
to her by this post to say so.  
Poor woman - no one can  
wish for her life. But I am

**f38v**

sure that anything to spare  
her suffering, you will do.  
I rejoice to hear that the  
little girl Peach is making  
such progress.

I am shocked that there  
should be Typhoid in "the  
Cottage".

Cannot you make them  
close the Wingfield School?  
in great haste

yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

**f38b**

My Diphtheria case went convalescent  
into the country on Saturday  
Nobody else had it, thank  
God.  
But it is a long story  
which I must tell you  
later.

Derby, signed letter without salutation, 2ff, pencil

**f39**

1

I am very sorry that I could  
not see you to-day.

I have been so ill since I  
came down: & I have 3  
interviews for to-day.

1. You know that *Harriet Limb*  
has Typhoid Fever. Is there  
anything more that we should  
do for her? She has Soda Water  
from us.
2. Could you also kindly see  
*Widow Broomhead* & say  
whether there is anything we  
should send her? - she does  
not much like her present  
medicine, I hear. And  
do you wish her to have any  
more *Brandy*? She has  
only 4 oz. every 4th day now.  
And is she in a condition to  
come & see me, if I sent the

**f39a**

fly for her?

3. Also: What do you think  
of little Platt, Alison's  
grand-child?

What do you think this  
new case of Typhoid due  
to?

I hope to see you soon

F. Nightingale

24/8/79

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

f40

Lea Hurst  
Aug 31/79

My dear Sir

Might I ask you to come  
& see my sister's lady's maid  
who has sprained & hurt  
her foot? above where the toes spring  
& underneath the foot - She is a Swiss.

I hope you will be able  
kindly to have luncheon here  
Some day while she Lady Verney, is here  
perhaps *to-day*:

---

2. I hope that you think  
*Harriet Limb* going on quite  
well: & may she have any  
thing else besides soda water  
& milk?  
And how is the poor mother?  
How I wish you could find out  
the exact whereabouts of the  
bad water & bad drainage,  
which are in fault.

f40v

Can you ascertain *what*  
was the *water* which  
*Harriet Limb* had been  
*drinking*?

3. *Dolly Prince*, I believe, has  
been suffering much from  
'flooding'.  
Could anything be done for  
her? by Medical advice -

---

4. The boy *Bunting*, - whom  
you brought through so  
serious an accident last  
year - What do you  
think of him?  
Is he likely to be strong  
enough ever to do a man's  
usual work?  
Or should he be a Pupil  
Teacher, or something of the  
sort? & afterwards a Schoolmaster?

**f40a**

5. A Mrs. Rawson  
of Higham  
near Alfreton

-Aunt to my Lizzie Brooks-  
has been 7 years ill with  
"bad knees": She "can't stand"  
except on crutches: the  
description L.B. gave me of  
her is: "her knee-caps are  
under her knees:" She has  
been at the Lea Water (cure?)  
place, which "did her no good."  
She is extremely anxious,  
L.B. tells me, to go to  
some London Hospital.  
She is said to have been a  
Patient of yours.

Could you kindly tell me  
whether you recommend any  
thing of this kind to be done?  
I mean, sending her anywhere for  
treatment?

**f40av**

I am afraid you will  
think I am never coming to  
an end with my questions:

6. Poor Widow Broomhead:

She thinks you have ordered  
her 2 oz. Brandy a day,  
whereas you told me 1 oz.  
Please say which:

Also: whether you think  
her able to come & see me,  
if I send the fly for her.  
- She does not seem to know  
what to decide.

---

7. Also: Martha Sheldon wants  
her brother to have an admission ~~go~~ as *Out*  
Patient to the Derby Infy.  
What do you think of this?

---

8. Lastly: does the little Platt  
(Alison's grandchild) want

Derby, unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

**f41**

Lea Hurst  
Sept. 7/79

My dear Sir

Thank you for your kind  
note very much.

As to the *Limbs*:

I am most thankful that  
they are going on well  
under your kind care.  
But do you not think it  
very bad for the two  
sisters, -one convalescent  
& one very ill of Typhoid,  
-to lie in the same bed:  
& both in the same room with  
the mother?

We had provided a  
bed at Widow Brown's,  
where Mrs. Swann could  
have undisturbed sleep  
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

**f41v**

in the afternoon: While  
Mrs. Brown could wait~~ed~~ on  
her Patients.

But we find that the  
three Patients are all  
in the same room: the  
two Fever cases in the  
same bed: While  
Mrs. Swann occupies the  
smaller room which  
used to be occupied by  
husband & wife -

Would you kindly  
remedy this in the way you  
think best?

We are sending Clear Soup  
without vegetables (what we  
make for my Mother) to  
Harriet Limb, according to  
your orders: & milk & soda water  
to the married Sister.

**f41a**

Would you be so very kind  
as to write to me any orders  
about these poor bodies'  
diets?

We send only 2 lbs Meat  
weekly, Milk & Cocoatine  
to Widow Limb, & Beef Tea:  
Should she have any thing  
else?

& should Harriet Limb  
have Mutton Broth?

I am glad that Mr. Wildgoose  
undertakes the Medical advice  
for Harriet Limb\*

But you must allow me to  
undertake the rest.

x Harriet Limb has been given to  
understand from the Mill  
that she would be allowed half  
pay during her illness: I hope  
this was not done without Mr. Wild=  
=goose's knowledge. You see he says he did not [cut off]

**f41av**

I feel so uneasy about the  
Holloway drainage that I lie  
thinking of what we ought to do.  
It has been suggested to me  
from London: "have you no  
District Medical Officer of  
Health to apply to?" But  
he is Dr. Gaylor: is he not?  
Then I am advised to "write  
& invoke the aid of Mr.  
Sclater Booth, & ask him  
to send an Inspector to look  
at our village." "The Local  
Govt Board always delight to  
interfere if they can get a  
chance."

*What do you think?*

And what was the *drinking*  
*water* which Harriet Limb  
& her Sister were  
using?

{upside down under the word *water* is her printed address}  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

**[6:558-59]**

{D25462/242}

Derby, unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

**f42**

PRIVATE                      Lea Hurst  
{written across the corner Cromford  
with 4 underlines}        Sept. 14/79

My dear Sir

Pray let me thank you  
for your two kind notes.  
And first about the

*Limbs:*

I am very thankful that the  
married Sister's attack you  
consider a slight one:  
& I heard yesterday that  
both were downstairs but  
that you considered *Harriet*  
the stronger of the two.  
I am sure that you will  
tell me what Diet you  
wish for them. Hitherto  
neither Sister has had  
anything from here but  
Clear Soup or Beef Tea.

**f42v**

Shall you wish either of  
them to go by & bye to  
a Convalescent Hospital?  
About the water in their  
well which I believe you  
& I are anxious to have  
analysed: You mention  
Dr. Gaylor's having undertaken  
to do so (from this well):  
What I understood was  
- that Dr. Gaylor, having emptied  
(? washed out) a quart  
bottle, which had  
contained beer or wine,  
& filled it with water  
from *Mr. Yeomans'* pump  
- that he took it home &  
forgot it -        that his

**f42a**

servant or Assistant  
found it & said: `Here  
is something, Sir, which  
Stinks Awful': & threw  
it away.

That Dr. G. thereupon went  
to Mr. Yeomans, & told  
him that his water was  
'unfit for human consumption.'

The terror spread thro' the  
village: & Mrs. Bratby  
wrote to me (in London)  
a terror-struck letter.

that Dr. G. was afterwards  
pressed upon this point,  
& retracted: (to Mr. Yeomans),  
- still maintaining however  
that the water was *not*  
*good, which I dare say is*

**f42av**

*quite*

*true.*

Now what we want is, is  
it not? to have the water  
properly analysed.

Upon receiving your last note,  
I wrote to Mr. Shore Smith  
in London about this -  
I have not yet heard  
from him.\* And I rather  
regret not having written  
to the Army Sanitary  
Commission in London  
(With which I have to do)  
about analysing the water.  
*What do you recommend?*

---

xI have just heard from Mr. Shore Smith.

He says: does "*Dr. Dunn* know of any  
one `handy', who would do it roughly, to  
see if there is enough to cause anything  
like the Typhoid?"

Something must be done, I suppose.

Derby, signed letter, 7ff, pen

[1:509]

**f43**

Private           Lea Hurst  
{across corner} Sept 20/79

My dear Sir

First of all, let me thank  
you very much for your  
Analysis of the Limbs' Well  
water:           I wrote  
without losing a moment  
by the same mornings' post  
to Mr. Shore Smith giving  
him your information &  
asking what was to be done.  
He answered that he would  
write to Mr. Yeomans, & if  
the well belonged to the estate,  
it should be cleaned & the  
top made so that no dirty  
water could run into it.  
He fancies that the excess of  
Chlorides is from dirty water

**f43v**

coming into it: but, he says,  
"a dirty pail or pan  
will poison the best water  
more than a good deal  
trickling into a well."  
But may not there be  
*percolation* from some privy  
or *cesspool* into the well?  
That is the commonest cause.  
As Mr. S.S. says: "if this  
is the cause it is satisfactory  
to have found it out & I  
should not anticipate any  
difficulty in making it right."  
But I am afraid the  
Limbs' cottage does *not*  
belong to the estate: I think  
it belongs to Buxton.

[end 1:509]

**f43a**

*What is to be done?*

What is the regular course to pursue in such matters? Perhaps you have had it done already.

2. How soon do you think we may let Miss Mochler or any one from here go with safety to the Limbs? or let Nurse Swann (I presume she is still there Nursing) come to speak to us here?

And should the 2 Sisters go to some Convalescent Home? They have had meat & eggs every day from here: May they have puddings & the like? & do you wish any thing more for them? Port Wine or any stimulant?

**f43av**

3. I saw the little Allison or rather Platts today. She still looks very delicate. Should you object to her going to School say 3 afternoons in the week? now -

I think you have quite made a cure of her aunt, Jane Allison.

4. I have to ask you about a thing which I have not spoken of to any of our household for fear of alarming them: we are obliged to have Fish 3 or 4 times a week from Belper, for my Mother, because she

**f43b**

2

does not always like the Matlock fish. Last week it missed & the next day the son of the Fishmonger, Mee, came over himself bringing fish & rabbits & saying that his father had died the day before of "Brain fever." Pitying the poor widow who wrote to ask for our custom, I have gone on having fish & fowls from her. But Mr. Yeomans has ~~now~~ to-day informed me that it was not "Brain Fever" but "Scarlet Fever." As the harm was done, I said nothing to any body. Do you think there are any precautions we could take now? Or do you think

**f43bv**

I should have nothing more from them at present? We have fish in the house & fowls & rabbits at this moment from them. But ~~we~~ I should create such an alarm if I had these destroyed. And the Son was talking in the house a considerable time the day after the father's death with the cook & my Fanny. It is every little detail falling upon me which keeps me so prostrate.

**f43c**

5. I have had a letter  
from the Rawsons of Higham  
speaking with great hope  
of what you are {written over-top of were} doing for  
her knee -

6. There is a poor young man  
named Walker whom you  
attend (haemorrhage from  
the lungs,?) - Miss Mochler  
met him walking out again  
yesterday.

Should you like to send  
him to the Infirmary in  
order to compel him to  
keep quiet?

Pray believe me

Yours very sincerely

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq.

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen

**f44**

Lea Hurst  
Sept 27/79

My dear Sir

I am extremely obliged  
to you for obtaining that nice  
support for poor Mrs.  
Broomhead, which is a  
great relief to her, & a great success.  
Might it be included in  
your Michaelmas Acct,  
which please send me at  
your earliest convenience?

- 
2. The discovery of possible  
percolation of pigs' filth  
into the Limbs' well  
fills me with pleasure:  
Because that can at least  
be stopped.  
I have said nothing about

**f44v**

Mrs. Swann leaving them. You  
will kindly say when  
you think her services can  
be dispensed with.  
Can nothing more be done  
for the poor Mother, who  
appears to be in a most  
distressing state?  
I am most thankful that  
the daughters are making  
such a good recovery.  
I wrote what you said about  
the well & the pigs to Mr.  
Shore Smith.

**f44a**

3. Mr. Yeomans had a "severe bilious attack" last Sunday tho' he was out again in a day or two.

[I was quite frightened, thinking it was Fever.]

Do you think that may have been a result of his *pump*?

---

4. Have you heard anything more of Scarlet Fever in poor Mee's family at Belper?

I kept my own counsel, but quietly dropt having anything more from his shop: according to your advice. Do you think I should be safe now in dealing with them,

**f44av**

or had I better just drop it? We cannot get any rabbits for Mrs. Nightingale at Matlock. But she will be going at the end of this week back to London.

I am interrupted every moment, so must just close this disjointed note & ask you to believe me

Yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

I have no very good account of poor little Lee's deformity to give you when I have the pleasure of seeing you:

F.N.

[12:328]

[end 12:328]

Derby, unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

**f45**

*Widow Limb:*                   Lea Hurst  
  Oct 4/79

My dear Sir

I saw Nurse Swann  
yesterday (Friday) & she  
described poor *Mrs. Limb*  
as in such a state that  
I told her to stay with  
her till tomorrow or Monday.

Doubtless you saw her,  
*Mrs. Limb*, today.

Do you think that a  
*Water bed* or *Water cushion*  
would be of any use to  
her?

And do you not think  
the *Stove* in her room  
might be lighted with  
advantage?

**f45v**

*Mrs. Swann* says that  
she is so in want of air &  
the stove so near the bed  
that she is afraid to light  
it.       But surely a  
fire & an open window  
produce the best air:  
& perhaps her bed could be  
moved.   Half the battle  
is in arranging or 'nursing'  
the Sick room by the  
District Nurse so as to  
give the poor Patient a  
chance.

What are these spasmodic  
fits of gasping for breath?  
And are they dangerous to life?  
Poor woman: She is so terrible  
a sufferer that she puts us all  
to shame by her patience.

**f45a**

*James (or Henry) Foulds:*

the son of the old man  
whom you kindly attended till  
his death last year  
has sent in a very piteous  
claim for assistance.

He says he has been 10 months  
in bed: that he wants  
nourishment: that you  
will tell all about him as  
his kind Doctor:  
that you ordered him  
beef tea & lamb  
and a sea voyage.

that he cannot get any of these  
things.

that if his strength could be got  
up by nourishment, he would  
like to go to Liverpool as  
being 'sea' air.

I should be very much  
obliged to you if you would

**f45av**

tell me what you  
recommend.

And do you know whether  
he used to work at the  
mill? & whether he has  
an allowance from there?

[I must not get into disgrace  
with Mr. Wildgoose, as  
I did about the father,  
James Foulds, last year.]

Thank you for your account  
of Sarah Allison. I have  
sent her the diet you  
desired & some Cocoatine.  
It appears she is very fond  
of Coffee: but Coffee is  
not usually fond of persons  
with weak digestions.

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

**f46**

Lea Hurst  
Cromford  
Oct 16/79

My dear Sir

Could you be so very good  
as to have a Water-bed hired  
or ordered at once for Mrs.  
Limb, & send me the Acct?  
I am giving *you* this trouble,  
but I hardly know where  
one is to be had.

---

You will judge how exceedingly  
concerned I am at Mrs.  
Britland's death from such a  
cause. It is not the `visitation  
of God.' I wrote at once to  
Mr. Yeomans: he lays the  
blame on the husband, for  
whom "to send word when the  
new drain was ready" they  
were waiting. He says he  
"cannot see how there could

[6:558-59]

**f46v**

"be any stench from the new  
drain." "there might be a  
stench from the cess. pool."  
I think I understood you to say  
that it was from a "sink-stone."  
I wish there were inquests  
upon *Deaths* from these causes.  
Is the other abomination  
of a pig removed from the  
Limbs' well?

[end 6:559]

in greatest haste  
Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq

Derby, unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

**f47**

Lea Hurst  
Oct 25/79

My dear Sir

Would you be so good as to look at my maid Fanny, who appears to be suffering severely from Indigestion? It is not her fault in this case: but when I am in charge of 3 households, as I have been here every year, & especially this year, I am obliged in some measure to "do at Rome as Rome does" - And these London servants insist upon meat 3 times a day: a hurried meal of heavy meat at one: & a heavy meal of meat & pudding at nine p.m.

**f47v**

But what was her fault is: that she has been allowing her bowels to be irregular: ~~that she has~~ being very sick: & that yesterday she took without telling me the medicine of *another* maid who had been suffering from some thing else, & to whom I had given Medical attendance from *another* gentleman in London.

I really should have thought my Fanny had had more sense.

She asked me to let her have your Magic medicine, of which you kindly sent me the Prescription for her in London.

**f47a**

I believe it was Steel with effervescence.  
But I was & always am unwilling to have old Prescriptions used without the Prescriber seeing the Patient again.  
[I should not be sorry if it were made 'illegal' to "make up" a Prescription say six weeks after date, unless directions for so doing were entered upon the Prescription.]  
Would you be so very good as to lay down directions for Fanny: as to meat & drink: as to what aperients & what medicines you would prescribe for her under what circumstances - & to allow me to have the

**f47av**

Prescriptions when we return to London?  
And if she may have the Medicine she wishes for, so much the better.

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f48**

26/10/79

My dear Sir

I am sorry that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you today, as you are so good as to come. For I have `company'! the Sisters Allen.

---

2. I have been applied to to assist a family, named Wall, the Wheelwright's. The poor woman, it seems, has been under your care, & has had a wonderful operation (I can't exactly make out what) performed at the Nottingham Women's Hospl, where

**f48v**

she had to pay 10/a week. Perhaps you would kindly tell me what is the `case': whether this payment is ~~true~~ so: & whether they want money-help (which one does not like much giving in that form.) [The two Nottingham Infies ~~are~~ have Matrons of our training.]

---

3. It occurs to me to ask: has your kind attendance on Lady Verney's maid been acknowledged? If not, please send in the Acct to me:

**f48a**

4. Do you remember a Nurse Charrier, from the Derby Nurses' Home, who nursed that poor fellow who died here of Smallpox?

She has written to me (to ask for a 'Testimonial') from some place in Devonshire. She does not say whether she has left the Derby Institution.

I never do give 'Testimonials:' She ought to ask ~~it~~ one of the Instn - But could you advise me?

---

Kindly tell me what you think of Fanny:  
yrs ffully F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen

**f49**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 8/79

My dear Sir

Very many thanks for your kind trouble in the matter of ~~the~~ Buxton Hospital.

I am not a "subscriber": & have positively declined to be so, until the Nursing arrangements (which have been unparalleled in England for badness) are put into permanent good order.

The way I managed for Mrs. Limb & Lizzie Holmes was by paying 10/6 a week for each, which ~~was~~ became last year 12/ a week. & I am

[13:285-86]

**f49v**

not quite sure that it has  
not been farther raised  
to 14/: but believe it is 12/.  
These are the ordinary terms  
for non-subscribers.  
I beg to enclose a Cheque  
for {pound sign} 4.4: Which  
will be 3 weeks each  
for *Elizth Bunting* &  
*Mrs. Gladwin*  
at 14/ if that is the  
amount. If not  
the 6/ each I dare say  
will be acceptable for  
the journey.

I do not know whether  
Mrs. Gladwin is bed-ridden.  
I conclude that you are

**f49a**

satisfied that the Nursing  
for HELPLESS Patients is now  
what it ought to be.  
For, if you remember, persons  
who were able to shift for  
themselves were very  
well satisfied with their  
treatment, even while  
the bed-ridden ones were  
suffering the abominations  
we know of. [And the  
person who gives his name  
to the Hospital told me  
distinctly this when I  
appealed to him in London.]  
do you not think that  
if *Elizth Bunting* has relatives  
in Buxton, she had better  
reside with them, & be an  
Out:Patient?

[end 13:286]

**f49av**

I should be glad to hear  
what you have kindly done  
for poor old Mrs. Joseph  
Smith (of Lea): & whether  
it was a case of Paralysis  
& difficulty about the Urine.  
My Fanny is much better.  
She fancies there was much  
Stronger Acid in your last  
Medicine. I shall be  
very glad if you will  
kindly direct What she is  
to do in London. She is  
hoping for the Effervescing  
Steel.

Pray believe me  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen {probably pencil}

**f50**

Lea Hurst  
9/11/79

My dear Sir  
I am so very sorry that  
all the birds are flown.  
My Fanny is at Church  
with a note from me to you:  
Mrs. Francis with her, with  
Francis' empty bottle -  
Francis is, I take it, at  
chapel. He is somewhat  
better. But I should  
like you to have seen  
both Francis & Fanny.  
You will find my note  
when you go home.  
To it I would add:  
*Harriet Limb* has promised

**f50v**

me to `put into' the "Women's  
Club:" I presume  
she must be "passed" by  
you - Could you  
kindly, when you call  
upon her mother, keep  
Harriet up to the mark,  
& do about "passing" her  
whatever you judge right?  
Could you kindly tell  
me what you think  
about the old lady,  
Joseph Smith's wife?

**f50a**

These last days rather  
knock me up:  
yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen

**f51**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 9/79

My dear Sir  
I present my *Fanny* to you  
-her appetite & strength seem  
to me very variable. What  
do you wish her to do next?

2. I am trying hard to get  
these village people here, whose  
money all goes in dress &  
drink, to SAVE. I hope my  
"Converts" may be "enthusiasts."  
Last night *Mrs. Shardlow*  
(the widow, a most  
industrious woman, whose  
daughters are making a  
comfortable weekly income  
at the Mill) promised  
me that her eldest,

[5:182]

CBN Dunn Esq

**f51v**

*Sarah Ellen*, should become a member of the Women's Club, if you will "pass" her. The mother told me that the father, having died of Asthma (?), she did not think you would admit the daughter into the Club, & that "it would hurt her feelings so," if you were "to examine her & not pass her."

This was, *I suppose*, a mere excuse. But I only congratulated her on her willingness, & said that I would ask you for her. Lizzy & Lyddy (who is almost a dwarf) ~~were~~ Shardlow

**f51a**

were, at School, little friends of mine - And I would give a great deal if they could be brought up with other notions than dress. Pray help me.

---

3. *Francis*, the Gardener, is better: he wants more medicine. He will go away on Friday for a week when we are gone.

*When* you said he was "just the man to have Epilepsy,"- would you kindly tell me *what* are the symptoms of a susceptibility to those attacks?

4. About the supposed *drain* under *Vincent Greatorex'* floor: Mr. Yeomans tells me

**f51av**

that the "drain goes  
quite the other way"  
& "never went under the  
floor" -- & that Greateorex  
himself "always said that  
"he got the Typhoid Fever  
at the mill."

As for this latter assertion,  
it means nothing: I knew  
a gentleman who, with  
a cess pool under his  
Drawing room, & 3 children  
dying of Typhoid, declared  
they got it in the Park!  
But do you think I ought  
to try & insist that 2 or 3  
paving-stones should be taken  
up to see IF there is *any foulness*  
*under Greateorex' floor?*

in haste      ever faithfully yrs  
   F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f52**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 14/79  
5. am. 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address}  
PARK LANE. W

My dear Sir

In bidding you farewell  
for the present, I have some  
circumstances to mention  
about our common protégés.

Alfred Peach was drunk  
on Saturday.

Adam Prince was ill in  
bed on Wednesday: I have  
no reason to think that  
there was any drinking:

Walker is spitting blood.

Mrs. Bromhead's daughter  
at home I am persuading  
to put into the Women's  
Club. Please add her to

**f52v**

those whom you will "pass"  
if you can.

Do you know that Mrs.  
Limb's son is to be married  
at Christmas, & that then  
the newly married wife  
will take charge of  
her mother in law, Widow  
Limb, & that Elizth Sims  
will leave?

I have induced Lizzie Holmes  
not to go to work till  
next Friday.

**f52a**

I shall follow your directions  
about my Fanny:

She says she "has no indigestion  
except when she eats:" that  
is rather a bad state of  
affairs. I think you  
were kind enough to propose  
sending me the prescription  
for her *Pills*, if you wish  
her to continue them.

With every best wish  
for your highest success  
pray believe me  
in great haste  
ever yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 8ff, pen {postscript probably added in pencil}

**f53**

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
10/1/80

My dear Sir

I am very much obliged  
to you for your report of our  
Patients.

1. I am thankful to hear that  
*Mrs. Limb* is so well attended  
to under the new régime  
& so much less suffering.  
I know you will be so kind  
as to enquire after Rose Limb  
(morally not physically)  
when you visit the mother.  
This child, for I think she  
is only 12, declared that if  
she did not like her new  
sister-in-law, she should  
leave the house & set up

**f53v**

for herself  
elsewhere. [This is the harm  
the Mill does - girls of  
13 think they owe no  
allegiance, if they can earn  
their own bread]

If this fit of rebellion has,  
as I earnestly trust, passed  
away, I would not revive  
the possibility of her doing  
such a thing.

Rose Limb is frightfully  
spoiled. Tho' she is put  
to school at no expence to them,  
she is allowed to go or not  
as she pleases.

I know you will kindly  
ask what she is doing.

[The girls at Holloway are  
a heavy anxiety: so much  
dress: so little putting by

**f53a**

money: or even mending their  
own clothes.

Many a girl who begs of me  
spends more money on  
herself ~~not only~~ relatively,  
~~but~~ and in a few instances absolutely,  
than I do.]

I hope Harriet Limb has  
entered the Women's Club:  
& is paying besides a monthly sum into Mr.  
Yeomans' hands for the P.O.  
Savings Bank (which I double.)

2. *Widow Broomhead*. I am  
grateful for your care of  
her. It is, I suppose, wonderful  
how she lasts on amid such  
suffering. Pray order her  
anything you think right.

The day before I came away  
she asked me for some flannel.  
It was impossible for me  
to send for it then: but I

**f53av**

took the opportunity of telling her that she might order it for herself & send the bill to Mr. Yeomans, on condition that her daughter entered the Women's Club & that her son (who earns 22/ a week) would put money into Mr. Yeomans' hands, which I would double.

I have heard since that she did not get the flannel, because it was not to be had at the Co-ope Stores. Surely this is very helpless. Could not a neighbour get it for her at Cromford or Matlock?

Pardon my troubling you with these details.

**f53b**

2

3. *Hannah Allen*: I am very sorry that my old friend, the Prophetess, is so ill again.

She has 2 lbs of meat a week from me: besides milk & cocoatine, some money & other things. And I obtained for her from the Mill a pension of 3/ a week.

But if you think other things requisite, please let me know.

And please tell me if the damp in the house is really remedied.

I am very glad Ann is so much better, thanks to you.

4. *Lizzie Holmes*: I suppose, will never be strong again. I am thankful she is better.

Her mother is one of the very best women I know of any where.

**f53bv**

Most glad am I to hear  
of the improvement in  
Buxton Nursing.

**[13:299]**

Could you tell me who  
is the present Matron?  
& where from?

**[end]**

I trust that the Water  
Supply will be obtained.

Is the *pig* extinct near  
Mrs. Limb's well?

Would you kindly remember  
me to Mrs. Swann - & tell  
her I have *not* succeeded  
(I hardly expected it) in  
finding Patty Cottrell a suitable  
place - I hope *she* has -

**f53c**

for Mr. Wildgoose has  
promised in that prospect  
*not* to take her on at the  
Mill.

I am giving you much trouble  
I have been so ill & overworked  
since I returned to London  
that I must ask you kindly  
to take this too true apology  
for my not writing.

I hope Mrs. Bratby is  
better for the removal of  
the abominable cess pit  
overflow. Is she thinking  
of Ramsgate?

Pray believe me my dear Sir  
with kind regards to Mrs.  
Dunn, if I may be allowed

**f53cv**

to send them  
ever yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale  
Like a woman, I have two or  
3 P.S.S.:  
poor old *Widow Gregory*: I suppose  
she is not gone to the Union?  
*Adam Prince*: is he keeping  
sober?  
*Alfred Peach* I am afraid  
to ask after:

F.N.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq  
I cannot say my Fanny is much better.  
She has taken your `Nux Vomica' pills & your  
Bismuth (Granular) & Iron *when I reminded her*  
Her digestion, if she is very careful of what she  
eats, is better. But she is weak, especially  
in the back: & complains of pain in the back  
when she stoops. F.N.

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 8ff, pen and pencil

**f54**

*Little Lee*: 10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
Feb 21/80

[12:328-29]

My dear Sir  
I have been & am very  
anxious about little Lee,  
who, as you know, has been  
vibrating between St. Thomas'  
Hospital, & Ascot Convalescent  
Home, according as his  
Medical advisers thought  
it best for his health.

I truly believe that, if  
he had been the heir to  
£80000 a year, he  
could not have had  
greater advantages than  
he has had for health -  
poor little man -  
perhaps not so great.

**f54v**

I saw the "Mother Superior" of Ascot (she served under me throughout the Crimean War) a short time ago. She described the boy as much stronger, happier, very intelligent & a great pet: but she wished him to return for a time to St. Thomas', as she thought he must need Surgical attendance. The deformity was not decreasing but increasing. He was accordingly re-admitted under Mr. Croft, who has been his `Visiting Surgeon' from the first at St. Thomas'.

**f54a**

At St. Thomas' he was described by the Sister as much better & brighter: & as "chatting away":

But at my request Mr. Croft has sent me his case: ~~in~~ the following words are his:

"You will be sorry to learn that little Lee has now a very large *abscess* connected with the disease of the spine. This makes the case much more serious. *The parents ought to know that the chances of recovery are less than they were.* This must have been

**f54av**

"collecting for months & his fretfulness & wan looks must be attributable to it." Signed J. Croft.

"Feb 18."

When you are going Lea= way, could you be so very kind as to inform the parents of little Lee, because you will be able to answer their questions as a Medical Authority: & neither unduly to frighten them nor to flatter their hopes. The last time the poor child was at St. Thomas', Mr. Croft told me, (& I think I mentioned this to you), at Lea Hurst last year,

**f54b**

2

that, while he considered the child much stronger, he thought abscesses likely to form. I believe he thought him incurably scrofulous: but Ascot has been for him the very best air he could have.

I think the "fretfulness" to which Mr. Croft alludes must have been very temporary. For I have cross-questioned the 'Sisters' in charge: & all describe him as a peculiarly happy child. He is quite 'master' at Ascot: & he objects to another little Patient being called "little man." "*He is only a little boy: I am the little man.*"

[end 12:329]

**f54bv**

---

Mrs. Limb & Mrs. Broomhead, wonderful women,  
I am thankful to hear are  
improving rather than the  
reverse: This must be due  
to your kind care.

Please remember me  
to them when you see them  
- & to the Sisters Allen,  
good women, who I hope  
will remain pretty well.  
There is no one I have a greater regard for than  
Hannah Allen. I am going  
to send her a remembrance  
of my dear Mother.

I am glad that Mrs. Jos.  
Smith, thanks to you, is so  
much less suffering:

that the *pig* is still extinct:

**f54c**

& no more scarlatina:

& good hopes of water-supply  
& that Mrs. Bratby is *the better*  
*of* the Cess.pool.

Thank you very much for  
your care of Patty Cottrell.

-I *WISH* she had your  
place in lieu of the present.

-I wish the father, a  
preacher!!, instead of  
stealing his child's wages,  
could be made to pay  
towards a Reformatory,  
by all accounts much  
needed for another girl.

[did you ever read "The  
Gaul Cradle: & who rocks it"?)

I would gladly give the child  
the boots: but it would all  
go into the father's pocket.

Far better Mrs. Swann's plan

**f54cv**

that the Mistress, if to be  
trusted, should spend  
the child's wages on her  
before they become due:  
I am so glad to hear of that.

---

My dear Sir I should not  
have waited for your more  
than kind note to write to  
you about my dear Mother's  
blessed going home. But oh  
what a gap to me. She sank  
to rest with a smile on her  
face as if she saw God.  
But I have been so broken  
down with seeing people &  
business - I mean however to  
give myself the pleasure of  
writing about her to you: but  
will not delay this note about poor *little Lee*.  
Pray believe me sincerely yrs  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

**f55**

{arch: 20/4/80}

My dear Sir  
Thank you for your  
kind letter. I am sorry  
to say the accounts of  
poor little Lee are far  
from good again.  
Mr. Croft writes to me:  
in answer to my enquiries:  
"I wish I could give a  
more hopeful account of  
little Harry Lee.  
"The new jacket had to  
be taken off.  
"The abscess is discharging  
freely still.  
"He is very thin & weak,  
& is not in a state in  
which we could think of

**f55v**

"moving him." (this is with  
reference to  
x x x Ascot.)

"Supposing the case goes on  
favourably, he must  
remain a long time  
yet in the Hospital."  
before, that is, he goes to Ascot.

I am very sorry; but Mr.  
Croft's first account  
showed how very seriously  
he thought of the case.

[only the intermediate  
account was so good.]  
Poor little man! but  
few well-to-do children  
could be so carefully nursed  
& attended.

I am glad good Hannah  
Allen is better: & that  
Lizzie Holmes is not worse.

**f55a**

Pray excuse this brief  
note & believe me  
most faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq. 20/4/80

I should be glad if you  
would kindly tell me  
any thing about Rebecca  
Buxton's last illness  
& death.

Poor ~~prisoner~~ prisoner - {something was written under the struck-out  
now she is free. prisoner}

F.N.

Derby, unsigned letter with black-edged paper, 4ff, pen

**f56**

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
June 25/80

My dear Sir

I am very much obliged  
to you for your welcome  
note.

Pray be so good as to  
send me my Quarterly  
Acct.

1. You do not mention  
*Jane Allison*. Thank  
you very much for having  
written to me before  
about her. I let Mr.  
Shore Smith know at  
once about the unfortunate  
separation with Platts,  
which you did so much  
to prevent: & that you,  
who had done so much

**f56v**

for her, thought it  
"very wrong that she  
should live alone."

I also wrote to Mr. Yeomans  
& Mrs. Bratby.

I am afraid that  
the matter is irreparable.

But would you kindly  
look in upon her  
(medically) from time  
to time? & let me  
know how she is going  
on:

[I have been told the  
neighbours are not too  
kind to her.]

And if you could  
kindly let me know.  
also how the children  
(Platts') are going on, I  
should be very grateful.

**f56a**

2. *Mrs. Limb*: poor woman,  
what a sufferer she is.  
I have very bad accounts  
from herself - uterine  
discharge - loss of appetite  
- she says she cannot now  
take her cocoatine,  
which she used to be  
so fond of.

*Could anything else  
be recommended?*

She is full of gratitude,  
& indeed, it is a wonder  
that she lives so long.

I have had much  
anxiety about *Rose  
Limb*. She wrote to  
me that she wished  
to leave School, & go  
to the Mill: & have "her books"  
at home.

On enquiry I found,  
not from herself, that

**f56av**

she had already been  
dismissed from School,  
because she had often  
*not* been there when  
she was supposed  
at home to be there:  
& that she was already  
at a little place,  
"Peach's" [I am afraid  
she does not know  
what truth is.]

I am told that "Peach's"  
is a good service, & that  
she will soon be ready  
for another place.

If she goes to a good  
place, I would gladly  
give £1 for her outfit,  
but if she goes to the  
Mill, which it will  
probably end in, of course,  
I should not. But do not  
trouble yourself about this

initialed private note, no salutation, 2ff, pen  
{is this an enclosure with the above letter?}

**f57**

*Private* {written across corner}

I find that Rose Limb  
has already applied at the  
Mill, & have also alas!  
a confirmation that "she  
"is not so good as she  
"might be." She will  
not take a place in service,  
but she is only to be  
"employed at the Mill  
"upon the Conditions" I  
"name"- viz. Women's Club  
& 1/ a month P.O. S. Bank.  
I have also received  
a hint that I "run some  
"risk of imposition," from this  
& other families.  
I pray God that this child may  
be saved. Hitherto her short  
life has been one career of deceit.  
I pray you keep your eye upon her.

**f57v**

1. Thank you very much for  
the letter from Geo. Allison,  
*Jane Allison's* brother. He  
was here on Saturday (came  
up to London as Guard with a train)  
& confirmed the good account  
as to Jane being happy & well.  
She was still with him.  
I shall be very much obliged  
to you to see her when she  
returns.
2. I hope you have been able to pass  
*Boden's daughter* for the *Women's Club*.
3. Thank you for your good  
account of *Mrs. Brocklehurst*  
We have been able to prevent  
Mrs. Bratby from leaving  
Ramsgate at present.  
I told her what you had  
kindly said.

F.N.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1174

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

**f58**

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
July 9/80

My dear Sir

I have been so sorry  
not to answer your  
kind note at once.

Please continue  
attending Jane Allison  
on my account: & I  
have also written to  
Mr. Yeomans about her.  
I do not wish Thomas  
Allison's daughter to be  
receiving parish relief  
at all: but I do  
not think there was

**f58v**

any intention of  
sending her to the  
Workhouse.

Please continue  
your kind care of her.

I have had a terrible  
fright about my Fanny  
who came home alone  
& *quite delirious* at  
the beginning of the  
week - owing to their  
having kept her sitting  
up for 96 hours with  
her dying brother (for  
whom I had sent her)

**[6:638-39]**

**f58a**

& then sent her up to London  
alone  
without an hour's rest  
& fainting, "to buy  
their mourning," after  
his death!!! She has had  
Medical attendance 4 times in the 24 hours  
& a trained Nurse night & day.

What with overwork &c.

I have rarely spent  
such an anxious week.

I will write again:

Yours most faithfully

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

**f59**

Lea Hurst  
Sept 26/80

My dear Sir

1. Thank you for your bulletins  
& your kindness to the poor  
little Platts'. If you think  
Mrs. Swann desirable for  
their recovery, & she would  
come, pray have the  
kindness to send for her.

---

2. Could you kindly tell me  
anything about this Mrs.  
"Machent" who wants a  
"double truss." I have  
promised her a letter  
to the Derby Infirmary,  
if you approve

---

3. Jane Allison was very much  
the better for your

**f59v**

kind conversation with  
her. [I saw her the next  
day.] ~~My Fanny understood~~  
~~you to say that you would~~  
~~send her Jane some medicine:~~  
~~but she, Jane Allison, did~~  
~~not seem to have known~~  
~~of it.~~  
~~Perhaps, unless Fanny~~  
~~misunderstood you, you~~  
~~would send the Medicine~~  
~~by Bearer. Since I wrote this~~  
*I hear that Jane has had her medicine.*  
4. I am waiting for Mr.  
Shore Smith's return to  
urge forward the  
Whatstandwell Coffee-house  
affair, if possible; which

**f59a**

you have so kindly set on  
foot: (in haste)  
Yours most faithfully  
F. Nightingale  
C.B.N. Dunn Esq {at bottom of page}

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1177

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

f60

Lea Hurst

Oct 22/80

My dear Sir

Do you know *Mrs. Thompson*,  
a widow with 8 children,  
living just above *Mrs. Holmes*?  
she is our Charwoman: &  
when she came to-day, said  
that her eldest daughter,  
who works at the Mill,  
was attacked with  
Erysipelas. I sent her  
home; & left a message  
in the village to ask  
you to be so kind as to  
attend the daughter.  
I have learnt since that  
you were not in the  
Village today.

Would you be so kind

f60v

as to call on the girl  
*Thompson*: & also to  
let me know if there is  
anything we ought to  
send her: also:  
whether you think the  
mother had better stay  
at home with her girl,  
or whether she might  
still come here?

They are very poor, I  
believe. And I understand  
the girl has had before  
a very severe attack  
of Erysipelas -

in haste

pray believe me

sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

**f60a**

Perhaps, if you are  
coming or sending into  
Holloway tomorrow, you  
would kindly send the  
Medicines for my two  
maids & myself

F.N.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq {at bottom of page}

Derby, unsigned, incomplete letter, with black-edged paper, 4ff, pen

**f61**

{written across left corner}

[6:639-40]

Private                      Lea Hurst  
& Confidential              Oct 26/80

My dear Sir

After you left me yesterday  
& after Fanny had come back  
from her walk, I had much  
& rather alarming conversation  
with her. She said she "feels  
as if she were going mad" -  
that she "*wishes to die*" -  
that she 'feels as if she  
wished to run straight out  
to walk as far as she can  
*by herself* to GET REST':  
that 'sometimes she cannot  
bear that any one should  
speak to her':  
that she "cannot think" -  
"cannot read" - that she  
sometimes "wakes finding  
herself sitting up in bed" -  
that "if anything goes wrong

**f61v**

she "cannot bear it" -  
that she "feels as if something  
were going round & round  
inside her head": that  
she `feels as if some one were  
pulling at her at the top of  
her head': (that sounds like Hysteria)  
that `last Sunday at church  
she could not sit still'.  
[Yet she brought me a very  
good report of the Sermon.]  
She cried very much, which  
relieved her.  
Some time ago, she told me  
she `had no soul': then that  
her `soul was a very little one'.  
She said she `could not settle  
to anything.'  
I was obliged to accede to her  
sleeping in the room she  
wished: She said "Tell me  
don't gentlefolks have fires?"

**f61a**

but I insisted on the fire  
being let out.  
You may easily conceive, or  
perhaps you can hardly  
conceive how alarmed I  
was.  
*Do you think there is any  
danger of her "walking  
"straight out" & going away  
in the night?*  
or of her going in to Miss  
Shore Smith (to whom I  
have told nothing) *in the  
night?*  
[If I were alone in the house  
with my own servants  
it would be nothing.]  
I lay listening last night  
for every sound - indeed I  
could not sleep for the severe  
pain at the heart - once  
I thought I heard her door  
open, & got up. But it was

**f61av**

nothing.

This morning she is much better than I am: says that she slept well: partly, she says, "because "the room was warmer": partly because she "had kept herself quiet": owning that she *could* "keep herself quiet". "The least thing excites me," she says, which is perfectly true. [It is inconceivable the way she speaks to me: Sometimes she is aware of it, & says she "can't help it."] I think she got chilled on Sunday driving to Crich in the Waggonette: & that her bowels did not act on that day. Indeed *they never do*

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 1f, pencil

**f62**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 9/80

My dear Sir

*Ann Allen* had a fall some days ago, & I am told, hurt her knees. It was said to be *baddish* a day or two ago. Would you be so very kind as, when you are coming into Holloway, give her a visit & oblige

yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1181

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

**f63**

Lea Hurst  
Nov 23/80

My dear Sir

Cecilia Linford has  
had the folly to tell  
neither you nor me  
that she has had  
no Pills since Thursday  
- Her bowels never  
act every day without  
them. And today  
she is suffering much  
from headache. The  
monthly period has  
not come on. And  
she looks as heavy  
as lead.

Could you kindly if

**f63v**

you are sending this  
way tomorrow, send  
her her Pills  
& me my Medicine?  
every faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale  
{added probably in pencil}  
Lizzie Holmes was not  
so well yesterday.

**f63a**

Mr. & Mrs. Shore Smith  
desire me to say: would  
you kindly come here  
to *luncheon tomorrow*  
(Wednesday) at one  
to talk over with  
them the proposed  
Coffee-room at  
Whatstandwell?  
Or could you be so good  
as to come any time  
*after 11.30*, if not  
to luncheon tomorrow  
(Wednesday)?

I am in great hopes  
that it may be settled  
now with your kind  
help. F.N.

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 7ff, pen [1:510]

**f64**

*Coffee-room:* } Lea Hurst  
*Whatstandwell:*} Nov 27/80

Mr dear Sir

Mr. Shore Smith  
informed me of the  
conversation which you  
& he had had this  
afternoon on the proposed  
Coffee-room at  
Whatstandwell, & showed  
me Miss Hurt's kind  
letter.

Mr. Shore Smith & I  
agree, I am afraid,  
that the buying up of  
the "Wheatsheaf" scarcely

**f64v**

offers enough inducement  
to balance the cost.

To buy the license would  
probably take money  
enough to build three  
Coffee-rooms: would it  
not? And who is  
to secure us against  
another license being  
obtained & another  
'public' being set up  
in the "Wheatsheaf's"  
place?

[end 1:510]

To start with the smallest  
in place of the largest  
outlay would seem  
wise in an undertaking

**f64a**

of which we cannot  
guarantee the Success.

You mentioned to Mr. Shore Smith a small  
piece of land belonging  
to Mr. Hurt & let? to  
a Cottage on the left-  
of the spot where the  
Quarry road comes  
out upon the Crich  
Carr road just above  
the steep descent to  
Whatstandwell, & below  
the "Wheatsheaf."  
Would you kindly  
enquire, after looking  
at this piece of ground.-  
if you think it suitable,

**f64av**

whether, if it is not  
?let on lease, Mr. Hurt  
might possibly let it  
for such a purpose  
as this - the trying the  
experiment of a  
Coffee-room & Pay Office  
for the Quarry men?  
Perhaps you would  
be so good as to mention  
it to Miss Hurt.

Mr. Shore Smith thinks  
that we might get a  
Corrugated Iron building,  
such as are made for

[1:510]

**f64b****2**

School-rooms &c -  
containing possibly a  
bed room for a Manager,  
to put up on this ground.  
And this would be  
trying under the best  
circumstances in our  
power what can be  
at first but an  
experiment without  
a large & discouraging  
outlay.

[end 1:510]

What do you think?  
We bid you `God speed'  
on your high errand  
& wait anxiously for the

[1:510]

**f64bv**

result, which we  
hope to hear perhaps  
in a day or two.

Pray believe me  
every yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq {at bottom of page}

**f64c**

I return Miss Hurt's  
letter with thanks:

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1185

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 1f, pen

**f65**

Lea Hurst  
Dec 1/80

My dear Sir

Thank you for your kind  
note about the Coffee-room.

Could you come over  
here *this* afternoon to talk  
to Mr. Shore Smith about  
it - And - he has  
expressed a wish to  
consult you *professionally*.  
Pray come: if possible.

most ffually yours

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 2f, pen

**f66**

Lea Hurst  
Dec 2/80

My dear Sir

I have so much to  
apologize to you for  
in bringing you out  
such a wet afternoon  
- not in vain, because  
the proposed Coffee-room  
was advanced by it -  
but in vain for your  
Patient, as I heard  
with dismay this morning

It cannot be accounted  
for, except perhaps  
indeed thro' "nervousness,"  
as he says himself.

