11 Upper Brook St.
Portman Sq
Oct 19th 1854
Miss Brotherton presents her compliments to Mr Hall and
begraces leave to place at his disposal
three cases of old Linen, Lint
Bandages etc, for the use of the Hospital at Scutari -
great pains have been taken
by Miss Brotherton & the friends who have kindly
assisted her in this under-
taking that every thing shd
be sent out in a state
completely ready for use,
each thing being sorted

and labelled -
a few books & tracts are
also packed in the cases
for Mr Hall’s distribution
as he shd judge best amongst the patients.
Miss Brotherton would feel
obliged to Mr Hall for
an acknowledgement of the receipt of these cases as soon
as it is convenient for him
to reply to this request after
the arrival of the things-
Should Mr Hall wish for
any more sent out & would
be good enough to name
an article Is the most
acceptable. Miss Brotherton
will feel great pleasure in
being of any further use.

F5 Menzies to Hall Scutari 17 Nov 1854. Private. Officers obnoxious to Lady
Stratford. Russian prisoners

f9 Menzies to Hall, from Scutari 14 Dec 1854, Fortunate came in 13th with
249 sick aboard; they lost 39 deaths in the passage chiefly from a severe
form of dysentery,

f11 Menzies to Hall from Scutari 26 Dec 1854, Dr Smith must be worried; you
will have Mr Cumming and the other 2 commissioners; what their labours will
come to time will show; I have found them all the particulars they reqd
relating to the various subjects contained in the copy of their
communication which I sent you. My health is better than it was when I last
wrote to you although I am still weakly and having the feeling of being
overdone with office work; it is some relief to have Asst Surg Fitzgerald
as my professional asst and I now hope to be able to carry on as I am
unwilling to go before a board at this time if it can be avoided

f13 Brink Stuart letter to Hall 28 March 1855 from Gen Hosp Scutari, Times
fund, necessary articles; Tucker has been busily engaged during the past
week in shipping stores to Balaclava and Jenner has been ordered to join us
here, I suppose to his infinite disgust as he appears very fond of Smyrna
and ought to get the credit of establishing the hosp there. He is a very
good officer and always help up to me by Dr Andrew as "one he cd trust". By
the way I hear that he is determined to relinquish his post as soon as the
present Parly commission has finished its labours, but what arrs will then
be made for the mgt of the dept remains to be seen. I know one who ought to
fill the post and who cd do so better than any other in the whole service;
happy to hear that Mrs Hall and her dear children were well in Malta
My dear Sir,

Having unfortunately been deprived of the services of several Nurses at the General Hospital, Balaclava, since my departure on the fifth of June - and, as the season of the year must add to the heat & discomfort of the Hospital & therefore act injuriously upon the Superintendent & Nurses who remain,

I have reluctantly formed
the opinion that it would be right to withdraw my Nurses from the General Hospital, at least, till October - I therefore hasten to apply to you for advice on this subject - & trust that you will have the goodness as soon as possible to examine the question of the Nurses at the General Hospl I have an additional reason for applying to you from the report which prevails that you are about to decide upon

restricting the use of these buildings & huts to that of a mere refuge for the sick in transit from the Camp to Scutari & England. Should you advise me to act upon this opinion, it will become a farther question whether any Nurses could be sent to your Sanitarium at the monastery, supposing that not to become a Hospital for Convalescents only. It is a recognised rule with me not to send Nurses to such.
Besides this, as my numbers are so restricted, and as I have determined not to have any Nurses out from England during the hot weather, it would probably at once be wisest to concentrate those who remain at Balaclava upon the Castle Hospital.

I beg to thank you for your kindness during my illness. Though I am not able to walk much in the Hospitals, I am beginning to enter again into the business. The wounded are doing well - One man only has been landed from the Tasmania who sails tonight.

I beg to remain, dear Sir
Yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

I send a copy of the above to Dr. Hadley to
J. Hall Esq MD
Inspector= Genl

Since writing this, a letter from Miss Wear informs me that you may perhaps send her & her Nurses to the Monastery - May I request that you will not come to this determination without previously consulting me - as we cannot undertake another Hospl without consideration - & there may be circumstances, impossible now to detail, which would prevent it.
J Hall 20 July 1855 to Madam, had no intention of sending the nurses to the new hosp est at Monastery, which will be more of a convalescent station than a hosp for sick, so that Miss Wear must have been misinformed...happy to hear health returning to her

signed letter, ff22-23, pen

f22

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
July 24/55

My dear Sir

I am obliged by your letter of July 20, received yesterday - I am sorry to find that you have such good reason for retaining the General Hospital for general purposes. Upon my proposition you remark “that, if two Nurses could be kept there, it would be a “convenience” but that if I wish “to withdraw them altogether”, you will “make some other arrange-ment for the sick.”

f22v

I feel that I cannot do otherwise than at once accede to your proposition - and I will write to Miss Wear accordingly - that she may remain with one Nurse.

It is obvious that, if two only are retained, they must undertake a less amount of personal labor - their duties must resemble more those of the French Sisters of Charity, who overlook the linen, & extra Diets of the Patients, - & see that their cleanliness & smaller comforts are attended to.

I am very much obliged
for the other details of your letter - I hope that your health will be preserved for the most important objects of carrying out the centralization of the service -

I beg to remain, dear Sir, yours truly Florence Nightingale

I am grateful for your kind interest about my health & am glad to say that I am able to take a portion of my duties in the Hospitals.

signed letter & envelope, ff24-26, pen

General Hospital
Balaclava
Thursday morning [26 July 1855]

My dear Sir
As there has been an irregularity in the Nuns’ offering their services from here, without my consent or that of the General officer commanding in the Bosphorus, I have thought it best with his advice & that of the Ambassador, to bring them up myself here rather than to stop their passages - in order to prevent confusion in this humble branch of H. My’s service.

I arrived yesterday with [25 July]
thirteen Nuns by the Ottawa.

May I request the favor of seeing you today, if you can possibly make it fitting with your more important avocations?

I shall wait at the General Hospital, Balaclava, during the morning, in the hope of seeing you, as much business indispensable to us, awaits your orders.

Believe me to be
dear Sir
truly yours
Florence Nightingale

I would come to meet you at any place you will appoint should your time not allow you to come to B’clava today -

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale
26 July 1855  No I
Rec’d 31 1855}
J. Hall Esq M.D.
Inspector = General Before Sevastopol Crimea

Woollett to Hall, RC chaplain Hosp Kulali 3 Sept 1855, re nuns ask if their services wd be acceptable in the Crimea, encloses letter from superior, The nuns attending the sick in this hosp desire to extend the sphere of their labours. Their superior therefore wishes me to ask you whether their services wd be acceptable in the Crimea. She has at my request addressed a letter to me in order to unfold her views in offering her services for the Crimea-I beg to enclose it--and I learn from her that she can send for eight or ten nuns to come from her order in Ireland and even more if you thought it desirable. These will be ready to attend any hosp in the Crimea you may think fit as they fully rely upon receiving that protection wd be necessary for them.

May I bet you to take this matter into consideration at your earliest convenience and let me know the result. [so conniving around FN, Bridgeman-chaplain-Hall-chaplain]
Ff28-29 Bridgeman letter to Woollett