The one page which I

**f66v**

conveyed to you by  
letter, was conveyed  
to me by his wife herself.

Will you excuse it?

I hope to see you soon:  
& also to hear more  
about the Whatstandwell  
project from you.

Perhaps you will kindly  
appoint a time

& believe me

yours very excuse=fully

F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 1f, pen

**f67**

Lea Hurst

Dec 7/80

My dear Sir

Would you kindly see  
*Bratby* who is ill &  
*Saml Crooks* who has  
sprained his ancle,  
if you have not seen  
them today:

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Would you also, please, see

*Mrs. Broomhead*, who has  
been very ill since Saturday.

She was to have come & seen  
me tomorrow, but is hardly able.

F.N.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1187

Derby, signed note on small, black-edged paper, 1f, pen

**f68**

*C.B.N. Dunn Esq  
Crich*

Medicine for ~~F. Dowding~~  
~~Nisbet C. Linford~~  
and *Jane Allison*  
for *F. Nightingale*

And please send the  
*Prescription for Nisbet.*  
F. Nightingale

~~Dec 5/80~~

12/12/80

Derby, signed page without salutation, 1f, pencil, black-edged paper

**f69**

I am afraid poor Mrs. Limb is kept in a very dirty state, by her daughter-in-law's own account. But the said d.in law is so perfectly self-satisfied that it is difficult to say any thing. [How I wish I had one of our District Nursing ladies here to show her.] Mrs. Limb is complaining of a sore knee. I fear she will have bed sores.

---

Poor Mrs. Broomhead seems in a very suffering state: so much pain which she calls rheumatic between her shoulders.

---

I should be very sorry not to see you again. To-day, Thursday & Friday I am overwhelmed. I could see you on Wednesday or Sunday at 3.30 for a few minutes, if that would suit you.  
yrs sincerely F. Nightingale

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1188

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 6ff, pen

**f70**

Lea Hurst  
Dec 18 1880

My dear Sir

I commend to your kind  
care Mrs. Thompson,  
IF she sends for you:  
& her 2nd son, if she  
sends to you on account  
of his eyes. He has  
been under Mr. Taylor  
at Nottingham.

Her 2nd daughter will  
enter the Women's Club,  
if you can pass her:  
she is just 14;  
as well as

*Louie Peach*

& *Anthony Boden's daughter*  
if you can pass them.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

**f70a**

He is making enquiries  
as to a wooden building in  
London. Mr. Yeomans  
is coming to me this evening  
with estimates both of  
Corrugated Iron & wooden  
buildings.

Perhaps you will think  
it hardly necessary for us  
to advertise for a second hand room till this  
information comes in.

But I will tell Mr. Shore  
Smith what Miss Hurt  
& you say, and doubtless  
Mrs. Hurt's further enquiries  
are worth waiting for,  
as you suggest with regard  
to "letting out" a room.

**f70b**

2. I was sorry to send to you so unceremoniously for Nisbet's prescription. She is gone today: & I have given it her. Are there any precautions to be observed, such as not going on with it for a more than a certain time?

3. Mrs. Thompson's daughter complains of swelled legs. Would you be so good as to see her some time?

I am obliged to return to London on Monday, I fear. Do you think badly of poor Bratby?

**f70bv**

Martha Sheldon asks me to ask you to tell me what you reported of her brother to Mr. Wildgoose.

If he comes to you for more medicine without a note from Mr. We, would you kindly charge it to me?

How do you find old Lyddy Prince?

I commend all our pensioners to your kind care.

**f70av**

Will you be kind  
enough to let me have  
your Acct at the end  
of the Quarter, including  
of course John Bratby  
& Mrs. Holmes.

Lizzie Holmes has been  
suffering severely from  
her cough. Could any  
thing more be done  
for her?

Wonderful to state, I have,  
I believe, persuaded  
Jane Allison to go to  
Manchester, if her nephew,  
to whom I have written,  
will have her. She gives

**f70c**

up her house.  
Pray let me thank you  
again for all your  
considerate & skilful  
care: & wish you  
Goodbye & Godspeed  
with all my heart:  
& in great haste  
believe me ever sincerely yrs

F. Nightingale  
Might I trouble you to give  
the enclosed £2.2  
to Mr. Acraman with  
my best wishes for  
his Curates' Fund?

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1191

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 5ff, pen and pencil

{f3 - the paper is turned sideways}

**f71**

10 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
1/1/81

My dear Sir

Thank you for your kind  
note about the *stone*  
building for the proposed  
Whatstandwell Coffee-room,  
& for the answers to your  
Advt, - all of which  
I have transmitted to  
Mr. Shore Smith.

I am very sorry indeed  
to hear your account of  
poor John Bratby. I  
have written to his wife,  
proposing Mrs. Swann  
to help nurse him: at  
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

**f71v**

my expence, of course.  
Would you kindly further  
this, if you think it  
desirable?

Might I ask you what is the medicine  
*instead of Colchicum*, which you give  
for gout? to Bratby?

I hope to hear from you in a  
day or two:

I am glad you saw Mr.  
Yeomans.

He gladly accepts the office  
of Treasurer to the  
Whatstandwell Coffee-room  
-and proposes that  
young Mr. Sims should  
be added to the Committee.

Have you said anything  
to him about the sewage  
outlet in Holloway, &  
his field? I find the

**f71a** {paper turned sideways}

field of his he proposes for it is  
not the field we thought - but a  
field *farther* from Ashmore's than  
the present outlet.

That all the highest blessings of the New  
Year & of many New Years may rest  
on you & yours & all our poor Patients  
is the fervent wish of yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

Might I trouble you to give the enclosed  
to Mrs. Swann?

**f71b**

Fanny Dowding is  
quite laid up with  
a very severe attack  
of congested (& slightly  
enlarged) Liver: which,  
the Medical attendant  
thinks, must have been  
coming on some time

F.N.

I trust you will soon see  
Mr. Yeomans about the  
field to receive the  
Holloway sewage,  
& the proposal of a "tank"-  
if it is desirable.

F.N.

I hope poor old Lyddy Prince is {this and f70bv pencil}  
tolerably well: & Mrs. Limb  
& Mrs. Broomhead not suffering  
too much from the cold. Would

**f71bv**

you be so very good as to see  
that Mrs. Broomhead (she  
is so helpless) uses the warm  
bottles & warm things &c  
that she has - I desired  
Martha Sheldon to make  
her a pair of warm stockings  
to wear at night - Are  
they come?

I hope too that dear Mrs.  
Bratby is not worse:  
& her husband improving.  
Please remember me to  
them all.

F.N.

Derby, signed letter, 7ff, pencil

[6:647]

**f72**

29/10

My dear Sir

I think I must ask  
you kindly to take  
Lizzie Holmes on your  
List on *my* account  
because the "Club" will  
not "allow," as I am told,  
~~even~~ if the Patient even  
goes out for a walk:  
One cannot quarrel with  
this rule: And yet  
it annoys Mrs. Holmes  
excessively. And they  
are the very reverse of  
"imposing."

**f72v**

2. Have you been able  
to cure Adam Prince  
of his `tic'?
3. Some time ago the  
younger of the two old  
Sisters Allen had  
blood in her urine,  
as she describes it.  
It is not going on now  
But they too are the  
very reverse of "imposing"-  
And I should be thankful  
if you would kindly  
see after them occasionally.

**f72a**

4. You have already  
done my Fanny much  
good  
in haste  
not to take up your time  
yrs fflly  
F. Nightingale  
The Bratby's cesspool  
overflow is to be piped  
off tomorrow.

**f72b separate letter, starts pen****[6:647-48]**

2

I am very glad the idea  
of a Company is given up  
& very glad that you can  
recommend a suitable  
Workman's Committee.  
I don't think the Savings  
Bank should be given up  
on account of its being  
too much trouble. What  
I fear is that its publicity  
may ruin it. Workmen  
will not put by, will  
they?, in view of each  
other, & in view of their  
employers. They will not  
save except in secret.

**f72bv**

However, Peach would be  
the man to manage it;  
because he knows them well.

I beg to give you joy & the [pencil begins]  
Miss Hurts of the good  
prospect of the Whatstandwell  
Coffee-room - And I look  
forward to the day that is  
near when Adam Prince  
will be found sitting there  
instead of being fished  
out of a Crich public house  
by his poor old mother  
after 3 days' drinking -  
as he was last winter.

**f72c**

I will not delay this  
scrappy note - else I  
fear it will never go at  
all.

Many thanks for your  
report of the Patients -  
& believe me  
ever faithfully yrs

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

If you should see Peach

**f72cv**

again will you give  
him a kind message  
from me, thank him for  
sending me the Memoir  
of his wife, & tell him  
if it is not premature how  
much I like to think  
of his eagerness about  
this Coffee-room?

[end 6:648]

F.N.

Excuse pencil

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1196

Derby, signed letter {small paper}, 2ff, pen

**f73**

{printed address} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

Feb 28/84

My dear Sir

Would you be so very good  
as to see old *Mrs. Brown* for me?  
I am told she is very ill.

Many thanks for what you  
have done for Francis & Jane  
Allison. I am afraid her  
relatives threaten her with the

**f73v or f73a**

"Lunatic Asylum again." They do  
not second our efforts, or try  
to help her - I am afraid she  
has no companion yet.

in haste

every sincerely yrs

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1197

Derby, unsigned letter, small stationery, 2ff, pen

**f74**

Francis: Feb. 19/84  
{printed address} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
My dear Sir PARK LANE.W.

You are so good as to attend Francis, the gardener at Lea Hurst, & his wife, on my account. Might I ask you to have the great kindness to give me your opinion of Francis' state? Mr. Shore Smith has received notice to leave from ~~them~~ ~~him~~, & asking too for a small grass farm at Lea, on the ground of *your Medical opinion*. It is added that you tell him he has Diabetes

**f74v or f74a**

2

We were naturally rather surprised at the notice, as I had not heard a word of it from you, who were kindly attending him for me.

This sudden notice could scarcely have happened at a more inconvenient time, as I am *glad* to say Mr. & Mrs. Shore Smith have left for Algiers this very day for 6 or 8 weeks, I am *sorry* to say for health.

I hope the matter concerning Francis is not so very pressing, as you have not mentioned it to me. Mr. Shore Smith trusts it may be put off, & ~~I that~~ Mr. S.S. may not be troubled just now.

Derby, signed letter {f75 & f75b with black-edged paper}, 7ff, pen

**f75**

10 South St. W.  
April 26/84

My dear Sir

We are always glad to hear of the Whatstandwell Coffee-room. But if you think the "men do not "like our wares," could you suggest any thing else, any other foods, drinks, or amusements, that they would like better, with which they could be supplied?

We used to think the receipts very satisfactory: -are they less so? I am afraid you think them less

**f75v**

so. The thing perhaps is -not so much to "keep men "out of the public-house"- (-`swept & garnished'- & `7 devils, worse than before' occurs to one)

~~but~~ as to give them the means to keep out of the public-house.

Are the quarry & labouring men "corrupt"? - not so much as Londoners - - not so much as mill people - are they?

**f75a**

Poor old Mrs. Brown - I trust she will pull through under your kind care. She is an industrious old woman.

Pray tell her how much I feel for her.

Also = Anthony Boden,  
& old Betty Broom -  
& more particularly the Allens -

also Mrs. Marsh.  
Thank you for *all* your kind care.

**f75b** {this page black-edged}

2

I have been so engaged attending Sir Harry Verney who for the past 4 weeks has been in extreme danger from Pneumonia in both lungs - exhausting rigors - tempe down to 95° & up to 105° that I have been able to do hardly anything else. But the day before yesterday, he was declared out of danger, tho' mending very slowly.

I have also had two of Mrs. & Mrs. Shore Smith's children staying with me Mr. & Mrs. S.S. are now returned from Algiers.

**f75c**

But I am sorry to say  
that he is far from well.  
Mrs. Bonham Carter is  
dead of Bronchitis. She  
did not survive her sister,  
Miss Julia Smith, 4 months.  
She is the last of that  
vigorous generation.

I have been a good  
deal pulled down in  
every way. My sister is  
still in a painful, crippled  
condition from Arthritis  
but very brave.

Sir Harry's mind was  
perfectly clear & calm  
throughout: he knew there was

**f75d**

small chance of recovery:  
You kindly ask after Fanny:  
She has been 7 months a  
Patient under Medical care  
& nothing but a Patient  
- the last 3 at Bournemouth  
Sanatorium.

She is now in good health  
& the lung quite "quiescent" -  
But the Doctors entirely  
forbid my taking her back.  
One of them said to me: "I  
fear her brain giving way  
before her lungs."

You saw her at Lea  
Hurst in something of the  
same strange state: *wayward*.  
I have of course told no  
one. This is quite private

**f75e**

For the present I have  
arranged for her to stay  
with a widowed sister  
in the country.

Pray believe me  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen

**f76**

July 22/84

{printed address} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir

Thanks for all your kindness  
to the Village people & for your  
account of them.

Jane Allison I feel rather  
alarmed about when I hear  
of her asking neighbours to  
let her sleep with them  
which looks as if she were  
afraid of herself. Does the  
child sleep out too when  
she does?

Widow Brown & old Lyddy  
Prince I am sorry to hear  
are suffering from Bronchitis.  
I am myself quite in bed  
with it.

**f76v**

Adam Prince I wish the  
Coffee-room would catch.  
Martha Sheldon will scarcely,  
I fear you think, be ever  
quite herself again.  
And old Betty Broom I fear  
too you think will have  
another attack.  
Mrs. Francis tells me she is  
recovering nicely under your  
kind care.  
It is astonishing how Mrs.  
Broomhead lives -  
And Anthony Boden too.  
I shall be anxious to hear  
about the Allens.

**f76a**

Would it be too much to trouble  
you kindly to ask *all* of  
these to write to me?  
They are nearly all of them  
glib with their pens.  
And might I ask you  
after Widow Barton - a  
great friend of mine?  
It is some time since Bratby  
has written to me - I was  
afraid he was laid up  
again.  
Pray believe me  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale  
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1203

Derby, signed letter, small sheets, 2ff, pen

**f77**

Dec 11/84

{printed address} 10, SOUTH STREET,

My dear Sir PARK LANE.W.

I am so very sorry to have  
been compelled to make such  
long delay in writing to you -  
And now another Acct is nearly  
due.

About the Stove for Anthony Boden's  
bed-room, I wrote immediately to Mr.  
Yeomans to have it done. But he says  
A. Boden could not bear the noise.  
Should you think otherwise, pray

**f77a**

have it done. I will go halves  
with the house landlord in the cost.  
We are so rejoiced that the Whatstandwell  
Coffee-room prospers.

I am about to write you a better  
letter but have had many draw-  
backs - among them, an inflammn  
in my eyes -

every your faithful servt

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter with the first pages missing, 5ff, pen

f78

2. 2

I have now (this morning)  
received your kind letter.  
And I will trouble you about  
Milk & Meat & such things  
as you kindly order for our  
charges. On

Meat are Sisters Allen

Louisa Peach

{Widow Barton

{ " Brown

Of the two last, Widow Barton's  
was only to be for the winter  
months. Widow Brown's only  
for her illness.

Both would stop on March 31.

I observe from your letter  
that good Widow Barton  
has been ill.

Would you like her Meat  
to continue a month longer?

I conclude that you would  
wish L. Peach's meat to  
{D2546} continue.

**f78v**

You kindly tell me how  
each of these 5 or rather  
6 Patients are:

I will ask you to say  
when, if ever, any are no  
longer in need of the Meat.

3. I am sorry to hear so  
poor an account of

*Lizzie Holmes'* winter,  
& very thankful to you  
for your care of her.

4. The following are on

Milk: Mrs. Broomhead: (Meat

" Lyddy Prince:

" Holmes

{Widow Marsh

{ " Barton: (Meat

4 { L. Peach: (Meat

{Ant. Boden

Sisters Allen: 2 (Meat

Mrs. Brown: (Meat

Betty Broom

**f78a**

The 4 I have marked  
had Milk conditionally till  
*March 31 only.*

But I should not like to  
take them all off:

& would propose that each  
of the two twos should have it  
*quarter & quarter* about,  
subject of course to your  
advice.

Should it be  
{Widow Barton, supposing her  
Meat taken off

{Anthony Boden  
*March 31-June 30?*

{L. Peach, supposing her  
Meat *not* taken off

{Widow Marsh  
*June 30 - Sept. 30.*

or how?

-the whole subject to your  
advice if you will be so  
very kind as to give it.

**f78av**

& nobody to be taken off  
*without* your advice  
(tho' I admit I have done  
wrong in making `pensioners')  
& no one to be kept on  
who you think needs it  
no longer.

I would propose that all  
those who are kept on  
should understand that it  
is to be re-considered every  
3 months: your kind advice  
to be always taken.

5 I should be glad to hear  
how you think *Lyddy Prince*  
(does Adam keep sober?)

Widow *Marsh*: Anty *Boden*.

{upside down printed address: 10 South Street etc}  
{below in pencil}

Pray excuse all the trouble I  
am giving you.

**f78b**

5

Mrs. Broomhead I have  
heard little of for months,  
except, alas!, of her  
daughter's "misfortune"  
which has been a heavy  
"trial" to her. I am afraid  
her daughter's "misfortune"  
means but one thing.?

{below in pencil}

The Sisters Allen I am always  
so glad to hear of.

F.N.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1207

Derby, signed letter on small paper, 2ff, pen

**f79**

May 16/87

{printed address} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
My dear Sir PARK LANE.W.

I cannot say how much obliged  
to you I am for keeping us  
informed about poor Bratby  
& for your great attention to him.

I am afraid you are not satisfied  
with his progress. Has his  
consciousness been defective?

I trust you will have Dr Webb  
in consultation as often as you think

**f79v**

desirable & that if there  
is anything I could send him,  
you will tell me.

With many thanks, pray believe me,  
most faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

I wrote on Saturday to thank you for  
your kind Telegram. But somebody's  
carelessness did not post the letter in  
time.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, first page/s missing, 7ff, pencil

2 2

I am very, very sorry about  
*Adam Prince*. I wrote to  
him on Miss Mochler's death.  
He answered - & sent some  
little sum to his mother -  
at the same time saying to me  
how much had been spent  
in drink!!! I think there  
may still be hopes of him.  
Poor Lyddy Prince has  
been helped this winter -  
it is a difficulty about this,  
knowing that what helps her  
goes to supply Adam with  
drink.

She is now on the parish.

**f80v?**

with a claim to Medical relief - I know you will not let her suffer for this - And if you order her Cod Liver Oil or any such expensive ~~ap~~ medicine, will kindly let me pay for this.

3. I am very glad that *Bratby* has sought your aid which I have been always urging him to do on my Acct -

**f80a**

I am sure he will find  
the benefit of it.

4. *Mrs. Brown* is also on  
parish & Medical relief.

And I can only say the  
same as of Lyddy Prince & I am sure you  
will not let her suffer -

5. *Mrs. Barton* also -  
They are all good industrious  
women: anything but  
paupers. Could I do anything  
more for *Mrs. Barton*?

6. *Jane Allison* was at  
Manchester this Xmas -  
I never like her to be alone

**f80b**

in Holloway - without  
any one living with her -  
I am glad she went to you.

7 *Whatstandwell Coffee-rooms*  
- It rejoices me that you  
think they prosper. I am  
sending them some more  
books for their Lending Library.

8 *The Allens*: Yes, please, be  
so good as to call upon  
them. Ann is always  
suffering. But I am so  
glad you think her improved.

**f80d**

3

9 Thanks for attending to  
Martha Sheldon - & for  
giving her some of your  
invaluable moral control.

I believe it is not unusual,  
is it? for brother & sister, or sisters,  
living in the wilful prison  
they do, to have like  
delusions.

She is almost unmanageable  
- but I hope much from your  
management. [I desired  
her to send for you.]

**f80e**

My sister is greatly  
improved in health (you  
kindly ask) but this  
terrible Arthritis makes  
sad progress.

Sir Harry has to take much  
care on account of his  
chest.

I cannot say much for  
myself, (you ask), but, with  
repeated thanks for your  
kind care of our people,  
& hopes that Mrs. Dunn  
is well & will accept

**f80f**

My kind regards  
pray believe me  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Would you be so very kind  
as, whenever you see my  
people, to give them a  
kind message from me,  
& say I asked after them;  
& would they write to  
me?

F.N.

Please excuse pencil

Derby, unsigned last pages of letter, 3ff, pen

**f81**

2

4.

Do you know a Mrs. Sims, of Crich,  
- married daughter of that  
good woman, your old Patient,  
Mrs. Limb, who died at  
Holloway? If she  
comes in your way, would  
you be so very kind as to  
ask her to write to me  
about her youngest Sister,  
Rose Limb, - now married,  
I am afraid not very well,  
in Derby, - & whose  
confinement she, Mrs. Sims, has  
been attending - & to tell  
me how Rose Limb is, & all  
about her,  
& give me her married  
name & address?  
Would it be troubling you

**f81a**

too much to ask you what  
sort of woman Mrs. Sims  
is? My recollection of  
her is that she nursed her  
Mother, Mrs. Limb, once  
- not very well - & was  
rather `ramshackle' & ~~dirty~~  
slovenly. But I am not sure.  
I was very sorry not to  
see you when you were so  
good as to call here in August.  
I was just gone to my Sister, who  
is now a confirmed Invalid  
from Rheumatic Arthritis,  
at Claydon. But I returned  
a month ago.

**f81b**

{Private is written across the corner}

*Private* In the strictest confidence

I will tell you that at  
the Pendlebury, the Lady Supt  
has not sufficient  
authority in the Wards  
- that there are reported to be flirtations  
& "givings in marriage," (one {"one has" is written over "I have"})  
has not heard of anything  
worse) between the Students  
or young Doctors & young  
ladies who are very young.  
I merely give you this hint.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1213

Derby, signed letter, first page black-edged, 3ff, pencil

**f82**

Claydon Ho: Sept 23/90

Winslow

Bucks 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address crossed out  
PARK LANE.W. with 1 diagonal stroke}

My dear Sir

Thank you for your  
kind note about Adam  
Prince.

What I hear of him  
is that he can now  
take neither "milk" nor  
"eggs" - If it is the  
fault of my "supply", I  
am very, very sorry -  
~~He has~~ They have 2 pints  
of milk, & 2 eggs daily  
& I believe "regularly"  
from Mr. Yeomans.

It is some time since

**f82v**

I have sent Panada &  
Calves foot Jelly "from  
"London." For I understood  
that he must not have  
these things. He sometimes  
wishes for "a little bit of  
"nice Roast Meat." But  
I did not dare to furnish  
this without your orders.  
Otherwise I am sure Mrs.  
Yeomans would.

If Dr. Macdonald  
would kindly order any  
thing that was right, ~~±~~  
~~would~~ either immediately  
from Mr. Yeomans for

**f82a**

me or from ~~he~~ me,  
Adam Prince should  
have it. I will send  
him "Port Wine" from  
London.

Excuse this scrawl -  
I have difficulty in  
writing. And there is  
so much to do here,

I will write again  
Yours most faithfully  
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

I am penitent about  
Adam Prince - for not having  
written to you before

[last line is written up along the side of the page]

Buckinghamshire Record Office, paper copies, many letters copied in Wellcome Ms 9029  
signed notes, 3ff, pen

{title page} Hot Water  
laid on  
for Hospitals

*Hotwater Pipes* Sept 17/61

No "bath" can be given "by the bed=side"  
without detriment to the whole ward; from  
the steam & mess -

Consequently, *no* bath should ever be  
given by the bed=side, unless it is absolutely  
necessary - for the Patient's health to move  
him no farther.

In all *large* well=regulated Hospitals,  
this principle is so entirely acknowledged that  
no Patient is allowed to bathe even in the  
little Bath=room attached to each Ward,  
if he is able to go to the General Bath=room.

*Hot and cold* water laid on to every  
part of a Hospital is a *sine qua non*. This  
& the use of lifts saves the expence of one  
attendant to every 30 Patients.

Cold water is of little use without the hot,

This principle is recognised even in Schools.  
How much more so in Hospitals!

It is little known, except by those who  
have spent their lives in Hospitals, how  
constant is the use of hot water all day  
long in a well-managed English Hospital.

If this is not laid on, you *must* have  
an extra attendant to every 30 Patients to  
carry it. Or your Patients will suffer.

How can you use *cold* water for the  
thousand=and=one uses of Water about  
the sick?

*Soft* water is equally important - for every  
thing about the sick. And it is useless to  
expect the Nurses to carry it, if hard water  
is that which is laid on -

Any enquiry made at St. Thomas's Hospital  
or at the new Woolwich Hospital=works will prove  
how much water & how much *hot* water & how much  
soft water per Patient was there thought necessary. F. Nightingale

signed notes, 2ff, pen

[5:818]

#### *Trees*

It is impossible to give a general rule  
in answer to this question.

So much depends upon the height of the  
building, the height of the trees, the aspect  
of the windows, the direction of the prevailing

winds, the nature of the soil etc. -

I should prefer having nothing of *the same* height as the building within the distance of *twice* the height of the building.

That the trees are to the North is in favour of their standing - both because they impede *no* sun & because North winds are generally cold winds.

A room is notoriously unhealthy where the trees stand just between the windows & the principal sun=shine they get.

That "the soil is damp" is against the trees standing. It is certainly unhealthy to have always a sodden surface close to your Hospital walls.

But trees make a place a great deal more attractive to the sick.

A place surrounded with trees except to the S.E. was healthy because the prevailing wind was S.E.

One thing is certain: you can always cut down trees, you cannot build them up. They will be least unhealthy during the winter, supposing them to be unhealthy. -

If the Committee wish it, I will ~~send~~ ask Dr Sutherland to go down & look at the place some time this winter or next spring. And he and I can then report to the Committee our opinion about these poor trees, as to which it is impossible to me to judge from the present data. Dr S. is now abroad.

F. Nightingale

Sept 17/61

signed notes, 8ff, pen

[16:652-53]

*Bucks Infirmary*

It is a very good scheme, with the exception of certain small faults of detail. The Block plan is good for the size of the Hospital

The following points appear to require re=consideration:

1. Have the Medical staff consented to put Surgical & Medical cases together?

There are only two, (1 Male & one Female) Wards, besides the two small ones.

Do they not desire at least an Accident ward for men?

Do they not desire it on the ground floor?

Or are there too few Accident cases to make this necessary?

Do they not want

an Operating Room? Two very minute  
Or is this provided criticisms I have  
for in the centre to make -  
upper flat, of which There appears to  
we have not the be no window into  
plan? the closet off the  
Scullery (men's side)  
nor over the W.C.  
sink either side.  
2. A window would A dark place in  
be better than a a Hospital is  
door from the Nurse's a Hospital is  
room into the small always a dirty  
ward. place, a skulking  
place, & a receptacle  
of foul air.  
3. There should only I do not much  
be a foot between like a closet at  
the top of the windows all in a Scullery.  
& the top of the wards.  
A press is a much  
better thing, coal=box  
4. The Lavatories &c &c But however  
should not be placed this is settled, all  
at the centre of the these places must  
length but at the have windows, or  
end. not be there at all.  
But, in the present

How is the "Store"  
off the Stair=case,  
(Men's side) intended  
to be lighted at all?

"end" arrangement,  
the Patients in five  
beds would be  
disturbed by the  
passing in & out of  
the Lavatories &c

The *two corner* beds  
are inadmissible for  
other reasons -

There never should  
be more than one bed  
in each corner - and  
then a window between  
it & the next bed.

{a small sketch follows, showing W. C. Lobby Lobby Lavatory  
& Bath Room}

If a large end window  
is desired it might  
be done thus: with  
a Lavatory & lobby  
on one side, & a W. C.  
with Lobby on the other

It is of great importance  
not to disturb the  
end-Patients with  
the passing in & out.

II

1. It is decidedly objectionable to have Kitchen & Scullery under sick wards - [In the Army Hospitals we are trying to get ride of kitchens in such situations] I will make enquiries whether a ward 75 x 25 & 15 ft high cannot be warmed by one of our improved Hospital grates, instead of there being two, as in the plan.
2. Is the accommodation for the rest of the Nurses in the top centre flat, of which we have not the plan? Is it not an useless expence to have two Lifts & two Linen Shafts? For so small a Hospital, one Lift & one Linen Shaft would do.

*3/4 Aylesbury Infirmary*

It is always desirable  
where practicable,  
to put Men &  
Women Patients on  
different floors.

As both sexes  
are on the same floor  
the Women's Pavilion  
should be cut off  
from the stair=case  
by a swing door,  
with lock & key -  
always to be locked  
at night.

One such door  
is better than two.

The best place  
for it is at the  
head of the stair  
at + on the Women's  
side.

This gives all

the isolation both  
obtainable & practicable

Certainly not  
longitudinal but  
cross ventilation  
is the intention  
of all good  
Hospital plans.  
The staircase up  
to the roof is  
intended to cut  
off the atmosphere  
of one Pavilion  
from the other -  
& by an up current  
to prevent as far  
as practicable the  
air of one ward  
from passing into  
the other.

The partition between  
the large wards (1 men's  
& 1 women's apparently)  
should be thick  
enough to prevent  
any sound from  
passing.

Provincial Hospls  
are very commonly  
nursed by one  
Night Nurse. It  
is a very objectionable  
practise, if only  
because the men's  
& women's side  
ought to be (especially  
at night,) entirely separate.  
[But there are  
other grave reasons  
against that practise]  
One Night Nurse  
there

should be ~~amply~~  
~~sufficient~~ for  
the women's side  
& one for the men's.  
And "occasional"  
Night Nurses,  
(women "had in"  
by the night)  
ought thus to  
be entirely  
unnecessary:  
which does away  
with a great evil.

Having answered the  
questions asked, may  
I once more enter  
my protest  
1. against the *double*  
corner beds, One ought  
certainly to be removed  
from each end corner.  
And certainly there  
ought to be a screen,  
even if there be only  
one bed, to screen it  
from the Ward Offices -  
& the Patients going  
in & out.

2. One Lift & one  
Linen Shaft is enough  
for so small a  
Hospital, if it saves  
expence not to have  
two of each. With  
proper discipline,

there can be no  
difficulty, by day, when alone they are used. The remaining  
space might be made  
into a store closet tho'  
rather too dark for it

[end 16:653]

F. N.

F. Nightingale  
32 South St  
London W  
Nov 25/61

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1225

signed letter, 6ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:639-41]

Sept 30/59

In building or extending  
a Hospital, it is to be  
taken for granted that  
the object in view is to  
benefit & not injure  
the sick. To have  
wards with only  
windows on one side  
is to injure the sick.  
They had better be left  
at home -

Every sick ward

must have windows on opposite sides. Whatever plan of extension is adopted, this must be a *sine qua non*.

The plans you have sent me to look at fulfil this essential condition tolerably well - in so far as regards the two 16=  
=bed wards & the 8=  
ward. But there are three smaller wards with windows on one

side only. And one of these happens to be the Operating Ward. There appears to be plenty of space for these 3 wards in a position where they could have windows on two sides. And this change could be effected by a little re=  
re=arrangement.

2. The position of the Water=closets is not very good. But, ~~as~~ if they are in a portion of the building not yet

erected, they might easily be so arranged as to have a lobby separately ventilated between them & the Sick Wards.

3. I am afraid you will find the central Corridor rather dark.
4. There appears to be no window to the Scullery.
5. By the plan the large Wards are 73 ft long & 17 ½ ft wide This is very narrow. To

-2-

give even 1200 cubic ft per bed ~~only~~, they will require to be 15 ft high.

If the wards could be made 1 or 2 ft wider, it would be a great advantage, even at the cost of a little of their length.

6. Would it not be cheaper to devote the whole of your "villa", as it is now, to the Offices & Officers; & to put all your sick into

the new wings?

I should put my  
Matron into the two  
small wards on the  
first Floor. And put  
the six beds thereby  
done away-with, where  
the Matron is now; or  
better, still, at the  
other end of the  
Accident Ward Pavilion,  
where the Surgeon's Room  
is; bringing the Nurse's  
room a little lower  
down the Accident Ward,

which would not too  
short, even if shortened,  
but leaving it (the Nurse's  
room,) with 2400 cubic  
ft space, *between* the  
two wards -

If however there is  
some reason why a  
4=bed & a 2=bed ward  
are preferable to a  
6-bed ward, it might  
still be managed;  
the Servants' Bed Room  
is almost the best  
room in the house  
& has room for 8 or  
10. Why not take

that end for sick?  
They ought always to  
have the best.

Bear in mind  
however (1.) that the less  
small wards are  
multiplied, the better.  
All foreign & English  
experience confirms this.  
Noisy, offensive or  
operation cases ought  
alone to be put into  
small wards. Even  
the last ~~is~~ is now considered doubtful.  
(2) that it is absolutely  
necessary that every

-3-

ward should be  
commanded by its  
Nurse's room, with  
a window looking into  
her ward. This alone  
is a sufficient reason  
against multiplying  
small wards - And  
the plan of attaching  
a small ward to a  
larger one is not  
found to answer, as  
at Lariboisière. The  
small wards ought  
to have a separate  
nurse or nurses.

7. Two stair=cases are not necessary for a Hospital. I presume they are already there.

Note to 2. Could not the Water closets be put out at the ends of the large wards, if there are no Patients in the central buildings?

Note to 1. The Operation Ward if it must be left where it is, viz. next the operating Theatre, should have a window broken out

on a second side, which I see could be done. At the same time, it is not a good place to have the operation case & his nurse so far out of the reach of all surveillance - But possibly this cannot be helped -

NOTE. I don't think that either management or health can be secured, if the large wards are without a Lavatory each and a Scullery each.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1231

I should even prefer  
taking it off the  
length of the long  
wards, as they are  
now, - & putting  
Water Closet & Lavatory  
in the end - [Scullery  
should not be abso=  
lutely contiguous to these because  
it must have a  
fire-place. -] It should properly  
be ~~wh~~ opposite  
the Nurse's room

~~where the Scullery~~

I suppose the  
Kitchens are in the  
Basement [end 16:641]  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:641-42]

Hampstead NW  
Oct 2/59

After the reply received  
from Lady Verney, ±/we  
would strongly advise  
as follows:

1. find all the  
accommodation you  
require *for Sick* in  
the proposed Pavilions.
2. place nothing  
in the Centre building  
except the Administration  
There is no room in it  
fit for sick.

3. The wards should be  
at least 20 feet wide  
& 15 feet high - with  
*1200 cubic feet per bed*

AT LEAST -

4. Each large Ward  
should have three Water  
closets (in one) built  
out from it at the end.  
There should be a small  
separately lighted &  
ventilated Lobby between  
the Water closet & the  
Ward. The same out=  
building should contain

a fixed Bath, with hot  
& cold water laid on,  
and an Ablution table  
with a few sunk Basins,  
with hot & cold water  
laid on.

5. Room might be  
found for the Operating  
Theatre & Operating Ward  
in one of the Pavilions -  
perhaps at the other  
end of the Accident  
Ward Pavilion. In the  
country, direct light can  
quite well be obtained  
enough for an Operating Theatre  
without having it lighted

from the roof. It is very important that the Accident Nurse's room should be so situated as to look in (through windows) into both Accident & Operating Ward. It should, if possible, be between - But I would fain do away with Operating Wards altogether & let the Patient be taken straight back into the large Ward, which ought, however, certainly

to be on the same flat as the Operating Theatre. There should be as few small wards as possible.

6. The Accident Ward should have Water Closet & Lavatory, which might be built out like those of the other wards -

7. The Pavilions should be ventilated with shafts & inlets (& warmed with Capt. Galton's stoves, if these are to be had) The

Centre building should be ventilated with Arnolt's valves - But, when the plan is decided upon, we will give our best advice upon the manner of ventilating.

8. All that is said in my previous Memo stands.

9. The Pavilion plan requires only widening of its pavilions, re=ar= rangement of some of its distribution &

building out of Water= closets to be very good. - nearly perfect, in fact.

10. I need hardly say that, in mentioning the desirableness of putting all the 3 small wards into the Pavilions, it is necessary that all the Female Wards should be in one Pavilion & all the Male Wards in the other -

Florence Nightingale  
The Post Mortem room

& Dead house should be altogether out of the building. And no post=mortems should ever be made in the Operating Theatre -

F.N.

**[end]**

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1235

initialed letter, 3ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:643]

Hampstead N W

5 Nov/59

My dear Sir Harry

I will first answer  
your questions -

1. Should the  
*amended* plan be  
adopted, it will be  
quite necessary to  
raise the flooring of  
the two existing (1st floor)  
ends, so that the  
Ground Floor wards  
should be *at least*  
{written in the left margin:}

I hope you have good news of Admiral Hope -

13 ft high - the  
first floor wards  
ascending by two  
steps from the  
central passage -  
& preserving also  
their height of 13 ft.  
This will necessitate some contrivance about  
the Nurses' rooms & Sculleries.

2. I think it very  
probable that it  
will be most economical  
in the end to build  
a new Hospital -  
It is true estimates  
are almost always exceeded.

But, in repeating this,  
which every body knows,  
I think people don't  
sufficiently remember  
that you *never know*  
*when* you will have  
done in adding to  
altering or repairing  
an old house - The  
excess is ~~oftener~~/even more frequent and  
greater, & the result  
less satisfactory than  
in building new -

3 I should like  
to look over the plans

you mention very much.  
[I sent to Burlington St  
last night for them  
but they were not  
come. I shall send  
again.]

I should like to  
see these plans before  
I try, if I do try, an  
entirely new one. And  
also I should like,  
when I have seen them, if they are *approveable*,  
to have some kind  
of estimate from  
Mr. Brandon as to  
what your plan ~~will~~  
(of the amendments) will

cost & what the  
new plan will cost.

It must be, also,  
Mr. Brandon or a Builder, after all,  
who will make  
the estimate for  
my plan, if I make  
one. Because so  
much depends on  
the value of labor  
& materials on the  
spot -

It would also be  
necessary, if I make ~~one~~ a plan, that I should  
have the contour of the ground  
you speak of - Yours affecty [end]  
F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy 9029

[16:644]

30 Old Burlington St  
April 25/60

My dear Sir Harry

1. As to the method  
of warming your Bucks  
Infirmary:

I have made enquiries  
and I find:

if two common grates  
would warm the ward  
you mention, viz.  
75 x 25 x 15 ft,  
*which I doubt,*  
one of our improved

Military Hospital  
grates would do so.  
But the ward  
contains 28125  
cub. ft.

I should put in  
two of our improved  
Hospital grates,  
*medium size* -  
1 ft. 5 inch opening.  
They would  
*enormously* economize  
coal

Of the grates Capt.  
Galton, R.E., deserves  
all the credit.

2. I find, upon  
calculation, that  
in your plan, you  
allot little more  
than 1200 cub. ft.  
per Patient. I  
have laid it down  
that there should  
nowhere be less  
than 1500 cub. ft.  
per bed.

In the country it  
signifies so much  
less than in town,  
(& with country than  
with town=worn  
constitutions) that  
I only mention the  
circumstance for  
your consideration.

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

To allow 1500 cub. ft.  
per bed would make  
the ward 93 ft 6 inch ft  
long instead of 75 ft.

**[end 16:644]**

signed letter, 4ff, pen, typed copy 9029

**[16:644-45]**

30 Old Burlington St

April 28/60

My dear Sir Harry

1. The ceiling of the  
wards might be coved  
to give the height  
required. And a plain  
moulding carried round  
the upper edge of the  
coving all the way. It  
must be an astragal,  
not to harbour dust.  
In case the coving be  
adopted, the windows  
should come as high  
up the ward as possible,

Three of McKinnell's ventilators should be placed, as you propose, along the centre line of the building: thus:

These should each have an outlet (not into the roof but) through the roof:

{a sketch of the proposed ceiling follows, continued on the next page}

2. If Capt. Galton's grates be decided upon, he must be applied to as soon as possible, for the flues must be built into the wall - They are easily done enough but they

must be done ~~before~~/while the wall is being built. There is a cold air flue &c &c

3. Our criticism was simply on the *block* plan of the Hospital. When this is decided upon by the Committee, we shall have plenty to say as to *detail* -

4. I cannot conceive end=windows being objected to. They

may be seen at Guy's  
& many other Hospitals  
& are never complained  
of on account of the  
cold - They give a  
nice long sweeping light  
to the ward -

I would not put  
a glazed door across  
them, any more than  
I would put a  
glazed door across  
the side windows,  
which are close to  
the Patients' heads.

The doors of the  
lobbies should be

placed diagonally, thus: and  
every opening, A. B, &  
C. C. C. should be *door=ed*.  
{sketch follows}  
The Lavatory will probably  
have a *fire=place* of its own.

With Capt. Galton's  
grates, there will not  
be three weeks in  
the year when there  
will be the least  
danger of cold. There  
will not be many months  
in the year when  
*both* need to be lighted.

ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale.

[end 16:645]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1242

initialed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy 9029

30 Old Burlington St

April 28/60

My dear Sir Harry

I will answer your  
note only *generally*  
*to-day*, because I only had  
it last night.

Generally then,  
we disapprove of  
all ceilings, which  
have a dark space  
of more than one  
foot above the  
top of the windows.  
whether ventilated  
or not. Cubic space

ought *always* to be taken out in the length, ~~no~~ or breadth, not in the height - at least not *above* the windows.

2. Capt. Galton's grates have hitherto been made only by & for the Govt. But as *I am the Govt*, (!) I mean to get you some, if you wish for them.

3. If I had a

Report of the Bucks Infirmary for one or two years, so as to give me a fair average guess at the relative proportions of *Medical & Surgical* cases, I could give a better opinion as to what the number of wards should be -

4 Will you kindly

tell Miss Burdett  
Coutts, who was a  
very kind friend  
of ours in the Crimea,  
th how much I  
liked her plants  
at Highgate, that  
I am now (not at  
Hampstead but)  
in London & it  
seems cruel to  
send beautiful  
blossoming plants  
into London where  
they seem to suffer  
so soon.

yours affectely  
F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:645]

A. Jackson's Esq  
Upper Terrace  
Hampstead N. W.  
Sept 21/60

My dear Sir Harry

Thank you very  
much for the Prospectus  
of the Infirmary. I  
rejoice to see that  
you are so far  
advanced in the  
matter of money.

But I protest  
against "my authority"  
being used for a

plan, against several  
features of which  
I have entered an  
objection.

E. g. The three beds  
at the end of each of the  
two large wards  
have no windows & no direct  
ventilation whatever,  
except from the  
W. C. lobby.

If you tell me  
that there is any  
time yet for sending

you a criticism of  
the plan, I will  
do so with pleasure.  
But my last paper  
to you included  
all my objections.

To make the  
plan a perfectly  
healthy one would  
involve very little,  
if any, more  
expenditure.

It would also  
involve no deception  
of those to whom  
the Prospectus may

have been sent,

as people are much  
too ignorant on the  
subject to know  
the difference -

ever believe me

dear Sir Harry

affectly yours

F. Nightingale

We have to thank you  
for a beautiful  
basket of game &c

**[end 16:645]**

unsigned letter fragment, 4ff, pen {archivist: Oct. 60}

4. I cannot help  
working away at  
the Bucks Infirmary  
plans - in spite of  
Sir Harry's prohibition.  
I could suggest some  
important alterations,  
which I believe  
would actually  
*lessen* the cost -

But -

three questions I  
have asked have  
never been answered.  
And without these

answers, you are  
working in the  
dark -

The printed paper  
Sir Harry sent  
me (*Annual Sheets*)  
gave no answers.  
Perhaps they *have*  
no Statistics. But  
they *must* make  
out these things  
or they may be  
planning without  
knowing their own  
wants -

The questions are:           **[6:517-18]**   **[16:646]**

1. what is the  
average proportion  
of men to women  
Patients?

It is supposed  
by the plan that  
they will be equal.  
If so, it is against  
all County Hospital  
experience -

2. do the Medical  
Officers agree to  
having ~~only~~ Medical  
& Surgical cases  
*together?* i.e. only  
one large female  
& one large men's

ward?

what kind of  
proportion do  
Medical bear to  
Surgical cases, on  
an average?

what is the  
actual number  
of female Surgical  
cases ever?

3. what is the  
annual number  
of Operations?

and what the  
proportion of male  
to female?

are there ever  
any female Capital  
operations?

If you do not  
know these things  
you are indeed  
working in the dark.

E.g. a common  
case in County  
Hospitals is this:  
that the men=Patients  
are *always* two-thirds  
of the whole number  
- that half of the  
men=Patients are  
*surgical* cases - &  
that there is never  
(or hardly ever) a  
Capital Operation on  
a woman.

[end]

So that the  
accommodation wanted  
would be

1 male Surgical ward

1 " Medical "

1 female General ward

and one or two single wards.

Also, a Hospital  
would never work, if  
the Medical men  
decidedly objected  
to mixing the Surgical  
& Medical cases -

e.g. it would never  
be right to put  
amputation and  
Fever cases together -

should these form  
the average cases  
of the Hospital -

Please preserve  
these questions, all  
of which I have  
written before, and  
don't build your  
Hospital without  
having them  
answered.

[end 16:646]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1251

signed letter, 6ff, pen, typed copy dated Nov 2/60 9029, according to Silver, Renkioi  
in RSM

Hampstead NW

Nov 24/60

[16:648-49]

My dear Sir Harry

1. As to Medical  
& Surgical wards. This  
is purely a Doctors'  
point. If they are  
satisfied, so am I.  
I will venture to say  
that I could keep a  
properly=constructed  
ward so *safe* as to  
put Medical &  
Surgical cases *safely*  
together in it.

But Doctors are  
generally very strong  
against this. And  
I received ~~illeg~~/one letter  
of remonstrance from  
an eminent London  
Doctor who had  
accidentally seen  
your plans - But  
London cases are  
very different from  
provincial ones -  
And I had much  
rather mix Surgical  
& Medical cases in  
two good wards

(male & female) than  
have them unmixed  
in four bad ones. -

- I have done.

2. Your male & female  
cases are nearly  
equal. That is well.

3. You have scarcely  
one female Capital  
Operation Case in  
fourteen months.  
Therefore it is absurd  
to provide a Surgical  
ward for her.

4. I was not a little  
(certainly)

surprised to find  
Mr. Carrington asserting  
that the plans were  
constructed upon my  
printed opinions,  
when the six beds  
at the two ends of  
the wards, are placed  
there in defiance of  
every opinion I have  
ever printed or written.

5. I adhere to my  
opinion of a window  
at the end of the ward

6. I think Mr. Brandon's

elevation by far the best I have ever seen. It will be the most beautiful Hospital in England.

7. I was (again) not a little surprised to find Mr. Carrington advocating the present arrangement of beds upon the difficulty of arranging the windows. All one can say is if there is difficulty in arranging the windows then arrange the windows. We have done it

in all the new Military Hospitals - And it is curious indeed to see them taking the start of the Civil ones.

8. I send you a plan, arranged for a Hospital of similar proportions & numbers, male & female, to yours. Please return it to me -

I am assured that it will be cheaper than yours.

The Elevation may nearly

be the same -

The details are not  
all properly worked out.

Its principal merit  
is - the doing away  
with the upper story  
of the centre - the  
pushing out the  
kitchen from the  
basement to the  
back of the Hospital  
- the putting the  
Operation Theatre  
(so seldom used)  
over the kitchen -  
from which the  
cases may be safely

carried to the wards.

I am sure that  
Mr. Ceely will agree  
with me in the  
propriety of this.

An Operating Theatre  
ought always to be  
on the same floor as  
the wards -

The same Architect  
who does our new  
Military Hospitals  
did this plan for  
me, which is for a  
Civil one, & which  
is going to be worked  
out, detail by detail.

ever affectly yours

F. Nightingale

9. It is certainly a great improvement (in the silver paper plan) not having the Washhouse in the Basement nor the Kitchen under the wards - But you had much better have neither Kitchen nor Washhouse in the building at all. We don't - in the new Military Hospitals, which leave you completely behind.

10. To add another

story to this Hospital in order to double the accommodation, would be to be guilty of the grossest extravagance (This is Mr. Carrington's plan) because for £500 more you could probably double the accommodation in/~~convert~~ the present proposed plan, minus two beds. For the receiving Offices are much

too large & expens{ive} {corner of page is missing}  
for the size of the  
Hospital - And if  
you required ~~n~~ two  
stories of wards, might  
be built *outside*  
at a very cheap rate.

11. An impression  
seems to run thro'  
Mr. C.'s letter that  
it is necessary, in  
order to secure  
the greatest Sanitary  
& administrative  
advantages, to incur  
great cost. Whereas

the truth is that it  
is always cheaper  
to build a good  
Hospital than a  
bad one -  
F.N.

[end 16:649]

signed letter, 3 ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:649-50]

Hampstead NW  
Dec 15/60

My dear Sir Harry

I am glad indeed  
to hear that you have  
carried the end  
windows of the Bucks  
wards & removed  
the beds. I hope that in  
removing these, you  
have left room for only  
one in each corner. Else, they will be put back again.

Also, that you  
have widened the  
(illeg)/staircase -

We could give  
you a plan for the

ventilation of the  
kitchen which  
would make it  
nearly innocuous,  
where it is.

[No plan could  
have made the  
Wash=house harmless  
there.]

I should like  
very much to see  
the plans when  
thus revised -

And I will

then write you as  
"handsome" a letter  
as I can, enclosing  
my £25.

We have carried  
~~the~~ polished Parian  
cement, plate glass  
windows, & oak floors  
for our new  
Woolwich Hospital  
(650 beds) as being  
the *cheapest* in the  
end -

Yours affectely  
F. Nightingale

{on a separate page}  
and is done by  
women & girls

**[end 16:660]**

Florence Nightingale  
Dec. 15/60

signed letter, 4ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:654]

31 Dover St  
Feb 14/62

My dear Sir Harry

When I was an  
Irish boy, I should have  
replied to this question  
about chaff, Is it  
*chaffing* you are? x  
that I would supply  
an unlimited  
quantity of it, without  
contract.

*Hair* is the only  
material yet  
discovered, fit for  
the sick to lie upon

And it can be washed  
& cleansed without  
limit.

Cocoanut fibre is  
good. But, like all  
vegetable substances,  
when it becomes damp,  
it tends to decompose -

Now hair is free  
from all these  
objections.

It is now every  
where being introduced  
even in the worst  
Hospitals in the  
world, those of the

British Army. And I never rested till I made this matter of Secretary of State's Regulation (in 1859)

There should be one or two fracture beds, according to their average number of fractures at Aylesbury.

There are cases, but which I never saw in Provincial Hospitals, cases of inveterate infirmity,

chiefly among old men & women, as at Greenwich, Chelsea & ~~the~~/in Workhouse wards, where the funds of the Institution will not admit of hair being supplied. For these I prefer straw, not stuffed but *quilted* in. But as the Aylesbury Infy are accustomed to chaff, let them have chaff. It is more elastic *but* it allows

the Patient to slip  
down uncomfortably.  
But I repeat, it is  
only for these cases  
that chaff is admissible.  
And I never saw  
these cases in Hospitals  
- A little ingenuity  
& great care on the  
part of the Nurse  
is all that is necessary  
to save the mattress  
of hair in cases of  
casual infirmity

Yours ever affectely  
Florence Nightingale

Let me add that I  
*never* use a blanket  
under any of my own  
Patients - that I  
never saw one used  
*under* a Patient  
without great injury  
to the same - that  
it is one of the  
main causes of  
bed-sores - that  
I never knew a  
good Hospital  
Nurse who did  
not lift up her  
hands in horror

at the use of one *under*  
a Hospital Patient -  
It may be necessary  
where you use chaff  
or straw. But I  
would use neither -  
Lay your sheet on  
the hair mattrass &  
your Patient on the  
Sheet. And with  
the most ordinary  
care, you will never  
have bed sores, even  
with the most  
prolonged cases of  
compound fracture

**[end]**

F.N.

letter, Abbey East, March 26, 1862, to Sir Harry Verney from G. Carrington requesting  
an answer from FN to a paper

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1262

unsigned letter fragment, 1 f, pen opposite letter of G. Carrington to HV 26 March 1862

surgeons [16:654-55]

in ordinary" on the most  
ordinary Hosipital Furniture

What is bad is dear.

What is good is cheap  
in the end. All Hospitals,  
even the French Military,  
who are actually going  
to have rheocline beds,  
have found out that good  
hair/beds are the cheapest.

I have written to our  
Purveyor-in-Chief at the  
War Office to know the  
annual cost per bed of  
hair. I believe it is  
about 12/. If you like to  
wait for the answer,  
I will send it directly  
it comes. but I repeat there  
is no question that what is bad is always dear. [end 16:655]

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1263

unsigned memorandum, 1 f, pen [FN hand] [16:413]

Cost of Hair Mattrasses  
in our Military Hospitals  
per bed per annum

	£	s	d
Interest on original cost at 5 per cent			2 "
Cleaning & remaking		"	" 2 ½
Loss of Hair		"	2
	£0.	2.	4 ½

"Cost of washing the cases a mere trifle."

[end]

Signed by the  
Purveyor in Chief  
War Office  
April 11/62

unsigned notes, 3ff, pen [16:655]

Bucks Infirmary 1) Walls A.

I have no hesitation  
in saying that  
"common plaster &  
lime-washing is  
better than  
unpolished cement.

Polished cement  
is very expensive.  
but it saves its  
cost in lime-wash  
(or ought to do so)  
in a few years -

People never  
think of this -

Plaster hospital  
walls ought to be  
lime-washed twice  
a year *at least* - & are so  
now in Military  
Hospitals (by a Queen's  
Regulations of 1859).

The unpolished  
Parian cement of  
Netley Hospital  
retains dirt &

completes the  
failure of that  
luckless concern.  
It costs 2/6 a  
yard, and will  
require lime-washing  
(or ought to do so)

Polished Cement  
requires only  
simple washing.  
It costs 10d. a foot.

A very pale pink  
is ~~“better/warmer”~~ than pure  
white. The colouring  
is inexpensive.

[At Guy's & King's  
College Hospitals  
may be seen the  
unpolished Cement.  
Its only impression  
on the eye is  
that of dirt.]

*Floors*

Oak is preferable for  
the *white* floor .

If the Hospital  
provided the crutches,  
as it ought, and  
these are properly  
tipped with cloth,  
they will not slip.

French Hospitals  
which *frotter*, make  
however no complaint  
of slipping -

And we shall  
never get the  
amount of polish  
which their  
*frottage* obtains -  
consequently not the  
same amount of  
slipperiness -

I recommend  
the mode of cleaning  
at P. 217 of the  
book which I send -  
It is no experiment  
or crotchet of mine.  
It actually exists.

**[end]**

Leicestershire Record Office

Flintshire County Record Office, Glynne-Gladstone Mss 2983

signed letter, ff33-36, pen black-edged paper

**f33**

2 Cleveland Row      **[6:197-98]**  
S.W.

July 28/63

Dear Duke of Newcastle

I have the pleasure  
of sending you a copy  
of my paper, or  
rather yours, (since  
you were so good as  
to supply the  
materials) on Colonial  
School Returns.  
Should you have  
occasion for any  
more copies, I shall  
be very glad to  
furnish them.

**f33v**

You were so kind  
as to write that you  
would wish to send  
out copies to the  
Colonies. If you will  
give orders to have  
them received at the  
Colonial Office I will  
send them tomorrow, put  
up separately, & the  
name of each colony  
put on the packet,  
with different  
numbers to the  
different Colonies,  
according to their  
size & population.

**f34**

If you thought well,  
I would venture to  
suggest that the  
principal, if not the  
only, usefulness ~~be~~/of this  
paper, would be given  
by your desiring  
some kind of circular  
to be written with  
it, to the effect  
that, as you called  
for the Returns, you  
wish now to lead the  
way to more correct  
Statistics & to direct  
the attention of the  
Governor to the fact

that, after every care  
has been exercised  
in obtaining the  
Statistical data,  
but a few Colonies  
only were able to  
send any - & even  
those Returns which  
were made were very  
incomplete (indeed  
if you take the trouble  
to look at the Tables,  
A and H, pp 20 and 30,  
you will see that the  
information received  
from Ceylon is the  
only information which

**f35**

has any pretension  
to completeness.)

Also would you  
think well to direct  
the attention of every  
Governor to the great  
advantage of Schools,  
Hospitals & other  
Institutions keeping  
more complete data.

I intend with  
your permission to  
send some copies  
of my paper to the  
Missionary Societies  
here, who may be

**f35v**

stirred up by some  
facts in it to  
adopt practically  
in their Schools  
the proposals as to  
physical education.

I greatly regret  
that New Zealand  
has sent no facts  
whatever, bearing  
on the subject,  
as N. Zealand might  
make more progress  
in that way than  
almost any other  
colony.

**f36**

May I venture to  
send you a copy of  
a paper I wrote  
for the Indian  
Sanitary Commission?  
It may interest you  
and it shows  
faithfully the  
present state of  
things in the Indian  
stations to which  
those in Ceylon bear  
a close resemblance -  
It enables one to  
judge of the extent  
to which British

soldiers & British  
people ignore the  
laws of nature in  
warm climates, &  
then blame every  
thing & every body  
but themselves for  
the result.

Believe me,  
Your Grace's faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

Glynne-Gladstone Mss 814, published in F.O. Baylen, "The Florence Nightingale/Mary Stanley Controversy: Some Unpublished Letters." *Medical History*. 18 (1974):190

copy of an incomplete letter, 2ff, pen, not in FN hand

Fragment of a Letter from  
Florence Nightingale

"My own effigies & praises wh  
you sent me by the last  
mail were less welcome.  
I do not affect indifference  
towards *real* sympathy, but  
I have felt painfully, the more  
painfully since I have had  
time to hear of it, the Éclat  
wh has been given to this  
adventure of mine, an every  
day one in another Church.

The small still beginning, the simple hardship, the silent & *gradual* struggle upwards, these are the Climate in which an

Enterprise really thrives & grows. Time has not altered our Saviour's Lesson on that point, which has been learnt successively by all reformers from their own Experience. The Vanity & frivolity which the *Éclat* thrown upon this affair has called forth, has

done us unmitigated harm & brought mischief on perhaps the most promising enterprise that ever set sail from England. Our own old Party which began it's work in hardship, toil, struggle & obscurity has done better than any other. & I, like a Tory, am now trying to get back to all my old regulations.

yours whatever betide

F.N.

Scutari July 1855

Leicestershire Record Office

1273

Hampshire Record Office, paper copies, 199 pages

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/1, 2 ff, pen

Hampstead NW

**[8:158]**

Aug 17/61

My dear Harry

In A.H. Clough's  
absence, I am obliged  
to trouble you with  
every thing concerning  
the N. fund.

The enclosed relates  
to my scheme for  
utilizing the remainder  
of its income for  
training Midwife=nurses  
at King's Coll. Hosp.

which I was anxious  
should begin in  
October. The K.C.H.  
is willing -

I wrote all the  
particulars to Col.  
Jebb, my Chairman,  
& enclose his answer.

Please return it  
to me & tell me  
what you think

ever yours gratefully

F.N.

I have also written to  
Mr. Marjoribanks  
about it: but have  
no answer.

Leicestershire Record Office

1274

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/2, 8 ff, pen

Hampstead N W

[8:158-60]

Sept 14/61

My dear Harry

I am anxious to save you  
what trouble I can about the  
King's College scheme -

Accordingly I enclose a letter  
from Mr. Marjoribanks about the  
funds - in answer to one of mine,  
saying that I had made the  
money calculations with Miss Jones,  
the Superintendent, & had advised  
her to begin nothing without  
a guarantee of £500 per ann.  
for 2 years - & that, if there  
were any difficulty, I should  
wish (privately) to make up that  
sum. But, as you see, he will  
make none.

I also enclose a Memo. of  
Miss Jones (She is Supt. of St. John's

House & of the Nursing of King's  
Coll. Hosp. which is what she  
refers to when she speaks of  
the different Committees)

This was the Memo I sent  
to Sir J. Jebb & he returned to me.

I shall see Miss Jones on  
Wednesday &, if anything new  
arises, will report it.

It is important to begin on  
Oct 1, the beginning of the Medical  
year - So I told Miss Jones to  
lay in the requisite furniture &c -  
And I would pay the bills. And  
the worst that could happen would  
be that I should be minus £100,  
& the Hospital plus some furniture -  
& that both of us should have  
wasted some precious time.

I am afraid that what the  
Committee will say will be:

1. that the money goes to the  
beds & Patients & not to the Nurses  
[for] their training - minus the salary  
for a Training Midwife

2. that the Probationers will with  
difficulty be found who will pay for  
themselves during training or be  
paid for.

I think the second objection has  
[mo]re weight in it, than the first.

At St. Thomas' we found a  
[Ho]spital & beds ready. But we  
[p]ay the Matron & Officers. And  
[we] pay (enormously) for the Board  
[of] Probationers - The Hospital  
must be making a profit of us,  
by my own housekeeping experience,  
[a] large one - We also pay interest on furniture.  
At King's Coll. Hosp. we find  
Supt & Officers willing to give  
training for love - besides other  
[ad]vantages -

Miss Jones & I both think that

after the 2nd year, a training Midwife may have been educated to be one of St. John's House own Nurses - in which case the N. fund would not have to pay her salary.

The second objection I think is just what will be felt most during the first two years - & *not* afterwards -

In almost all countries but England, there is a Government School for educating Midwife=nurses for country parishes. That of Paris is the most famous -

The want is immensely felt in England. And I have not the least doubt that, if any private Institution were to turn out for a few years women properly trained for this profession, country parishes, whether led by clergymen, ladies Bountiful, or Boards of Guardians would be found in plenty, who would send up candidates from their own parishes (paying for them) to be trained & sent back.

But then in this country the experiment must be tried & succeed *first*. And then the Candidates will come -

But for *any* experiment my Committee must more or less take my word.

And I can only give them my word that, though there has been no lack of negotiations between me and Hospitals, this is the only experiment I can recommend to them - And not only is it the only one - But I have strong hopes that it may become a boon to the whole country.

Miss Jones herself is not an

experiment - On the contrary she has been the most successful trainer of Christian nurses we have -

And Dr. A. Farre's reputation stands with his profession nearly the highest in England for his particular subject -

I can find nothing that we could do so hopefully or so cheaply with the remainder of the Fund -

But then I think the Committee must be prepared to see hardly any result at all for some years, & *not* be disappointed -

I earnestly wish that something more could be done in the first two years to

pay for some of the Probationers. And I hope that, at all events, the Committee will consent to let the spare £100 (the second year) go for this purpose -

The cost charged them for their board will be the lowest possible - Indeed, both Miss Jones and I made it for board, including tea, sugar, beer, washing &c only 8/ per week.

But St. John's House must be farther consulted about this -

If the Committee say, why should you not try this experiment at a Lying-in Hospital, where all the materials are already, & where a few Midwives or Monthly Nurses are already taught, I answer: I am absolutely

incapable of recommending any for the purpose - And Dr. Rigby's death (he was well inclined to the matter though we never entered into it far enough to come to any practical negotiation) puts an end to any idea I may ever have had of the kind. but I had not practically -

I am right glad to hear of your new office - if, as I suppose, it is a more certain & more sufficient provision in life than 99 out of a 100 at the bar achieve.

Dear Harry affectely yours  
F. Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72/F582/3, ffp, pen

Hampstead NW [8:161-62]  
Sept 26/61

My dear Harry

I think this is very good.

( ) Perhaps it would be safer to put:

-not less than 8/ or more than 9/ a week: - as Miss Jones told me she had not yet asked St. John's Ho: about this - (She herself is perfectly satisfied that the 8/ will do)

Would you put in ~~that~~ the after: Candidates are to be trained - for a period of *not less than 6 months*? Or do you think it not necessary here?

I think it a very clever "dodge"

of yours

to take the £100 for board at  
once

( ) Have you this on my authority?  
Guy's has (or had) Lying-in beds -  
the only London Hospital I know that had. But  
if you have it on Miss Jones'  
authority, you are quite safe.  
And the general assertion is  
quite true - viz. that the London  
Hospitals won't take in these cases;  
& that it was entirely Miss  
Jones' doing that this was  
negotiated here

Miss Jones told me of your  
visit to her - Thank you very  
much for the trouble you are  
taking.

ever affectely yours  
F. Nightingale

I kept this Paper back to shew to Mrs.  
Bracebridge - who will probably  
be the Lady Visitor on our part,  
consented to by Miss Jones.

But she sees no fault in  
it.

unsigned memorandum, 94M72/F582/4, 4 ff, pen [8:162-63]

## REGULATIONS

as to the ~~2~~/under the  
Training of Midwifery=Nurses } at King's  
~~College Hospital~~ (?)

## 2 Nightingale Fund

1. The Committee of the "Nightingale Fund" have made arrangements with the Council of St. John's House for training annually in King's College Hospital a limited number of women in the duties of Midwifery=Nurses, with a view to the employment of the so=trained nurses in country Parishes or Districts (*for the benefit of the poor*) under the direction of the Clergy & Medical men -
2. The instruction will be gratuitous - the Nightingale Fund "engaging to provide for the maintenance of a certain number of beds for the reception of poor married women during their confinement, in wards set apart by the authorities of King's College Hospital for this

special purpose of instruction: -  
St. John's House undertaking the conduct  
of the requisite training under the direction  
of the Physician=Accoucheur of the  
Hospital (Dr. Arthur Farre) and his  
Assistants, who kindly ~~undertake to~~/give their aid  
~~aid the education /assist~~ to educate the Probationers,  
by Lectures & practical instruction,  
for theiris peculiar vocation.

An experienced midwife will ~~also~~  
~~be in immediate charge of the Ward to train the Probationers who/be~~ always in  
attendance. They

~~as Head Nurse. The Pupil Nurses~~ will, while under instruction  
be allowed also to attend certain cases of Lying  
in Women at their own homes,

3. Probationers will be received for a  
period of not less than 6 months,  
and on the distinct understanding  
that they remain for at least that  
time.

4. The cost of board, lodging & washing  
to each Probationer during the six  
months' training will be ~~8/per week,~~  
~~or a payment in one sum of £10...paid~~  
in advance.

5. The age considered desirable for

these Pupil=nurses is from 26 to 34.  
A certificate of health, with name &  
address of Medical attendant; and  
testimonial of character will be required

6. Probationers will be received on

{there is a bracket around this  
paragraph in the left margin}

October 31 and April 30 in each  
year - Application should be made,  
a fortnight before each term, to the  
Lady Superintendent of St. John's  
House, ~~at~~ King's College Hospital

London

~~subject (illeg)~~

7. A record will be kept of the  
conduct & qualifications of each  
Pupil=nurse - ~~And~~ Those who have  
passed satisfactorily through the  
course of instruction, will be entered  
in the Register as certificated Midwifery=  
Nurses & ~~A~~ a copy of such ~~certificate will~~/entry will  
~~being~~/be sent to those who have selected  
the Nurse for the required training =

8. The Pupil=Nurses will be under the  
authority of the Lady Superintendent.

and in all respects subject to the  
same rules as other & permanent  
inmates of the Institution. They will  
be liable to dismissal in case of  
misconduct, or negligence of duties:  
if any one is considered inefficient,  
notice, in order to removal, will be  
at once sent to those who  
recommended her.

October 1.

1861

[at right angle on side] Midwifery Nurses  
Draft Regulations

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72/F582/5, 3 ff, pen

Hampstead NW

**[8:163]**

Oct 2/61

Dear Harry

Would you be so good,  
as to look over the  
enclosed, drawn up  
by Miss Jones & me,  
shorten it, if you can,  
correct it & have it  
printed.

Will it require a  
signature?

I send you the  
St. Thomas' paper, as  
a specimen

Harrisons', 45 St. Martin's

Lane, I believe, did  
this -

Perhaps 500 had  
better be printed.

Miss Jones will  
want 100. ~~A~~ I shall  
want 100.

And, as she says  
she cannot receive  
applications after  
the middle of this  
month, the sooner they  
are done, the better -  
As we want to send  
them out, by way of  
Advertisement.

If you like to send  
Bratby on with it  
to the Printers, do -  
ever yours truly &  
gratefully  
F. Nightingale  
? Should the heading  
be "at King's College  
Hospital" - or similar  
to the printed one  
I enclose?

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/6, 4 ff, pen

Hampstead N.W.

[8:166-67]

Novr 2nd

My dear Harry

I have looked over the  
agreement which you  
kindly sent me yesterday  
with Miss Jones - and  
we are quite satisfied  
with it, always excepting  
Clause 14 - Their feelings  
are evidently excessively  
hurt by this. If it is  
to stand, I think it  
had better stand as  
it is, - and I confess  
I should not have  
minded it, because

it is so certain never  
to come into action -  
But I do wish it could  
be dropped altogether  
for this reason -

To say that "the  
maintenance covers  
repairs" vide opposite  
note, - is to add  
insult to injury, as  
the parrot said when  
he was made to learn  
English - For the

Hospital has already  
laid in linen & hair=

mattresses, which it  
would not have done -  
if it had not been  
for this ward.

Our £100 will  
nothing like cover  
the furniture of the  
ward : e. g. we  
supply one iron  
bedstead & one  
hair mattress - to  
each bed - the Hospl  
supplies 3 other  
hair-mattresses, so  
that there may be

say four, to each  
bed - Again, the  
"maintenance" does  
not cover the baking  
& re-covering of these  
hair-mattresses -  
nor the renewal of the  
linen - of which  
there requires a  
much larger quantity  
for this ward, than  
for any other - of *our*  
linen, there will be  
nothing left at the  
end of the two years -

-2-

Indeed, taking example  
by the Ehrenbreitstein -  
rats, I am quite  
sure that the tails  
left to us - at the end  
of the two years will  
be only the 10 iron  
bedsteads - cost 15 s.  
each - It is not  
worth while to anger  
the other contracting  
parties who have  
behaved so liberally  
to us, for this -

For King's Coll: Hospl  
will certainly be put  
to a great expense  
for our ward: and  
our £100 was only  
in order to save  
Miss Jones from having  
to go to the Hospital  
for "a lot of things  
more" than were  
wanted for any other  
Ward.

At the same time  
I must say that to me  
the clause seems very

innocuous - but as  
it does not amuse  
them, - and does us  
no good - contrariwise  
to the man who let  
his wife beat him -  
I wish it could be  
dropped.

You must observe  
that King's Coll: Hospl  
has shown great condes=  
=cension in setting aside  
the whole of that floor  
for us for two years -

Ever dear Harry  
your affecte F. Nightingale

Hampshire, initialed letter, 94M72/F582/7, 3 ff, pen black-edged paper

9 C St

April 3/62 [8:872]

Dear Harry

I cannot tell you  
how happy I am to  
hear of your happiness.  
Long may you wear  
it & well.

To me, from whom  
not only every earthly  
comfort but every  
earthly support seems  
with drawn, it is a  
great joy to hear of  
some one, who  
deserves it, going

to be happy.

I don't know whether  
you care to know it,  
but our dear lost  
friend, Clough, thought  
very much & very  
highly of you & your  
future.

ever dear Harry  
your affecte cousin  
F.N.

f582/f7-9

{cover} {archivist: congrats on marriage and on {illeg} birth}

Private letter}

H. Bonham Carter Esq

F.N.

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72/F582/8, fp, pen, black-edged paper

9 Chesterfield St

[8:872]

W.

May 22/62

Dear Harry

Let me send you  
my blessing on your  
wedding day, whenever  
that is to be. And  
let me (very  
unsentimentally) send  
you a wedding garment  
of paper, to be cut  
into what form you  
like best yourself.

My love to your  
Sibella, if she will  
accept it. And

thanks to her for  
making you so  
happy.

If I dared, I  
would write to her  
that I think her  
too a happy woman.

Ever your affecte coz

F. Nightingale

Leicestershire Record Office

1291

Hampshhire, initialed letter, M94/F582/9-10, 1f, pen black-edged paper

4, Cleveland Row.

[8:872]

S. W. {printed address:}

April 24/63

My dear Harry

God bless the little  
man & the young mother.

ever yours

F.N.

I send you the enclosed  
Acct (paid) only that  
Harrison may not  
send it in to you again.  
v. Art. "Sept 1." I believe  
I ordered those "Regulations"  
myself, at Miss Jones'  
request, while you were  
away ~~abroad~~

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M/F582/10, 1 f, pencil

Dr. Johnson's

Great Malvern

Jan 7/67

My dear Harry

The enclosed gossip about  
the Sydney Nurses - a month  
after date - is certainly  
not worth sending - But  
I send it - It replies to  
one or two things &  
acknowledges one or two  
others - You need not  
read it -

ever yours

F. Nightingale

with envelope, also black-edged H. Bonham Carter Eq  
F.N.

Hampshire, incomplete letter, 94M72/F582/11, 2 ff, pen

1

Mrs Wardroper x x June 1877 [12:320-21]

My dear Hy B. C.

This is only to report, especially as Mrs. W. told me that she had not told you some of these things: I see no immediate action to propose, but I am, right or wrong, strongly impressed that we are again on our trial, as it were, after 20 years: & that we shall have, in the course of the next 2 years, to make up our minds on many things, not only details but principles of action: suited to other action not under our control: altho' our own principles as to what is best may remain unchanged: especially do I think we shall be put on our trial in two things:

1. as to the *principle of what power* will be granted to female Nursing heads:

as regards the *Medical Officers*:

" " the *administration*:

x x x

2. as to the details of "*obligation*", time of training, theoretical & practical advantages to be given especially to Lady P.s, weighed against their work, &c &c &c as regards Training Schools:

as to 1 we ask a great deal, & justly, ~~for~~ of power for our Trained female heads,

both Matrons & Sisters:

do we *give* them the training & experience necessary to ~~wield~~/exercise this power aright?

do we fit them *morally* to exercise it with dignity, & *gentleness* & disinterestedness, so as to have the least number of '*rows*', & never to be in the wrong?

as to 2. St. Bartholomew's & ~~the~~ Edinburgh & a multitude of other Training Schools starting or to start will force us not merely to consider these questions but to take action upon them: within the next year probably:

Mrs. Wardroper tells me that during April she had  
?? 90 applications, & of a class much superior  
to what she usually has: (Nurse: Candidates I  
understood her to say:)

Of these 90, only one has adhered to her application  
[She of course says that it was the 3 years'  
obligation which frightened the 89: & that many June 1877?  
are gone to St. Bartholomew's:  
by the way she says Miss Neligan is gone  
to Westminster:

I just sounded her about having 3 classes of  
Obligations: she said she would like  
to have it *optional* on the ground that  
many of our 'ladies', e. g. Miss Wright, are so bad:  
& that we might admit good ones we should  
like to keep on in a *one year* class:  
[I did not say: but the bad ones are just  
those who will make it *not* 'optional' with us  
to stick to *our* 'obligation' with them to find them  
places] & afterwards to promote them  
Still I think that the fact, if it is a fact, of **[end 12:321]**

Hampshire, initialed letter, ff582/12/1-4, 8 ff, pen & pencil

Sub. Comm: St. Thomas' Hospl

PRIVATE Lea Hurst

Treasurer & Treasurer's Clerk: Sept 21/77

5 a.m. **[12:323-25]**

PRIVATE

My dear Hy B. C.

You ask me to "suggest" upon this subject,  
the most important of all (upon which you  
may be sure I have thought a great deal).  
I feel sure that it is useless to give them a  
cut & dry 'Constitution', because, as you  
would truly say, everything depends on  
the *men* to work it.

A Treasurer & 'Clerk' as Secretary (whether  
'Treasurer's' or 'Hospital' Clerk) would do  
as well as any, provided you chose good  
men.

If you had a good man as Treasurer, it would of course be better to have the 'Treasurer's' Clerk rather than the 'Hospital' Clerk as Treasurer's 'Secretary': because there would otherwise be more danger of the divided authority working one against the other:

But every thing depends on the men being trustworthy: And we are obliged to trust Treasurers without training them to be trustworthy.

[We train or we profess to train our Supts to superintend. We cannot train our Treasurers to treasure.]

I think I had better rather tell you what I have so strongly observed in St. Thomas', ~~than~~ ~~s~~ as calling for government, than ~~a~~ "suggest" a form of government.

I suppose the business, financial & other, was done (under Sir F.H.) ~~but all~~ that is, I know nothing about it:

but all that constitutes a Hospital proper, that is a place for curing the Sick, was left undone as far as the *male civil* Government was concerned.      1. Sanitary

The Sanitary Commee consisting at first of Mr. Simon, Mr. Croft & I think Dr. Bristowe did nothing. partly because Mr. Simon

was old & idle & would not: & others were  
afraid of the Treasurer & could not:  
It ~~is~~/was vain under Sir F.H. to appoint a Sanitary Officer  
from among the *young* men: because  
possibly he will not peril his future practice  
by making himself disagreeable in doing what  
he knows: possibly he does not know:  
or knows less than the Nurses. (Sisters)  
A Sanitary authority must be strongly supported  
by the Governing body or Treasurer to be  
of the least good: & the Treasurer *must know* something  
also see Note p. 6  
I may here mention that from reports which  
I have every reason to trust, I believe the  
Wards of St. T's to be infamous, from Pyaemia,

**f582/12/2**

2

Erysipelas &c &c. At this moment, there  
being no really good Male Surgical Sister  
the 3 M. S. Wards particularly so.  
I know that Sir F.H. thought of nothing  
but *hushing it up*: he never thought anything else his duty -  
& Mr. Simon was too old.  
Enquire about the drain smells from the river.  
Enquire about the smells in our Nurses'  
dormitories. Enquire about the W. C.'s in basement.  
The only Sanitary Officers at St. T.'s were:  
(both gone): Miss Stains & Mr. Simon:  
Miss Stains dragging the old man about by main  
force.  
Enquire about all the arrangements for removing  
dust, refuse, foul linen, soiled dressings  
&c &c &c &c [You must know something of this

from my 'Ward Surgical Cleanliness' notes for Article.

The 'Sisters' are still the only *Sanitary Officers* at St. T.'s.

Some of these things have been improved. Some are SAID to be improved, many are the reverse of improved.

[I may mention here that about 2 months ago Capt D.G. was called in with another whom I know to inspect University Coll. Hosp.

I saw (confidentially) the materials for the Report. I could not have believed it, IF I could not have matched some things, by no means all, at St. T.'s]

2. There is no discipline no superintendence ~~whatever~~ over the Basement - the vast much too large, Offices, - Kitchen, Furnace &c &c Offices not Ward Office or over the staff of men employed there.

[You know by the way that the shoots are never used, never intended to be used, because there is no arrangement!!! at the bottom

The nuisances in the basement have been abominable

There ought to be some official (commonly called an 'Engineer'?) over these things.

Properly I suppose he ought to be under the Steward: but the Steward is **non** :

It appears to me it ought to be under the 'Treasurer's Clerk' or 'Secretary': in the

same way as the Assistant Matron is supposed to be or ought to be ~~ov~~ Inspectress of Nurses' Dormitories, Nurses' habits

&c &c [At St. T.'s no one is Assistant Matron in this sense.]

But then the Treasurer's Secretary must be a man trustworthy in these things.

**f582/12/3**

3. About periodical cleansing, of Hospital,  
frotteur's work: periodical cleansing  
of Ward floors & walls &  
&c &c &c &c

there is no one who really superintends:  
there is a ~~general~~/well-known outbreak of Erysipelas,  
after every *Surgical=Ward cleansing*, in  
the said ward, *et pour cause*:  
the floors I am told are a disgrace to  
St. T.'s.

[2 or 3 years ago I was asked by *Treasurer thro'*  
*Matron* to find an *Army Hospital frotteur*  
- I did so - the very natural question was  
asked - what the pay? - & from that day to

the day of his death I never got an answer  
from *poor Treasurer*.

This is only one of the innumerable things  
(I will not degrade myself by calling  
them '*little*' things) of vital or mortal  
importance to a Hospital left undone.

[*Matron* bestirred herself much & effected  
little or *nothing* in most of them.]

If it were not for our Sisters, I believe  
St. T.'s would be one of the most unhealthy  
Hospitals in London.

And even among our Sisters there are  
waves.

At the opening of the Hospital, & alas!  
*now* again, the Sisters were & are almost  
**nil** in *these* matters.

Miss Aston is now the best.

I scarcely know whether you can do any thing but I could not rest ~~whether~~ without drawing your attention to these things.

Far more important than settling 'Treasurer's Clerk', 'Hospital Clerk', 'Secretary', is: settling that *some one*, be he who you will, should have authority in these *vital matters, should know HOW* to exercise that *authority*: & should be a man chosen for & *responsible to/for* exercising that authority.

And that it should not be a matter of grace or discretion to make or to remedy such complaints.

**f582/12/4**

4

but that it should be the CHARGE of *some one to make, the charge of some other one to redress/fulfil, listen to, or redress such complaints or reports or responsibilities.*

[It is vain waiting for the *Steward*.

They must either *change their Steward*: or put this work distinctly in the 'Treasurer's Secretary's' hands - or some one's.]

F.N.

4. With regard to the *Nursing*: as none of the Hospital

Governments have effected any thorough reform in the *Nursing, & London Hospl* least of all: -

& as (I believe) ~~we might~~ must do it, & ~~he~~ *might* be so much more than a match for them,

when a year hence our Agreement comes to an end, I think in our individual case we shall be the better for a not so very strong Hospital Government.

F.N.

[end 12:325]

Hampshire, initialed letter, 94M72/F582/13, 2 ff, pen

Sub Committee: St. Thomas': Lea Hurst [12:325-26]  
 P.S. to my yesterday's letter } Sept 22/77  
 5 a.m.

My dear Hy B. C.

I have always observed the antagonism between  
 Hospital/~~the~~ Treasurer & the Medical Staff.

[In our case, the Med: Staff despised the man:  
 the elder men, who were just going off the stage,  
 did not care to force or persuade him: the  
 others feared & 'cut' him whenever possible:

But this antagonism prevails, I understand,  
 every where:]

How would it do, if it were possible,

1. for the (Full) Physicians & Surgeons to

elect - I believe in these cases people

generally elect one better than themselves -

a M. {illeg Comm?} a man whose *business* it should be to

*confer with the Treasurer* on stated days

*on defined matters:* besides having

a ready access to him at any time:

2. for the whole (qualified) Medical Staff,  
 'Full', 'Resident' & 'House' - ? not 'Retired' -  
 to elect, in combination with the Treasurer,  
 a Sanitary Officer.

I can see no other way of

(1) enabling the Sanitary officer to do his work  
 they would surely support & help their own  
 man: & not render him useless by  
 their discordant opinions:

(2) of getting a good man - & giving him  
 authority

[You cannot get a Sanitary ~~man~~/Officer of great standing &  
 authority for a Hospital: he must be  
 a young man.

And if you did, you had Simon, the Officer  
 of Health for all England, actually to your  
 hand at St. T.'s. And he did nothing!]

Something must be done:

I merely throw out "suggestions": as you ask

3. I would also "suggest" that say once  
a week            *Treasurer*  
                  'member' representing Medical Staff  
                  Sanitary Officer  
                  Treasurer's Secretary

should *meet* for the discharge of business:

A great deal of business which now  
hangs for years - [& people wait to drain  
& to cleanse - but people do not wait to die -]  
would be thus worked off week by week.

The death of this poor man, if it paves the way  
for a better system, might prove an incalculable  
boon to poor St. Thomas'.

**[end 12:326]**

F.N.

Leicestershire Record Office

1301

Hampshire, initialed letter, 94M72/F582/14, 1f, pen,

*Probationers List*: x            35 S. St  
   Jan 4/78

My dear Hy B. C.

I return the Book: x

Our last 10 years (since Agnes Jones' death)  
have been momentous ones:

our ~~present~~/next 10 years will be in all probability  
yet more so:

Especially this year when we have to re-settle  
the whole of our income: not to speak of  
capital.

Last year we lost so much.

I do think we want a little more enthusiasm, hope & sympathy.  
consideration is much but it is not all.

2. I enclose my printed *List* of some defects  
in St. Thomas'. [Please return it me at  
your leisure: for it is never to be found when wanted.]

I look upon the 3 first Paras: about shoots &c

**[12:334-35]**

& upon the *last* about Night Nurses' meals &c  
as the most important:

The opportunity of correcting these while  
you are on the House Committee is an  
unlooked for & immense *hope* to me.

3. [There would be *such* a career for an Assistant  
to Mrs. Wardroper, if Miss Fisher were worth anything  
- there is? *no* superintendence of Nurses, night or day, or of Wardmaids &c but  
what the Sister  
gives

- & that is now ? *nothing.*] ever yours F.N. **[end 12:335]**

x Is it not a pity that this "Book" is not *made up*? there are whole  
histories, e.g. Miss Cameron's, untouched & yet she has our Nurses at Soho

Hampshire, initialed letter, 15 ff, pen & pencil f582/15/1

Council & Committee } IMMEDIATE 35 S. ST

April 7/78

I

My dear Hy B.C.

I have *not* written to *Mr. Rathbone* as you desired: [12:136-38]

partly because I asked him to be Trustee, on the express ground *suggested* by you in your Draft letter that he should not be troubled

to be Co & Co. - partly because you told me that the Meeting was *not* to be a Council Meeting: & there is no time now for you & me to discuss deliberately the very essential question as to who is to be on the Council & the yet more important question as to who is to be on the Committee.

[I only had your letter this morning.]

I shall therefore ~~only~~ write to Sir Harry, (who will not be at home till tomorrow,) only about *your* being on the Council: and not till Tuesday:

There will be still time ~~however~~, if you think it urgent, to write to any body *after* you receive this:

My view is: & it is one which has been strongly ~~urged~~/indented upon me by the circumstances of the past year:

that we must enlist into our Members other interests; the Military, - the *Workhouse* Infirmary, - the other ~~to~~ great Hospitals:

& also, of course some one to take your place ultimately in the duties of Secretary under you: as you said.

1. *Military*: I naturally, - considering the origin of the Fund, considering that I was looked to & still am to form in the Military Hospitals

a Staff of Nurses who might be used for *War Nursing* - considering too that Germany, Russia, America have done this since the Crimean War: that France is always ready: & that we alone have done nothing: -tho' to us particularly was attention drawn during the Crimean War:

I naturally feel ~~this~~ a good deal more acutely than you do - *the non-organization of Nursing in MILITARY HOSPLS.*

[I feel it still more, because our Chairman, quite coolly, shows me a letter he has written for public purposes, urging the return to the *Regimental Medical* system in time of war, which was the cause of the Hospital disasters in the Crimean War, which makes Female Nursing impossible, & undoes all that Sidney Herbert & I did in that direction]

I propose that

Sir Wm Muir (with a view of interesting him in our work)

should be a Member of *our Council*.

He expressed a wish to see me & to "profit" by my "experience". (I presume in case of a War) in his last letter.

[Sir John McNeill will never be of any more use to us. He is now at Cannes.

We shall have to provide a successor.]

2. You know how strongly I feel about the loss of WORKHOUSE INFIRMARY NURSING. at Highgate

I need not dilate upon it.

I think we should most certainly have some man, if only to interest him in us, connected with "Asylums", upon the Council.

I thought of Mr. (now Sir William) Wyatt or - - - - - or even Dr. Brydges.

[If Mr. Stansfeld had been in Office, I should have proposed him: or if Mr. C. Villiers, him. Both called upon me: & I saw them, Mr. Villiers frequently.]

I would make it a matter of duty to see ~~these men~~/any such men on our Council - including Sir Sydney Waterlow, (all of whom profess themselves my friends - except Dr. Brydges whom I do not know)

2 or 3 times a year: if you wished to enlist them - 'touting', in fact.

[Navy: You know we had Sir J. Liddell who is dead & who wanted me to nurse Haslar on this account] but I do not propose this now.

3. St. Bartholomew's -

I cannot tell you what importance

[I attach to our responding to Sir S. Waterlow's overture -

[We shall, if we do not take care, get shut up in St. Thomas' -]

I would propose Sir Sydney Waterlow on the Council:

(about St. B.'s see p. 2.)

4. The sooner some one is appointed who may ultimately be your successor, the better: as you say.

You have yet thought of no one but F. Verney. (or possibly Douglas Galton)

Shall I have a talk with F. Verney or will you? [end 12:138]

Hampshire, incomplete letter f582/15/2

II                    2            April /78                    [13:49-50]

St. Bartholomew's            2

I look upon it as almost a vital thing for our work that we should fill the post, - so unexpectedly volunteered by Sir S. Waterlow, of *Matron*.

I cannot think that *Miss Spencer* would ever do for such a post : but, if one could ever be sure of anything, I should be sure that she would reject it with terror. She has no self-confidence & no power of resistance: She would be an angel for a smaller Hospital with a Staff of her (our) own women: she would do *Lincoln* well.

I am almost glad that *Miss Williams* is out of the 'running': She has such great qualities but loses so much thro' 'impertinence'. Yet I think she would do *St. Bartholomew's* best.

*Miss Vincent* ~~has much~~ is the person, I believe ~~be~~ She has far more strength than *Miss Spencer* will ever have; & more dignity & reticence than *Miss Williams*: but oh how I regret her want of experience as *head*. You know she is of a higher & more devoted tone of character than *Miss Williams*.

*Miss Machin* might do; better than any one Sir S. Waterlow is likely to get -  
{ *Miss Machin* as head with  
{ *Miss Vincent* as Assistant  
for 2 or 3 years  
might do very well.

But of course *Miss Machin* is right that her (so called) failure at *Montreal* will tell against her - except in war- Nursing  
[*Miss Machin* & *Miss Williams* would not do together.]

II

I think I must let *Sir S. Waterlow* know,  
& that soon whether I am thinking of his  
commission to find him a *Matron*.

And I must see *Miss Vincent*: & that  
before the 11th, (which is next Thursday.)

Have I your leave to talk it over with  
*her*?

If she could have 6 months or a year  
at *Lincoln* first? [A year is not possible  
if she is to have *St. B.'s*]

I write to *Miss Vincent* to come to me on Wednesday 10th  
Let me hear from you first.

[*Miss Hunter*: I cannot bear to let her slip  
thro' our fingers. Do you know that,  
tho' I quite believe *Miss Lees'* account of her,  
she had, in some respects, more *character*  
than any, except our very best?

I should like her to be in *Miss Vincent's* place  
at *Marylebone*, or to be a *Sister* best.

(there is not one of them fit to hold a candle  
to her, except *Miss Rye*, at *St. T.'s* now:)

& then see what could be made of her,  
IF she will re-enter the Service.

To sum up: you will see that *abstractedly*  
I think Miss Williams: best for St. Bartholomew's  
" Vincent " Mary's  
" Spencer Lincoln  
" Hunter some small post  
(Marylebone Road?)  
but better a Sister

---

*practically*

Miss Vincent: *St. Bartholomew's*  
(if possible, some  
smaller post first)

" Spencer Lincoln

After thinking it well over, I feel I *could*  
*not* propose Miss Spencer as fit for St.  
Bartholomew's. I should never have thought  
of her.

You see, if *Lincoln* is to be proposed "on or  
soon after the 11th, (which I did not know  
till your note) there is not a day to lose:

- I must have some communication with  
Miss Vincent before Thursday:

*What "Candidate of ours" ("better prepared")*  
do you expect to have "in 6 months" or a year  
"for *St. Bartholomew's*"?

[end 13:50]

f582/15/3

3

[12:340-43]

re Notice to determine Agreement with St. Thomas'.}

III *Immediate*

Would you object to "ask to have 'it' referred to" yourself & Sir Harry: & not "to yourself & "Mr. Bowman"?

Sir Harry knows nothing of business. *Mr. Bowman* a great deal too much. Sir Harry would work with us, if insensed by us. *Mr. Bowman* against us, & I cannot undertake any part of him again. I saw him nearly every day at the time of the disruption of St. John's. He might have kept Miss Jones by common sense & temper: & he has landed King's Coll. in the worst female tyranny I know.

You will say that is 10 years ago: Yes, but if there is any difference since, it is for the worse.

[There are women who *will not serve* under us, because *Mr. Bowman* is on the Committee]

He is the last person I should consult in any matter of Organization for Nursing or Training.

I have talked formerly to Sir Harry about the "determining" of Agreement in October.

III 2.

"the basis to be a reduction" &c &c &c x x x x  
 "bargain should be in favour of Hospital" x x x:  
 "bargain to be *decidedly* " in favour of Hospital",  
 "determinable upon 6 or 12 months' notice" x x x  
 agreed, agreed, agreed with the utmost heart  
 "bargain to be *decidedly*" in favour of Hospital,"  
 because it *may* cut both ways: they may say  
 at any time, 'we had rather get rid of you than

"attend to your requirement" & we can  
'afford to let you go'.

[Sir F. Hicks once did say this!! - he said we  
saved him nothing in "Extra Nurses"!!!]

I need not say that if they put in a  
*Matron* we do not like, we *must* go.

And *where* are we then?

III.3 [Please let me see this part of my letter again-]

I come now to what is, in my mind,  
the most essential thing of *all the Training*:  
which I will state briefly, - without  
at all prejudging the question whether  
anything *can* be done, except indirectly.

As long as our Probationers are put into  
the Wards, 2 or even 3 in each Ward,  
without any regard to the training they  
will there receive,  
& as long as the Sister of each Ward  
knows that she shall have 2 or even  
3 Probationers as Assistants, with no  
regard whatever to what she does for  
them, but only to what they do for her,  
- so long we shall be at the mercy  
of accident *as to what our Training* is.

There is *not one* real Training Sister in the *Surgical & Medical Hospital/Wards* now. There are *two half ones*. There are *two*, if not *three*, utterly bad Sisters. All the real Training now is given by Miss *Crossland*.

Of the above I have overwhelming evidence.  
[You do not, of course, & cannot see the interior of things as I do.]  
At Edinburgh Miss Pringle gives & withdraws Probationers according to ~~how~~ the way the Head Nurse's training power & character deserves to have them. This seems to me the only '*rationale*' of the thing.  
[How, practically, we are to do it, I do not yet say.]

[N.B.

That woman, Warman, (Sister Leopold) has nearly cost Miss Wilson both her arm & her life. She is quarrelling with all the Doctors.  
As to Sister Adelaide (Nurse Ann) the Probationers [Ann?] do *her* work. And much better it is they should, if she would only keep out of the Ward.]  
*Our* last year's Nurses do not know what Ward Training is: the Standard is so utterly lowered: these who had the fag end, of Miss *Vincent, Miss Stains & Miss Spencer* speak almost with despair of their loss.  
I have of course much more to say as to the modifications necessary in the *Training St. Thomas' must* give us, at any new start. (whether to be included in Agreement or not)  
And also we must have some arrangement for a year's *training* for an *Assistant Superintendent*.

III 4.

*Miss Crossland*

You remember I told you that she told me she should "not stay beyond October",

- she has *not* mentioned it to Mrs. Wardroper, & she promised me earnestly that she would give no notice till she had talked it fully over with me.

If she goes, for any work of *real Training* we are 'functi officio.'

She gave as her reason that certain things which she specified prevented her from doing her duty by the Probationers & the Training School.

I would certainly "give her £25 a year ~~be fr~~ "more, raising to £100" as you say -

Mr. Croft says: the whole weight of the School rests upon her: & that she is breaking down, principally from late hours with Mrs. Wardroper.

& I have told you the above *as to the training* [Mrs. Wardroper first finds fault because I say that *Miss Crossland* does the training: & then says the *Sisters* have "no time to (& can't) train," as an explanation]

You know Miss Crossland is gone to Ireland for a rest.

I am sure the £25 more can't make Miss Crossland more devoted: But could £20 or so more be given to Mrs. Wardroper? *too* - It would obviate jealousy on Mrs. Wardroper's part.

**£582/15/4**

4 {archivist: April 8th}

Reports: Mr. Croft: &amp; Matron's: &amp; Agenda Book accompanying

I have only 3 remarks:

1. why no notice of Miss Lees' work?  
it looks like an omission when we have had more Probationers for her than for any one: & these are put down: it is true she has kept but few.

I think in general you have enclosed short reports from Miss Pringle, Miss Hill i.e. to Matron:

I think you told me that *Mrs. Carroll* was to have the gratuity: then they are to be considered still our People.

Miss Lees; yes, I would certainly "ask the second £100" ~~a year~~ for her:

if she goes in July, there is absolutely no one to succeed her but *Miss Perssè*: & she must not be unfaithful to Mr. Rathbone, if she can help it: [Mr. Rathbone did, in answer to my letter, insist upon the reforms mentioned]

*Miss Lees* is ill & going away for 3 weeks. She comes here to morrow Tuesday at 5.

F.N. April 8/78

2. I noticed, as you do: no account of change of Visiting hours: a very serious change to us.

And must we not remodel our "Probationers' "Time-Table" (printed)? *It does not do to send that about as it is.*

You know that already Miss Crossland only gives one class a week to Senior & Junior Probrs each Over

3. I see *Milne* on our Edinburgh List  
Was that furnished by Miss Pringle? {in another hand Yes}

Miss Pringle furnished me with a List of our (Edinburgh) people - for me to give them books, (which I have done): & *Milne* was not on it.

4. There are some slight errors in Mr. Croft's Report, calling Nurse \_\_\_\_\_ MISS \_\_\_\_\_ & so on.

£582/15/5

5

Lectures [Please let me see this sheet again]

I have no objection, I am sure, to "Dr. Bristowe having a £25," if he likes it.

But I meant to give you at length the result of my very close enquiry into the *Lecturing as Training*. (Dr. Bristowe's  
( & others

The first lecture (Protoplasm) was absurd for us: (Dr. Bristowe's)

The second (Contagions) was mischievous

The other four not very à propos.

He did not *correct* the notes: but sent a foolish ~~absurd~~ eulogistic note to Matron.

But here is a remark I want to make

- I have been quite appalled to see who succeeds best in the marks & *examinations*: & I think these most indicative & characteristic of the value of the Lectures.

[I am writing at 6 in the morning: &

I cannot get up to look for my notes:

but I had all the papers &c to examine.]

The person or persons *who succeed best* are the *utterly* surface women: the women who are '*nowhere*' in the *Nursing*: the women who are all talk: such as Miss Jarvis Shaw:

(I know her:)

& Miss Boole: I do not know her but hear that she is a poor *Nurse* & ill-behaved  
Over

If you know the people  
& the Lectures  
who succeeds best is either a good Criterion  
not of the value of the *people*  
(except in inverse ratio)  
but of the value of the *Lectures* -  
or, ~~it~~ is no indication at all of the value of the *Nursing* powers.  
Dr. Bernays' Lectures are infinitely  
better than Dr. Bristowe's: but even here  
small indication is given by who succeeds best in the *marks* of who succeeds best  
as a Nurse.

Mr. Croft's CLINICAL Lectures are  
excellent: & should be multiplied.  
Certainly one every week  
(as at Edinburgh) ~~th~~

The more so now because of the wretchedly low ebb of  
~~wretched~~/Training sisters:

[I think I told you what Mr. Croft said to me:  
about these Sisters.] His *Clinical* Lectures are real *Training*:  
I earnestly hope you are better.  
yrs ever

F.N.

You know that Miss Lees is ill: Ap 8  
& goes away on Wednesday for 3 weeks.  
She comes here on Tuesday (I suppose "to resign"?)  
at 5.

6 a.m.

[end 12:343]

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72/F582/16, 3 ff, pen & pencil

Rules for Probationers } 35 S. St.  
against poisoning fingers.) 19/7/78

[12:348-49]

My dear Harry B. C.

1.a. After a great deal of to-ing & fro-ing  
between Mr. Croft & me, we have at last  
agreed upon the enclosed Rules, which  
if you approve please have put in type  
& send me 2 proofs to Lea Hurst

Cromford

Derby

(with the M.S. enclosed) as soon as possible  
There has been too much delay.

[I send to-day to St. Thomas' 36  
soap tins & 36 bars Carbolic Soap  
(with some Permanganate of Potash)  
for Probationers.

And Mr. Croft promises to see  
about Fontaines of 1 to 80 Carbolic  
Solutions being fitted up for Probationers.

At present they have no Soap, no  
Towel, no Condy, no nothing provided for  
them.]

I have much more to tell you, but at present  
I can only say that I do not think it is  
far from the truth that "St. Thomas' is  
the nastiest place known."

1.b. When I press Printed Rules for Sisters,  
& you pooh pooh them, it must not be

??

forgotten that it is for the MATRON they are wanted, rather than for the Sisters; that she has never been a Sister: - & that the person who knows LEAST in the building probably *about Ward duties* is: the Matron.

Her inspection in these, even if she gave it, would be useless: but she *could* see that *Printed Rules* which she believed her own were adhered to.

2. It is true that forceps, scissors, dissectors, &c have to be PAID FOR not only by Probrs, Special & other, but by every Nurse & Sister throughout the building.

The consequence is of course that Nurses & Nurse Probationers are generally, if not *always*, without them; & borrowing other people's: or scratching off every dressing with their *fingers*: which is the most common.

I have *promised* Mrs. Wardroper that, as we make '*forceps*' obligatory in these Rules, you will authorize a store of *forceps, scissors, dissectors &c* to be obtained at the ~~Dispensary~~/Surgery, & to be placed at her disposal to distribute to Probrs: as she thinks fit.

I would gladly pay for this.

3. She would be *thankful if you would put at her disposal £10, £15 or £20 a year for necessary petty furnitures or repairs to furniture (in/or such things as zinc pails, coarse rubbers &c &c &c &c) for 'Home'.*

*I would gladly pay for this.*

4. I have a long letter to write to you about Mrs. Wardroper's & my conversation on Monday 15th over what you & I wrote & said on Sunday 14th

At present I can only say: *please, next time you see her, say to her what you said to me about your giving her, qy? £50 a year more: & Hospital giving to her office assistance For the first time she said to me she wanted a Secretary.*

She was very good, poor woman,  
on the whole:

**[end 12:349]**

yrs ever  
F. Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/17, 4 ff, pen [8:382-84]

*York Road*

*Lying in Hospital*

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

28/1/79

My dear Hy Bonham Carter

We ought to have nothing  
to do with that Lying in Hospl.

I have thought the matter  
over scores of times since I  
saw the plans: & have never  
thought differently.

[I tried to say this as  
definitely as I could when  
we met by appointment (in  
the last week of December?)  
more than a month ago.

And if I did not explain  
my conviction *as strongly*  
*as I ought*, it was because  
I understood that I should  
be informed of the result of

your sending in to the  
Chairman Capt. Galton's  
[illeg] Report, which you  
then proposed doing:

Since then as you know, I  
have heard nothing. And,  
hearing nothing, I concluded  
the matter was at an end.

What you tell me in your  
yesterday's note, & on the  
previous day, is, as you are  
aware, news to me.]

As we agreed, the question  
is not : - what is the best  
that can be made of 'York  
Road' building? but ~~is it~~/ whether  
the *improved* 'York Road' answers to what, -  
~~a place where~~ with our  
considered convictions, acquired  
at such cost of life - - & of  
labour & experience in  
collecting information, - we

could conscientiously ~~form~~/think the  
only fit building for us to undertake Lying in cases in  
& a Training School for

Midwifery Nurses -

I understood Capt. Galton  
that he thought: *decidedly*  
*not*.

I wrote to Miss Spencer before

I had seen the plans: - - -

having seen the plans, I  
should write to any lady  
to deter her from accepting  
who asked my advice.

After a most laborious  
enquiry, I gave, (in my "Notes")  
the minimum of acreage a  
Lying-in Hospl should have  
- York Road has no acre age  
at all, has no "open air site". So far  
from "standing in its own grounds," it is unusually hemmed  
in. I gave as a rule that a  
Lying-in Hospital should  
have two stories at the utmost

- & the rooms of the pupils shd not be over the Patients.

On a good airy site, & with a good construction, it is possible that a third story for Staff might be added without inconvenience. At York Road without any open site at all it would be fraught with danger.

An 'isolated' room ~~for~~ outside in the grounds for Fever Small Pox or Erysipelas is a *sine qua non*. ~~Th~~ At York Road there is no space or place, inside or out, where you could have anything like real 'isolation' for Puerperal Fever or anything else.

I mention these few things: but I could mention many more. The place, the

2

site, the building are each hopelessly  
bad, - hopelessly unfitted  
for a Lying in Patients.

[Q. Charlotte's is *sanitary*  
in comparison to 'York Road'].

I can only say - have ye  
nothing to do with that  
'unjust' place.

I would not.

=====

2

I am always glad to see Capt.

Galton as you propose. But this week  
it is, I am sorry to say,  
impossible - x almost impossible  
for the next fortnight: that

=====

x I am more & more subject to attacks  
of entire prostration - the result of  
never having had one day's rest ~~of~~ for  
5 years. I have a slight attack of Erysipelas

I have been obliged to put off appointments  
on urgent business: one, a man who returns  
to India next week - I am overworked  
& shall be till the meeting of Parlt with Indian

is to say nothing is impossible  
if it is a matter of life or death.

But I do not see w/that it is

- Capt. Galton expressed his  
opinion very plainly.

- Unless he has altered that  
opinion (when perhaps  
he will be so good as to  
write me one word) I cannot  
think differently from what  
I did when I saw the plans  
& read ~~the~~/his Report.

[I *could* have seen him  
*before* this: but now I am almost  
unable.]

3. You may lay all the blame  
upon me, if there is a  
scape-goat wanted: & say  
to the Committee that I  
was so impressed with the  
loss of life in our own experience

& in the most laborious investigation which I undertook in consequence, ~~with~~/including a correspondence with most of the Lying in Hospitals & Workhouse Infirmaries in England & the Continent that I could not recommend a Lying in Hospital at all except under certain conditions which York Road can never be made to fulfil -

At the same time, (& without in the least entering on the merits), the resignation & non election of the Medl Officers forms another argument for you to withdraw. You would never enter on a scheme of *this* kind without knowing your Medical Officers.

To enter more fully on this subject would be to re-write my book.

I ~~will~~ return yr Draft Copy:

ever yrs sincerely  
Florence Nightingale  
Hy Bonham Carter Esq

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/18, 2 ff, pencil

10 South St April 2/89  
*British Nurses' Assocn*

[12:524-25]

My dear Harry

I have read all the letters (Miss Lückes, Stains, Vincent &c &c) which you were so good as to leave with me; & fully concur in them & with what you say -

Miss Pyne writes me the enclosed - I am very much afraid of Miss Pyne - She is so impulsive - & in spite of all I ~~can~~/shall say, she will tell the other Matrons that she now has my "guidance" -

I think if I see her I ought

to see *Miss Lückes* first.

& ought to write asking Miss Lückes if she can come this week, Thursday, Friday or Saturday, (tho' this week is already fuller than I can well do -) & then see *Miss Pyne* -

Can you suggest? & would you say what ~~answer~~/caution I should give *Miss Pyne*? & have I anything to say to *Miss Lückes*, (after hearing what she has to say,) but to recommend what you say:

1. the enlargement of your Pamphlet from the side of the Nurses for free distribution.

2. the awaiting the appearance  
of the R. Charter - & then your  
calling ~~y~~ a Meeting in opposition

Could you kindly give me  
a few of your valuable  
*headings* to preach to  
these ladies, as you did for  
Miss Wood?

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Miss Machin (Mrs. Redpath) in  
S. Africa and  
Miss Loch & all her Nurses in  
India have joined the Brit. Nurses

**[end 12:525]**

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72 f582/19, 2 ff, pencil

10 South St PRIVATE April 11/89

MISS LUCKES & B.N.A.

My dear Harry

I am very glad you are  
going to refresh at Woodside.

I have been so hindered by  
dark mornings & other things  
that I have not yet been able  
to write out my notes of Miss Lückes.

But I am anxious to  
catch you before you go -  
I therefore send a little  
preliminary stuff -  
embodying Miss Lückes' promise.

If you will return ~~it~~/all to me,  
I will fill it up - For I have  
more (illegible) notes -

I have no copy of anything I  
now send.

You ordered me to like Miss  
Lückes -

*So I do -*

you know she is not attractive -  
And I had heard a good deal  
about her flattering ways - &c -

But as we went on & had  
a great deal of conversation  
about her own Hospl &  
her methods, she seemed a  
woman of enormous energy,  
great good sense, & *great*  
*devotion to the cause* - but  
consciously overpowered by  
the immense organisation she  
wields. [They have 90 Probrs

always going -

150 Probrs on the books -

- Private Nurses &c &c

She says she hardly knows  
some of the Probrs by sight -  
And I very much doubt whether  
there is another woman/matron who  
*could* do all she does.

She has sent me since a  
great many papers of her  
Training-school. Some we  
should disapprove -  
I must say she impressed me very  
much -

I return you all our papers -

Miss Vincent's, Miss Stains' are  
particularly valuable -

[I am to see Miss Pyne at Easter.]

I should like to see them, the papers,  
all again, please -

in haste

ever yours

F. Nightingale *P.T.O.*

I wish I had another copy  
for myself of this truly  
abominable little pamphlet.

Is your address

Woodside

Hayes Common

Beckenham

Kent

Age makes me stupider.

=====  
I think - this is by the way - Miss Lückes  
undervalues St. Bartholomew's influence  
By the money test, St. B.'s & St. Thomas'  
are the only ones (not the London) from  
which the Nurses - in Private Institutions  
- command 2 guineas a week instead of one

Hampshire, initialed letter, ff582/20, 4 ff, pen, black-edged paper

*To-day at St. Thomas'*

July 27/92

My dear Harry

You are so good as to  
say that you will talk  
matters over with Miss  
Gordon to-day.

[12:446]

- There is, as you say,
1. Miss "Ripon" - & her  
year's training (for Missionary  
work) at St. Thomas' -
  2. Through Miss Maude Stanley  
- proposal made \* that the  
large Genl Hospls of London  
should send their Probationers  
for 3 mo: training in Scarlet,  
Enteric Fever & Diphtheria  
at Homerton, where is now

[end 12:446]

[13:179-80]

\* which I was to answer & advise upon

(Miss Vincent's) Miss Mackenzie with Matron's powers & duties, housekeeper under her, - an excellent Medical Supt from Guy's, - all sorts of improvements in accommodation, table &c &c - Nursing under direct supervision of trained Matron -

They say that *Medical students* are now sent from London Hospls. Why should not Nurses? But the cases are not parallel. The medical students are sent from e.g. Bartholomew's two or three times a week & cases are shown to them.

The Nurses would have to reside. We can't *send* Nurses. *They* must *volunteer*.

I have talked the matter over with Miss Lückes & Miss Gordon - Miss Lückes objects entirely - & says they have quite enough Enteric & Diphtheria in the "London" for experience:

It is a matter of great concern if, as Miss Gordon says, the St. Thomas' Doctors send all Enterics now to the Metropolitan Asylums. Enterics are much better off in the General Wards of St. T.'s - And the wildest Doctor who

makes Medicine now consist  
of Infection

Antiseptics &  
Microbes

does not consider Enteric  
"infectious". Also: they are  
excellent practice -

Diphtheria we have - No. 8  
Block

But I will ask you to talk  
the plan of Miss Stanley  
over with Miss Gordon.

[I did talk it over with Miss  
Crossland who is entirely  
against it, till *after* the Nurse  
has done with *us* -

Indeed It would seem as if  
such training were more needed  
for those who are to be PRIVATE  
Nurses.

Our "Extra Nurses" are SENT into  
No 8 Block. They do not volunteer.

-2-

*Homerton*

3. Miss Stanley also asked for Charge Nurses from us. Their position, wages &c are greatly improved. I have the data.

Miss Gordon spoke to me about Miss Baines, Asst Night Supt, whom, as you know, she wants to get rid of.

Would Miss Baines go to Homerton? She is conscientious & good. [Miss Stanley has repeatedly asked me to see Miss Mackenzie - But I really have not been able.]

**[end 13:180]**

4. Would you talk over "Register" with Miss Gordon?

~~Mos~~

Miss Gordon was here for several hours last night

Of that anon -

~~not referring to Miss~~

Gordon,

4.a. *Sir W. Bowman's & Mr. Power*

**[12:446]**

Thank you for the documents.

But they contain such extraordinary statements of success, that they only let one into a mine of darkness.

Their success being what we consider total failure, *EXCEPT* during Miss Jones' too short reign, who was

excellent as a Nurse, an  
administrator, a teacher -  
And their praise of Bishop  
Blomfield !!! It takes  
one back to the dark Ages -  
I have done nothing for  
Mr. Power; I don't know  
what to do. All my  
recollections are exactly the  
reverse of their documents.

What am I to do?

5. I think, if you could kindly  
make time to see me  
before you go to Woodside,  
it would be as well -  
I will keep myself open  
There are many things to talk about  
ever yours

[end 12:446]

F.N.

6. You say we & the B.N.A.(R. Charter)

are put off by the "President  
"of the Council" till after  
the Long Vacation -  
Does the "President of  
the Council" change with  
Ministers?

F.N.

7. You spoke of my  
seeing Mr. Finlay; & Treasurer.

8.  
{upside down and stroked out}

~~London May 26/92~~

~~To the Secretaries~~

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/21, 2 ff, pen

[13:826]

Miss Mansel -2- Private 30/7/92

2 I saw her yesterday - She is full of information, tho' always so emotional [I was very glad to read her reports which you sent me before seeing her] She told me exactly what I wanted to know about Monthly Nursing (or no Monthly Nursing.)

Do you know that Miss R. Paget set up that Miss Webster who is now a certificated Midwife as teacher of Monthly Nursing to Q.V.I. Nurses? [R. Avenue, Chelsea,

I think she lives

[end]

P. Turn over

3 It is rather melancholy, is it not? that after 35 years of work, the ~~Hos~~ 4 great Hospitals of London should only have such 4 Matrons as they have. Miss Lückes is the best. But she has no discipline compared with Miss Crossland's

[13:56]

4 I saw young Dr. Ord yesterday. [He comes every day to galvanize me.] He told me exactly what you did about Baltimore Hospls - told me of another St. Thomas' Nurse, Venables, who is Matron of another Hospl at Baltimore. He says there is no Nursing worth having in the

States but what ~~is~~/an Englishwoman is at the head of it. &c &c &c -

He is going to marry Dr. Billings' daughter - told me what Dr. Billing's position is -

MOST PRIVATE

5. I am sure that you must stick tight to your House Committee being an established thing - Treasurer getting too arbitrary - I feel it ~~to~~ in our Nursing - And he is trying to make the Resident Doctors against their own judgment send the Typhoids (Enterics) to the Metropolitan Asylums. This is wrong in every sense - But he will succeed. Ignorance always succeeds. F.N.

**[end]**

Hampshire, initialed letter, ff582/22, 4 ff, pen

10 South St Aug 8/92

*Sir D. Duckworth*

*Objections to R. Charter*

My dear Harry

Thanks for your Telegram & for sending me Mr. Rathbone's note which I return -

I read the note somewhat differently from you - top of p 2. ~~2nd line after~~/before "Hospital" -

Is not what you read "in"

an - meant to be *and*, because I think that "Hospital classes" make the Nurse, but "3 years'"training" *and Hospital* classes and "Examns"

Dr. Moore called here last evening (wishing kindly to tell me about Shore, whose Doctor he now is)

Naturally he was eager to talk about the R. Charter & the B.N.A.

And I had better ~~put~~/abridge a long conversation under headings:

*Objections to R. Charter*

1. Danger of making the Registered Nurses an inferior class of Medical Practitioners (felt by many Doctors, he says).
2. Impossibility of defining what a competent Nurse is
3. Absolute impossibility of getting an incompetent Nurse *off* the Register - And (3a) of

finding any Matron or Medical man who would move in doing it.

Flagrant case, just happened at St.

Bartw's, a B.N.A. Nurse

~~had to be~~/(for taking morphia) dismissed from Hospl, not from Register - Matron would do nothing -

A Doctor would say: "I did not make the Register - I detest it. What obligation is there upon me to get myself into trouble to get ~~her~~/an erring Nurse off the Register?" Only a conviction in a Court of Law would do it.

4. *Question. Do they mean to declare an unregistered Nurse unfit to practise Nursing?*

-2-

5. *So far from the Register being a protection to Medical men, a Registered Nurse might defy a Medical man who thought her incompetent.*

But no number of certificates would ever convince a Physician or Surgeon that a Nurse was competent whom he found not so.

6. *No Hospital could bear the expence of having none but Nurses of 3 years' training. Yet, otherwise, a cry would be raised that we leave the poor to*

the nursing by a majority of untrained  
Nurses. At St. T.'s the Probationers  
are in a minority. At the "London" &c &c  
in a considerable majority.

Define what you mean  
by one year's training  
two " "  
three " "

Miss Lückes says she "means" Probrs for two  
years because otherwise they would go away  
after one year.

7. Great distinction between  
Doctors & Nurses -

It is true that ~~Doctor~~  
students are publicly  
examined for Doctors -  
But this does not now  
determine the man's place  
so much as his certificates  
as Dresser or Clinical Clerk,  
as House Surgeon or Ho. Physician  
&c &c -  
St. Bartholomew's itself would

not give or refuse a Nurse a place as Sister according to her examn.

The educated governess, *not* the competent Nurse will be at the *head* of an Examn

Lectures & Examns are not to *make* a Nurse but to interest a Nurse.

8. Great expence of public Examns.

I think this is worth sending you, because it shows ~~you~~ what many Doctors feel - & some even at St. Bartw's. But I think I should like to see it again.

I will answer your Saturday's letter directly  
ever yours  
F.N.

Hampshire, unsigned letter, ff582/24, 3ff, pen & pencil

New Scheme: St. Thomas' -  
5 Probationers: Victoria Ward

PRIVATE Claydon: Oct 9/92 [12:447-48]

My dear Harry

I entirely agree with what  
you say to Treasurer - strengthened  
too by female considerations.

To put in

5 Probationers = 5 Nurse-maids

is much the same as

5 Nurses = 5 House maids.

Our proposal (my eager wish)  
was, as you say, 2 Probationers  
which I think might well be  
increased to THREE, provided  
one were capable of - if required -  
undertaking *Night* duty  
under the Staff Night Nurse  
[no new necessity.† But  
none but those who have  
done night duty themselves  
are aware of its stringency.]

Three Probationers are the

outside of what ~~a~~ even the best Victoria  
Sister & Staff Nurse could  
properly instruct - or of  
what the little Patients  
could ~~properly~~ supply  
Nursing=proper for.

As it is now, the want of  
these is *crying*, in two senses.  
The Staff Nurse goes to the  
door with one Physician or  
Surgeon (we must remember  
that the whole Medical &  
Surgical Staff, may be employed  
there - not the case in any  
other Ward) receiving his  
instructions - the Sister may  
be equally properly employed,  
or she may be off duty -  
and 7 or 8 wretched babies  
may be left piteously 'crying'.  
[It is said that the number

of Patients under two or  
~~indeed~~ under one year is greatly  
increased - harelips operations  
on quite infants, &c. these & others require  
hand feeding - not bottles) &c &c

On the other hand, you know  
we once had a complaint when  
we had a long ago Probr there that she  
had nothing to do but emptying  
bed-pans - & the like - a thing  
which is important but not  
all - It was I believe, a just  
complaint.

The difficulty is immensely  
increased by our present Sister  
Victoria (Miss Elkington from  
Miss Perssè) which again is a  
Nemesis upon us for not  
having Lady Probationers in the Ward

S. Victoria (whom I know) is  
devoted to the little Patients - cares  
~~bed pan~~  
~~difficulty Nemesis~~  
~~present Probrs~~

not how hard she works -  
most conscientious -  
- *either will not or cannot*  
*instruct* - extremely desirous  
of Matron's help - but, just  
as might be expected, thinks  
her whole duty lies with the  
Patient - cannot remember old  
cases - does not know what  
Night Supt. does - &c &c &c  
just like a District Nurse -

[A great deal of this I  
derive from herself]

The first (one) Probr we sent this  
year was a failure. The Sister  
did not know how to teach  
~~her~~ - did not try - & she did  
not know how to learn - the  
next Probr was a very nice woman,  
and I hope did ~~well~~ better

It remains that there is, I  
believe, room for 3 Probationers  
in Victoria Ward - but not  
room in the *Sister's mind* for  
their good instruction. [This is also

the fault of one & more of our new Sisters

-2-

(2) I entirely follow suit  
as to the undesirableness  
of Probationers sleeping in the  
former Nurse Maids' Quarters -  
Miss Crossland has greatly  
objected to Probrs being taken  
from the Nurse maids, on  
account of their indiscipline.

Tho' we do not regret the  
new Dormitory arrangements,  
they certainly have increased  
gossip.

Both the gossip & indiscipline  
of Wardmaids' Quarters would  
heavily handicap our N. Home

I omitted to add that, if any  
thing, Probationers in Victoria  
actually want more, instead  
of less instruction than in other  
Wards - Nice-minded Patients  
~~more instruction~~  
~~required by Probrs~~  
~~about babies~~

I feel that I have only  
backed up what you have  
said much better - I from  
the woman's side -  
I don't think you ought to  
put Probationer Nurses  
to do Nurse-maids' work  
any more than you would  
put a Probr to take a  
Ward-maid's place as part  
of her Probation -

The question is a much  
larger one than the  
expenche of "washing" -

Could there be *two*  
Nurse-maids - "putting out"  
"their washing" as the Nurses'  
washing? + 3 Probationers?

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/25, 6ff, pen

16/10/92

New Scheme: St. Thomas'

[12:448-49]

Victoria (Nursemaids) 5 Probrs

It is proposed to put

4 Probationers Day

1 " (or rather *Extra Nurse*) Night

There is a Ward-maid to the Ward

It is proposed that

the *4 Day Probationers*

shall be Probrs in their

latter months - steady -

carefully selected

[They will change about

every 2 months, not all together,

it is said]

*Accommodation*

It is proposed that

the 4 Probationers shall

sleep in No 4 Block

[?Victoria is in No 4 Block]

Dormitory - which is occupied

*accommodation continued*

by *Staff Nurses*, as I understand  
- that they should have the two  
large rooms opposite each other.  
that two should be in each room  
separated by screens -  
The rooms cannot be separated  
by compartments - because each  
room has only one door & one  
window.

[These two rooms were those  
occupied by the 5 *Nurse-maids*  
But the *Probrs*, as above said  
are supposed to be *Probrs*  
several months old: selected  
for steadiness - to be there  
at most only 2 months -  
- no new *Probrs* to be employed -  
Miss Gordon will impress  
upon them that they are to  
have no association with the  
*Staff Nurses in the Dormitory*.  
- never to go into the *Dormitory*  
*Sitting-room* - but to be (except  
or sleeping) entirely under Miss Crossland.

*Accommodation continued*

[F.N. does not quite see how this can be. I suppose they must go up into their Dormitory to dress at say 10 a.m.]

1. NIGHT "Extra Nurse" - Victoria - a junior  
(not a Probr at all)

will sleep in *Extra Nurses'* Dormitory -

[For sometime the arrangement in Adelaide has been -

because we could not give two Probationers - that one (junior) "Extra" is put on, besides the one Probr; and this Extra Nurse always slept in the "Extra "Nurses"' Dormitory.

It was a good arrangement for giving (young) "Extra"s Obstetric experience-]

And, with regard to *Victoria*

*Night "Extra"*, any thing that ensures Night Service as Assistant to STAFF Night Nurse, - which will be a sort of conclusion to year's Probation - is good]

## MEALS: TIME TABLE

It is true that there will be some little difficulty here. The 4 Day Probationers cannot be all "off duty" at once at the N. Home dinner - But this will be got over by one Probr (not the same always dining at Miss Gordon's Nurses' Table - sending in word, of course to Miss Crossland who is not coming.

WORK These (4 Day) Probrs will have nothing to do

{printed address upside down:} Claydon House Steeple Claydon, Bucks. Bucks.

that is not Telegraph

-2- 16/10/92 [12:448]

Victoria Nurse Maids (5 Probationers  
continued or rather 4

will have nothing to do  
that is not Nursing proper  
- feeding & washing babies  
*is - Nursing proper.*

[N.B. The want of knowledge  
in these necessities in even  
good Midwives & even good  
District Nurses could hardly  
be greater if no baby  
had ever been born into the  
world - It seriously affects  
the National health, as  
Dr. Farr used to say.]

The Nurse- maids did do  
dressings - but were *not*  
taught, except by the  
Students. The *Nurse-maids*  
did go round ~~with~~/attending the

Doctors & Students - like Probationers  
(And afterwards gave  
themselves out as "trained  
"at St. Thomas')

*Instruction:* Yes: Miss  
Elkington (Sister Victoria)  
*will* give instruction  
and there is a very  
good Staff Nurse there  
now.

There are two Probationers  
in Victoria now -

ever yours F. N.

[For further remarks, see  
p. 3]

-3- 16/10/92

*Strictly Private*

Victoria (Nurse Maids) 5/4 Probrs

I think this is the best bargain, while not overlooking the want of proper instruction & uncertainty of moral discipline - that could be made - seeing that they are not to be *raw* Probationers -

*Our* side is of course this: The indiscipline in Victoria is notorious - the light behaviour of the Nurse maids - with the Doctors & the Students - nothing less can be said of the Nurse x who had been there for some years - and is now gone (married)  
x Roden

we could not have had Probrs under her is admitted by Matron - [the want of power or indeed [ of intention of Sister Victoria [ to teach or to govern [It is said *she now intends to teach* - the Nurse-maids without any training doing dressings & attending Doctors Some months ago one of the full Doctors x said to Matron "We cannot go on with that Sister". [Please remember Miss Elkington is an admirable woman & devoted Nurse] "What are we to do?" said Matron. "I can't discharge S. Victoria. We  
x Clutton

"must put in a good Nurse."

And in April *Nurse Ward*  
who has been in Children's  
Hospitals since she was 16 &  
is now only 38 but quite  
worn out was put in.  
She tells Matron she can't  
stay - & next month Miss Gordon  
is going to look out another  
& place her under Nurse Ward till  
Xmas to learn to do the Staff  
work. Nurse Ward has been excellent.

Miss Gordon says that Sister  
is "much interested" in the  
Proposals & anxious to make it a  
success.

?

Nurse Ward wants to go into  
District Nursing.

Miss Gordon has evidently taken  
the greatest pains about the  
arrangements (*Material*) for the  
new scheme in Victoria

She *has consulted* Miss Crossland who, she says, approves. [This is very different from her former tone about Miss Crossland.]

If you ask me who told me all this? it was Miss Gordon herself - but some of it had been told me before by Miss Elkington herself.

We had Miss Gordon here for a whole day.

It ~~was~~/is my duty to tell you the "All round", is it not?

I should like to see *ALL this* again, please, if not too much trouble.

F.N.

Hampshire, unsigned letter, f582/26, 2 ff, pen [12:450]

Claydon Ho: Nov 1/92

*Scheme for Victoria Ward*

My dear Harry

Thank you very much for your letter, received this morning, of Oct 30.

Yes: I think the best bargain that we could make was as I gave it in my letter of the 16th

Miss Gordon told me that she had discussed every point with Miss Crossland - & that Miss C. agreed & thought it all feasible -

In note sheet 3, (I think of my letter,) marked *Private* I gave what I considered

the arguments against it,

but only between you &  
me - and I don't see  
how I/we could or  
ought to use them  
viz. principally the  
character of S. Victoria

I think that saying she  
will now instruct  
Probationers well is  
very like saying that,  
having found a lady  
who plays very well  
on the organ, we will  
employ her to instruct  
a class on the harp.

For the *Hospital* it is  
undoubtedly a great gain  
to have 5 advanced Probrs  
or as you say 4 advanced

Probrs & an junior extra Nurse  
instead of 5 Nurse maids  
in that Ward.

Yes: Miss Gordon  
undoubtedly ~~said~~ meant  
the Night Nurse (Assistant)  
to be an Extra Nurse  
i.e. a Probr who has  
completed her year's  
training [Miss Gordon  
not seldom puts on an  
Extra Nurse in this way  
to do Probationer's work.  
And as in my view  
this is a very good thing  
I did not discuss this  
point with her in the  
*Treasurer's* view.]

I hope Miss Crossland  
*does* approve all these  
arrangements about  
Probationers as the  
best that can be made  
under the circumstances

-*really* approves, I  
mean - [Miss Gordon  
was quite respectful  
towards her in tone.]

[end 12:450]

I return Treasurer's  
letter with thanks -  
I ought to have done  
so before - but I have  
been expecting to return  
every day. I also  
return the copy of your  
own letter to him, which  
I should like to have kept,  
but thought you might not have  
another.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/27, 3 ff, pen

"Nursing Directory" Jan 7/93 [12:551-52]  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Harry

What *is* the "Nursing  
"Directory"? It is not Mr.  
Burdett's, is it? Or is it  
the R.B.N.A.?

I presume you have had a  
copy - And has a copy been  
sent to St. Thomas' to answer?  
Mine comes to me from Miss  
Lückes -

I should have thought the  
"slip" at the top 'given in this  
"publication" would be liable  
for prosecution for libel.

And I should think 100  
years in Dante's Inferno a  
small punishment for the  
animus of it.

And the sort of threat  
which compels us sinners  
to answer or be expelled  
from heaven.

However, as you know, all  
this appears to me nothing  
compared to the confusion  
as to what 1, 2, 3 years'  
training means.

I saw Dr. Bedford Fenwick  
- & he did not know.

I saw Dr. Moore of St. Bart's  
- & he did not know.

I don't believe our Treasurer  
knows

I told you what our Matron  
said.

O the "Power of Words"! O  
the Power of Words! O that  
we had some great Enchanter  
now like Dickens or Cervantes  
or Pope to substitute meaning  
for words.

The main thing/meaning that I have  
been able to extract is:

that Probationer 2nd year =  
= Staff Nurse

but is to be paid as Probr.

& Probationers 1st year is to be paid  
lower still or not at all

& that those who give like Miss Pyne's  
certificates give them at  
the end of the 2nd year 6 months  
in a Surgical & 6 in a Medical  
Ward.

But she has nothing

at all to correspond with  
the regular steady system  
of moral training & technical  
classes under Miss Crossland.

What our Matron calls  
2 years' training I have  
written to you already

II

With regard to the other attack

-slip at top - Probrs sent  
out ~~to~~ as Private Nurses,  
Miss Pyne, as I wrote to  
you in a little statement,  
declares as I think justly  
one year's training quite  
enough - & from one to two  
years are the outside for a  
Private Nurse.

-2-

III. I ~~will~~ also send ~~to Mull~~ on a small  
printed paper - also sent  
me by Miss Lückes -  
Miss Glover might give  
us the same cuff in the face  
It seems as if all getting  
rid of unsuitable Probrs  
Or Nurses will become  
impossible unless they  
have murdered somebody.

Truly this is a curious  
crisis.

Will you kindly return me  
the two printed papers  
for Miss Lückes in course  
of time? I want very  
much to know your  
views on these subjects  
ever yours  
F.N.

[end 12:552]

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/29, 2 ff, pen & pencil

R. Charter

R.B.N.A. May 26/93

[12:555]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Harry

I am "coming" the troublesome  
again -

In spite of failing eyes,  
I read the "Times" leading Article  
yesterday - & also to-day  
? Troutbeck's pithy little  
enquiry from Western Training School.

Could the D. of Westminster,  
always favourable, write a  
letter to the "Times", prompted  
by you & Mr. Rathbone?

Also; would Dr.? Wace, of  
King's C.H. ? x

And St. Thomas' by you &  
the Treasurer?

Perhaps the "London" is  
re-habilitated enough to  
do the same -

---

x You know Sir. H. Davey has a  
daughter in training at King's:

At all events the "Times" *must*  
put in the D. of Westminster  
if he writes.

And should Mr. Rathbone  
ask a question in the Ho:  
of C.?

Our object being now only  
to show that the "opposition"  
are respectable people  
with "public ground" &  
a sense of "public" duty -  
I think we are fallen very low for  
the "Times" - (to use its own language  
this morning about another thing)  
to give its "petulant & ignorant  
"criticisms" "upon a system of"  
training "of which it understands

"nothing, save that it does not  
"allow" a Princess "to do as  
"she pleases. There could be  
"no more striking evidence  
"that they are utterly unfit  
"to take over the direction  
"of" (Training) "affairs & quite  
"incompetent to grasp the  
"conditions of" good Nursing  
"by which they benefit"

[end 12:555]

ever yours  
F.N.

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/30, 4 ff, pen & pencil

*Pss Xtian's*

*speech*      May 27/93

{printed address:} 10, South Street,      **[12:555-56]**  
                         Park Lane. W.

My dear Harry

I had not read the speech  
of the President of the R.B.N.A.  
in the "Times" of the 25th  
when I wrote to you, because  
of the small print.

But others than ourselves  
feel that it is impossible  
on "grounds of public duty"  
to leave it unanswered.

It has been pointed out  
to me that her own words  
convict her of knowing nothing  
of the subject

that she exults in ~~upwards~~  
~~of~~/nearly 2000 Nurses "having  
enrolled themselves "voluntarily" (for  
10/6 each) "on the Register."

that, had she said: we  
have carefully looked into

the precedents of every one  
of these Nurses, & we are  
unable at present to place  
more than 100 Nurses who  
can be authoritatively placed/certified  
on a Register of this importance  
as morally & technically  
trustworthy. †Then we  
could have placed some  
confidence in ~~her~~/it  
that she speaks of "certificates [see odd]  
"doubtfully secured". Here  
people hold up their hands  
& ask: what else are  
her "certificates"? of Hospital  
"testimonials of which they have subsequently  
"proved themselves unworthy" This is *her* danger.  
She says that they have "power  
"to remove names" - HOW?  
This is more easily said than done.  
& for 2000 Nurses.

What does she mean by  
a "term of training for 3 years",

She knows not what she  
~~says~~ means.

To this might be added  
that it is strange when a  
"Queen's daughter", with a  
Queen's Charter in her  
hand, makes a speech  
she can find nobody but  
St. Bartholomew's people to  
support her - (& one of them  
that wretched *Miss Stewart*) x  
except Sir Jos. Fayrer whose  
knowledge of Nurses is  
conspicuous by its absence.  
~~x Do you see that they have put her in as of~~  
St. *Thomas'* Hospl? This at all events must be corrected.

& Sir R. Quain who does  
not believe in them -  
But what is of more consequence  
her discovery of "co-operative  
"offices" as a panacea is  
directly opposed to all  
experience in favour of  
"homes"

Then "a system which has  
"worked well in other  
"professions" - those words are  
more clap-trap without a  
reality. are they not?

It goes without saying  
that whatever is done in  
answering this unfortunate  
speech must be done most  
gingerly & loyally. But surely

-2-

we cannot leave the Public  
to swallow this all in  
unanswered.

Otherwise we shall have  
answers from the low  
Radical people which  
will do us as much harm  
as the ignorance of the  
high Royal people -

A letter in the "Times"  
most courteously worded  
from the D. of Westminster  
would seem the best.

One is really sorry that  
for ~~her~~ this good natured hysterical  
Princess to have been  
drawn into this "Registration  
"Muddle " - which seems to  
have been from a laudable  
desire to find her something to  
do -

Perhaps I must trouble you to  
let me see this letter again,  
as my eyes are so bad for  
reading the small print of  
Pss Xtian's speech.

[end 12:557]

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/31, 2 ff, pen

*St. Thomas' Meeting*

June 24/93

[12:560]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

*"They have the Charter"*

My dear Harry : This is  
the motto of every body,  
except such reflective people  
as Miss Spencer, and a  
few others of ourselves.

I enclose Sir H. Acland's  
letter -

I do feel most anxious  
to know the pith of your  
Meeting on Thursday; if  
you would kindly give me  
a line -

And could you kindly  
come & see me tomorrow  
(Sunday)?

Of course I do not wish

to say or write one hair's  
breadth beyond what  
you & St. Thomas go -  
nor to fall one hair's  
breadth short of it.

I have had a letter written  
to Miss Spencer since  
Sunday last. I did write  
to Miss Lückes & Miss  
Masson : (& Miss Vincent,  
because she was going  
abroad)

*What you think* I wish  
to communicate to our  
Matrons -

And ought it not to be  
communicated to Chicago?

I feel as if we were in the  
fight of Jansenists &  
the Jesuits. The Jesuits got  
the ear of the King - Our Jesuits  
get the ear of H. R. H.

The Jesuits destroyed the  
Jansenists: but they  
destroyed themselves in  
doing so.

I think this persecution,  
~~is~~ for it is a persecution,  
is better for us than *fashion*.

Sir H. Acland's letter is  
a good type from a  
kindly man of the time.

Never I think in my day  
was there such a blind

respect for mere rank  
as now (I don't mean  
Debrett's rank)

Look at Sir H. A.'s List.  
There is only one man,  
Duckworth, who knows  
anything at all about the  
subject - Paget calls himself  
an "irresponsible dummy" -  
&c &c &c H.R.H. knows  
nothing -

"*They have the Charter*" is  
the cry - even Miss Vincent's,  
tho' she writes: 'I am so glad  
'I joined the Nursing Service  
'before Nursing became a trade.'

ever yours F. N.

Miss Gordon comes to me this  
afternoon.

Leicestershire Record Office

1364

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/32, 4ff, pen

R.B.N.A. July 7/93

[12:562-63]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Harry

You will have seen the  
long letter in yesterday's "Times"  
p. 7, from the Secretaries of the  
R.B.N.A. in answer to ours.

They are not fortunate in  
their style, "nonsense", "absurd"  
"absolutely untrue", "untrue"  
"without any shadow of excuse",  
are their accusations against  
us.

I have not been able to  
read the whole, on account of  
the small print.

But the ~~last~~/penultimate (long) Para. ought  
possibly to be noticed:

Of the 6 Hospitals mentioned  
~~as~~/which "make or endeavour to make  
"profits by sending out private

"26" out of the "33 signatures" are  
it quite out of Court, the R.B.N.A.  
says in its yesterday's letter.

"Nurses".

1. St. Thomas has never  
sent out private Nurses at all  
& I trust never will

2. The Westminster sends out  
Private Nurses & derives *no*  
*profit* from them

    Their training is never  
"only one year," but between  
"18 months" & two years.

3-4 Guy's & the London do  
derive profits from their private  
Nurses. But the London has  
been unfairly attacked about  
it. I hope our Treasurer won't bring  
us into like trouble.

5. Charing X: I did not know  
that it sent out Private Nurses

6. K.C.H. I know nothing  
about. I thought their system  
was quite different.

No one has ever explained  
what ~~they~~/people mean by "3 years'  
"training". If in the same  
Hospital, no Hospital, (one of the  
St. Bartholomew's Doctors says)  
could bear the expence of it.

    We at St. Thomas' could not  
have 3 years' Probrs in the  
Home. And it is the  
*discipline of the Home*  
that makes *our training.*

~~But As you so justly say~~  
to improve training is the  
great thing.

    What we want is not  
3 years' training ~~in the Home~~/As Probationers.  
It is to train the Sisters  
as Sisters after they have



the Probationer - which the Nurse was herself perhaps a month ago.

Miss Ferguson & Miss Masson did do this - The advantage to us of the old Sisters is enormous. But they teach *themselves* to do this. No one trains them

We do nothing directly for our Sisters - But an old Sister of good stuff does a great deal for the new Nurses. Then } there are the EXTRA NURSES  
                  } To have been an Extra Nurse does not really make a Sister ~~not~~

*Much value is not* to be attached, I think, to Professors' Lectures in the 2nd & 3rd year as *practical* training - tho' I would by no means discourage them. It rubs up a Sister & Nurse

- makes them see that they are not left to themselves

And if it makes a pedant use fine words, that is nothing compared to the mischief of leaving her alone to find her own way. There are those who never find it.

Miss Ferguson says that Dr. Sharkey IS a second year's training - not so much in his direct Lectures as in hearing him & seeing him *in the Ward* -

[The Home Sister at the London does absolutely nothing in training the Probrs]

Forgive me. The R.B.N.A's yesterday's letter makes me think: is Hospital

training, as you ~~say~~, desire,  
improving?

And oh! there cannot  
be any real *unity* in  
improvement in training  
unless the female Heads  
(Matron, 1st Assistant (Home  
Sister) 2nd Assistant &c  
meet each other to discuss things informally  
constantly. This is one  
great secret of the Edinburgh  
success. The want of this  
has always been our bane -  
Matron & "Home" Sister have  
always been not one, but  
very decidedly two.

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Now, these things will press  
heavily on us.

ever yours F.N.

signed letter, ff582/33/1-3, 5 ff, pencil [there are two letters, a pencil draft and pen]

**f582/33/1**

To H. Bonham Carter. Feb 15

My dear Harry

I did not know or  
did not remember, more  
abominable me! that  
your birth day - a day we  
must all bless - was on  
Feb 15.

And don't say "alas' "  
when you say it completes  
my 67th year - Your sun  
is still in its meridian,  
thank God - Mr. Jowett  
always said that the  
last years of ~~his~~ life were  
& ought to be

-2-

the best - & of himself he said,  
tho' he had I fear plenty of  
suffering in the lest 2 years  
& some ingratitude in/among ~~those~~  
at least one of those whom  
he had really created that  
they were his happiest - his  
energy never flagged

Sir Harry, an extraordinarily  
different man, & whose last  
4 years were nothing but blow upon blow,  
has often told me that the  
last 2 or 3 were the happiest  
And his energy fitful as it  
was always never flagged -

Sidney Herbert worked  
till his last fortnight -  
And

Now haven't we cause  
to rejoice in your life  
ever more & more - every year  
& to thank you more & more  
& to sing not the Dies Irae  
but the Te Deum - for  
your life

And a great many  
more besides us -

Hoot, hoot, laddie -  
You are one of those who  
open the Kingdom of heaven  
- that which is within  
& here - to all believers.

& not one of those who  
leap from a pinnacle of  
the temple knowing  
nothing - but just  
trusting that the angels  
will carry/hold them up like some  
I could name but refrain  
- And at least one of the  
"angels" is probably a  
vulgar flatterer - And the  
real "angels" who are  
working hard & in detail  
entirely repudiate the  
holding up of the leaper  
from the pinnacle.

F582/33/2

A quite poor woman, a  
great sufferer, & one of our  
friends from Lea Hurst,  
who cannot spell, wished  
me this year that it  
should be the 'holiest,  
"happiest & most blessed  
"year" I had ever lived.  
So wish I that this may be  
not the least fruitful,  
in blessings to others - which  
is saying a great deal -  
& to you & yours - of all  
your 67 years -  
And believe me  
ever yours gratefully  
& affectionately  
Florence Nightingale

**f582/33/2**

*Burn* March 4/94  
{printed address,} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.  
{repeats f582/33/1, but includes after "and" at the end of the second page:}

pen, black-edged paper; starts F.N. did not know or

March 4/94

*Burn*

My dear Harry

F.N. did not know or  
did not remember, more  
abominable me! that  
your birth day - a day we  
must all bless - was on Feb 15.  
And don't say "alas' "  
when you say it completes  
my 67th year - Your sun  
is still in its meridian,  
thank God - Mr. Jowett  
always said that the  
last years of life were & ought  
to be the best - & of himself  
he said, (tho' he had I fear plenty of  
suffering in the lest 2 years  
& some ingratitude among those

whom he had really created)  
-that they these years were his happiest  
-his energy never flagged.  
Sir Harry, an extraordinarily  
different man, & whose  
last 4 years were only  
blow upon blow, has often  
told me that the last 2  
or 3 were the happiest.  
And his energy, fitful as it  
always was, never flagged  
till the very last week  
of his life.

Sidney Herbert worked  
till his last fortnight.

And Mr. Gladstone-  
for this is like his death-  
will be lamented not because  
he worked at Home Rule to

his last moment, but  
because to his last moment  
he maintained the Ho: of C.  
to what it was in the years  
I so well remember, its  
palmy days under the  
School of Sir Robert Peel,  
of whom he is the last.

Now haven't we cause  
to rejoice in your life  
ever more & more every  
year- & to thank you  
more & more - & to sing  
not the Dies Irae but the  
Te Deum for your life.

And a great many more  
besides us.

Hoot, hoot, laddie! You  
are one of those who "open  
"the kingdom of heaven" that

which is "within" & here-  
"to all believers"-  
& not one of those who leap  
from a pinnacle of the temple,  
knowing nothing-but just  
thinking that the 'angels  
will bear them up' like  
some I could name but  
refrain. And one at least  
of the "angels" is always a  
vulgar wretch. And the  
real "angels" who are  
working hard & in detail  
entirely repudiate the  
'bearing up' of the leaper  
from the pinnacle.

**f582/33/3**

And Mr. Gladstone -  
for this is like his death -  
will be lamented not because  
he worked at Home Rule to  
his last moment - but  
because to his last moment  
he maintained the Ho: of C.  
to what it was in the years  
I so well remember, its  
palmy days under the  
School of Sir Robert Peel,  
of whom he is the last.

Now haven't we cause {f582/33/1 continues}

f582/33/2

-2-

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/34, 2 ff, pencil

Dec 28/95

{printed address,:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

You oaf, you lubber, you  
lazy loon,  
as that excellent woman  
said to King Alfred,  
when he let her cakes  
burn,  
you never told me  
of a Christmas box  
for Ivan

---

Yes: I should be very  
glad to see you on  
Saturday.

Monday I am afraid  
~~I-sh~~ wd be too early  
for me - and our  
other days clash -  
Xmas love to Sibella  
F.N.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/35, 2 ff, pencil

Oct 12/98

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W

My dear Harry

As you have applied  
the other Cheque to felonious  
purposes, I am constrained  
to send this one - It is  
all due to you that I  
have it to send.

If you are naughty,

I shall bite you - And the  
Dentist tells me I have  
one of the strongest  
bites he knows - So  
beware

Good bye & good luck.  
So glad you go on to  
Italy  
ever yours  
F. N.

{notation on the same page}

Hampshire, signed letter, ff582/36, 2 ff, pencil

March 12/1900

[12:507]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W

My dear Harry

I send you back  
your "Third Section"  
"Nurses employed &c"  
with a great deal of  
repentance for not  
having sent it before,  
which, I suppose you  
will say, will be as  
efficacious as "repentances"

usually are

The "II Reports  
"Nursing School" &c"  
are included ("First  
"Section - Second Section  
"1898" are included.)

I shall hope some  
day to see them again

They are very  
interesting - very  
creditable, I think

ever yours  
with grateful love

F. Nightingale           **[end 12:507]**

Hampshire, incomplete letter, f582/37, 2ff, pencil

-2-     [1893]

2 *Private*

B.N.A.     Dr Moore thinks           **[12:552]**  
even more seriously than  
we do of the harm they  
are doing - He says: good  
Nursing will be destroyed.

The "3 years", he says,  
are of course to be in *one*  
*Hospital* -

If we are not "destroyed",  
is it not Macaulay who  
says: "A little persecution  
is worth more for purification  
than the best internal discipline" -  
- I think this of the most  
"Christian" Princess' *is*  
"persecution" - & will brush  
us up. It certainly has Miss  
Lückes.

3. *Chicago* in reply -  
It is a Royal Commission,  
as you know - & Pss Xtian  
is the President -

I asked your two  
questions: Mrs. B. Fenwick  
& Miss? Close 1. of whom  
are they the Delegates?  
& 2. who appointed them? -

And the answer was:

1. "of the B.N.A. I suppose:

2. "Mrs. B. Fenwick  
"appointed herself - But I  
"suppose Pss Xtian confirmed  
"it"

[end 12:552]

[8:812]

I don't think there are to  
be "addresses" - Ly B. Coutts

was quite modest in what  
she said to me "I want,  
she said, *short* accounts  
of any successful Woman's  
work by the Woman herself -  
- just to show the American  
women how to avoid mistakes -  
not, to give them a cut &  
dried Lecture, address or plan" -

I have got her e. g. a  
very remarkable short  
paper by a friend of mine  
Miss B. Hunt of Gloucester  
~~of~~/on a Young Man's Club she  
created & carries on without money

She, Ly B. C. asked me  
for a "short" paper on our  
work - *not* a history or  
report - or Statistics -

[end 8:812]

Hampshire, incomplete, initialed letter, f582/39, 2 ff, pen {follows f582/32}

-3-

What would I not give to be on such terms with the R.B.N.A. as to be able to ask their Secretaries who have written this letter in the "Times" what their "3 years' "training" means - I might learn a deal from such a discussion.

But Dr. Bedford Fenwick when I saw him did not know, I am sure, what he meant.

Could I have the reprint fo the letter we signed, as soon as possible? I want several copies - please -

and would it be well to *answer in a few words* what in that penultimate Para: of

their answer they have put "untrue without a "shadow of excuse" as they say

F. N.

f582/40/1, 18 Princes Gardens, London, S.W. July 11, 1891, from Wm Rathbone to FN re some proofs & Mr. Montague's statement

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/40/2, 4ff, pencil, black-edged

*Mr. Rathbone's memorandum*

*Registration of Nurses*

My dear Harry July 13/91

You have of course  
received the Proofs of this,  
as I have

I send you his letter.  
If it is right to do what he  
asks, of course it must  
be done -

It is most difficult to  
me, (& wears my eyes too.)

And I must ask your  
advice at every turn -

-2-

3 p -

I think Mr. Montague  
is rather confused between  
Private & Hospital Nurses  
- & where he says "her  
Training School & her  
employer" this is  
rather confusing to the  
Public -

Also: "Training School"  
should not include  
Hospital - B.N.A.  
considers any Hospital  
a *Training School* - Mr.

Montague does not know  
that all *bonafide*  
Private Nurses, do not  
they? pass thro'  
Hospital experience  
*after* Training School.

But I should have to  
refer to you about these  
& many other things -  
I think there are some things  
which I could show you:  
that the *adversary* might  
use to our detriment.

II

My "Article", if it is ever  
written, will refer only  
incidentally to Registration  
& B.N.A. - & would  
seek to be a sketch of  
the history of the Reform  
of Nursing, with *no*  
controversy -

I have a good deal  
written, hardly perhaps  
any of which will do -  
but I should like to have  
your opinion - Latterly I  
have not been able to  
touch it.

[You know perhaps that  
every bit of my strength is  
now taken up by *two* great extra  
calls]

The short sentences are

very attractive - Do you think it will convince *others* than us who are already convinced?

The addition at end of which has been tacked on *is*, I think, convincing.

But there are several things which I think are not only mischievous but

inconsistent - e.g.

p. 9 et passim  
too much value given to the "certificate" & "documentary" evidence"

p. 18

Will not this set people upon a voluntary Association of Hospitals for Registration (such as has been pressed upon me over & over again) when we have just said that Hospitals & Training Schools vary so much in standard

that we must examine, certify & guarantee the Hospls & Schools, which of course is impossible - & wd send us all under Govt.

N.B. It is very curious that the adversary says at ~~once~~ /the same time: both - (of Private Nurses)

"Of course we shall take references besides the Register -" *and*

"How can you (we) be such fools as to suppose there is time to do so?"

Leicestershire Record Office

1381

About the Proof (Mr. Montague) [black-edged]

When you are so good  
as to answer, please  
return *this* -

ever yours

F.N.

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/41, 2 ff, pen & pencil black-edged paper

Mr. Montague's work -

Mr. Rathbone 17/7/91

{printed address} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

I must eagerly & desperately  
wish to consider it  
"crushing".

I have done nothing to  
it, but what I sent you.

The/My criticisms on it are  
by a lawyer on *our*  
side, to whom I showed

it, who considered it  
excellent, conclusive in many things, but that there  
~~those~~ were the *things* I wrote you which the Adversary  
would lay hold of -

I send you the Proof  
marked to save you  
trouble - [But please  
return it] - reading it  
with my notes.

You must decide  
as to probable effect  
of the Proof - & please tell  
me

*"What are 'my views',  
"when I have them!?""*

Also: *"Had nothing better be  
"done at present?"*

or *"till November"?*

see Mr. Rathbone's letter

[Mr. Rathbone told me  
before, he was going {illeg}  
"abroad on 31st!! He is  
quite knocked up]  
So we have no time to  
lose.

VERY glad of Mr.  
Rathbone's evidence -  
- hope it will have  
great effect

But (privately) Lord  
*Sandhurst* is as great an  
enemy as Ld Kimberley.  
- & really quite as  
"supremely ignorant."

F.N.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/42, 2 ff, pencil black-edged paper

Mr. Rathbone

*Mr. Montague's Memo -*

13/11/91

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
No 2 Park Lane. W.

My dear Harry

This is the sequel to what I  
wrote this morning

I am told there are many  
~~things~~/points the Adversary might  
perhaps make against what  
is printed

p. 2 Are those the Adversary's  
own words? "Registration in  
the Medl profession "contributes  
"to the maintenance of a high  
"standard of knowledge & skill"  
Nobody ever does say that, it  
is said, but only that it  
preserves the public from being  
at the mercy of perilous inefficiency  
or bare faced fraud

p. 6 Admission to a Register can never "equalize the "professional status" of those who are on it. The status of Medical men is not so equalized. Their professional status depends on their individual reputations, not on the fact of registration.

p.7 (a) Registration could not put "all nurses on a par".

(b) Training School or Hospl would be entered on the Register

(c) Public wd have same facilities as now, plus the information in the Register

p.9 - Same answer as to (c)

Also: Public never can have the "power of discrimination"

p.10 "Authoritative register"

Quite true: but alternative is no register & no information.

p. 12 "So far as the register is concerned, one Hospl as good

as another" - ~~This~~ Is this so, if name of Hospl where Nurse trained is put on Register?

~~Difficulty~~ Impossibility of removal from Register very serious matter indeed.

I am more against Register than ever - But I am told that this Memo gives many handles to the Adversary, as I believe you think

F.N.

unsigned memorandum, f582/43, 19 ff, pen & pencil

Headings (for Mr. Rathbone) B.N.A.

1. General Register not adapted to the profession of a Nurse.
2. Why? because General Register is only for the technical qualifications which can be tested by examination. If Medical men cared only for Medical Science, & not for the *care/comfort* & *cure* of the Patients, they would care *only* for technical knowledge & dexterity in their Nurses. But they do care for all that contributes to the comfort & cure of the Patients by the *unregistrable* personal & moral characteristics & *practical* experience of the Nurse.

A nurse cannot be registered like a (Medical/Doctor Student) - the conditions as testable or not by examination are essentially different. And it is this confusion of ideas which has produced all the difficulty. Nor can the Nurse who has to do with life & death be registered like "members of other (men's) callings" see B. N. A (e.g. a carpenter or plumber, a Lawyer, Surveyor or Accountant).

Note A Hospital or Infirmary Nurse is besides {Note has a diagonal line drawn through it}

the only woman who is really in charge of men. which requires a high stamp of character.

-2-

3. As Moral qualifications are so essential, any Register or Public List of Nurses which contains only the ~~public~~ technical qualifications or only bare facts as to previous employment must be misleading & untrustworthy

Nurses with defects in moral characteristics will not be excluded, though of course Nurses possessing them will be found there.

Trustworthy information as to such defects will not as a rule be supplied, even *confidentially*, to the authorities conducting a Public Register.

If the impossible thing were to happen that ~~Nurses~~/Hospitals are to lay open their private Registers, it would only end in ~~their~~/there being *no Hospital Registers*, or at least none of any use.

-3-

In order to appreciate this distinction, the principle must be considered upon which the reforms in the education of Nurses have been based - not merely technical knowledge but everything affecting the life of the Nurses

- a. the Hospital organization & ward administration
- b. supervision } in the Ward where they are
- c. & discipline } training & in the "Home" where they  
are living

- d. physical comforts & proper accommodation

a Home with motherly care -

Nurses have not been raised from their low estate of 30 years ago by registration or examinations.

but by making Nursing a profession into which good mothers of all classes could not object to their daughters entering: moral & physical care & superintendence/conditions - a nurse has quite other things to do than looking after herself - training not only in ~~technical things~~/ Ward practical Nursing under Doctors & "Charge Nurse" but in all good

or "Sister"

habits - a good nurse must be a good woman  
- in short, all that makes a good *home*, with all that makes a good *Hospital*, with all that makes a good handmaid to the Doctors, that is, intelligent obedience & careful trustworthiness - no colleague, no equal to the Doctors  
go to p. 3a

      
{the last two lines have a diagonal line drawn through them}  
Difference between the teaching University with College Life & the Examining University -

-3a-

It follows that the case of the Nurse is not analogous & cannot be compared, as is so frequently alledged, to those callings of men in which a system of Public Registration has been found to confer certain benefits. Moreover, the general education & station in life of Nurses as a class, & especially of those employed in private Nursing introduces another element which precludes any just comparison.

is concerned, the Register applies only to *Private* Nurses. Therefore it is with the means it will afford in ensuring good Nurses to the Public ~~that they are concerned~~ - But the other question is an ~~most~~ important one as bearing upon the development of Nursing & the position of Nurses. Although this object has for the moment not been put forward, yet it cannot be separated from the question of Registration as a "protection to the Public." And there can be scarcely any doubt that in the Nurses' point of view, it is the *most* important & affords the principal inducement to Nurses to enter their

names on the Register. It is therefore idle to speak of the objects of the B.N.A. as being merely confined to publishing a List of Nurses "for the protection of the Public", & of the opposition to their so doing being based on merely selfish ends & offering obstacles to a measure of great public advantage.

-5-

In which way will a General Register work?

(a) assuming that only trained Nurses are put upon it, it makes no discrimination as to qualifications superior & inferior - between qualification sufficient for particular cases & not for all. Hence the stamp of authority is conferred upon all alike - misleading to the public, injurious to the Nurse of both grades - degrades the one & throws undue responsibility on the other - lowers the standard -

The higher the qualifications of the Nurse, the less can these be registered - the more she loses by a General Register - Only Mediocrity can be recognised. The Nurses whom the Register will help the most are those who least deserve. Such A ~~careless~~ Register is a libel on good Nurses & a libel on those whose names & position are used to stamp as genuine what is not. {the preceding paragraph is repeated on the 5th page}

registration of a public nature, there is to be - and possibly of some kind there might be usefully AT A FUTURE TIME, the ~~only~~ body who are to be entrusted with the selection should be largely composed of those persons who have been responsible for the Nurses' training  
post 6a

-6-

6.b Who is to decide as to efficiency of the training or of the Hospital where trained? who is to guarantee our guarantors?

The history of Nursing shows how slow & gradual has been the progress made in the improvement of the organisation of Hospital administration on which the quality of the Nursing depends - great differences between even large Hospitals with Training Schools - very many Hospitals still in the same condition as 20 years ago -

What of the Hospital whø/ich have the lower standard? & who do not appreciate themselves the key-stones of a Nurse's character? the important points?

Is the General Register to enquire into the *Hospital's* character too?

And who is to train the several members of the Registration Board to enquire into the training of the several applicants?

Registration not a matter of right but of selection.

To produce a trustworthy Register you must be able to go carefully not only into the career & qualifications of every applicant for registration but into those of every Training School, so great is the difference in these of qualifications required. 6a {the last section is repeated on p.7}

(c) Removal from Register - practical difficulties arising out of -

(d) Depreciation of qualifications especially moral - & impossibility of providing for continuous trustworthiness of Register.

Nurses are not like the Pyramids, steadfast, immoveable - If they are not going forward, they are going back.

Are the Nurses to present themselves to the Registration Board every year, two years, 3 years, to be re-registered? If they don't, are they to be struck off? But, if names are omitted from next Register, the mischief is not cured.

If there is to be but one registration, this Register will be as untrustworthy a document as was ever submitted to the public, *which does not understand* the matter.

A Registration Board which has neither the time nor the ability to do the work of Registration as experts can do it who alone can make it of the slightest value - such a Board as this supported by persons of the very highest rank who we know have neither the time, not the ability for such work, is practically the creation of an unintentional but gigantic fraud practised on a too confiding public in a matter where

-8-

trustworthiness and truth are literally of vital importance - vital that is in its true sense - as involving life &/or death. No one is so confiding as a sick man - except a sick woman And no public is so confiding as a sick public.

best intentioned  
mismanagement

-9-

With regard to the List published  
by the B.N.A.

~~without going into~~ {the following 8 lines seem to have been copied over FN's  
original pencil}

[a proportion of those on the List have never been  
trained in the Hospital against their names.

a proportion have for various reasons never  
completed their training

a large proportion could not be called trained  
at all technically or otherwise -

Some have neither training, qualifications or character

A careless Register encourages a bad Nurse]

The B.N.A. now assert that they have not  
attempted to guarantee the qualifications of  
those Nurses on the List, but have only stated  
facts as to their previous training, & that

THESE FACTS WILL AFFORD "PROTECTION TO THE  
"PUBLIC"!!!

Without going into details, it may be stated  
that the List contains many names who have  
not been trained in the proper sense at all -  
- who have merely been employed in a  
Hospital without pretence of training -  
some who have been discharged either as  
inefficient or for misconduct

-10-

How are these errors to be corrected?

Are the "facts" concerning inefficiency,  
want of training, or dismissal to be stated?

If, as already said, the names are simply  
omitted from next Register, the harm done  
is not cancelled.

-11-

8. There is not a great outcry as to the dangers which the public are liable to from "ignorant nurses, calling themselves trained -"

Is this a new discovery?

Or *is* it to be met by providing an imperfect remedy fraught with grave evils to the continued progress of Nursing?

A greatly improved service of Nurses ~~dec~~ diminishes - it does not enhance - the dangers which are incurred in employing incompetent women.

It is the old story of ignorant interference by legislative measures with what is best left alone.

-12-

9. *Alternative*

Is it not quite premature to attempt any cut & dried system? You cannot register what is not there.

Hospital organization & education of Nurses are still imperfect - even in the best Hospitals - indifferent in a large number - But both of these classes are in process of development.

Nursing experience & history tend to the conclusion that Homes for Private Nurses *properly organised* must be looked to, to afford what the Public requires, and not a supply of Nurses acting independently without supervision, carrying a certificate in their pocket perhaps many years old, or a printed Register of the same or a less trustworthy character.

It is truly said that the people in England have got the CERTIFICATE DISEASE (or Register disease) - for they attach a meaning to such a piece of paper which it has not, even in the most bureaucratic countries which have

-13-

certificates for almost everything But to attach a meaning to such a Register as the B.N.A.'s shows the disease at a fatal point.

Who is to certify the B.N.A. certificates?  
who is to guarantee our guarantors?

-14-

Result.

(a) The evils above mentioned - from no discrimination either as to Nurses' qualifications or as to character of training.

(b) The public will not & are not competent to discriminate. The best Certificate can only mean that the Nurse *at that date* was a respectable woman & had been trained somehow. Many Certificates do not mean ~~if~~ even that. Did the Public know the value of the bit of paper, no harm would be done - But it does not. And this is proposed to us "for the protection "of the Public"!

(c) If the Register is backed by any "authority", the Public will accept it blindly.

(d) The published ~~evidence~~ List of Trained Nurses affords patent evidence of its seriously misleading & untrustworthy character. And it cannot be otherwise.

(e) the body to carry out any Public Register (if & when required) must necessarily have

-15-

large powers of regulating the selection of those who are to be placed on it - & hence of controlling either directly or indirectly the education & training of the Nurses - And this is what the B.N.A. by their Articles seek to acquire. But they are not a body properly constituted for such an object.

(f) In the present undeveloped state of the education of Nurses & of Hospital organization as well as of the supply of women to be trained, it is altogether premature to attempt a scheme of General Registration X

(g) The extension of Private Nurses' "Homes" on sound lines aided by the Nurse Training Schools & Hospitals affords at present the best prospect of meeting the requirements of the Public.

X X {in another hand} the effect of such an attempt to seriously impede the development of nursing and to nullify the valuable work which is being carried on by the Training Schools

No 7 Part	stereotypes
Petition	mediocrity

-16-

Note - One disadvantage of a Public Register (only casually referred to) is : the necessity of allowing existing Nurses to be placed on the Register, if of an authoritative character. No such obligation rests on a private Register i.e. a system of registration of a really confidential character by voluntary bodies. It cuts both ways. The voluntary Register can safely admit trustworthy Nurses, good up to a certain point but not so thoroughly trained as to be qualified for a Public Register. It lies under no obligation to admit all practising Nurses at the outset. And it does no harm to them by the omission -

The B.N.A. arrogating to itself the position of a Public Register finds itself in the position of being compelled to admit all practising Nurses

{in different hands}

British Nurses Association

Notes by F. N.

sent to M. Rathbone

in 1889

Mr. Montague's

Pamphlet

by Saturday 9th

f582/44/1, 18 Princes Gardens, London, S.W., July 29, 1891 from Wm. Rathbone re comments made on Mr. Montague's paper

f582/44/2 the Memorandum mentioned in f582/44/1 regarding Registration

Hampshire, unsigned note, f582/44/3, 1 f, pencil

The value of registering  
Medical men resides not  
in the Register but in the  
previous examinations rising from  
difficulty to difficulty in a  
well thought out system.

It is idle to say that  
investigation into moral  
qualities cannot be made  
in the case of Nurses if  
people are true

(if Hospls would act  
together)

Leicestershire Record Office

1398

Hampshire, initialed letter, f583/1, 1 f, pencil [8:873-74]

March 27/96

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Sibella

St George

sitting on Dragon

Joan sitting on Music Stool

is not £5 cheap

for this?

your affectionate

F.N.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f583/2, 1f, pencil

10 S. St. April 12/96

My dear Sibella

I think the Sabbath is  
a proper day to remind you  
that Miss Joan has not  
sent me in her Bill yet  
for Charlie -

As to Charlie: the "temptation"  
to a "young man" starting  
on a "Soldier's life" are  
indeed very great - But do you  
know what is the *only*  
safeguard? Early  
training.

Charlie was quite angry  
with me, because I said  
that we could not expect  
such frequent communicat{ion}  
from *all* boys as writing  
home once a year -

He said: 'I write home  
once a week - And Mother  
taught us all when we were  
children to write letters, &  
what to say & how to say  
it - And I do - And  
she does to me -'

Alas! I know boys,  
rather young men, *now*,  
(*not* of our family,)

with many kind qualities,  
who get into all sorts of  
scrapes - Why? Because  
they have had no *home*  
training - And the School  
training & the training of  
the Play-ground, tho' good,  
are worth little without  
the home training -

In a long life I seem  
to learn this more & more  
every year -

With our Nurses, ~~the~~  
home training is invaluable  
And Miss Crossland partly

supplied the want of it  
in some cases in her  
(individual) training at the  
N. Home - *Now we shall*  
*have none* - It is  
individuality that makes  
the difference -You  
can't train human beings  
like monkeys & dancing  
dogs, or *muzzled* dogs,  
as now, poor things.  
Why have all Missionary  
efforts failed hitherto,  
more or less - especially  
in ~~Chi~~/India - Because you

-2-

can never obliterate the  
early life - You may  
plaster over the Hindoo,  
but the early associations  
always *show through* -  
I remember Sir John  
Lawrence saying: It  
takes two generations to  
make a Christian.

And had he lived to see  
the results of the Govt  
education, he would have  
said: It will take ten -

Now they have neither  
Hindoo nor Xtian religion -

The only religious  
Orientals I have ever seen  
are the Mahometans who  
lived for 3 months in  
Dorchester House, opposite  
us - But then they were  
Affghans, who, tho' they  
murder a little, & ~~are~~  
would have liked, I dare  
say, to kill us all in  
South St. in a night  
*after prayers*, [I heard  
them practising with pistols]  
are delightful with their

boys & their Prince -  
unlike the Hindu Babu,  
who is odious, as far as  
I have seen him.

So *I* bet on Charlie  
& his *early training* - And  
I shan't lose my bet -  
ever your affectionate

F. N.

*Please remember the Bill.*

Charlie is in a good Barrack

There are two bad Barracks  
& one, a Cavalry Barrack, which

is, thank God, no more -  
The horses said: if we are  
not moved, we shall mutiny  
And man & horse were  
removed to the Curragh -  
And the Barrack either has  
been or is being demolished.  
- *Military* horses are quite  
capable of organizing move=  
ments. Did you ever  
hear of Jack? Jack was a  
riderless horse (his Master  
having been killed) at the  
Charge of Balaclava. And  
he was seen collecting about 30  
riderless horses, & at the  
head of his troop, leading  
them back to, I suppose,  
Cavalry Head Quarters.

I have failed to discover

whether "Jack" allowed  
some horseless men to  
mount some of *his* horses -  
~~but~~ these men certainly  
returned on horseback  
- but when they found that  
a comrade or an Officer  
was missing, ~~there~~/they rode  
back, one & another,  
mounted the wounded  
man & fought their  
way out of the Russian  
mêlée, but many died  
in the attempt - a  
glorious death.

And when I see in

the Hansom Cabs in  
Park Lane horses who  
by their beautiful legs  
must have been hunters  
or even racers - galloping  
up Park Lane as long  
as they can stand, I say  
too - "a glorious death" -  
and horses should teach  
us, not we them, duty.  
- do you think?

Now I'm talking  
nonsense - you will say.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f583/3, 2ff, pencil [8:875]

10 South St April 26/96

My dear Sibella

Very many thanks  
for your very kind letter -

I stick by Parents'  
early training & Charlie -  
Parents must of course  
have wisdom, like you :  
& not be werriting the  
children - And the father  
be a father, as the mother  
a mother - like yours -  
There seem to be odd  
exceptions - but you

generally find when  
you look that there has  
been some friend, perhaps  
only an old Nurse, who  
has captured the child's  
attention - But that's an  
immoral doctrine - And  
you are not to listen -

I don't know whether  
 you mean to come up  
 for the May 2 Concert  
 in aid of St. Thomas' -  
 I was sending down two  
 tickets for Joan (the  
 Great Singing Mistress)  
 & a brother -

But I can't get the  
 Tickets till tomorrow,  
 Monday, when they  
 shall come -

Thanks so many for  
 the Bill & all the trouble  
 you have taken so kindly  
 But was not there a  
*Blotting-book* (Writing book)  
 to be got for Charlie  
 besides the Despatch box?

However, here's the  
 present state at the  
 Bank of England

Music Seat	£5. 15
Despatch Box	3. 11
	<hr/> £9. 6

Paid March 27  
 by Cheque

April 25  
 with thanks

But where's the *Writing Book*?  
 ever your affectionate  
 F.N.

£5
4. 6
<hr/> £9. 6

Hampshire, signed letter, f583/4, 2 ff, pencil [8:875]

Oct 13/96

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sibella

I cannot thank you  
enough for your great  
kindness in thinking of  
me & wishing to lend  
me your charming house  
on Hayes Common -

Alas for me! I fear  
there is no earthly chance  
of my being able to avail  
myself of your kindness.

I have not been out  
of my own room but five

or six times since before & then only to into the  
Xmas - And I was told Drawing room  
only the other day again  
that I must on no account  
go out

It sounds only too  
delightful -

But please not to  
dis-order any "dismantling" for me  
- for I am quite sure no  
Doctor would let me  
come -

1000 thanks - love to Joan - Do you hear  
ever your affectionate "every week" from Charlie?

F. Nightingale He told me he wrote & you  
to him "every week"

Hampshire, signed letter, f583/5, 2 ff, pencil [8:876]

Private July 28/99  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella

I hope you will be kind  
& let me send you  
this small sum -  
Harry saves me ten  
times that sum every  
year -

I am glad he is going into  
the country - tho' I miss  
him so very much when  
you go -

It is not 'genteel' when  
a wife tells her husband

these trifles - And if  
you do it, I will  
bite you, which is  
very genteel -

God bless you both  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

I will get this Cheque  
cashed for you at the  
Bank if it will  
save you trouble.

F.N.

{archivist: (cover)  
Mrs. Hy Bonham Carter  
5 Hyde Park Square  
28/7/99

Leicestershire Record Office

1407

Hampshire, signed letter, f583/6, 2 Ff, pencil

{in another hand: } *Tuesday 29th Jany 21, 1901*  
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella

**[8:876]**

Many, many thanks for  
your most kind letter. But  
I am sorry (for myself) that  
I am engaged to-day & all the  
week up to to-day week.

Could I ask for  
*tomorrow week?* or any day  
*after*, if you would kindly  
say what would suit you  
best - at 5 (five) p.m.

And also I should so  
like to see Gerard one day  
next week, if you would

kindly say what would  
suit him best at the  
same hour

With much love,  
your affectionate  
Florence

Hampshire, signed letter, f583/7, 2 ff, pencil

January 23, 1901

[8:876]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella

I shall be so glad to see  
you next Tuesday at 5 -  
Would it be convenient for  
Gerard to come on Thursday  
instead of Wednesday at  
5?

May I ask; is it necessary to  
give my maids mourning?  
as I feel undecided whether to  
do so or not? So I thought  
I might ask your advice.

I should like to do some-  
-thing to show that one

cares. and this is the  
only thing that it seem  
one can do.

[It would of course be  
only a simple black gown,  
not expensive]

Or a cheaper thing to do  
would be:

to give what they had  
not got:  
a black hat to any one  
who had got a black gown

With much love  
your affectionate  
Flo

Leicestershire Record Office 1409

Hampshire, signed note, f583/8, 1f, pencil

Feb 18 1901

**[8:877]**

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest

I am not very well this  
morning - but my chief concern is  
that I am not able to see  
you -

Could you kindly come this  
day week?

ever your  
old Flo

{archivist: (cover)}

Mrs. Henry Bonham Carter  
5 Hyde Park Square

18/2/1901

Leicestershire Record Office

1410

Hampshire, signed note, f583/9, 2 ff, pencil, black-edged paper and envelope

Oct 16/1901

[8:877]

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella

I am sorry to  
trouble you, but  
may I ask you: do  
you think it necessary  
for my servants to  
be vaccinated? One  
does not want one's  
servants to be the  
only ones unvaccinated,  
if there is necessity  
But if there is no  
necessity, why do it?

With very best love

yours

Flo

{archivist: (cover)} {stamped} EXPRESS

*wait for answer*

Mrs. Henry Bonham Carter

5 Hyde Park Square

16/10/1901

Leicestershire Record Office

1411

Hampshire, signed letter, f584, 8 ff, pen

Hampstead N W

[8:156-58]

Private Aug 15/61

My dear Sir Joshua Jebb

You know that my dear master is dead - an irreparable loss to the nation but oh! how much more so to the troops & to me - & that Mr. Clough is banished abroad for *the winter by his health*.

I am obliged therefore to trouble you to lay before the Committee of the N. fund a scheme for utilizing the remainder of its income, supposing, that is, that it meets with your own approval & that you will urge it, as from yourself - Otherwise it will appear, as all experiments must do, so unformed that I

doubt its recommending itself to them. It is not however really 1 unformed X X X It has been a matter of anxious consideration & consultation between me & the Lady Supt of King's College Hospital for months. And I once mentioned it to you before -

It is that of training Midwife=nurses for the country. It was necessary to ~~have~~/find for this purpose, not only Midwifery wards in a great London Hospl, but eminent practitioners who would be willing to take the trouble of instruction - and also, which could not be found in any of the Lying=in Hospitals in London, a tried & religious Supt who would undertake the labour

of training for the love of her fellow-creatures.

I believe that I have found all this at King's Coll. Hosp.

It is true that the Hospl is so poor that it would not even entertain the proposition of having Midwifery Wards at all - unless freed from expense for itself - The N. fund will therefore apparently pay for the Patients, instead of for the Nurses, which I am afraid the Committee will not like - But, on the other hand, it pays at St. Thomas' for that which it will not have to pay for here. The real expense will be pretty much the same in both cases.

The great point of difference will be that the Probationers in the present case, will, at least

for the first year of the experiment,  
have to pay for their own board -

[I believe that there are  
many country ladies & clergymen  
who will be glad to send up  
a woman of their own parish  
& pay for her - to be trained &  
sent back.

For it is not proposed that  
these Probationers should enter  
afterwards the Society of St. John's  
House : but should be set entirely  
free, as in the case of St. Thomas;  
Probationers - only, as in their  
case, they are supposed to follow  
up the service for which they  
are trained]

I myself have advised Miss  
Jones, the Supt of St. John's House  
& King's Coll: Hosp. who is kindly  
anxious to undertake this, not to

do so, unless

1. the N. Committee will guarantee to her £500 per ann. for two years.
2. ~~will~~ that it will not require a more exact scheme than this for 2 years: because it is an experiment - much more, so than in the case of St. Thomas', for here the wards have to be formed.

I have however been, of course, anxiously considering ~~all~~/and enquiring all this time, how to make the best (national) use of the remainder of the N. fund income - And believe me when I say that, after enquiry everywhere, I cannot find any Hospital or any scheme which

*Promises* (it can be but a promise) nearly the same amount of good for the same amount of money

You must remember that Miss Jones and I have both won our spurs for economical management in large & important concerns - & therefore that we must be somewhat trusted when we humbly say that we believe this experiment promises good -

The way I propose to lay out the £500 per ann. is

£100 .....	furnishing 10 beds
£350.....	{ ..... annual maintenance
	{ at £35 per bed
£50 .....	Midwife as chief Nurse

The second year, the first £100 would be available towards the board of some of the Probationers

After two years, the experiment may either be given up - or, if it has somewhat succeeded, a more exact Prospectus be given to the Committee,

I am aware that the surplus income of the N. fund does not amount to £500 per ann. I do not know whether Mr. Marjoribanks would consider it sound (financially) to make it up to £500 per ann. for two years ~~with~~/by means of the (unspent) surplus income of this last year. If not, I should like to make it up myself (privately without saying anything to Miss Jones) for two years to the required £500 per ann.

I can assert, without any doubt that I know nowhere where the Probationers will receive such

Christian & motherly training as from the Supt of St. John's House in England.

I think I had better send you Miss Jones's own statement - only adding that both this letter & the enclosed are "private" & for you alone - & that, till I know your own opinion, I would rather they should not be copied, or handed about, among my Committee, but that the enclosed should be returned to me - & farther worked out.

For many reasons, I should be glad that the experiment, if sanctioned by my Committee, should begin at the next Medical term (October -

Ever, dear Sir Joshua,  
yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

Leicestershire Record Office

1417

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/1, 2 ff, pencil

July 25/67

[1:186]

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Alice

Only this word to say  
that your account of my  
mother's feebleness rather  
makes me anxious to  
say to you - wherever  
she stays or goes, I shall  
come to her. I am most  
fearful lest the idea of  
me should modify her  
wishes as to going or staying.

Sir Harry writes to you  
today that 32 will be

empty on Saturday -

But, if she does not  
feel equal to come or to  
go on to Lea Hurst, I  
am anxious that no  
idea of me should  
urge her -

N.B. I shall certainly  
not be free till middle  
of August.

I am very glad you are  
with her - (in haste).

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Hampshire, initialed letter, f585/2, 2ff, pencil

Dearest Alice

I can't thank you  
too much for your  
account of my mother -  
I must write myself  
to say so -

Will you give my  
kindest love to Miss  
Kingdon? -

Legg called here some  
days ago - very anxious  
to get a place -

I can't tell you how

grateful we all are to  
you for bringing my  
mother up so  
comfortably -

ever yours

F.N.

August 2 1867

To-day, 6 years ago,  
Sidney Herbert died.

I am overwhelmed  
with business -

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/3, 2 ff, pencil

10 Nov./67

[1:449]

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Alice

I must thank you for  
the beautiful stuffs for  
screens -

The Indian embroidery  
on a dark ground, which  
I suppose belonged to dear  
Hilary, I think you  
would hardly like to see  
returned to you after my  
time is out, tarnished &  
spoiled.

The very pretty gold &

red stripe, which I suppose  
is the one Elinor brought  
from Cannes, fits my  
wretched old screen  
exactly & makes it  
look quite sublime. I  
idle for the sake of looking  
at it.

I have still dear Hilary's  
beautiful Lioness, which  
I look at hourly.

I am so glad that  
Elinor is able to go to  
Liverpool to work with  
Miss Clough -

ever, dear Alice

your affectionate  
Flo-

Leicestershire Record Office

1420

Hampshire, initialed letter, f585/4, 2ff, pencil

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

Dear Alice

I do not "dislike" the  
"Western rooms" - or any rooms  
in the house - indeed -

I only said what I did  
because I thought Aunt  
Joanna probably had the  
S. room -

I hope my mother  
would not "leave the Music  
room" for me

I should probably not  
leave my room at first at  
all - except just to pay  
her a visit in her bed-room -

I propose to come by the

3.10 train on Saturday  
& have ordered the  
Railway Saloon Carriage  
But you know how  
uncertain I cannot  
help being -

ever yours

F.N.

I propose to send with  
many thanks the beautiful  
Auguste Bonheur &  
dear Hilary's Oil sketch  
which you have so kindly  
lent me to Beatrice's  
to await your pleasure.

F.N.

July 8/69

Leicestershire Record Office

1421

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/5, 4 ff, pen

Embley

[1:450-51]

Romsey Aug 15/72

My dearest Alice

I am so stifled in dirty  
anxious cares and sordid  
*defensive* business that  
I know not how fittingly  
to approach her who,  
I hope, is *all* happy now &  
with the best kind of all  
happiness.

I feel - in spirit - don't  
you know? - like the maid  
of all work who has to  
wipe her dirty hands

on her dirtier apron  
before she can shake  
hands with the radiant  
bride, whereas I  
should like to feather my  
pen out of the wing of  
the dove & dip it in  
the brightest Thessalian  
spring to give her joy.

Seriously, my dear child,  
my joy has been pouring  
forth all this time ever  
since I heard it - and  
I knew not how to present  
it to her. And you must

do it, not because I am  
not too dirty to touch *you*  
but because you are  
the dear sister who is  
almost as glad of her joy  
as she is herself - & who  
can give her joy for me  
much better than *I* can.

How joyful is this time  
compared to what it was  
last year for her when  
all were so anxious about  
her - & when you went  
to Paris to settle about  
her going to Cannes -That  
was so very dreary. Now

I hope it is *all* right -- and  
that, after a somewhat trying  
life, she is established,  
not in the mere pleasure  
of holiday makers & love-  
makers - but in the  
really highest happiness,  
"solid, substantial, never failing bliss."  
But I am afraid of her  
wicked little tongue - so  
I shall not be sentimental  
but merely ask you to give  
her joy for me from  
the bottom of my heart,  
aye & from the top, too,  
with all my soul & with  
all my strength.

-2-

Do you know that there is  
hardly any man whom  
I should like to know so  
much as her chosen? And  
therefore I think I may  
wish him joy too.

I do not forget, dear Alice,  
that your life will be in  
some things more poor  
for her being a little farther  
away, but it will also be  
more rich - And I know  
that you feel it to be all  
joy in your unselfishness -  
almost as much as if you  
were her sister in heaven -

And now, my dear child,  
my thrifty soul is thinking  
of furniture. I wish I could  
afford to give her a good  
piece, but I can't. And I  
don't know what she would  
like. What do you think?  
Shall I send you £25 &  
ask you to choose? Or shall  
I be quite prosaic & send  
her the £25 & ask her  
to put it in her pocket? If that  
is not enough to buy a piece, there is more to come.  
Advise me, do. Shall it be 2 stools  
for the ancient Briton to sit on?

God bless them both -  
And He *will* bless them -  
And believe me, ever yours  
& hers lovingly & joyfully  
poor old Flo

My mother has doubtless sent  
her congratulations to yours  
& to Elinor.

She is quite sympathetic &  
tenderly glad (when one  
talks to her about it)  
with intelligent interest  
[& would send a message  
if she knew I was writing]  
- often has more affectionate insight  
than ever in all F.N.  
her life.

And I too feel thankful  
that I have lived to see  
this joy, dear Alice.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f585/6, 1f, pencil [1:451]

Dearest Alice

I open my letter - because I have just  
received Elinor's dear letter by afternoon  
post.

Tell her I think it is beautiful -  
*that* is real love - & I ~~believe~~/am sure true  
to the *least-est* little letter. And  
I do so delight in seeing people  
really in love- that is, you know,  
with real people -love which  
makes people heroes, (let the Devil  
say what he will) -

And I say God bless her,  
God bless them both, not only with all my  
heart & with all my soul & with  
all my strength - but with all my mind -

And He will bless them -  
Aug 19/72 F.N

Leicestershire Record Office

1425

Hampshire, initialed letter, f585/7, 2ff, pencil [1:451-52]

*Petition of Women:* Lea Hurst

&

*Bulgarian emancipation*

Cromford: Derby

Sept 21/76

Dear Alice

You ask me if I know anything of Miss Albert:  
nothing but a rather unwise letter; NOT very, I  
saw of hers.

But Mr Lewis Farley, who is, I believe, the  
President, has a bad name with almost  
all of us, even with *good Serbians*.

I think it, the petition, is such a good  
thing to do that I felt tempted to sign it  
quand même. [She *had* written to Miss Irby.]  
But all our other groups of things, for "Sick and Wounded," for

"Bulgarian Relief" &c. have been taken up  
& amalgamated, each group by some great central  
concern, *as they ought to be*.

And I am not without hopes that ~~some~~  
Women's Petitions will also be: so that one  
can sign without having anything to do with "League" people.

I sent it (unsigned) as you directed.  
God speed the Right:

yr aff

F.N.

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/8, 2 ff, pen & pencil

July 21/81

[1:452-53]

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane, W..

My dear Alice

How good of you to take  
so much trouble about poor  
Madame Mohl.

The nieces entirely & strongly  
deprecate my taking lodgings  
*at all* for her. They do not  
make the least mien of  
intending to come.

I have no doubt they  
are perfectly right.

At first when I opened  
your note I was struck  
with alarm that the "she"  
who had "written" to you  
"with addresses of lodgings"  
was Mme Mohl herself -  
But I think I understand

it is Aunt Julia.

I think I would let it now  
entirely alone. What  
Mme M. wrote to me was  
to take her lodgings for  
*herself alone*, "without a  
maid," "*in*" my "*street*."

For us to start a fresh  
plan for her which  
she has not herself  
contemplated I think  
would be unwise, even if  
we could get the niece.

I wrote to her, Mme Mohl, on Tuesday  
after I had had the various  
answers that (without  
saying why) lodgings could

not be had as she proposed.

And I wrote to Elinor the  
same morning a note which  
I hope she forwarded to you.  
I gave Mme M. your kind  
message about how, thinking  
she was going to Klagenfurt  
& not coming to England till  
September, you had filled  
up your house till - I did  
not say when -

There is scarcely any one  
our hearts bleed for as  
for her. Her note to me  
was heart-rending. I  
shall never be surprised  
at her arriving at my door  
without notice. But I  
pray *not*. What *will*  
become of her?

You are very good to  
have bestirred yourself so  
much. I may yet have  
to claim it all, & to make  
one of the nieces come -

But I trust not -

With love to Aunt Joanna  
ever yours affly

F. Nightingale

I hope Mme Mohl will not come to  
England at present but  
go to good Ida in Carinthia

Dear Alice I re-open this letter:

I have just ~~heard~~ had a long letter from Mme Mohl  
She writes *most* affectely & pathetically  
but says: "I wish I could box every bodies (sic)  
ears successively that has been saying I  
was going with these poor things" (Ida & Anna)  
to spoil their journey" - Not one word  
about coming to England - She seems to have  
quite forgotten it.

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/9, 2 ff, pencil

Lea Hurst, Cromford, Derby

[1:453]

Nov 21 1881

My dear Alice

I cannot help sending  
you a line with my  
dear love to give you joy  
on, as I believe, Aunt  
Joanna's 90th birth day -  
I hope she is as well  
as your care can make her,  
such tender care -  
2.

I have seen such an  
exceedingly nice woman  
here, age 43, daughter  
of Joseph Smith, gardener  
at Cromford Bridge for 30

years who still lives -

If Aunt Julia wanted a maid, I think she would do. I should have taken her at once had I wanted one, - subject of course to her (12 years') character from Ireland proving satisfactory [She left this Irish place, because they were compelled to diminish their household.]

As *housekeeper* in a small family (*not* cook) or as *maid to an elderly or Invalid lady* she wishes to find service.

3. I am sorry to say that I shall be wanting a cook (in South St.) by the middle of December -- the "good" woman proving a failure in almost every way (as cook) & utterly dirty and a muddle.

I am sure you will kindly think of me (& mention my wants to "the family") if you hear of anyone -

My best love to Aunt Julia - & oh what a letter of interest to her &

to me I cd write her  
from here, had I but  
strength -

But I have scarcely been  
downstairs at all -

Miss Irby goes tomorrow.  
ever yours affly

F. Nightingale

Excuse (*not* conventionally)  
this villainous scrawl.

Hampshire, initialed letter & envelope, ff585/10/1-2, 2ff, pencil & pen

29/4/82

Dear Alice

Would you kindly  
manage to see the letter  
I have just written to  
Aunt Julia - in order to  
insense the lady, whoever  
she be, who is going with  
her to Lea Hurst - or  
the maid - I refer  
particularly to her  
employing Jane Allison  
& to her NOT employing

poor Lizzie Brooks -  
[Shall I tell you what  
she did within one  
fortnight of her returning  
from Miss Kingdon's?  
But I kept her for years  
after that.]

Blessing on Aunt Julia's  
journey to Lea Hurst -  
And blessings on you -  
*Has she written to the  
Shore Smiths?*  
My love to Aunt Joanne, if  
she remembers - yrs ever  
affly F.N.

Leicestershire Record Office

1432

archivist: (cover)} {postmarked:} WINSLOW D AP 29 82

Miss Alice Bonham Carter

Ravensbourne

Keston

Beckenham

29/4/82

Kent

**f585/10/2**

{postmarked:} LONDON X MY 24 82

Miss Alice Bonham Carter

Ravensbourne

Keston

Beckenham

24/5/82

Kent

Leicestershire Record Office

1433

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/10/2, 5 ff, pencil

10, South St., Park Lane, W.

[1:539-41]

May 24/82

My dear Alice

I trust that I am not troubling you too much by writing to you about Lea Hurst furniture for Aunt Julia. I have waited till her return to Ravensbourne, in order that it might only make *one* trouble in your speaking to the maid, if you kindly will. [I have tried to make things as comfortable as I could in having all kitchen utensils

re-tinned and everything 'washed up' - And I am going to send down by Aunt Julia's maid a new piece of some ~~iff~~ satin to ~~be let into the~~/renew some Drawing-room furniture]-

You know Aunt Julia has a room full of her own "things" & utensils there - And I have directed Mrs Francis to give out in the way of counterpanes &c &c &c kitchen utensils &c &c &c everything that Aunt Julia wants - but to take charge of the rest herself -

Please tell the maid that there is to be no stint in anything that Aunt Julia wants -

I come now to what I know you will not think me ungracious in ~~to her~~. It is because the Shores propose to go to Lea Hurst as soon as she leaves: & Shore's alas! repugnance to the place depends a good deal on what I am going

to explain, whether it increases or not.  
[I always retin & renew the whole of the  
Kitchen utensils two & even three times  
a year: once after Aunt Julia's servants,  
- once after Shore's - That is a very  
small grievance indeed - And I should  
never have mentioned it. I always renew  
all broken glass & china several times a year.]

But the last time Aunt Julia was at  
Lea Hurst, her cook - I *think* her name  
was Philpots - not only used the kitchen

-2-

utensils we always leave out for Aunt Julia  
but broke open a large box - of course without  
Aunt Julia's knowledge - in which all our  
kitchen utensils, entirely new & clean  
were packed by me for Shore's arrival.  
That again is a small grievance - But  
these were put back without an attempt  
at cleaning - black off the fire, ~~most~~/many  
of them *burnt* through - all more or  
less spoiled - Shore's family followed

unfortunately at once - And - je vous  
laisse à penser - they thought this  
was my way of receiving *them*, the Shores -  
[I unhappily did not follow that year  
till September]

A room was also left in an incurably  
dirty state, carpet quite spoiled. This also was laid  
to my door, in spite of all I have spent  
upon the house - This again would be  
a very small grievance - if it did not  
make Shore dislike the place more alas!  
than he does already.

You will know how very much I grieve to be  
troubling you about these petty cares who  
have so many petty cares already, as well as  
great ones.

All I want to say is this: I have not  
left any kitchen utensils out for Aunt Julia  
this time: not because I did not mean  
to do so: but because all of them were  
sent to be made good in preparation.

If you would be so very good as to tell  
the maid that Mrs Francis, the woman  
of the house, *will give out all she wants;*  
there need be no ~~stu~~/difficulty.  
But if she, the maid, would be so kind as to see that  
charwomen are sent for, at my expence  
of course, *to clean up all the Kitchen  
utensils* when Aunt Julia leaves -  
& especially if any are burnt through or  
otherwise injured *to have them sent at  
once to Cromford* (Mr Yeomans or Mrs  
Francis will manage it) *to be re-tinned or  
renewed there* at my expence of course -

I shall be very grateful -  
What a long story I have inflicted on you -  
dear Alice. I

earnestly hope that Aunt Julia's stay at  
Lea Hurst will be *most* successful -  
There are many waiting for her: Mary Bratby  
- Jane Allison - Mr Haywood -God speed her.  
How grieved about Miss Kingdon's illness -  
Marianne Galton told me- Is she better?  
That is a real misfortune.

I am afraid Arthur Coltman is not  
better.

Dear Alice, you are the goddess of  
many whom you help - Shore and Louisa  
not the least. -

Shore is better - he was very poorly.  
ever yours affly with love  
& many beggings for pardon  
F. Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/11, 2 ff, pen & pencil

Nov 21 1882

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Alice I thought of  
Aunt Joanna's 91st birthday  
& of you. May your  
cares for her be blessed:  
and He does bless them.

May I send you the money  
for Aunt Julia for her so  
kindly taking Jane Alison  
at Lea Hurst? I ascertained  
from Jane A. that she had  
been employed at L.H. for 9 weeks  
at 1/ a day. And this  
would make £3.3.

I was so glad to see  
that letter of Mme Mohl to

Aunt Julia. It is the  
first letter I have seen  
like herself. It must be  
Ida's being with her. Her  
letters to me were distressing  
beyond anything I can tell you.

Dear Alice In vain  
I have tried to finish  
this. It must go as  
it is - I am going to write  
to Aunt Julia & return Mme Mohl's.

She will be sorry to hear  
that Jane Alison's surviving

niece, little Florry Platts,  
the good old hero's last  
grandchild, has had a  
frightful attack of  
Diphtheria, & poor Jane  
burst in upon her. But  
the child is getting better  
under Doctor & Nurse.

ever dear Alice

yr aff

F. Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/12, 2 ff, pen

Feb 15/85

[1:454]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Alice

I am so glad to hear of you and  
Edith. What a life you may  
make for her if she can recover  
health & work under Miss O. Hill.  
My ~~most~~ fervent wishes are hers -  
& yours yet more, dear Alice.

With regard to our beloved Madam  
Mohl, I have not time or strength,  
(which is the same thing) even to look  
out her letters - much less to look  
them over, to see what is *not* private

for the purpose you mention. I think  
(& I thought ~~her~~/Mrs S's article was  
evidence of it) that Mrs Simpson had  
the most surface knowledge of her -  
She merely knew her picture -  
the tricks of voice, speech and manner.  
She did not know the living original  
mind which made her the life of  
M Mohl, M Fauriel & many others -  
which made her the inspiration of  
the rich as in England many have been  
of the poor. Yet I am very glad that  
you are helping Mrs Simpson. How is  
Elinor? ever yours F. Nightingale

f585/13, Lea Hurst, August 11, to Alice from Parthe Nightingale with family news

Hampshire, signed letter with envelope, f586/1/1, 3 ff, pen

Lea Hurst

[8:859-60]

Oct 30/79

My dearest Louisa

Your letters drop manna  
in the way of starving  
people.

God bless you ever.

I will return the (charming)

Prescriptions tonight.

Thank God that under

your tender care, she

is so wonderfully recovered.

Pray give her "Florence's"

loving love - [You know

Euripides says there is

"unloving love". That you will

never know anything about.]

I think I see dear Shore

{archivist's note: on the facing page: I think the "charming prescriptions may have  
been for her mother, Aunt Fanny being at York Place. Euripides!

watching her.

I am so glad you have found

etchings that Sam will

like. But now comes

the framing of them. And

please be so good as to

let me pay for this: I

intended it.

I have a letter from

Miss Irby - all right -

arrived alone at Serajevo.

But one of her best girls

is dead of consumption

'at home.'

ever & always yours

F. Nightingale

Leicestershire Record Office

1440

{envelope} {postmarked:} CROMFORD A OC30 7

{archivist:} F.N. to Mrs. W Shore Smith (later Shore Nightingale) Lea Hurst 30 Oct 1879

Mrs Shore Smith  
30 York Place  
Portman Square  
30/10/79 London W.

Hampshire, signed letter, f586/2, 5 ff, pen & pencil

Jan 30/93

**[1:513-14]**

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dearest Shore

Thank you for your very  
kind letter. As to the pecunia, you  
have no call to be reckoning  
it up in that way; I haven't.  
As we agreed, we can fight  
& squabble about it in  
another & a better world.  
I am your debtor - not you  
mine. ~~The~~ Not only as  
the ~~time~~ day approaches  
for the anniversary of  
my death Mother's death,  
but always - my thoughts  
dwell on your love &  
kindness to her & how

all the happiness of her  
last years was due to you  
& yours - And I feel that  
nothing I could say or do  
could at all express  
my thankfulness, & hers,  
I am sure.

I thank God that you  
are so much better. And  
don't be cross & ill natured  
to your head. You will see  
he will get better too -  
As for me, it is years  
since I could bear two  
people in the same  
room at once, which is  
sometimes very awkward.  
And I was shocked to find

out that I could not bear  
a young lady playing the  
violin in my room -  
Mendelssohn's "O rest in the  
Lord," which I had much  
wished to hear -

But I believe your head  
will get better soon And  
then you will bless  
Bournemouth & the endless  
pleasure of the sea - &  
enjoy, I trust, some other  
place. But don't be in  
a hurry to go abroad -  
That will come in time.

You were so good as to  
telegraph an enquiry to me  
the day of the house being

burnt in our street. When  
the danger was over, I  
wished you could have  
been here: to see what  
I did. The two upper  
storeys of the house,  
next door but one to this,  
w & under repair were  
in flames before the  
alarm was given. But  
then to see the Fire-Gods  
rushing & roaring up the  
pass, i.e. Park Lane - to  
see each dissolve into  
7 or 8 demi-Gods with  
helmets on, as it arrived -  
you heard no order given  
- everybody, even the horses,

-2-

seemed to know exactly  
what to do - The scaffold-  
-ing in front of the house  
that is, the tops were already  
alight - four demi-Gods  
flew up like eagles &  
with their axes, slashed  
off the tops into the street  
- others stood below &  
trampled out the fire  
with their boots. I suppose,  
if the scaffolding had  
really taken fire, nothing  
could have saved the 5  
houses, two on each side.

Now, if you call this  
penny-a-lining, I shall  
bite you. The discipline

of the men, all acting  
like one, yet each  
with his eyes & ears  
awake to the smallest thing.  
You should have seen the  
intentness of their faces,  
set to their work - I  
assure you there is  
nothing in Hindoo or even  
in Greek mythology equal  
to the Fire-Gods here -

I could not help thinking  
how we waste our time in  
criticism. These Gods did  
not waste a moment in  
thinking what idiots the  
workmen were who went  
to their breakfasts leaving

a fire burning near pitch -  
but up & on to their  
work in a quarter of a  
second.

The police worked well  
tho' they were late on the  
scene - they ranged the  
traffic on both sides  
Park Lane - so as to let the  
Fire-Gods pass - ~~th~~ 7 of them.  
the hose was all along the middle of the street.  
They drew a cordon at the  
mouth of Park St - & of South  
St & on the other side the  
5 houses - one of which was  
so hot that a lady & a  
Nurse, half dressed carrying

babies came out - & after  
- wards went to live at Dor-  
-chester House. The next  
day the skylight at the  
top of their house fell in  
from the heat - upon a woman.  
But she was not much hurt.

All was discipline on this  
side - all was indiscipline  
on the other - maids standing  
at their doors akimbo -  
gabbling & giggling.

But it was a grand sight.  
I am interrupted - but will  
write again if I may.

ever dearest Shore

your loving old F

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

{cover} {archivist: F.N. to W. Shore Nightingale, 30 Jan 1893 A fire in South Street  
next house but one to No 10. A very lively & dramatic description of the fire brigade

envelope, f586/1-2,

{Postmarked:} LONDON W 7 OC 31 79 7

{in another hand} Elises Fattorini

89 Via Marguttai

Mrs. Dukes

Via Sistina

signed letter with envelope, f586/3 & f586/38, pen & pencil, black-edged paper

**f586/3**

**[1:517-18]**

[in pencil] Thanks for all the Christmas Day,  
charming, Evergreens 1893  
your munificence has sent  
from everybody.

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dearest Shore

On Christ's birthday I  
must wish you & the darling  
people about you - a happy  
Christmas, "not dragging  
"our hearts along the earth"  
"but fixing our hearts on  
"heaven," as Augustine, I  
think it is, says: not  
meaning by "heaven," you  
know, any future state,  
for he expressly says  
*to-day.* "I see

"The beautiful child Jesus  
"A-coming down to me,  
"And in His hand He beareth  
"Flowers so rich and rare."

Those were almost the  
last words I ever heard of

Parthe's, the last day she  
was here, just a week  
before her death. And she  
looked up at the Dresden  
Raphael and asked the  
child Jesus to come down to her.  
And He *is* "coming down" *today*  
to give us "His flowers so  
rich and rare." And you are  
to tell me what they are -  
And we must not sadden  
His soul by anything.  
One of the most striking  
things in Mr Jowett was:  
his ever-abiding conviction  
that life was a splendid  
gift. And this was not  
the fruit of animal spirits,

for he had none. On the  
contrary, he was too often  
depressed. And what  
makes it a splendid gift?  
Not ease, not prosperity -  
But that the real virtues,  
the greatness, come out of  
evil, & the contrariness of life,  
& even weakness. For as that  
great man, Paul, said,  
'When I am weak, then am  
I strong.'

The 'kingdom of heaven,'  
which Christ certainly  
meant for that on earth,  
is given to the 'poor in  
spirit' & to those who are  
labouring for others & yet  
are not praised.

So Augustine says, "I have already torn myself from that hope of ours, (that apparently of becoming "friends of the emperor") "& have settled to serve God, "& this I begin from this hour, "in this very place."

Needless to say that God & Truth & Love (working for our fellow creatures) Mr Jowett said meant all the same thing. ~~And~~ He would not have us think that God was particular in being named *Himself*.

"But," Augustine says further; (still referring to becoming "friends of the *Emperor*") "if I choose to become a

£586/38 black-edged paper [letter continues]

-2-

"friend of God, {printed address: 10, South Street,  
"I can do it here Park Lane. W.  
"& now."

Dearest Louisa has been so  
good in writing & telegraphing to me  
& she has sent me a turkey.  
And how good it was  
of Vaughan to come down  
here - And now I  
think of you all as  
"serving" Truth & Love -  
all that dear darling  
party at Gangmoor  
assembled today.

And we have only to  
say: 'Da quod jubes et  
'jube quod vis," as Augustine  
did.

Hoping to see you  
soon & that you will let  
me know the hour & the day  
- & with Express Trains of  
love to all the *dear yours*,  
ever your old Flo -  
Do you remember Mrs Holmes  
at Lea Hurst, my most  
particular friend, who used  
to give out the milk? She  
is very poor, she is lame & ill, her  
husband is almost blind -  
She has only one daughter  
left in England, who has  
had two operations - Yet she  
writes to me for Christmas,  
"I can't think how we can  
say, I fear, when God says,  
'Fear not."

F.N.

Leicestershire Record Office

1449

Hampshire, envelope black-edged

W. Shore Nightingale Esq  
Vaughan Nash's Esq  
Gangmoor  
Hampstead Heath  
S-/N. W.

Xmas Day } 10 South  
1893 } Street

Hampshire, signed, child's printing, letter, f587/1, 2 ff, pen {arch: April}

Dear Bon

[1:426-28]

Here is a list of my books:

- |                            |                                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Goody Two Shoes         | 8. Irish Legends                     |
| 2. Tales of the Vicarage   | 9. Sunday Evening<br>Conversations   |
| 3. The Promised Visit      | 10. An Abstract of<br>the history of |
| 4. Juvenile Biography      | the bible                            |
| 5. Fruits of Enterprise    | There are all..                      |
| 6. Bird catching           |                                      |
| 7. Maria's Visit to London |                                      |

I forgot to tell you that I have got 1st &  
3rd volume of Berquin, Pop the 2nd & 4th, and  
I have Sandford and Merton. Which would you  
like? Here is a beautiful hymn of Montgomery's  
called Prayer. I have learnt it.

1

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,  
Uttered, or unexpress'd,  
The motion of a hidden fire,  
That trembles in the breast.

2

Prayer is the burden of a sigh,  
The falling of a tear,  
The upward glancing of an eye,  
When none but God is near!

3

Prayer is the simplest form of speech,  
That infant lips can cry,  
Prayer, the sublimest strains that reach  
The majesty on high.

4

Prayer is the christian's vital breath,  
The christian's native air,  
His watchword in the hour of death  
He enters heaven with prayer!

5

Prayer is the *contrite sinner's* voice,  
Returning from his ways,  
While angels in their song rejoice  
And say, "behold he prays."

6

In prayer, on earth the saints are one,  
In word, in deed, in mind  
When with the Father and the Son  
Sweet fellowship they find.

7

Nor prayer is made on earth alone,  
The Holy Spirit pleads,  
And Jesus, on the eternal throne,  
For sinners intercedes!

8

O Thou! by whom we come to God,  
The Life, the Truth, the Way!  
The path of prayer thyself has trod;  
Lord! teach us how to pray!  
Goodbye, dear Bon, believe me, your  
affectionate cousin Florence Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter {in child's printing}, f587/2, 2 ff, pen  
My dear Aunt Ann

**[1:461-62]**

I hope you have got safe to your journey's end. I hope you saw the eclipse of the moon the day you went.

Papa says that you were blind boobies if you did not watch it for a whole hour as we did. The garden goes on very well. We have got a very little pretty new book called sacred poetry. Papa has hunted

twice this week. My eye is well and I went to church on Sunday. Kate or Laura has left a pinafore here. Gale wants to be remembered by nurse and all the children. I hope Marianne and Laura and Kate do their exercises. Pray give my love to everybody and believe me your very affectionate niece  
Florence Nightingale  
Please give me an answer.  
{archivist: Novr 1826}

Hampshire, signed letter, f587/3, pen

Dearest Aunt Joanna

[1:429]

What will you say to me,  
if I came down with Alf tomorrow  
night till Monday? I do so  
long for a sight of all your  
faces - And it was not  
proved till today that I  
could go. Which gives you  
no time for an answer  
to stop me. Pardon me &  
let me sleep in a drawer,  
Dear Aunt Joanna, yours  
lovingly, gratefully, repentantly

F.N.

Though these ex post facto  
repentances are unsatisfactory  
things.

{archivist: 185?} Friday Burln St

Hampshire, unsigned letter, f587/4, pen

**[1:445-46]**

Wednesday

Dearest

Aunt Evans desires me to write & thank you & say all that is kind in answer to your dear little note - which indeed I can for I am sure, out of your many sympathizers, there was no heart which responded more warmly to your appeal than the old lady's or wished the young pair joy with such a youthful trust in their happiness & flutter of cheerful life for them. She was exceedingly pleased with your kind thought of her. She is deafer & thinner, but more lively than ever - & younger, i.e., as Aunt Mai says of real youth, {illeg pure?}] more energetic, more really alive.

**[end 1:446]**

{illeg Tires,} me rascaI - I shan't take the 30/ - it didn't cost ~~the~~ 30/, it isn't as if I went to Rome every winter for the fashions &

did commissioning for the votaries  
of fashion. I shall never go to  
Rome again - so you might let me  
do a commission for once & as I  
shd like to replace J.B.C. to his  
mother, if I could, but I can't,  
you might let me replace his  
brooch to her & no more about it.  
so as we owe you £4/4 for the  
picture, I shall send back the  
30/ & don't you be riling me up any  
more - won't 'ave it. I won't...

Poor little dove comes away from  
the Lushingtons early in August, in  
consequence of Mrs Rupert's tiresome  
confinement. I have no other place  
for her so shall ask her here -

Jack, when shall I see thee -  
but as I said, I don't care for  
{illeg that?} so farewell till death  
us do unite.

Best love to dear Fan.  
boy Shore does not come here  
till Monday.

Hampshire, signed letter, f587/5, 5 ff, pen

5 Royal Terrace  
Belfast

[7:339-40]

Dearest I think your Malta  
plan an admirable one -  
I am very sorry to think  
it will prevent me from  
seeing you this year - but,  
on all accounts, it seems  
to me such an eligible  
idea that I cannot regret  
it. Of all the picturesque  
little towns in the world  
I think La Valetta one of the  
most comical, the most  
beautiful, the most  
interesting - & though you  
must expect Malta to  
be the barest of islands  
& a garrison town the  
most gossipy of places,

yet you are well protected  
from the last by the  
company you go in - &  
the delightful climate, the  
pomegranates & the sea  
make up for the first.  
It is such a lovely climate.  
And there is ~~a great deal~~/something  
to be seen on the island  
after all. And the Maltese  
are so queer - one is never  
tired of them. Do ask  
for our friend & Dragoman,  
Paolo (he was not known  
by any other name) if  
you can see him.

I can give you no hints,  
which the Tom Carters,  
who knew so much

more about Malta than  
I do, will not give you  
better - I think a maid  
is nothing but a trouble.  
Certainly so on the voyage.  
And when one gets there,  
if one wants one, I had  
so much rather have  
one of the country. We  
found our maid the  
greatest trouble we had.  
I suppose Mrs Giffard  
takes one for the children.  
Still, if you feel inclined  
to take one, don't let me  
deter you - F  
or I think it is a mere matter of  
idiosyncrasy.

I don't think you will  
suffer much from sickness,

But the only advice I  
can give is to keep your  
berth or your mattress  
on the deck. Sitting up  
is the devil. The real  
misery of a sea voyage  
is the impossibility of  
washing & that I don't  
know how to cure - I think  
~~one~~/the india rubber bath,  
which folds up into a bay,  
is a great comfort - It  
is so difficult to get  
tubs anywhere. But  
even that is difficult  
to get filled on board a  
vessel. Ask if you  
suffer from mosquitoes  
at Malta. I don't think  
you do - But, if you do, take

a "Levinge," which is a complete set of curtain & sheet. Hilary knows them - they are to be had in Leadenhall St.

A little arrowroot & Sherry, which can be made in a minute, is a comfort on board a ship, where you sometimes can eat nothing else - But my advice is, Eat not at all - A hot water bottle for the feet is a great comfort - as you are often cold on board ship in the hottest weather. But you will find all grievances

about climate vanish the moment you have passed Sicily. Take warm cloaks for the voyage.

And my blessing go with you. I think it is a beautiful plan.

You will be a great comfort in companionizing Mrs Giffard - who will want you much - For do not be disappointed if you find a garrison town knowing, not only everything you have done, are doing, but everything you mean

to do - or don't mean to do.

In haste, dearest,  
ever thine with all  
good wishes & blessings

F.N.

I am here to nurse  
Mrs Fowler, who is  
very unwell, but  
obliged to come here  
with Dr Fowler for  
the Brit Ass.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f587/6, 2 ff, pen

To the

Dugnacious little Pog

Dearly beloved      With exquisite  
*yawnings* of the heart do I sob  
out the cruel fact that you & I  
shall not *continny* our studies to-  
gether, at least not just now that  
my prospect is removed afar off  
& that the prospective delight  
of taking many rides on three quad  
rupedated animals, instead of a  
solitary one, is blotted from my view.  
Under these afflicting dispensations,  
I can find few words to express other

[1:429]

than that Papa shall bring Sam's watch & the naval military Gazette and that I hope that worthy is recovering his elasticity of mind & limb. I heard from Miss Parker this morning enclosing a pair of *mitts* worked in red chenille, as there were none left like yours. We hear a poor account of Aunt Jane & of Gerard, rather - who goes to Exeter Hall the evening after Dr Arnott pronounces it a complt of the heart & quite essential.

I suppose Sam has recommenced hunting upon the strength of Mrs Lyford's recommendation - Give my love to the Horners. I do not know which of them, besides Susan, is with you. I cease - for we are all in a state of cold which beggars description and are going to *play about*  
Ever my dear little pog's  
disconsolate viddined F.N.

Embley Towsday

Hampshire, signed letter, f587/7, 2 ff, pen

35 South St

[1:539]

W Oct 17/72

Dearest Aunt Ju

Thank you so very much for  
being so glad to see Miss  
Torrance.

She will thankfully come  
to you for a fortnight or so  
tomorrow (Friday) by the  
train which reaches  
Cromford at 4:18. And  
I thankfully accept your  
kind offer to order her  
a fly for that train.

I am sure that you will  
like her - that does not  
trouble me at all - & that  
she will be made happy  
& well.

But I hope that the

necessary housekeeping will  
not trouble you too much -  
*and please charge it*  
all to me - *including flys,*  
(fours-in-hand, powdered  
footmen & the rest -)  
for which purpose I send  
£5, & will send as much  
more as you please to  
charge.

She ought to eat, sleep &  
run about morning,  
noon & night - & read  
fairy tales, which is  
a religious duty - or the  
like. Shall I send  
down some books of the  
kind? Or will you unlock  
your literary (fairy) stores  
& those of the house?

She is, I believe, a Scotch  
Presbyterian - but tho'  
intensely religious & devoted,  
the most entirely un=bigoted  
person I think I ever  
met with - for she is  
not bigoted either against  
or for any Denomination.  
Her Bible classes are: a lesson  
& study.  
I send by her 3 bottles Sherry  
& 2 lbs Tea - For tho',  
dearest Ju, I agree with  
you that Derbyshire  
tropical productions are  
beyond any other, yet  
I do not think that it shines  
in its 'Teas' -  
God bless you  
ever your old Flo

Hampshire, incomplete letter, paper copy, from Lymington Hospital

2

[16:865-66]

2. In very many instances when Cottage Hospitals have been built, they undoubtedly are the means of with-drawing patients from the County Hospital, & thereby diminishing its usefulness.

Cottage Hospitals are very convenient for the Local Medical men; they save their time, centralising cases, many of which would be visited without remuneration; they also afford them opportunities of performing operations & of experience, which country practitioners do not otherwise obtain.

If the Hospital is thus the means of withdrawing Patients from the advantage of more skilled advice & attendance, it is of course in so far an evil.

Then the cost - most important - depending mainly on the average no. of legitimate cases which the District supplies - usually *very few* in an agricultural district. The Workhouse Infirmary meets the demand to a great extent [And to improve workhouse Infirmary nursing is one of the things to which this present time is awakening; & in London & the great towns with some success.]

A Cottage Hospital should at any rate require a minimum payment for every inmate (to be remitted only exceptionally after due enquiry) -

It is not suitable for Fever cases for which the Parish authorities are responsible.

A qualified Hospital-trained District Nurse at a cost of say £100 a year may be sufficient to meet the larger part of the requirements to the District. In a populous district both Hospital & District Nurse may be usefully combined.

Effective supervision whether of Cottage Hospital or of District Nurse is difficult.

The advantages & disadvantages are a question of degree & local circumstances. and sound

conclusions can hardly be arrived at by a stranger. May the highest success attend the carrying out of this work, (& the decision arrived at be the just one) & all your works is the hearty wish of yours ever sincerely

Florence Nightingale

The Revd

Charles Stubbs

Pardon dryness - *not* of good wishes.

I am sorry not to be more definite.

Should a Cottage Hospl plan be ultimately decided upon - & you care to send me the *sketch plan* I would have it carefully considered & criticized by experts.

F.N.

[end 16:866]

Hampshire, signed letter, 1f, pencil, pub in Victor Bonham Carter, *In a Liberal Tradition* 120

Jan. 28/97

[1:457]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dear "Charlie"

I should be very  
sorry not to see you  
before you go.

Would 5.30 or 5  
tomorrow (Saturday) or  
Sunday suit you?  
Or have you twenty  
five better engagements?

Your affecte

F. Nightingale

This is you:

Je suis le capitaine de vingt  
cinq soldats  
Et sans moi, Paris serait pris.

Hampshire, signed letter, 1f, pencil

10 S. St Feb 3/97

My dear Charley

If I am not too late  
in asking you, I should  
be very glad to see you  
to-day (Wednesday) at  
5.30, if that will  
suit you, & if it is not  
too dark to see the lamps.

Yours affly

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 1f, pencil

14 Oct/98

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Charlie

We shall be very  
much pleased to see  
you on Sunday at 5  
ever your affectionate  
Aunt Florence

signed letter, 2ff, pencil

Oct 11/98

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Joan & Charlie

How can I thank you  
for the beautiful print,  
the lovely picture of the  
man & horse, now  
delighting my eyes &  
mind?

A million, million thanks  
& again a million

And dear Charlie  
will you not come &

see me some afternoon  
next week & please  
make an appointment  
(about 4 or 5 -5 is  
now rather dark)  
for I have an  
appointment every day  
this week, barring  
Saturday & Sunday -  
And I am only able  
to see one person a

day -

ever your affectionate  
F. Nightingale  
(Aunt Florence)

signed letter, 1f, pencil

Jany 27 1902

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane. W.

My dearest Charley

Many, many thanks for  
your most kind letter. And  
I trust this will find you  
better. Allow me to  
give you jot of your  
coming marriage -

We trust that you will both  
be blessed with every  
happiness & with God's  
best blessing

I am sending you a Cheque  
for £20 as a little

token & present for you  
& your bride.

With much love  
Your affectionate  
Aunt Florence

Hampshire, 16M91/22 signed letter, 2 ff, pencil

April 6/1900

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Miss Allsop

How can I thank you  
enough for the beautiful  
flowers we received this  
morning - charming  
Daffodils, primroses  
& moss, which do so  
remind me of Embley -

also for the lovely  
snowdrops received  
some weeks ago -

I do not know how to

thank you- they are so  
delightful both as a  
reminder of Embley  
and of you -

I trust that your  
mother is well - please  
give her my kindest  
regards - & also that  
Mrs. Humby & James  
Porter whom you  
kindly reminded me of

are flourishing -

We are of course in  
great anxiety about the  
War - England always  
succeeds at last - no  
fear of that - But  
must I say that we  
have been very stupid  
at first, & generally  
are: but we are  
getting over it, & shall  
make a good job at

[15:1028]

last of it, as we  
always have done  
We have sent out Nurses  
& are still sending  
some -

**[end]**

I do hope you are all  
well. & I do thank you  
from the bottom of my  
heart - for all your  
kindness -

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

Hampshire, 16M91/23 signed letter, 1f, pen

April 3 1902

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Mrs. Allsop

How can I thank you  
for the most lovely  
flowers you have been  
so very kind as to send  
us?

We have no or not  
much Peace news.

**[15:1029]**

Would we had!

But you probably know  
as much as we do.

However when I remember  
the Wars in my youth

these seem to me  
comparatively small.  
But would they were  
over.

**[end]**

yours ever

Florence Nightingale

We get no such flowers  
in London as those  
you are so very kind  
as to send us.

How lovely Embley &  
Wellow will soon be  
looking!

Leicestershire Record Office

1469

Hampshire, 16M91/21 signed post card, 1f, pen {postmarked: LONDON 3 FE 21 91 3}

London Feb 21/91

Loving thanks for the lovely  
snowdrops & the beautiful  
moss, smelling so sweet & fresh  
out of the country.

& most of all for the kindness  
& dear remembrance of those  
at Wellow Mill

from Florence Nightingale

Miss Louisa Dinah Petty

Wellow Mill

2/21/91            *Romsey*

Hampshire, 65M96/1 letter fragment, 1f, pen

to remember where they  
were put or to find them -

This also could only be  
done in the afternoon -

A small round table  
wants one of its legs making  
firm.

The new (second-hand)  
book-case in the little

{in another hand, written across the note Park St a letter {the rest is illeg}}

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

I wish you a happy New

Year with hearty good  
wishes - & many happy  
New years

F.N.

{in another hand: January 1886}

Hampshire, 334M87/1 signed, incomplete letter to Sir Charles Wood, 2ff, pen, black-edged

2

Lord Stanley's Commission. [9:511-12]

comes up to the reality,  
even in some of the  
best Bombay Stations.

The (W.O. and I.O.)  
Commission has now  
distinctly recommended  
a course, Para 22., p. 12,  
of proceeding to be  
followed at all Indian  
Stations. And the  
next thing to be done  
would be that the  
Presidency Governments  
should have surveys

made.

Perhaps the best  
way would be for  
them to select two or  
three of the Stations  
to put into proper  
order - then to make  
the surveys, and send  
home to the India Off:  
their reports & proposed  
improvements for  
sanction.

Thus a beginning  
would be made.

The present position

is simply this: - that  
every body is willing.  
And yet nothing is  
done.

I have heard (from  
India) that they have  
no Sanitary Engineers  
capable of making the  
requisite surveys.  
This is curious, if true.  
One would think there  
must be men in the  
Public Works Dept.  
If not, I have reason  
to believe that we  
could find them men

who would gladly go  
to India to do this  
work.

Should you think  
well to circulate the  
"Remarks" in India,  
(which are, in fact, a  
sequel to the "Suggestions")  
the W.O. would furnish  
copies.

I trust that you  
will pardon my intrusion  
& that you will believe me  
ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale **[end 9:512]**  
{printed address, upside down:} 27, Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Rt Honble

Sir Charles Wood M.P.

Leicestershire Record Office, paper copies, copies at FN Museum, 16 letter, 47 pages

letter Nov 13, 1854, Before Sevastopol, from Lord Raglan to FN, recognizing her presence at Scutari or Nov 15 RP 3618/1; Having heard that you have arrived at Scutari for the benevolent purpose of administering comfort to the sick and wounded, and have brought with you nurses to attend upon them, I hasten to tender to you my grateful acknowledgment for thus charitably devoting yourself to those who have suffered in the service of their country regardless of the painful scenes you may have to witness, and abandoning without hesitation or reluctance the comforts you enjoyed at home.

You will doubtless be supported in this arduous undertaking by the sensation that you are doing good to your fellow creatures and you will be rewarded by the gratitude of those who will benefit by your tender care.

I have the honour to be, Madam, your very faithful servant  
Raglan

Leicestershire signed letter, 4ff, pen, copy in NAM

Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

[14:100-01]

29 December 1854

My Lord

I regret that so long  
a time has elapsed  
since your obliging letter  
to me, respecting the  
office I have undertaken  
here -

I have now not only  
to thank you for your  
very kind communication,  
but also for a message  
delivered to me yesterday  
by General Sir George Brown.

The General went over

this Hospital & expressed  
himself satisfied with  
the comfort of the men -  
to Dr MacGregor, who  
accompanied him.

I cannot mention  
this gentleman's name  
incidentally, without  
expressing my sense  
of the obligations, which  
this Hospital is under  
to him, as being  
virtually its founder,  
& still supporting it  
with unabated zeal,  
vigour & assiduity.

I regret to say that  
the three last arrivals

of men, in number about seven hundred and fifty, have come down in a wretched state of sickness. They complain (upon the passage) only of want of *orderlies* & of *UTENSILS*, by which a great amount of avoidable stench resulted.

Having been informed that there is a quantity of warm clothing in

Balaklava harbour, I nevertheless grieve to find that these men (all landed since the 19th) *are more ragged & even destitute of clothing* than any of the preceding. *The number of frost-bitten* cases might, it appears to me, have been diminished by an examination of the state of the men on their return from the trenches.

The majority of cases are those derived from *Dysentery & exhaustion, sometimes both.*

These have suffered  
by the length of the time  
on board, ten days -

The naval arrangements  
for landing the sick  
have certainly not been  
so prompt as they might  
have been. The authorities  
do not seem to perceive  
the importance of  
this for the saving of life.

I will not venture to  
trouble you with any  
further observations &  
I have the honour to be,  
my Lord,  
your Lordship's most

obedt servt

Florence Nightingale

[end]

Leicestershire signed letter, 4ff, pen

Barrack Hospital

[14:114-15]

Scutari

8 January 1855

My Lord

I have no excuse to plead for  
the impertinence of which I am about  
to be guilty, other than that extraordinary  
circumstances, such as those in which  
we find ourselves - these Hospitals  
being unparalleled as far as I know  
in the history of calamity - urge for  
extraordinary proceedings, of which one  
of the most extraordinary is certainly a  
woman venturing to address a Commander-  
in-Chief upon a matter ~~of~~/within his own  
province.

I have, however, been, while freed  
from professional trammels, in a position

to observe as many of the details, possibly more than anyone else. Throughout these Hospitals now containing 3600 sick. And these three thousand six hundred include those only in the General & Barrack Hospitals.

The comforts of the sick do not depend so much upon the skilful surgeon even, as upon the careful orderly & the constant change of these continually neutralizes the orders of the former.

My Lord, I know well that what I am going to suggest may be simply impossible. But I also know that hundreds of lives may depend upon it.

The French have a permanent system of Orderlies, trained for the purpose, who do not re-enter the ranks. It is too late for us to organize this.

But two things occur to me as desirable, if possible.

(1st) an exceptional Order for the

moment from the Commander-in-Chief that the Convalescents, if good Orderlies, be not sent away to the Crimea.

(2nd) that the Commander-in-Chief call upon the Commanding Officers to select ten men from each Regiment as Hospital Orderlies, to form a depôt here - (not young soldiers, but men of good character), also 3 Serjeants from each Regiment, for upon the non-commissioned Officer, who now is recalled as soon as he begins to learn his duty, when placed in charge of a ward, depends most of the good order of that ward.

I have only, my Lord, now to thank you for your kindness, to beg once more your forgiveness for troubling you on behalf of Hospitals in which I have been so interested, & to remain,

your Lordship's obedt & obliged servt  
Florence Nightingale

P.S. The approximate number of Orderlies these two Hospitals I consider to be about 500, viz. twelve to every hundred sick, for the sickness & mortality among the Orderlies themselves, in this Dysenteric atmosphere, has been extraordinary), of 70 on general service.

Out of this No of 500, it is not perhaps seeking too much that one-half should be permanent Orderlies, carefully selected?

I throw it, my Lord, upon your kindness & forbearance to me not to betray that I have interfered with you in this matter, whatever decision your enquiries may lead you to.

With regard to the nurses for Balaklava, I am inclined to think that we shall be able to send three or four, but I am anxiously considering the point, & must delay the answer for a few days.

[end 14:115]

letter January 12, 1855, Before Sebastopol, from Lord R. to FN, re her request that soldiers be examined after leaving the trenches and that their transport be as quick as possible

letter January 17, 1855, Before Sebastopol, from Lord R. to FN re her request for permanent orderlies

Leicestershire signed letter, 5ff, pen

Barrack Hospital

[14:165]

Scutari

14 March 1855

My dear Lord

I should be very glad to know, before any active operations begin in the Army, whether it is your intention to treat the majority of the Wounded at Balaklava instead of sending them, as heretofore, to Scutari.

My reason for troubling you with this enquiry is that the

illness of my poor Superintendent at the Hospital at Balaklava has compelled her to return to England. I am consequently requested to go to Balaklava, also to increase the Staff of Nurses there, which is very difficult to do, on account of the great pressure of sickness here. I should be sorry to absent myself from here, unless, as has been reported, the greater

number of wounded will be kept at Balaklava.

Pray forgive me for giving you this trouble & also for enclosing the copy of a letter which I have written to one of the Sisters who seems without my orders to have joined a Hospital in your Camp, lately formed.

There is a great improvement in the appearance of the last

draughts of sick whom we have received from the Crimea. The cases from the two last vessels, the Ottawa & Sydney, were very slight - & nearly all could walk on shore - Not one death on board.

Pray believe me, my dear Lord, your Lordship's obliged & obedt servt

Florence Nightingale  
I have always scrupled to take up your Lordship's time in thanking you for your very great kindness shewn to the Sisters & Hospital at Balaklava.

[end 14:165]

Leicestershire signed letter, 1f, pen

Barrack Hospital

Scutari

March 18/55

Copy {in FN's hand}

Dear Miss Clough

I hear with some surprise that you are about to be established at the Highland Hospital & shall be glad to know your reasons for taking this step.

Believe me,

yours truly

Florence Nightingale

letter, The Heights, Balaclava, March 23, 1855, from Miss M. Clough to Lord Raglan, enclosing a copy of her reply to FN in which she declines to recognize FN's authority, black-edged

letter, British Embassy, Constantinople, March 23, 1855, from J.T. Burgoyne to Lord R. reporting negative opinions about FN

letter, Before Sevastopol, March 30, 1855 from Lord Raglan to Miss M. Clough assuring her of his support

letter, The Heights, Balaclava, from Miss Clough to Lord Raglan thanking him for his letter and offer of assistance

letter, The Heights, Balaclava, March 31, 1855, from Miss Clough to Lord Raglan complaining about the accounts of supplies she is required to keep

letter, Before Sevastopol, April 1, 1855, from Lord Raglan to Miss Clough proposing that the Surgeons make the necessary requisitions for her

letter, April 10, 1855, from Lord Raglan to FN, (copy) suggesting that she not come to Balaclava until further notice and praising Miss Clough's work

Leicestershire signed letter, 2ff, pen

"Robert Lowe"

[14:184-85]

May 7/55

Dear Lord Raglan

I have the honor  
to inform you that  
I have arrived here,  
with a little party  
of three nurses, &  
intend to land to-day  
or tomorrow with  
a view of organizing  
the Hospitals of  
Balaclava -

I bring with me  
M. Soyer, who has  
letters for your Lordship  
from Lord Panmure &  
Lord William Paulett,  
& who is prepared to  
exert himself in  
re-organizing, as he  
has done at Scutari,  
the cooking of the  
Hospitals.

[end 14:185]

I remain, my dear Lord  
yours truly & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale.

Leicestershire Record Office

1481

Leicestershire signed letter, 22D63/70, pen

Scutari

Barrack Hospital

[14:431]

July 14/56

Sir

I learn from His Excellency the Governor of Malta that you have been kind enough to consent to my request that you will receive, & cause to be properly disposed of, some private Hospital supplies, for the comfort of the Sick Soldiers in your command.

I have, therefore, shipped on board the "Antelope" this day

41 Cases

1 Cask

25 Bales

addressed to the "Officer Commanding the British Troops " at Malta.

And I now beg to apologize for troubling you with enclosing the Lt General

Sir John Pennefather

Invoice of their Contents -

In doing this, I am aware that I am imposing upon you, who have much weightier matters to attend to, the trouble of decision as to the disposal of these things, which were sent out for the Crimean Army by the British nation - or purchased here upon the spot for the same purpose.

I venture to add, by no means with the view of making a suggestion which would be impertinent, but simply of stating what my own difficulties of distribution have been - that, in order to prevent waster, to insure the Articles reaching those who required them, & those for whom they were destined - and to prevent them from being consumed by, and

adorning the persons of those for whom they were not destined & who did not require them, I have always followed the rule & custom of the Service, in giving them only upon Requisition from the Medical Officer in charge, in case of the Sick, or from the Commanding Officer in case of loss of kit &c with the men.

Permit me to repeat my apologies for the trouble I am causing you -

I have the honor to be

Sir

your obedt servt

Florence Nightingale

The Air Beds & Pillows in Case 39  
were sent by Her Majesty

**[end]**

Leicestershire incomplete copy of a letter, 1f, pen {arch: MISC 504}

-2-

between the two elements of  
the nation but that, if  
both had equal political  
powers, there is a proba-  
bility that the social  
reforms required might  
become matter of political  
partizanship - & so the  
weaker go to the wall? -

I can scarcely expect that you  
will have time to answer my  
humble questions.

As to my being on the Society  
you mention, you know  
there is scarcely anything  
~~that~~/which, if you were to tell me  
that it is right politically,  
I would not do --

But, I have no time. It  
is fourteen years this very day  
that I entered upon work {breaks abruptly here}

subjects very near my heart -  
the India Sanitary Service.  
I have worked very hard  
at this for 6 years - And,  
during all those years, my  
great wish has been -  
would it be possible to ask  
Mr Mill for his help &  
influence? -

But you were so busy,

Pray believe me

dear Sir

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

J.S. Mill Esq, MP

Leicestershire Record Office

1485

Leicestershire signed letter & envelope, DG 6/D/44, pen [8:569]

Lea Hurst

Matlock        Sept 19/68  
35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Mrs Frewen Turner

I have never thanked you  
for your most kind note  
of July 31, full of encourage=  
ment & sympathy - nor for  
your goodness in sending  
me a valuable little pamphlet=  
tract. But I have thanked  
you in my heart, tho' not  
in words.

May I venture to send you  
my little "Notes on Nursing",  
which I have just had  
reprinted, because it was  
out of print? --

Perhaps Miss Eleanor  
Martin may find in it  
something for her poor  
cottages, in the Chapters on  
Health of Houses & "Minding  
Baby"?

Madame Mohl also desires me to ask my father to send Miss Eleanor Martin "some sun=flower seeds, when ripe," because "they are wonderfully fine at Lea Hurst."

My father thinks that Madame Mohl must mean Holly=hocks, because we have no longer Sunflowers here. --. But he could get her some Sun=flower seeds from the Cottages, if these be really what she means -

Perhaps Miss Martin would write a line to my father to say whether it

be Hollyhocks or Sunflowers or both -

I am afraid I shall very soon be returning on my business to London.

I hope that I am not troubling you by writing these things to you.

Dear Mrs Frewen Turner, I so often think of you - of the kind defence which I once heard you make of me & which I dare say you have long since forgotten - of the peace & happiness which I pray that you may be enjoying, as I think you should, after a long life spent in the service of God,

tho' with many cares &  
sorrows.

I trust that your bodily  
sufferings are relieved --  
pray believe me  
ever your faithful & grateful  
servt

Florence Nightingale

envelope Mrs. Frewen Turner  
Cold Overton Hall  
Oakham

Leicestershire signed letter, DG6/D/217, pen

35, South Street, Nov 14/68  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

[8:572]

Dear Miss Eleanor Martin  
My mother has desired  
me so many times to write  
& ask you to forward kindly  
the "Letters on Egypt", (when  
Mrs Frewen Turner has  
quite done with the book,)  
to *this* address - and I  
have so often put it off  
from excess of business --  
that I snatch the pen  
now in a rampant state  
to execute my Mother's  
desire. I hope that  
you will not think it

troublesome.

My mother will send  
Mrs Frewen Turner another  
copy if she desires it.

Pray give my most  
respectful love to Mrs  
Frewen Turner - I trust  
she is not worse but  
rather better than usual.

May I, on my own  
account, ask whether you  
returned by Madame Mohl,  
(there is no possible hurry  
for the same) two books,  
one on some American  
War Hospitals, by a lady,

& one on the American

Christian Commission - The  
latter I think I saw here.

You must excuse my asking  
these questions, because, being  
a prisoner to two rooms,

I cannot hunt for myself -

I am at this moment in great  
tribulation because  
I cannot find a copy of a  
Persian poem, with French  
translation, by Al Khayyàm,  
which M Mohl gave me.

People take my books away  
& return them perhaps,  
(perhaps not) into my  
Dining = room, where they  
become mixed up with  
other older books there.

And into my Dining room  
I have not been able to go  
for 2 years -. Excuse haste  
& complaints. And believe  
me ever yours affectly

F. Nightingale

Leicestershire signed letter, 718 DG6/D/218, pen

35, South St., [4:108]  
Park Lane, W.  
Jan 8/76

Dear Eleanor Martin

I cannot thank you enough for writing to me:  
[I had only heard of M Mohl's death from some  
one who saw it in the newspaper:].

Yours was almost greedily received by me:

I have written to *her*: but what human  
tongue can comfort her?

If you know whether he was sensible to  
the last: & whether he said anything those last

-2-

days, will you kindly tell me?

No one knows what the loss is to me, but  
God. Since I was 18, he was my truest  
friend. The world was a different world to  
me, because he was in it. But, because  
no one can know what it is to me, I am  
almost glad to be alone with my dead -

As for *him*, what can one say? - but "Glory  
to God in the highest": he was the truest  
follower of Christ, (by whatever name he called  
himself). He was the most enlightened & at

-3-

the same time the lowliest  
& purest soul: he really tried to lived as  
~~like~~ Christ did: & was the only  
man I have ever known  
who *might* have said like  
Christ: 'Learn of me, for  
I am meek & lowly in heart.'

Few knew him as he really  
was: tho' few will be more  
missed than he -

I cannot speak of him -  
[I think, if *she* has health, she  
*may* have a life in editing  
his papers. She ~~told~~/asked him  
that she ~~would~~/might do this: & told me.  
Do not mention this to her -]

My respectful love to Mrs

-4-

Frewen Turner. I know  
what she & you have lost  
in him -

Please write again -  
ever your affecte

F. Nightingale  
My mother is 88 in a month.

Leicestershire signed letter, DG6/D/219, pen [4:109]

35 South St.  
Park Lane, W.  
Jan 27/76

My dear Eleanor Martin

I ought to have written to you long ago:  
(but somehow I feel as if a spring of my earthly  
life were gone: & I can scarcely do my daily work:)  
& told you, as I feel, how thankful I was to you for  
these letters which I return. You may guess how  
eagerly I read them over and over again.

As you say, we *must not* think of "second causes" :  
a "friend of God" is gone back to the bosom of his God:  
I think his life might have been prolonged some little  
time by what we call good Hospital Nursing,  
& it used to make me quite sick to think this:

but prolonged in the midst of suffering?  
perhaps God saw it was not desirable:  
there was no possibility of restoration.

-- French Doctors are generally excellent Nurses: they  
don't write a prescription and go away, as London Doctors:  
perhaps they saw there was nothing to be done:  
there is no doubt the seat of the disease was the bladder  
& there was Cancer.

I wish they had not produced that Haemorrhage on  
the Wednesday before the last:  
it weakened him & hastened his end:  
but even that we cannot be sure was not in  
mercy.

— It seems certain that he did not foresee the end was near: & yet I say it seems certain: but it would have been just like him, if he had known it, & not spoken of it, for fear of giving pain.

I have heard from both Ida & Fanny Tourgueneff: but nothing probably but what you know -

Fanny de Tourgueneff hopes that when Ida goes you will be summoned: as she says, Mme Mohl cannot be left alone - Perhaps this is settled already - however -

I return the 'Temps' with many thanks.- It is good: the Articles upon him have been much better than newspaper Articles in general: & the speeches at the funeral were good - But yet

these Articles (not the ~~these~~ speeches) almost irritate me: they knew but the surface:

they hardly knew the mine of pure gold that lay beneath, that mine of which will now be worked thro' eternity.

Somehow I cannot help thinking that Madame Mohl will hardly leave Paris again: but I may be quite mistaken.

God bless you:

yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

Leicestershire copy of letter, DG6/C/153, pen [6:553-54]

"About the Cottage Privies: -

My father always puts privy  
& pig-sty together - & both at ~~the~~  
as far a distance from the  
cottage as the garden will allow.

Also: but this is particularly  
at Embley - the *whole* seat, you understand,  
is made to open on hinges - After the privy  
has been used or (say) once  
a day, the Cottager's wife puts  
down all her ashes - in this  
place (Lea & Holloway) there  
are plenty of ashes, because  
the people burn coal - In  
Hampshire, where they burn wood,  
the wood ashes are not much -

And a spade full of garden earth is put down too - so that the privies are really not offensive at all -

Above all, my father always gives *each* cottage its own privy.

The privy opens behind at the bottom. And the cottager takes out the whole results (not often enough, *I* think) & buries them in the garden, which, of course, improves the garden.

"Moule's Earth Closets" are used by a neighbour of ours. They are expensive & we (i.e. we of the India & War Office Sanitary Department) believe from experience that, where

those are used on any large scale, when Cholera comes, those houses always have Cholera - For schools, I do think the landlord (as my father has done here) ought to have Lavatories with hot & cold water laid on - consequently water closets, as, when you have laid the water on, you may as well have water closets.

But I tell you this out of my own head, as my father rather scoffs at the School Water-closets here-

If Miss Eleanor Martin chooses to write to me & send me details drawn up, both about privies & about drainage, accurate

-2-

enough to be consulted upon, I will consult *us* of the Sanitary Dept (I often do this for villages & Institutions) in London & give her a regular answer -

I quite agree in what you say as to spending £1000 a year & neglecting the privies. The Bishop of London gets together £500,000 for building Churches - & does not a thing for the dwellings - the seat of all vice.

I ought to say, if you build Water-closets for schools, those for the girls & those for the boys ought to be as far apart, & the paths to them as far apart, as possible.

It is very undesirable for boys & girls to be "chaffing" each other ever on the way to the WC - much more when they are in it.

Bishops have not the least idea how much vice arises merely from breaking down the barriers of decency in this way - as also in crowded dwellings - nor how much what you may call *innocent* vice there is, as Euripides says there is *unloving* love -

Lastly, you probably know that, latterly, people of any enterprise in villages of any large soil have furnished

the whole village with water closets.  
It is much less expensive than  
is usually supposed. And if  
you thought there were any chance  
of its being done, it would be  
very easy to get you exact  
particulars of average expence.  
But I have so often fashed  
myself to do this kind of thing  
for people, who had as many  
hours of leisure in a day as I  
have in a year, that I am  
more prudent now - especially  
as I found out that, in most  
cases, they did nothing &  
had no intention of doing anything.  
(My father never has a privy *in*  
a cottage, or very near a cottage.)  
F.N.

Leicestershire signed letter, DG6/D/220, pen **[13:299-300]**

35, South St.  
Park Lane, W.  
June 23/77

My dear Miss Eleanor Martin

I delayed writing to you about a Trained  
Nurse for the proposed Cottage Hospital, because  
I thought I had one in view: one of the District  
Nurses (Miss Lees) who is leaving. But she has chosen  
& been appointed to another Cottage Hospl  
of which we had the particulars.

As, I suppose, the proposed Cottage Hospl  
in Leicestershire is not ready & no particulars  
about the Nurse yet sent, I do not despair  
of yet being able to supply you from St.  
Thomas': but we have not at this moment  
any Nurse leaving after 3 or 4 years' experience.

These are those we like to appoint.  
If you could give us the *time* and *particulars*,  
we might have by and bye someone to recommend,  
tho', in general, we do send out our Nurses in Staff,  
as you say.

I have seen Madame Mohl, 2 or 3 times:  
I do not like her looks, tho' she goes about  
as usual. I hope one of you is  
going back with her to Paris, if I may say so  
when she goes:

My respectful love to Mrs Frewen Turner:

My mother is pretty well: & I am going  
to take charge, please God, in 10 days  
May I send you (enclosed) a paper of Miss Irby's,  
our friend's? The distress & starvation  
among the (Turkish) Christian fugitives is  
intense.

ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale

[end 13:300]

Leicestershire signed letter, DG 6/D/221, pen

35 South St.  
Park Lane W.  
July 6/77  
6 a.m.

My dear Elinor

I hear from Madame Mohl that  
you are going with her to Paris.  
I entreat you to come *here* (-I shall  
be gone) with her on Monday - & stay  
*here* till you go with her to Paris:  
(picking up a cat which she is to have  
from me).

I assure you she is not fit to be  
left alone. If you were to see her

as I have seen her, you would need  
no assurance.

It is the most piteous & most pathetic thing  
to see *her* who has occupied a place  
*à part* like a Queen at Paris:  
& the widow of such a man:  
beating about London - & destroying  
her own purposes:

Please, dear Elinor, come here & save her:  
yours ever affly  
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, DG 6/D/222, pen

No 2

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

July 6/77

My dear Elinor

Since I posted my letter to you, Mme Mohl tells me that she stays at Montagu Sq till Tuesday:

*then* that she goes to Lady Eastlake, 7 Fitzroy Sq - & that she does "not know when she returns to Paris".

The rest of my letter to you remains the same:

Please make use of this house (by writing to Mrs. Legg who keeps it) whenever you like for accompanying Mme Mohl to Paris -

And write to me at Lea Hurst

Cromford. Derby: for otherwise

I shall probably know nothing of Mme Mohl's movements.

in great haste

ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale

The cat which she wishes for  
shall be left here. }

Leicestershire signed letter, DG6/D/223

March 24/79 {printed address} [8:591-92]  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Eleanor (if you will  
allow me to call you so)

I cannot help writing to say  
what I *cannot* say how much  
we feel with you at the  
calling home of our dear

Mrs Frewen Turner:

'Is it well with her?' 'It is well.  
She is gone home.

To you I am afraid it is  
the breaking up of a home.  
And I long to know not  
only about her, but about  
you. Only I do not like  
to press you to write.

Dear M Mohl; he was so  
fond of her. Perhaps now  
they have met. I always

used to think of him -- there  
was no one who  
wished so much to know  
God, who so longed after  
God. He could have spent  
his life in writing the history  
of God, as far as man can  
know Him, & he was sad  
because he thought man can  
know Him so little. Now  
he *knows Him* after whom  
his soul yearned.

And your dear grandmother:  
she is home, beyond all  
misunderstandings, where  
all is love.

It is six and twenty years  
to-day since I lost my dear  
grandmother Shore: she  
was 95, but what a blank  
that made in my life.

How much I have lived thro'  
since. And how much she  
has known: how much she  
has enjoyed since.

I have often the saddest  
letters from Madame Mohl.  
I trust you will be with  
her soon.

Pray for me: & I pray for  
you. May God be with you.  
Fare you very well: now &  
always.

ever yr affecte

F. Nightingale

How dear Hilary would have  
been with us now:

Perhaps she *is*.

Did you know our Miss Irby?  
She is on the Bosnian frontier.

signed letter, DG6/D/224, pen [8:592]

Easter Eve

6:00 a.m.

April 12/79

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane, W.

My dear Eleanor

Indeed I do pray for you:  
as I hope you pray for me:  
pray that we may both  
find God's highest call for  
us - He has sometimes  
a heavy load for us to carry -  
May He give us & show us  
what we have to do for Him,  
be it hard or easy.

There is so much to do for  
Him in life: & so few real,  
genuine labourers.

One does indeed feel what  
a blank life is to you just  
now: but what a joy to her  
that you were "provided for."  
Ah, but it is a good thing that at her death  
there was no aged person to be turned out of home!

I pray that God may show  
you the way! And  
do you pray no less for me! f  
or my way is hard and heavy.  
God bless you ever:

God bless & keep you & your  
sisters, & Madame Mohl, is one of the deepest  
Easter prayers of yours ever  
F. Nightingale

I have lost both my beautiful  
long-haired *Tom kittens* (black & orange)  
-- only a little white cat left  
which is very miserable. (Mme Mohl's cats).

You once kindly offered me a  
Persian Tom kitten:  
have you a *Tom kitten* to spare  
now? tortoiseshell?

F.N.

signed letter, DG6/D/225 [8:592-93]

Lea Hurst  
Cromford, Derby  
Oct 13/79

My very dear Eleanor (if  
you will allow me to  
call you so)

I was so very glad to see  
your handwriting again.  
I do pray, as you wished,  
that you may find your  
place & your work. But  
we may trust God for that.  
There is such a field for work.

Thanks very many for  
the little Tom kitten. I wrote  
to Miss Crossley ~~for it~~/direct: & she  
was so kind as to send it  
here. It misses its mother,  
but is too 'manly' to cry.  
It is a charming little animal.  
And I have called it Darius.  
("Mr Darkie's" progeny, as you said).

Dear Madame Mohl has written to me. She is seriously offended with me for not being in London. She does not know the circumstances - I come down here every year at the risk of my life (this year the journey was more serious to me than ever) in charge of my dear Mother. Her condition here was very anxious. She has just returned to London under the care of my cousin, good Shore, who *is* so good to her. And I stay here to ~~regulate~~/help in such a mass of business, Schools, sick & dying people &c &c &c, as we are the only resident family, if poor Mother & I can

be called 'a family,' ~~her~~ at  
Lea Hurst now: besides  
trying to work up the arrears  
of my own business.

Then when,  
But I will not write all this,  
dear Eleanor: you were  
so kind as to ask after us:  
& I thought perhaps it was  
as well to tell you, as  
you might make Mme Mohl  
understand, thro' the lady,  
(your cousin?) whom she is with:  
Mrs Fickers: [I will also write to Mme  
Mohl.]

Pray for me  
& believe me  
ever yrs affly  
F. Nightingale  
Mme Mohl wants *me* to "decide"  
or at least to "advise" about the publication of his  
letters to her. Priceless his

letters must be: but I am  
wholly unequal to such a  
"decision" or "advice." A competent  
person should give a  
month or 6 weeks to looking  
them through. How I, were I  
competent, should enjoy such a task.  
But I could scarcely give  
6 hours from the business  
which has had far too  
many claims upon me  
for 25 years & more -  
F.N.

signed letter, DG6/D/226, pen

June 6 1882

[8:597]

10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Eleanor Martin

I have had a piteous  
letter from Madame Mohl,  
I cannot tell you how  
piteous.

But she asks me to write  
to you to come "to look  
after" her.

It appears to me from  
her letter that there is  
not a day to be lost:  
and I am ~~quite~~/sure if  
you were to see it that  
you would kindly set off  
for Paris with the least  
possible delay, provided

indeed that you do not know  
more than I do.

But you will judge better  
than I -

I will write again:  
but now, in terrible haste,  
ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale  
Telegraph to me your  
address, please -  
I am not sure of it

signed note, DG6/D/227, pen

To ask if Madame Mohl arrived  
last night: & how she is after  
her journey:

& to ask whether she will come &  
see me *this* or *tomorrow* (Sunday)  
afternoon at 5 or at 6, as  
she desired.

Mrs. Simpson's  
14 Cornwall Gardens

with

Florence Nightingale's love  
10 South St. Park Lane W. June 10 1882

signed note, DG6/D/228, pen

very anxious to hear how  
Madame Mohl is  
so sorry (for myself) that my  
time is so filled up with  
business now & by appointment.

To morrow (Friday) at 5 or at  
6 is the only time I have this  
week to see Madame Mohl, if that  
would suit her, as I hope.

10 S. St. June 15 F. Nightingale

signed letter, DG6/D/229, pen

*Burn* 10, South St., W. [8:597-98]  
June 19 1882

Dear Eleanor

She was so unspeakably pathetic - not in  
the least wandering - but she actually told  
me all her wanderings about M Mohl --

- that she saw him several times "quite distinctly"  
pass the glass door of her room (in Paris):

- that she reproached him for not remaining  
with her - that she actually wrote to him at  
the Institut, but as I understood did not send

her letter - that she has not been able to help writing to know whether & where she could find him - but that she reasoned with herself, & knew it was an "illusion," viz. that she had seen him - [oh dear friend, ~~oh~~ I do "pray" for her - May God comfort her. I never wished so much that I could have said the right word.)

that she had never fancied him *sitting with* her [I almost wished she had].

She has never wandered with me in the slightest degree about HIM either in her letters or in talk but on the contrary been exceedingly perceptive & touching - more so indeed I thought than when he was in life here -

[I thought her sadly altered in body.]

She asked it is true the same question many times about some things - but many people do that -.

There was little trace of her former brilliancy.

She was sad and silent for *her*, but her talk was oh how far more interesting than ever.

I should like to hear of her from time to time if you would be so good -

I was so sorry not to be able to see you

ever yrs sincerely,  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, DG6/D/230, pen [8:598]

Burn 10 South St.

July 9 1882

My dear Eleanor: oh how grievous it is - what you write about dear, dear Madame Mohl - I know not what to say: only to pray : But

I ought to explain something in Madame Mohl's last letter to me which has been misunderstood.

She did not write to me - not *that last* letter - pressing to come to England "at once," - but pressing that some one - mentioning particularly you - should come out to her at once - at Paris. And she gave reasons which would have so

alarmed a Doctor or Nurse - ~~as to~~/for her not being left alone a day longer - that I telegraphed & wrote, as you know -

For she had never said anything of *that sort* to me before -

I do not think I said anything in my telegram or letter did I?, about her being in a hurry to come to England then - But I gave almost the exact words of her message to you - that she *must* be with you "at once."

[Knowing how imperfect her memory is, I sent down to the Bonham Carters first, who are in constant intercourse with Ida, to know whether Ida might not be with her, or going to her, then - in which case I should not have troubled you ~~so~~ emphatically.]

It is grievous indeed that she should be so restless in England as you describe. - I earnestly hope that this ~~does~~/will not continue. If it does, it is because she has again her illusions that M Mohl is *there* at Paris, & that she ought to be with him.

I hope these will pass away -  
I am quite sure she did desire to come  
to England - & would not have been satisfied  
without it - but if unhappily (And may  
God forbid!) you should be obliged to take  
her back to Paris, because she thinks *he* is there,  
may I say that if you were to see her last  
letter to me - [I thought the more of it  
because she has never been in the habit  
of saying such things - but just the contrary - ]

-2-

you would think it quite unsafe for her  
to be alone at Paris -  
I know how difficult it is to be there -  
And perhaps you have many, many  
other calls at home - But I venture to  
think that some one of her nieces should  
always be with her, or some lady friend.  
- Is it not so? -

I WISH I could be with her, as you say  
it quietens her, & as she talks rationally  
& oh so pathetically with me: but alas!  
it is impossible.

I was aware that she had written thro'  
Ida to M Moritz Mohl to find *her* M  
Mohl - And she told me herself that  
she was subject to these illusions -

Her strong mind must be helped by  
those who are with her to overcome them - She does try.  
If she is left alone, they will increase -  
If they were comforting instead of painful  
illusions it would not matter so much.  
It would not be so unlike the truth of God's  
love - & her husband's love -

O may God be with her -  
I pray, I pray for her & for you -  
ever yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, DG6/D/231, pencil

**[8:599-600]**

Lea Hurst  
Cromford, Derby  
Sept. 9/82

Dearest Eleanor

Just before I left London a few days  
ago I had an unspeakably melancholy  
letter from Madame Mohl - She spoke  
a great deal about you: full of  
tenderness for you: wishing to have you  
like her child: & ended with asking  
me to tell you not to give her "lessons" -

but not as if it were your fault but hers that she could not take "lessons" from you - that it was as if she were your "mother" - There was no incoherence in the letter - She spoke of M Mohl as dead & of her great loss & misery - She did not allude to her visit to England:

I answered her letter at once; (I wrote ~~without entering, of course, into the "lessons"~~ question: & indeed only spoke of your love to her as far as my letter regarded these things) & urged her to ask you to come to her). Afterwards my sister told me that Margaret was with her. Is this so?

But, whether it is so or not, I had so strong an impression all last night, viz. that, however almost impertinent it might seem to me, I ought to keep you 'au courant' of what my friend of five and forty years says to me, however

~~almost~~ unreasonable, that I know you will forgive me, my very dear Eleanor.

I often think with the greatest pain, could I not do something more for this friend of more than, I suppose, eighty years old? But it is impossible.

Dearest Eleanor, I do not know what

-2-

she means by "giving her lessons" - But

I guess that it is this - if you could put the things that concern salvation & God & Christ which you so truly feel & say to her into words more familiar to her habits of thought ----- you & I mean the same ~~things~~/truths: but somehow she understands you less than she does me -

I venture to say this because I know we mean the same things.

You truly knew M Mohl: knew him as I did to be a man more occupied with God than almost any man ~~I ever knew~~. If I were to try to describe him, I should say: truly filled with the Spirit - the Spirit of God. What a thing that is to be able to say of any man! But his words, his manner of speech, were different from the usual phraseology of English orthodoxy - ~~Yet~~ those are the words which suit her now. And one cannot wonder at it -

Forgive me -

I do feel so excessively anxious about her I think one can never know what might happen.

We have been exceedingly occupied with sending out Nurses & Orderlies to the War, under circumstances of great anxiety - Pray for them - pray, pray - I have been very ill since I came here, which I only mention that you may excuse this scrawl: wh: I address to Wormstall, tho' I know you are not there, as I did my last - God bless you. ever yrs anxiously

F. Nightingale

signed letter, DG6/D/232, pencil

10, South St. Feb 25/86  
Park Lane, W.

[6:649]

My dear Eleanor (if I may  
call you so) Mr Croft,  
one of our Senior Visiting  
Surgeons, will admit the  
poor little Club-foot case  
under his own care, in St  
Thomas' Hospital. He has  
been very successful in  
these cases, in restoring a  
serviceable foot, & preventing  
preventing the necessity of further  
operations, - tho' these are

not cases generally liked  
in large Hospitals,  
overdone with acute & severe  
cases - But, as Mr Croft  
says, the child would  
certainly "come to grief"  
where it is - There are  
no cases I pity so much;  
for a child certainly  
cannot get itself born of  
married parents, or of  
careful parents. And God  
does let the sparrow fall to  
the ground. But you will  
say: Where is your faith?

So I enclose the Order  
of Admission without further words.

Mr Croft has purposely  
put no day & no hour for  
admission, because the child  
is from the country - And it  
causes so much inconvenience  
to poor people, he says, to do  
so -

He may be brought up  
any day - Eleven o'clock  
is the usual hour for  
admission - But he may  
come in, any time -

Yes: I suppose "Charing Cross

Station" is the nearest  
Station to St Thomas'  
Hospital. A cab must  
take them to & across Westminster  
Bridge, & St Thomas' is just  
on the other side of the Bridge,  
as you know - I will gladly  
pay for the cab, if there  
is any difficulty.

-2-

Thank you very much for the  
title of M Fauriel's book.  
What excitement *she* would  
have felt about this book.  
And thank you very much too  
for two photographs of her  
which have arrived from  
abroad & which I am sure  
I must owe to your very great  
kindness - Do they come from  
Ida? [There is an address  
in them: "Baronin Anna von  
Wächter Brixen"]. I think they *must*  
come from Ida - Will you  
thank her very much?

God bless you, dear  
Eleanor. May He give  
you the highest happiness!

For all our "Auld lang syne" [end]

ever affly yours  
F. Nightingale

Leicestershire Record Office DG/6/D233 [3:512-13]

[printed address] Claydon House,  
Winslow,  
bucks.

19 August 1887

*Private*

My dear Eleanor (if you will allow me to call you so)

May I ask you a *confidential* question? My brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, has had a small living of his suddenly to fill, Grandboro,' three miles from here, its excellent clergyman having been drowned accidentally. The Rev. C.H. Hanning, six or seven years curate of Branchley, has been recommended to him as an admirable successor. Sir Harry has asked me to write a quite *confidential* enquiry of your kindness, at the same time saying that he has recommendations of others and very good men, too, and that he begs you to be so good as *not* to mention his enquiry to anyone, least of all to Mr Hanning.

What is Mr Hanning as to ritualistic views, or as to evangelical views? How much can he win (a) farmers, (b) labourers, as he is doubtless well acquainted with country work? What has been his bringing up as to liberalism or conservatism? The working men at Grandboro' are shrewd, hard, toiling, patient men, with a contempt that quite startles one for the weak amiable young Tory parson. The farmers as a rule are more or less attached to the church, but the labourers are in many places so bitter and so unsettled that it only needs a narrow bigoted vicar to drive them into extreme socialism.

What sympathy would Mr H. feel with the farmers and what with the labourers--two classes alas! now in opposition, and with the questions of the day that concern, so as to be able to guide them to Him who is the way, the truth and the life, and to decent living. Sympathy rules the day now, not reverence.

Is he deeply religious? devoted? genial and modest? Would he be an agreeable friend among his fellow clergy round about? Is he a hard-working man at schools, and an affectionate visitor to the poor, so as to win their hearts? What sort of sermons?

Now I think I have troubled your kindness with questions enough, and will only add that though his political views are enquired after, it is far from wished that he should take part in any political organization. What is his share of a good sound common sense? manliness? uprightness and downrightness?

I was so very sorry about that little child with a club foot whom you entrusted to us at St Thomas' who died of diphtheria, which he was supposed to have brought with him, but which we had feared he had taken at St Thomas,' though there had been no diphtheria for months in the ward where he was. His case was always reported to me by the doctor under whose care he was. And on his death I immediately wrote, as usual, to undertake his funeral at the place whence he came. But this was negated as it appeared it was desired otherwise. I always do so grieve for children or patients who come into hospital for one thing and fall sick or die of another. Abut every care was taken of him.

God bless you, dear Eleanor. How are you? And are you happily employed?  
ever your affectionate

F. Nightingale

I shall be back in London shortly.

Leicestershire signed letter, DG6/D/234, pencil

10, South St. June 27/88

My dear Eleanor (if I may call  
you so) You must have

thought me so ungrateful -

And I was so grateful to  
you for this notice of the  
last of that noble family,  
one of whom was such  
a light to the world & so  
inexpressibly dear to us.

I ought to have returned  
it you long ago -

And tho' I had heard of  
poor Ida's terrible affliction,  
your account of it was such

a great interest to me --

Perhaps now that the last  
of the brothers is gone,  
she may publish some of  
their letters: & this will be a  
welcome task to her -

I have to thank you too for  
the "Waifs and Strays" Socy Report -  
Accept my thanks for all.

The fact is that for 4  
months I have been  
seriously ill. And I ~~am~~/have been  
scarcely out of bed 6 times.

And now I am a good  
deal overworked.

But how I go back to those  
dear old times -  
Fare you very well -  
What a tragedy, the two  
German Emperors -  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, paper copies, 13 letters, 56 pages

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/5 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

1 Upper Harley St

Sept 7 {archivist: [1853]} [16:25]

Dear Lady Canning

Not having heard anything of your Gutta Percha rings, I went out *foraging* - & finding their companions at the Gutta Percha place in Bond St, I took the liberty of enquiring whether any such had been sent to your house in Grosvenor Sq - &, finding that 6 dozen had been sent there, & the man of the Gutta

Percha Establishment shewing me your order in his file, I ventured to desire them to be brought here - I hope I have not taken an impertinent step -

We shall require much more than 5 doz. probably in all, 12 doz. I suppose that I had better order the remaining 6 doz. at the same place & the same price? May I?

[end]

[12:80-81]

We have had the most vexatious delays, bothers & confusions with our workmen, with which I am not going to trouble you in

your holiday -

They are not yet out  
of the house - & we are  
not yet in the front  
large ward - The patients  
still number only seven.  
But we have several  
applications when we have  
room -

We are putting our  
linen into order - The  
beautiful linen which  
you sent us (I must  
tell you) Mrs. Clarke  
has chosen to mark  
V.C. I had intended  
to have all the linen  
marked according to its  
floor - But Mrs. Clarke  
holding firm, & I not  
wishing to be disrespectful

to your towels, we effected  
a compromise, - I had my  
"1st floor" - & she had her  
"V.C." over it, "V." for Vice,  
& "C" for Countess, as she  
informed me! - I hope  
you will approve of this  
titular arrangement &  
believe me, dear Lady Canning,  
yours very truly & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

We have had such work  
with our workmen, & if we  
had not had "the courages  
of lions & the eyes of ocks"  
(by which we mean hawks,)  
as Mrs. Clarke puts it, we  
should never have kept  
the peace -

[end 12:81]

~~illeg illeg illeg.~~

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/5 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

1 Upper Harley St

Sept 13 {archivist: [1853]} **[12:81-82]**

Dear Lady Canning

Mrs Perez bore the  
moving like a hero, &  
was decidedly the better  
for it! - Now however  
she is failing, & sometimes,  
I think, cannot live  
through the night -  
Miss Robson has not  
yet returned -

I have parted with  
the under=housemaid, &  
I have been obliged to  
give poor Nurse Bellamy  
warning, though I had  
no fault to find with  
her, farther than that

she had nothing of a  
nurse but the name &  
the wages -

We have now one nurse  
& one servant less than  
in Chandos St - we bake,  
preserve, & do all the  
Needle=work of the new  
furniture at home -  
(having made all our  
blinds, curtains, carpets  
& linen ourselves) - &  
we don't find the want  
of those extra servants.

Your furniture from  
Mr. Fisher's has not  
yet all arrived. That  
which has come we like  
exceedingly - The curtains  
for the great ward are

all made, & look very  
gay - but they are not  
yet *all* up, owing to 5 doz  
of Gutta Percha rings  
being still wanting - I  
have been to the place  
in Bond St. about them  
twice - They will not let  
us have them for less  
than 2/6 per doz. (but they  
say the price to other  
customers is 3/9) I have  
got those which were  
sent to your house in  
Grosvenor Sq - & ordered  
5 more doz - which ~~of~~  
~~illeg~~/course, ought to go to the  
account of the Institution.

The arm=chairs you

ordered from Mr. Fisher's  
have been the delight of  
the Patients, & are all in use.

I have not seen any  
of the Committee but Miss  
Maurice since Ly Caroline  
Russell's departure - Every  
body else is out of town.  
Mrs. Lindsay has not been  
~~here~~/seen yet.

The workmen are not  
yet nearly out of the  
house - The lift & the stoves  
seem to be stumbling  
blocks & stones of offence,  
as if no one had ever  
heard of them before -

We have seven patients -  
two more coming in - two  
more making application -

I believe that some alterations in the way of organization will be required, as you say - But I have not mentioned them yet - preferring to wait till you & other ladies of the Committee were in town & on the spot again -

Mr Marjoribanks has been most kind & helpful - Indeed, without him, I don't know how we should have got through - Lady Stuart de

Rothesay was so good as to call one day about your furniture & said that she would write to you. We have not been able to take patients into the "Camp" yet - I fear we shall have to change the "Fry" nurse - Mr. Fisher is a dilatory gentleman & has not yet! finished putting up our blinds, but at this time of year London workmen "strike" for their amusement, just as country workmen marry when they are out of work to divert their minds -

With regard to my own share in the business I have been so busy for the last fortnight that I really had never asked myself the question till your letter came. Now I ask myself in obedience to your desire, how do I like it? And I can truly say that, as far as the Patients are concerned my business is full of joy & consolation. They are much easier to manage than I expected & they are always to be cheered, tho' not always cheerful. Indeed I think

we are most fortunate in our Patients - & we are going to lose one on Thursday, who is going home to die, because Dr. Farre can do nothing for her, whose loss I shall regret as if it were my own sister -

I think I have answered all your questions, & I must conclude, in great haste, dear Lady Canning, ever yours most truly & gratefully for all your kindness

F. Nightingale

[end 12:82]

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 2ff, pen

Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

[14:176]

5 April 1855

My dear Lady Canning

Most truly obliged am  
I to you for your two kind  
letters & for your unwearied  
exertions in our behalf -  
I will write more fully  
next post - I only trouble  
you with one line now to  
say that, as the eighteen  
Nurses whom I wrote for  
were for Scutari and  
Koolale, 8 for Scutari & 10 for Koolale (according to the  
rate fixed by the  
Inspector-General) - and,  
as Lady Stratford has

written for & is expecting  
thirty-four for Koolale  
alone - I must request  
that no more be sent  
here - our Quarters being  
already overcrowded for  
health, & the difficulty  
of getting more quarters  
being inappreciable in  
England - I have received  
the eight sent out by  
Mrs. Herbert who are all /whom that I  
intended for *this* place -Scutari.  
The seven whom you are  
kindly sending out -  
this letter will be, of  
course, too late to prevent.  
But it will be impossible  
to hold any *more* at present  
here.

Mrs. Herbert has been kind enough to send print & ribbon for our Nurses' summer clothing - & my sister has sent Barège shawls - I believe - which I suppose will be all we want - So that we need not trouble you at present. With many thanks for your kind exertions, believe me, in great haste, dear Lady Canning,

Yours very truly & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I have written to the W. Office }  
to resign Koolale. }

[end 14:176]

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Barrack Hospital

[14:181-82]

Scutari

April 22/55

My dear Lady Canning

I cannot sufficiently thank you for all the trouble & care you have taken about my Nurses - The seven penultimate whom you were so kind as to send are, I think, take them for all in all, the most respectable set we have had - They are not experienced Nurses, but they seem to be all *dependable* women - with the exception of Miss Brookes,

who I think from her  
grammar, French & Irish,  
is nothing but a parvenue  
*Bonne*, & who *does* go on  
about "her friends the French  
Duchesses" till the Nurses all  
laugh at her - except when  
she is abusing the washerwoman  
in good round terms - There  
is not one of the other six  
whom I do not like -

The four who landed  
yesterday are very respectable  
looking - One of them, Mrs.  
Sullivan, had been dreadfully  
sick - I like their looks,  
but that is all I know of  
them at present -

{last line is cut off}

Very many thanks for all

the trouble you have taken  
about our summer dress -  
The things are not yet arrived.  
I am going up to Balaklava  
this week with four nurses  
of my old ones - The reason  
I have not been before is  
that we have had much  
more work here than there  
& I have been ill -

Do not, please, send me  
out any more Nurses till  
I write for them - I am  
rather glad the drunken  
lady fell short -

I am very sorry for all  
the trouble you have had

I shall have quite enough  
~~to supply Balaclava with~~  
out of the bonnets & print

which you have been kind  
enough to send to supply my  
Balaklava nurses with -

Many thanks for the quinine  
Mr. Sabin's sister did not  
apply to you - She had declined  
coming -

Pray do not be uneasy  
about Kulleh's share of "gifts".  
It has had from Scutari whatever  
Miss Stanley or Dr. Tice (the  
Medical Officer) made requi=  
sition for - But indeed there  
is no more need of the "public"  
at all, as far as regards  
gifts. Pray stop them from  
coming in any more -

With regard to Nurses,  
should any more be sent,  
I would recommend that, as

was done with the first set,  
they should be paid 10/ a  
week for the first month,  
to be raised to 15/ a week -  
if they stay three months,  
to 18/ or even 20/. But there  
is no hold upon women who  
come out without Xtian motive,  
if they begin at once with  
16/ or 18/ & have no looking  
forward to being raised, if  
they conduct themselves well -  
They get drunk at the  
first provocation, knowing  
that they can only be sent  
home -

Believe me, dear Lady  
Canning, ever yours very truly  
Florence Nightingale

{in another hand: April 22 Miss Nightingale received May 5/55}

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 incomplete letter, 1f, pen

I am in great want  
of two Household Servants  
immediately - In order to  
save the Government  
expenche, I have tried  
both here & at B'clava  
all the soldiers' wives  
in turn who would come  
& never will try another.  
I want one for the  
Castle Hospital, B'clava,  
& one for the General  
Hospital, Scutari -

[14:233]

The soldier's wife now  
there, on getting drunk  
the other day & being  
reproved by me, assured  
me that it was the  
smell of three grapes

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Sept 23}

which had got into her  
head! *fact*.

[end]

Believe me  
dear Lady Canning  
most truly yours  
Florence Nightingale

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 2ff, pen

Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

April 22/55

My dear Lady Canning

I shall be happy to  
carry out your wish of paying  
a portion of the wages of the  
Nurses (whom you have sent out)  
in England - they making  
the request individually -

I prefer to give them  
Orders of payment on my  
own account in England -  
I have had experience  
enough of the ignorance &  
the insolence of the Purveyor's

Office here - (vide the evidence  
of Drs. Andrew Smith & Menzies,  
"Times" of 27 & 28 March, as  
it has been told to me)  
to refuse to have any dealings  
with them as to minor details,  
not strictly comprehended  
in the War Office Orders -  
The Nurses must depend  
entirely upon one head -  
or this Hospital will  
become the bear=garden  
which the others have done.

I have received something  
like a reproach from the  
War Office that three  
Nurses, sent home by Miss

Stanley from Therapia,  
called at the W.O. for  
a balance of Accounts -  
as to which accounts I was  
ignorant -

Believe me, dear Lady  
Canning, your very truly  
Florence Nightingale

The "print" for Nurses' gowns  
& the bonnets are just  
arrived - many, many thanks.

**[end 14182]**

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 4ff, pen

Balaklava

**[14:188-90]**

May 10/55

My dear Lady Canning

I would write more at  
length to thank you for all the  
trouble you have taken for us - to  
tell you what an useful person  
Miss Tattershall, the tradesman's  
daughter, is turning out, - what  
nice respectable women, two of  
the Oxford Nurses, Clarke & Howse,-  
-these are of the first party - &  
Logan, the Scotch Presbyterian, I think  
I like the best of the second party.  
(their agreements were all right-  
& so were their certificates, excepting  
that, being expressly designed  
therein as for *Scutari* Hospital,  
it gives me no power to transfer

them to Balaklava, if found desirable)

Also, I have stated to Mr. Hawes my objections to giving these women 18/ at once, without any power of raising their wages - In this way, women, sent back from hence for drunkenness in a short time, will have almost as much use to them as those tried ones who have borne with me the toil & burden of the day. Or I must raise the wages of the whole of the old set at a great expence to Government. The terms of the old set were 10/ per week with permission to raise up to 25/. I raised none till they had been with me six months.

I begged Mrs. Bracebridge, who remained at Scutari, to write & thank you for your

great kindness in taking so much trouble about the summer clothing - & to say that I have had no trouble about *drinking* with any of your eleven - (the two sets whom you were kind enough to send me) - as yet.

I would like to say much more. But this is principally a letter of business to say - pray *prevent* any more women being sent out - The "female troops", as we now are called, are becoming quite the laughing-stock of the Army. (this is strictly "entre nous") or will ~~illeg~~/be so - if it is continued - to send them out in such numbers. Koulale & Smyrna are so over stocked that I hear nothing but jokes on the subject - I mean overstocked under present circumstances

Matters are very different now (thank God, as my Mrs. Clarke, now gone home, used always to say & to write, thank Gog!) from what they were when I came out. I have plenty at Scutari now to supply Balaklava, even should there be a great & sudden emergency, for I have far too many at Scutari under PRESENT circumstances - The number of sick, including Convalescents, were, when I left Scutari (& they must have decreased since, owing to sending home several more ships)

	{Barrack Hospl	1100
Scutari	{General "	378
	{Palace "	240
	{Koulale "	410

Though there were 1100 in the Barrack Hospl, not 100 were in bed - & 10 women could *easily* have done all the

work - whereas I had 26 -

I am very glad to have a reserve, but I have quite enough to ~~p~~ garrison Balaclava. I brought three with me - I had eight ~~yes~~ here before for the two Hospitals - & such is the difficulty of housing them, ~~that~~ such the difficulty of obtaining labour of any kind, & wood (we pay Croats 3/ a day to do, 3 in 3 days, what one English workman does in 1 hour.) that, though we only require a hut for the whole party, that but cannot yet be erected, & I have them still on board a Transport with me - We have here but 400 sick & wounded - of whom but 120 wounded. We

are now amply sufficient for this number - as upwards of 100 of the sick are Convalescents - & we are twelve - I have inspected most of the Regimental Hospitals - in which the number of sick & wounded vary from 4 to 50 - Of course it is out of the question to place women there with an army too which may take the field any day - nor would the authorities, of course, permit it.

Should there be an assault, for which we are all, officers, men, cattle & women, earnestly praying, (for what is the carnage of an assault compared to what we had last winter?) or should the army take the field & march upon Simpheropol &/or have an engagement which

sends us its wounded, - we have still, at least, twenty nurses to spare from Scutari - Two things appear certain that nothing will be done before Napoleon comes if he does come - & when he passes thro' the Bosphorus, it will be time for my Nurses to pass through too from Scutari - the other that it is the intention of Lord Raglan to keep all his wounded up here in the Krimea - (Whether I shall be able to find accommo= dation such as can keep women respectable is a different question) I wish that there were some combination between Commander= in=Chief, Medical Inspector= General in the Crimea, War Office & its Civil Hospital - There appears to be none - For, while we hear

from Lord Raglan that all the wounded are to be kept here - while the Hospitals now existing in the Bosphorus, are comparatively empty, - we hear from home that three Civil Hospital, two besides Dr. Parkes' are coming out, of 1000 men each for the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles or Sinope, we hear from Dr. Parkes, who interests me greatly in his success, that he expects everything but Patients - For there is more than room for sick, already existing -

**[end 14:190]**

When I see the camp, I wonder not that the army suffered so much but that there is any army left at all - not that so many passed through our hands at Scutari - (4000 once in 17 days) but that all did not pass through Nothing has been exaggerated - But now all is looking up - fresh meat 3 times a week - fresh bread from Constantinople - Sir John MacNeill has done wonders -

{from the first page, top margin}

Pray believe  
me, dear Lady  
Canning, yours  
very truly  
F. Nightingale  
There is some  
Cholera in  
camp but  
not much.

{in another hand: received May 24}

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 7ff, pen (Goldie 151-56)

Scutari Barrack Hospital

[14:221-27]

Sept 9/55

My dear Lady Canning

I have been waiting only for an hour to thank you very, very much for your most kind letter & to answer the questions contained in it - I have been driven by our work more than usually of late from the sudden death (~~of~~/by Cholera) of my excellent Matron, who managed the Linen Stores for 1200 Patients & the Hospital Furniture - & from the illness of my Assistant - at the same time.

I never doubted the sympathy of the Queen for her poor soldiers, & consequently for all those who tried to do them good. Indeed the fellow-feeling at home with these poor fellows has throughout been a great help in their sufferings - And to be assured of the Queen's sympathy was the highest pleasure to them. We feel it the more because on all hands we hear of the pains & the interest she takes in informing herself of all that concerns them -

It seems as if I had been negligent in accounting for the use of the £200, which Col. Phipps desired me to lay out for the Queen in any comforts which it might seem well for her to give - But I have not - The only use I have as yet made of it was to purchase a tent for the Convalescents to air themselves under, which cost £21. Soldiers are strange beings & it seemed desirable that they should have to thank their Queen for something which they did not consider their right - To spend her money in ArrowRoots & socks would not have attracted their attention - At this time too we are amply supplied with every kind of store, very different from what it was when we first came out - Tobacco is, above all, the luxury which the soldier most enjoys & far be it from me to grudge it him in this miserable war - Still it is not exactly a *Queen's* present - But I look forward to a time next winter, when we shall be less fashionable in all human probability than we are now, when England will be tired of us - & the *Queen's* kindness will be well applied & fully appreciated by the soldier

## Question I

It struck me when I read the agreement signed by the Civil Nurses that the last paragraph would not do for a Military Hospl. Because the Nurses there must not be placed under the *immediate* direction of the Principal Medical Officer - In Civil Hospitals, the Medical Officer is accustomed to the direction of women - & may be trusted with it - in Military Hospls not - Bind the *Superintendent* by every tie of signed agreement & of honor to strict obedience to her Medical Chief - (I think it has been the defect at Koulale that this has not been done) But let all his orders to the Nurses go through her - I mean, of course, not with regard to the medical management of the Patients, but with regard to the placing & discipline of the Nurses - I have never had the slightest difficulty about this - the Medical Men always coming to me & saying, "I want such & such assistance" - and I always informing them of any exchange or removal of Nurses - & consulting them - But I would never have undertaken the Superintendency with that condition that the Nurses consider themselves "under the direction of the Principal Medical Officer" - *I am under his direction - They are under mine.*

I will give two instances just to explain that my meaning is to attain not insubordination to the Doctors, but a power of explaining to the Doctors -

It has continually happened to me, especially at B'clava, to be asked for a Nurse to attend an Officer where there was *no possibility* for the woman to retire day or night for even a moment - & where ~~she~~ it was too far for her to return to her Hospital. And this request has been made by an old married Doctor & a father - In one instance, the Principal Medical Officer of B'clava, when I pointed this out to him, immediately gave up his own room for the Nurse to retire to at certain hours - shewing that it was not indifference but inadvertence. In another instance though, - similarly with the first instance, - the house was crowded with men, (viz. Officers, servants & doctors &c) & there was not a cranny where a woman could go unseen, yet though three of the men were Chaplains & the sick man nursed was a Chaplain, it was only by going myself & turning out an Officer & servant & providing for him elsewhere that I could ~~p~~ secure a corner for my poor Nurse - whose Patient required her constantly, - These are the things which deaden women's feeling of morality & make them take to drinking & worse - if the Superintendent is not continually on the alert.

-2-

The other case which makes me "stickle" for the Superintendent being *first* in authority over the Nurses ~~this~~ was that of a Nurse whom I removed from her wards on account of an intrigue in which she was slightly to blame & removal was all that was necessary - In the anger of the moment, she said she thought she had been only accountable to the Medical Officer - She immediately repented, saw the justice of the removal & was forgiven - But a Medical Officer would neither have discovered nor removed her for this - & she could have quoted her agreement to prove that she was chiefly responsible to him.

Under these circumstance, therefore, I must suggest that the Form of Agreement should bind Nurses to obedience to their Superintendent, the Superintendent to the Principal Medical Officer by another Form signed by *her*. But, if the Medical Officer conveys his orders, in the first place, to the Nurse, the Superintendent can only interfere in the second place - And there will be continual quarrelling, which there never has been in the four Hospitals under my charge -

Question II      With regard to the wages, a sliding scale is absolutely necessary - At what rate it shall begin I cannot decide - Because I have no doubt that the excitement

which has been made about us in England has raised our price - I will only remark that the lowest description of Nurses I have had were a Mrs. Gibson who came out at 18/ in the 2nd party, a Mrs. Whitehead who came out at 18/ with the same party & who has not yet returned home, because she has broken her leg, - a Mrs. Thompson, & Mrs. Anderson, who came out at 18/ each by the 3rd party & returned drunk in 3 weeks, a Mrs. Holmes of the same party, who was a woman of bad character, but whom I have kept, because I believe she has really been shocked into reform here - also at 18/ - a Mrs. Clarke from Oxford, of the 4th party, who came out at 16/- & several others whose names I will not give, because they are not likely to trouble you. These all came out at 18/ - whereas some of the most respectable women were of the first party, who all came out at 10/. I do not think their having children to settle has anything to do with the Government question of providing good & responsible Nurses for their soldiers - But I am not aware, as I have already said, of the present state of feeling in England - & think that your sliding scale may be a necessary one viz 14/ a week for 3 months, to be then raised to 18/ & after a year to 20/

I have not had a single ~~person~~/Nurse yet, either at high or at low wages, whom I could place in a situation of responsibility, excepting Mrs. Roberts & Mrs. Walford, (the latter I found out here & she is the poor woman just dead of Cholera)

I think a mistake has arisen that a Nurse out of a surgical ward means a surgical Nurse - The *nurse* out of a surgical ward is nothing but a maid=~~of~~=all=~~work~~. She scours, washes the Patients, makes the beds - sometimes the poultices &c - Mrs. Orton, of the 4th party, who came out as a Surgical Nurse from Bartholomew's, is scarcely fit for a maid ~~of~~=all=~~work~~. She came out at 16/. But she is such a good creature, though silly & vulgar, that I employ her in the Linen Stores under direction -

I send ~~home~~/you the first Agreement & first Certificate which I think, after all, were the best.

Question III I see no objection to the "Drink" rule being left out - Because it is different at different Hospitals - But, without the rule ~~about~~/against Presents, no discipline could be maintained - I have had no difficulty in enforcing it. I *know* of many instances where the Nurses have refused money & have never told me so themselves - I *know* of only one

instance where money was accepted & that was by an unprincipled woman, Mrs. Lyas, of the 2nd party, whom I was about to dismiss, & who has procured herself a situation as Governess!! in an Armenian family by the agency of the R.C. priest. Experience connected with this woman leads me to the suggestion that it is desirable *never* to send out R.C. Nurses, who will always be borne scatheless by their Priests - through any misconduct - & *never* to pay ~~them~~ their wages, or any portion of their wages, in any other way excepting thro' the Superintendent - This woman sets ~~me~~/all at defiance, has carried off all her new summer clothing, endeavours to seduce away the other Nurses, because I had no check over her - her wages having been paid in London by the W. Office - She sent me word, when she ran away, that she was sure of her wages without me - And she has completely deluded that unlucky ~~unfortunate~~ Lawfield of St. John's, whom she converted.

We require, if you please, a large ~~Assortment~~/number of new Badges, Ours are worn out & we have no time to work them - Mrs. Bracebridge has the pattern.

I think it undesirable that the Nurses should be allowed to take with them their own outer clothing. It will be a constant struggle to prevent their wearing it.

-3-

I would suggest that, if Nurses choose to wear white Petticoats & white stockings, it should be made a condition that they put them *out* to wash at their own expence - Grey twill would do very well for petticoats. I have sent for some to Malta -

The rule about wearing the regulation dress applies *particularly* to when they are *out of Hospital* - & therefore the rule as it is written about ~~the~~/this is not explicit enough - I have myself heard one soldier address another, "Don't you speak to her'n! don't you know that's one of Miss Nightingale's!" The necessity of distinguishing them *at once* from the camp-followers is particularly obvious when they are *not* engaged in Hospital work -

I think the rule about receiving wages should be - quarterly -

I hope the additional rules I sent home by Mrs. Bracebridge will be adopted - especially that about their accepting no other situation out here - People in the East will take a servant, or even a Governess, with no character whatsoever.

The rule about remitting nurses' wages thro' the Paymaster is undesirable for two reasons 1st the extreme delay - It is stated "in the same way as soldiers' remittances-" The delay in making

these is so well known that the soldiers are in the habit of remitting by me to England in small sums of 20/ or 30/ a weekly amount of (now) not less than £150. It is stated that "the Genl Agent will in due course issue the same." The "*due course*" is one of many months.

2nd the Nurses should be dependent on the Superintendent for their wages - entirely - as she alone can know their deserts -

The Exhortation to the Nurses is excellent - but something might be added - In the rule (4th) about the walking, we are obliged to arrange that they should not go out for exercise excepting with a superintendent, as when two or even three were together, the soldiers would make appointments to meet them - for we have here the misery of a depot - On the other hand, I have been obliged to waive the rule that two must always be together in the wards - It cannot be always maintained.

The 5th viz. the instructions of the W. Office respecting religious intercourse to Lord W. Paulet has been so completely misunderstood by the R.C.s that it has been, in fact, my principal difficulty - & the less publicity which is given to it the better - The R.C.s who, before, were quite amenable, have chosen to construe the rule that "they are not to enter

upon the discussion of religious subjects with any Patients other than those of their own faith" to mean - therefore with *all* of their own faith - & the 2nd party of Nuns, who came out, now wander over the whole Hospital, out of Nursing hours, not confining themselves to their own wards nor even to Patients, but "instructing" (it is their own word) groups of Orderlies & Convalescents in the Corridors - doing the work each of ten Chaplains - & bringing ridicule upon the whole thing, while they quote the words of the W. Office, which indeed seem to have been left intentionally vague, & to bear this construction.

(1) Aprons may "well be served out like Towels" But it is better for the Nurses that each should have her own towels, aprons &c - as some tear & destroy so much more than others - & the tidy ones ought not to be called upon to succeed to the others' patches or rents -

(2) Extras &c are very useful

(3) A good stock of needles, cottons, &c &c would be eminently acceptable to me - I am constantly "emptied out" - as we give a small stock to each Patient returning to the Crimea - He cannot drink cottons - Buttons may be sent us by the million & used - gratefully -

I will send back the Lists of the clothing which the Nurses *had*. I have not yet got in those from the Krimea, which has caused my delay.

We are truly grateful to you for all you have done for us - I am very anxious that Mrs. Bracebridge should be the person to approve the Nurses sent by Lady Cranworth ~~or~~ & that none should come without her approbation - because she knows so exactly what we want.

Death & illness & misconduct have thinned our ranks & I now require

2 Matrons for the Linen Stores

one at each of the two Scutari Hospitals

For we have now undertaken the

whole of these immense Stores - There

are four Divisional Stores to this

Hospital only - & each man has now

his clean shirt twice a week ~~&~~/or oftener

& his clean sheets once a week or oftener.

These Matrons will have nothing to do with nursing -

1 Housekeeper - who will exercise control

over the Nurses ~~IN~~ the Quarters -

not in the wards - she too has nothing to do

with nursing -

2 steady elderly healthy Maids of

all work - willing to go to B'clava,

if necessary -

4 Nurses - who must also be willing to go to B'clava,

if necessary -

I cannot sufficiently say how much I feel all the trouble you have ~~had~~/taken with us - nor how great I feel your loss will be to us - Believe me, dear Lady Canning, most truly & gratefully yours F. Nightingale

P.S.

Many, many thanks for your kind enquiries after my health, which is as much improved, I believe, as I can expect in the time - I have most seriously considered the kind wishes of my friends that I should leave this place for a time - But I believe those about me come to the conclusion that, on the whole, it was best that I should remain here -

Can you pardon this long letter, which I have not time to make shorter, written among interruptions & business of all kinds?

There are of the many good wishes, which will follow you to your command in India, none more *fervent*, at *least*, than ours - I do not know how you will look upon the exile from England - But I cannot help rejoicing at your going to so responsible & important a post -

Many thanks for your encouraging words upon mine -

[end 14:227]

WYAS, Leeds, Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 1f, pen

Scutari

[14:231]

September 16/55

Dear Lady Canning

I write this in haste to say that I have discharged Miss Brooke for drunkenness, incompetency & insubordination at the General Hospital at Balaclava - that she did not choose to return home, having, I fear, made acquaintance in the Crimea - & that she has now therefore

no further claims upon  
Government of any kind -  
Also that I consider  
her an improper person  
to be sent out again  
to any Hospital whatever.

[end 14:231]

Believe me

dear Lady Canning

sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 8ff, pen black-edged  
{in another hand: received Oct 17}

Barrack Hospital

Scutari

October 1/55

[14:235-38]

My dear Lady Canning

I have a very painful  
duty to perform in  
giving you some infor=  
mation concerning  
Miss Salisbury, which  
is today to be made  
the subject of a Dis=  
patch from the General  
Officer commanding here  
to Lord Panmure -

Miss Salisbury's name  
is probably known to  
you through Miss Wyse,  
(who recommended her to

x {in another hand: This is a mistake as Miss Stanley never saw her  
or recommended her - C.C.}

Lady Stratford.) & thro' Miss  
Stanley x as one of the Lady  
Nurses here -

Miss Salisbury under=  
took in this Hospital  
the charge of the "Free  
Gift" store - upon a written  
understanding that nothing  
was to be given out of  
that store, excepting by  
a written Order from me -  
I considered it my duty,  
& it has been my constant  
practice to keep an  
account of every Article  
given - which account  
could be, at any time,  
made known to the Public -  
my responsibility being

to the people of England -  
These accounts have been  
already printed in the  
"Blue Book" up to  
February 15/55

Circumstances occurred  
which made me believe  
that property from the  
"Free Gift" stores was  
withdrawn by Miss  
Salisbury, unknown to me.  
And this suspicion became  
so much strengthened  
that I mentioned it  
to the Commandant -  
who, thinking that I  
had grounds for it,  
at once advised me to

dismiss her. I did so,  
paying her her salary,  
offering to ~~have~~/take her passage  
home to England or to  
Patras, whence she came -  
& supplying her with  
money, besides, out of my  
own pocket.

She refused to go -  
& offered her services to  
Mrs. Moore, Superintendent  
of the Officers' Nurses -

She was about to  
proceed on the same  
errand to Lady Stratford  
at Therapia, when  
material proof of her  
dishonesty appeared.

-2-

Farther evidence against  
her having come to light,  
the General Commanding  
sent men to search my  
house in Scutari in  
which she, Miss Salisbury,  
slept. Property was found  
there, which I may  
safely assert was of  
above £100 value, -  
concealed in the room of  
a Maltese couple, who  
were brought here by the  
recommendation of Miss  
Salisbury, & were in my  
employment.

I must leave it to  
others to interpret this  
circumstance for them=  
selves -

Miss Salisbury says

that it was her intention  
to give away this property  
& acknowledges that she  
has given away much  
from the "Free Gift" stores  
unknown to me -

The excuse she offers is  
that the Stores were rotting  
& eaten by rats - And  
that Mrs. Bracebridge,  
when here, had given her  
& the Nurses leave to take  
or to give away any thing  
out of the Free Gift store.

It is my wish to leave  
the latter assertion to be  
answered by Mrs. Bracebridge -  
That rats abound in all  
these Hospitals is an  
unlucky fact. But I never

heard that ~~the~~ Purveyor  
or Commissariat gave away  
their stores in consequence.

Be that as it may, Miss  
Salisbury has broken the  
agreement which she made,  
in disposing of the Free  
Gift stores at her own  
pleasure - without record  
or responsibility - And  
the people of England are  
not to be left at the  
mercy of Miss Salisbury.

To this I must add, with  
the greatest pain, that  
Articles of my own wearing  
apparel, which I had  
missed, have been found  
in her boxes - It is undeniable  
that the circumstances are

such as would, in any other case, be considered a felony - Five men are now in custody, two of whom she brought to Scutari, in whose possession have been found goods given over to them by her.

It reaches me from various quarters, as being said from one person to another, that a desire is expressed to know the plan that has been & is pursued in the disposal of the Free Gifts & the Queen's Gifts here - I wish that it had been said to myself, as I could then immediately have afforded the information.

For the Free Gifts addressed

-3-

to me, I have, of course, considered myself responsible -

I have made it a rule in these Hospitals of Scutari to answer all the Requisitions of the Medical Officers, having first ascertained that such Article does not exist in the Purveyor's store - I have then procured it either from Constantinople, Malta or England, if it did not exist in the Free Gift Store - I have spent thus upwards of £3000 in Constantinople alone - part of which has

been repaid me by Govern=  
ment, part has come out  
of my own & other private  
funds - This is wholly  
independent of the "Times"  
Fund - To other Hospitals  
I have sent *all*, (but  
nothing else) that was  
required of me in *any*  
Requisition, representing  
things as wanted, either  
from Medical Officer,  
Chaplain, or Superintendt  
of Nurses - had I sent  
other things, the public  
Gifts would have been  
wasted -

Only in the case of Koulale

Hospitals have I deviated  
from this rule & sent  
stores unasked -

I have invariably sent,  
when asked, to all other  
Hospitals in the East,  
whether I possessed the  
Article actually in store or not -  
& I possess an exact  
record of what has been  
sent.

The "free gifts" & the stores  
(procured by money at  
Constantinople), which have been distributed  
in the Barrack, General  
& Palace Hospitals of  
Scutari up to February  
15/55 have been published  
in the Blue Book, as above

mentioned -

An exact account is ready for publication up to May 1/55 of the Free Gifts distributed in the same Hospitals -

Also, of the Free Gifts distributed to the Hospitals of Koulale & Balaclava - between Nov 4/54 & May 1/55 (It will perhaps surprise some to hear that, in the Barrack & General Hospitals alone of Scutari, in the first three months of my stay here - were given out by me upwards of  
10,000 Shirts &  
4,000 flannel do.  
independently of all other Articles of Hospital Furniture)

-4

During May, June & July,

I was prevented by illness from taking any part in the distribution of the Free Gifts, which was undertaken by Mrs. Bracebridge, who will answer any questions concerning the distribution which took place at that time -  
From July 28/55 to the present time I have an Account of every Article distributed -  
And all these Accounts will be published subjoining that of what is regularly given to each soldier who leaves the Hospital, either invalided

home, or convalescent to the  
Crimea -

Believe me, dear Lady  
Canning yours most truly  
Florence Nightingale

P.S.

The Queen's Gifts, i.e.  
those which came to my  
address, dated Dec '54 &  
Jan '55, were immediately  
divided into proportionate  
quantities among *all*  
the Hospitals - a double  
portion only having been  
given to the Palace Hosp=  
ital, where were most  
*Officers*, who would prize  
most such Articles as  
the Queen sent - Of the

distribution of these, I also  
kept a record - I have  
also had a voice in the  
distribution of her other  
gifts, particularly of  
the games, concerning which  
I can also give an  
Account - as I made out  
the List of the proportions  
to be given to each "Division" -

I should perhaps add  
that the correspondence  
of Miss Salisbury was  
seized by order of the Commandant  
here, who thought this  
step a necessary one -  
as indeed it proved - & that it laid bare a

{in another hand: Miss N. Oct 1}  
most curious system of  
falsehood, which she had  
been pursuing in her  
letters to England. It is  
so easy for an adventurer  
of this kind to trade  
upon people's sympathies  
in this way.

[end 14:238]

F.N.

Wyas, Leeds, Canning 177/2/3 copy of testimonials, 4ff, pen

*Miss Tattersall*

It is quite impossible for me to say what I owe this lady for her untiring industry - for her flinching from no menial employment, as at her own request, she had been Cook & Housekeeper to the female Staff of the General Hospital, Scutari, since April/55 - for her truth, judgment, faithfulness, discretion, & entire trustworthiness, for her temperance, in all things even in flirting: and for her high religious principle, I cannot express too highly my respect & esteem.

[14:293-94]

*Mrs. & Miss McLeod*

These ladies are excellent, but not useful. They are gentle workers - And the old lady- though most amiable & attractive, having both age, & delicate

health in the way of her working; it is difficult to understand for what she was sent out.

*Mrs. Evans*

A most eccentric, little Welsh, woman. Her manners make many wonder whether she is a knave or a fool - but none have been more useful, laborious, honest, respectable, sober and trustworthy than Jane Evans. I am under great obligation to her for her active zeal - And from her Farming=Knowledge she was able to keep one of the Crimean Hospitals supplied with Milk during the Winter.

*Mrs. Shaw Stewart*

I should fear to offend this lady - were I to say what my opinion of her is. Without her our Crimean work would have come to grief. Without her judgment, her devotion, her unselfish consistent looking to the one great end, viz. the carrying out the work as a *whole*, without her untiring zeal, her watchful care of the Nurses, her accuracy in all trusts and account, her truth - in one word, her faithfulness to the work as a whole, laying aside the desire inherent in all weak minds) that it should be observed how much more good she was doing in her own particular Hospital than others were - without *all her* qualities, I believe that our Crimean work could not have withstood the insidious petty persecution, the laying of traps, the open opposition which it has received Her praise and her reward are in higher hands than mine.

*Miss Morton*

Last come out, but not least useful; In the constant good influence exerted by her over the Nurses, in her unflinching desire to teach them and train them to good. In her willingness to take any work which offered to be most useful, and which only her physical want of strength prevented her carrying out more fully. I have the deepest obligation to her for her faith=fulness to the work, for her tender care of the workers.

**[end 14:294]**

F. Nightingale  
(copied)

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/3 signed letter, 11f, pen (Goldie 287-93)

30 Old Burlington St.

[14:463-70]

Nov 23/56 London

Dear Lady Canning

I have just received your very kind letter "finished Oct 7. at Barrackpore" - You have been too kind & efficient a mistress to me & mine for me not to think it an "official" duty to give you some account of my stewardship, & answer your letter step by step.

1. *This* seems to me like a dream & not my past "campaign". It seems to me like a dream to see the women driving ~~walking~~ about in little bonnets & big petticoats & hear them saying that "poor Lord Raglan", (that most chivalrous & noble old man in his disregard of mere public opinion), "died of the 'Times'" - to see the men playing the game of party politics over the graves of our brave dead, & trying to prevent us from learning the terrible lesson which our colossal

calamity should have taught us - Oh my poor men, who died so patiently I feel I have been such a bad mother to you, coming home & leaving you in your Crimean graves, - unless truth to your cause can help to teach the lesson which your deaths were meant to teach us -

2. The public has been, on the whole, very considerate of me. Two or three of my friends have made very great mistakes & been unable to understand that publicity must, by injuring my cause, be painful & worse to me - And puffing always injures any real work, were it only by collecting round it elements of frivolity, vanity & jealousy. On the whole too, the War Dept, has been very kind to me, & forgiven me my popularity as well as it was able tho' it was very angry with a speech

of Sir John McNeill's at Edinburgh which was made contrary to my earnest and written remonstrance.

3. The Hospitals of the East were, at the end, quite perfect, as also the Sanitary arrangements - I conceive that this year, the Barrack Hospital at Scutari was the finest in the world - Also, The deaths in the second week of January 1855 were 578 per 1000 in the Army - (& this was not ~~the~~ our highest mortality, which was in the end of that month) - The deaths in the corresponding week of January 1856 were 17 per 1000. The deaths from Epidemics were reduced from 70 ~~60-80~~ percent of those from all causes to 45 per cent - And the sickness from Epidemics from 60-80 per cent to 16 per cent - This, of course, is attributable to the excellent Sanitary arrangements in the Army, introduced by the Sanitary Commission - &/as well as to those in the Hospitals - The frightful

mortality in the Barrack Hospital at Scutari diminished in like manner - During 54-55, that Hospital was literally living over a cess-pool - & the Military Medical Officers ascribed the unmanageable outbreaks of Cholera which took place up to November/55 to a Cemetery 3/4 mile off - !!

To give you some idea of the way in which H.M.'s Ministers are informed of the health of H.M.'s troops, the only authorized returns of Cholera (of course Ministers may have had private returns) sent home were (& are) of the Patients who are in Hospital from Cholera on *Saturdays* (Cholera running its course in 3 or 4 hours) & the Patients who are admitted the other six days in the week, dead & buried - of them there is no other record than in the Death Returns & not always there - The excess of burials over recorded deaths was 4000

-2-

4. I am sure that you will be pleased to hear that of your "friends", as you kindly call them, Nurses Logan, Sullivan, Cator, Jane Evans, Miss Tattersall, Woodward (from Koulali) Montague, Orton, Maloney &c turned out "all right". Miss Morton so good - & many others honestly anxious to do their duty - I do not mention the virtues of those who were before your reign, as they will be less interesting to you - But I cannot help just recording the gratitude we owe to Mrs. Shaw Stewart, to the "Revd Mother" of the R.C. "Sisters of Mercy" at Bermondsey, to Sisters Bertha & Margaret of the Anglican "Sisters of Mercy" of Devonport & to the immortal Mrs. Roberts -

5. I have not had time to read the Koulali & Smyrna books - But even had I, I would not - For women who have had the happiness of serving God & the honor of serving their country in her War-Hospitals to make a book

about it is to me quite enough, whether that book were prompted by their own vanity or by silly or astute advisers. The Koulali authoress, Miss Fanny Taylor, has now joined the R. Catholic Church, which indeed she had done privately before she went out.

With regard to what you say about the necessity of Chiefs at home having the cause of dismissal always sent them, it is so true, both theoretically & practically, that I only wish it had been more strictly enforced - But, on one occasion, that of Miss Salisbury, a woman proved to be profligate, intemperate, & dishonest, the War Dept did not act upon the character sent home by the Commandant as well as by myself -

6. I am very much obliged to India for their zeal in our cause - I am

pleased to hear it, because, ignorant as it is, it is upon a right principle - One is sick of the cant about Women's Rights - If women will but shew what their duties are first, public opinion will acknowledge these fast enough - I dislike almost all that has been *written* on the subject, Mrs. Jameson especially. Let the "real lady", as you call her, be as much professional, as little dilettante as possible - let her shew that charity must be done, like everything else, in a business-like manner, to be of any use, (a thing I found it more difficult to make my ladies understand than anything) - And all that is good will follow - provided, of course, that the real love of God & mankind is there - And, *with this*, I conceive that we have even an advantage over the R. Catholics - (A vow implies a fear of failure) just as the really sober man

is undoubtedly better off than the man who has taken the Temperance pledge - Besides this, R. Catholics, even the best, are essentially incapacitated (from their inherent Manichæan=ism) from doing the best kind of good - They are to console the suffering which evils have produced - They are not to remove the causes of those evils - As a curious instance of this, I will mention that I tried to ~~make~~/persuade a great ally of mine, the Superioress of the Sardinian "Sisters" at Balaclava, Countess Cordero, (one of the most remarkable women it has ever been my good fortune to know,) to join with me in a strong protest against a certain Canteen, up to which we used respectively to see our respective Patients in Hospital slippers & clothing - stealing past the (conniving) sentry - out of the Hospital Huts. The protest was to have been addressed to our respective Chiefs of the Staff & would have been easily

-3-

attended to - But I never could persuade her that it was any use to take any Preventive Measures against drunkenness or anything else - I have seen this even among the excellent French "Sisters" at Paris -

You will be glad to hear that Miss Shaw Stewart is hard at work improving herself at Guy's Hospital, where she is training as Nurse - I envy her - For I have much more harassing work to do -

7. I am sorry to hear your account of Indian (middle class) women - But I really think that it might be read aloud here to great advantage, for "Indian" substituting "English"

India is a wonderful field for you - There is very much that we might imitate, with much advantage, out of the Indian Army, & what you say of the Sepoys reminds me of it.

I saw hardly anything of the Turks

as you may suppose - And what little I did see made me think that poor Turkey's days are numbered - But men, far better informed than I am, say that she is making steady progress onwards - the merest sight of Turkey impresses one, of course, with the immense superiority in civilization which Constantinople has attained over her provinces - The Turkish Contingent was the best thing we did - And I regretted much its being disbanded - They, ~~we~~ the soldiers, were getting so attached to us -

How ~~you~~ Tropical colouring must call out your artistic feelings - We had small time to look at colouring - but even I feel the change to this London sky deaden all my artistic perceptions -

8. You will wonder what is the grievance with us when everything was so perfect about the Army when it left - The fact is we have not made one step towards a system which will prevent the recurrence of such a disaster - If we were set down at Batoum tomorrow, we should have all /54 over again - I have never heard any sensible man doubt this who was with our Army in the East - We are no nearer having the next Army live on fresh meat at 1 ½ per lb instead of die on salt meat at at 8d per lb - we are no nearer having the next War Hospitals drained & ventilated - the next Land & Sea Transport well organized than if we had not died & lived respectively in the years of Disgrace /54 & of Grace/56. Because the system does not exist to compel it. Nothing has been done but a violent expenditure & the relaxation of all rules & all logical scheme of Government - And the very luxury & expence of /56

was bad for our cause - Because it gave the supporters of the old system (or no= system) the right to say, Look what these innovators do -

Lord Panmure is going to give us a Royal Commission of Inquiry into ~~the~~ all that concerns the health of the Army at home & abroad - And I have been commanded by the Queen & by him to write a Precis for the Government - I do not feel very sanguine as to the result of either - But I shall "eat" straight through - Of all those in Office whom I have had to do with since I came home, you will, perhaps, perhaps not, be surprised to hear that I have found the Queen, Lord Palmerston & Mr. Herbert the most free from the Office Taint - These are really, (after their different fashions) not officially, interested - I have had much to do with two Taints lately, the Scorbutic & the Office Taint - And the latter is the worse -

-4-

The points in my Precis will be to try to show

1. that the Army must be taught to "do for" themselves - Kill their own cattle, bake their own bread, hut, drain, shoe=make, tailor, &c &c. But in this the Camp at Aldershot is, if possible, behind that in the Crimea - everything is done for it by civil contract - (Its clothing only is going to be given to it to do) - You will hardly believe that, in the Crimea, even when we had fresh meat, we buried one fifth part of it & that the most nutritious - Our Naval Brigade & the French dug up our ox=heads & make soup of them - & I dug up the feet, & made jelly of them -

2. that the Commissariat must be put upon the same footing as your East Indian Commissariat which has, I believe, never broken down except during the first Burmese War, which was not its fault - instead of which our Commissariat is made, with other arrangements, to destroy an Army

3. that the Quarter=Master General's stores must be periodically reported, as to what they contain, to the General Officers of Divisions - You are probably well aware that, while our men were lying in one wet blanket & one muddy great=coat, - wet & muddy because they had been 20 hours out of the 24 in the trenches, - while they were dying of Scorbutic Dysentery upon salt meat, rum & biscuits, our stores at Balaclava were full of rice, lime=juice, great coats, crates, rugs & even blankets -

4. that, in time of war, the Transport must be under military control - For, while stores were daily arriving at Balaclava, & every man in the front would gladly have given 1/ to have his blanket carried up to him, & every man in the Transport Service could have carried up 10 blankets, we positively never thought either of using or of paying the seamen on board the Transports to carry up stores to the front.

5. that a Sanitary Officer must be

attached to every Quarter Master Genl's Office - to advise upon matters relating to encampment, diet, clothing, hutting, sick transport - Even after our great distress was over, it was found that the 79th, altho' down at Balaclava, was in such a state from Fever that, if matters went on thus, the whole Regiment would pass thro' Hospital 4 ½ times in 6 months - After the usual recalcitration from Commanding Officers as to "Military Position" &c, it was found that by moving the lines 20 yards, which did not alter the military position in the least, the troops were saved from Fever - The boards of the huts were found positively covered with green algine matter - But now a Medical Officer, if he analyses the water & finds it unfit for human health, & remonstrates in writing, may be placed under arrest. Military health, as was written 57 years ago, is sacrificed

in an enormous proportion to ignorance.

I have 11 other points which relate

1. to the Government of General Hospitals, which, being in the hands of eight Departments, the Officers of which are appointed by different authorities, ensures delay, irresponsibility & inefficiency - A requisition to mend a broken pane of glass must pass thro' six Departments.
  2. the Sanitary Element in Hospitals
  3. the Army Medical Department, - its rate of pay, - education, - system of promotion, - confusion of its administrative & professional functions, - absolute necessity of a *Practical Army Medical School* at home, impossibility of its ~~being~~/producing, as at present constituted, ~~a good nursery of~~ good surgical science -
  4. the necessity of a Hospital being complete in itself & furnishing a Hospital kit for each man - We positively had no

-5-

power of inventing any scheme, (when the men were ordered to leave their knap=sacks on board ship when we landed at Old Fort, which knap=sacks they never recovered), of clothing these men when they came into Hospital with nothing on but an old pair of trousers & a dirty blanket- nor of feeding them, because it was a Queen's warrant that they ought to bring their spoons ~~in~~ with them into Hospital

5. Cooking & Dieting of the Army
6. Washing
7. Canteens
8. Soldiers' Wives
9. Nursing by male & female
10. uniformity of Stoppages, the non= uniformity of which engenders a want of confidence in the men, (and justly,) as to the accuracy of the balance of pay they ~~get~~/receive, there being one stoppage of 3 ½ for the field, another for on board ship, another for wounds in Hospital, another for sickness in Hospital - I have had so much to do

with the little money = deposits of the men that I know how badly this works on their moral confidence, without any proportionate saving to Govt.

11. Engineering of Hospitals
12. Mode of keeping Statistics -

That good little Sardinia has adopted our civil mode of keeping these at the Registrar=General's Office, while we are not allowed to have any sickness in the Army but what they had in Charles II's time - And I could make you laugh at our classification which seems made to deceive & bamboozle Govt as to the causes of our disease - Just as the system of the Army Medical Department seems made to prevent it from rising to the level of the Medical science of the day -

I think, if you could see our *real* Statistics, you would think that I have been moderate in my statements. In eight regiments in the front, of which the 46th actually lost more than its average strength from disease alone, we lost 73 per cent in seven months from disease alone - I am not aware that we can show any instance in our history of a similar disaster except in the Burmese war in /26 - At Walcheren, which is called the "ill=fated" expedition, we lost 10 1/4 per cent, in 6 months from disease, - in the Peninsula 12 per cent ~~per ann.~~/in a year from disease -

Contrasting this 73 per cent with the loss in our Naval Brigade, which was scarcely 3 1/4 per cent from disease, & among our Officers which was 3 3/4 per cent from disease, shewing that there was no fault in the climate - & with the loss, ~~from~~ more fearful than ours, from

disease among the French this year, when they began to do *on purpose* what we did from stupidity, - namely ill=feed, ill=clothe, ill=shelter the troops; shewing that it was not only over=work in the trenches which killed us, - I think we arrive at a pretty just conclusion.

The question is, shall we have any Reform? The Queen has been most earnestly interested - so is Prince Albert. But I fear they have taken the wrong sense as to the Crimean Commission - They do not see how, if all the men, there= in blamed, were so excellent, what must the system be which killed from disease alone 50 per cent of all our infantry *in the front* in 7 months - & 39 per cent taking *all* the Infantry & Cavalry together.

You will wonder at the din & bustle of our English business in your Indian life, &, may I say so?, I think you a little

-6-

prefer the former in your approbation. I wonder more at the way we have here of making out of the most critical subjects conversation only. I think the proof of this is the degree to which, in England, the newspapers influence people's opinion or rather talk - It is said that the speeches may be counted which, in the House of Commons, have commanded a vote. (That is because an M.P. has an opinion about his vote -) And it is impossible to believe that, if anyone has a definite opinion upon any subject, the Article of a newspaper gentleman, who has to get up his opinion before 4 o'clock could alter it - Yet how many people read & talk newspaper - shewing, I am afraid, both how little definite opinion there is, even upon important subjects, & how much these are made mere grinding organs to grind a talk of =

However, one could not be too thankful for one's own free press when one saw the disastrous consequences to the French this spring of having none -

Lord Panmure has given me six months' work (but no wages or *character*) After that, I go to the nursing business again.

[end 14:470]

believe me, dear Lady Canning,  
sincerely & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

WYAS, Leeds, Canning 177/2/3 signed letter, 2ff, pen

Great Malvern

Sept 16/57

Dear Lady Canning

Will you think  
me trespassing too much  
on your former kindness  
to me, if I venture to  
recommend to your  
notice my cousin,  
Lothian Nicholson, a  
Major in the Royal  
Regiment?

He did his work

well in the Crimea  
& is going out to do  
the same in India -

I will not say a  
word upon your all=  
absorbing affairs -  
You know how all  
England is thinking  
of you -

I need not say  
that, should you  
think it possible for  
me to be of the

**[9:48]**

smallest use, I would  
come out, at 24  
hours' notice, to serve  
in any capacity,  
in my "line of business",  
that you would  
direct -

**[end 9:48]**

Believe me

dear Lady Canning  
ever faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/3 signed letter, 4f, pen

30 Old Burlington St

London W.

5/11/58

[14:984-85]

Dear Lady Canning

You have been  
my "mistress" on two  
different undertakings  
And therefore I have  
ventured to send you  
(though not to hope  
that you will read)  
a copy of my Report  
to the War Office.

I need not take

up your time in  
expressing to you  
what all England  
has felt about  
Indian affairs -  
And about the  
noble & mighty things  
which have been  
accomplished.

I am only going  
to ask you to turn  
your attention to  
two things, which I  
am quite sure have

occupied it already,  
but which I know  
(from my own experience)  
are particularly  
hopeful things to do.

1. There is sufficient  
evidence to shew that  
a great amount of  
disease in India  
springs from intoxication  
among the troops,  
especially on landing -  
& that the evil is  
greatly increased by  
poisonous liquors

[9:72-73]

sold in the native  
Bazars. There is  
evidence also of great  
saving of health & life  
having been effected  
by supplying the men  
with wholesome liquors  
*under suitable Regulations.*

-Could not something  
more be done in  
providing proper  
Canteens under proper  
Regulations at all the  
Stations, & in putting  
down all other traffic  
in liquor near the

-2-

men's quarters?

To me who have seen  
Scutari in the year  
of its drunkenness  
& Scutari in the year  
of its sobriety, the  
soldier appears the  
most hopeful member  
of mankind for this  
experiment -

I have described  
the process of cure at  
Scutari at Page 453 or my Report.  
Of course the same  
process will not do  
for India, I am well  
aware -

Games under cover  
& amusements must  
be necessary for the men  
every where.

2. The terrible  
catastrophe at Dum=dum  
& the evidence as to the  
enormous rate of Mortality  
among soldiers' wives &  
children prove the  
necessity of providing  
proper "married Quarters"  
at every Station - Space  
& fresh air are wanted  
as well as needful  
conveniences - It is

terrible to think of  
these poor women &  
children suffering when  
so much of it can  
be prevented - Could  
not something more  
be done in India to  
remedy this defect?

[end 9:73]

As to means of  
remedy, I do not  
presume to offer any  
suggestions to you. At  
the head of those who  
have the power & the  
will to benefit India  
you stand -

Poor Mrs. Polehampton  
sent me your kind  
letter of introduction,  
with a very sweet  
letter from herself. It  
is now 15 months  
since I have been able  
to see any one, except  
on the pressing business  
which still takes up  
all my time - And I  
believe I am very little  
likely ever to leave my  
room (or rooms) again -

**[end 14:985]**

Believe me, dear Lady  
Canning, faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale

Leicestershire Record Office

1575

Gloucestershire Record Office, email, black-edged paper

32 South St.

London W

Dec 20/61

Dear Sir

Thinking the  
paper you have  
sent me was a  
Proof, I have  
ventured to make  
certain corrections  
as to matters of  
fact with regard  
to the London  
Memorial & also  
as to the way in

which I would give  
my humble assistance  
to my late dear  
master, if desired.

most faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Rt Honble

T. Sotheron Estcourt

M.P.

With envelope package

Rt Honble

T. Sotheron Estcourt MP

Estcourt

Glamorgan Record Office, signed letter, 2ff, pen {black-edged paper}

London Nov 28/71 [16:768]

Madam

Let me say first with what deep sympathy & earnest admiration (which yet I can hardly express) I see such efforts as yours & Dr. Lewis' for the benefit of so many done in the quietest most persevering manner -

Other people begin with a Prospectus, great names, a Secretary, a Public Meeting, and a Castle in the air.

You begin with a cottage, a few suffering people, who at last number a great many, and your own noble personal exertions & wise practical Mrs. Lewis

benevolence.

I shall feel too much honoured in being permitted to help in ever so slight a degree in your plans- believing as I do that no greater benefit could be bestowed on the working people of this country than that every county & every Hospital should have such a "Rest" as yours.

If you wish, (as you propose,) to send me the Sketch plans of the Institution it is now projected to build, I will look them over most carefully, & also procure a good opinion upon them

With your practical wisdom,

you will of course, include  
in the Sketch-plans your  
past experience of inconveniences  
to be provided against in  
the new building- And any  
information of this kind you  
could give me will be valuable.

[All cost for mere ornament should  
be avoided. Good & substantial  
wood & stone work is what is  
wanted at the sea-side.]

The question about "*Officers*" is a  
difficult one- & in general is  
best decided by local experience,  
(which I, of course, have not-)  
Nevertheless if when I know  
more particulars of your  
undertaking, I can answer any  
questions, I will do so, according  
to my past experience-

But people are apt to forget

that no amount of official help  
will do exactly what you have  
done from sheer love of the  
work.

Any sketch-plans to be commented  
upon should include a sketch  
of the *site* proposed.

Your letter of the 24th= did not  
reach me in time for post-  
which must excuse my delay in  
answering. Pray believe me

Madam

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

May I ask you to excuse any delay in  
future answers owing to my being  
constantly overworked, & a constant  
prisoner to my room from illness? -  
Any letter addressed to

care of Mrs. Wardroper

St. Thomas' Hospital

will always reach me -F.N. **[end]**

West Glamorgan Archive Service, signed letter, 2ff, pen, black-edged paper

18/11/65

34 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W

[16:678-79]

Dear Sir

The account of your meeting about the new Swansea Infirmary - which you were kind enough to send me - has afforded me very great pleasure. Your enlightened Committee has rendered a real service to the cause of humanity in adopting Mr. Graham's beautiful

plans. When completed, you will have perhaps the finest & most perfect small Hospital in the kingdom.

I was deeply grieved to hear of the death of Dr. Williams- who is indeed a loss.

I shall be very much obliged to you to add my name to your List of subscribers- & to summon me to pay the £25, when you are ready for it.

I think it is an extremely  
good idea to interest the  
*men* (in the great Iron &  
other works) in your  
Hospital - as it takes  
away from the idea of  
a *charity*, & gives them  
a personal care and  
anxiety for a measure  
which ought to concern  
their feelings.

**[end 16:679]**

Pray believe me  
dear Sir  
ever your faithful servt=  
Florence Nightingale  
Robert Eaton Esq

Staffordshire County Council, Lichfield Record Office 1 paper letter, note presented to the High School for Girls by Sir Graham Balfour

April 23/58

Dear Dr. Balfour

Dr. Sutherland understood you to say yesterday that in Genl Lawrence's evidence in your Report, I should find an estimate of the annual cost of the Soldier. I cannot. And I dare say he

made a mistake-

Could you tell me the Page where it is to be found?

ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Lincolnshire County Record Office M.C.H.

[printed address] 35 South Street  
Park Lane

W. July 19/69 [16:766]

Sir

I beg to acknowledge your note of July 15, regarding the proposed plan for a Convalescent Home in Lincolnshire, which has since been forwarded to me by Mr. Fowler.

The plan is good. It will face a fierce wind, very bracing, and not requiring the same amount of precaution & separation of parts necessary in a milder situation.

The following points require attention:  
a sick ward cannot be placed in so isolated a situation. It must be where the Nurse or "Attendant" can overlook it day & night. In this case the "Attendant," if by "Attendant" is meant a Nurse, is where she is not wanted at night & not where she is. I myself should prefer the Sick Ward more apart from  
The Revd  
F. Pretyman

the Convalescents. But you might move the sick ward to the Attendant's room= side. i.e. leave the bath where it is, & shift the sick ward across to the two windows to the right (and vice versa on the left) - & place the two windows between the Sick ward & the Bath. There must be an Inspection=window through the attendant's wall to the Sick ward. [If you have 2 sexes, you will require 2 Baths.]

Also: a Lavatory on the *men's* side.

If there are two floors, the Sick wards should be up stairs- and the down= stairs room turned to some other purpose. [I think your Matron should have 2 rooms-bedroom & sitting room.]

also, a small *light* Linen=store or press

The central parts should not be raised above one floor.

One can scarcely ~~say~~ from present information, answer the question how to build.

I fell disposed to think that it is better not to begin till one has the money.

Will you present my apologies to Mr. Fowler for having returned the plans to you, as you requested, & not to him, as he requested- on the ground of my total inability to write two letters?- overwhelmed with illness & hard business as I am.

[end]

Pray believe me

Sir

ever your faithful servt=

Florence Nightingale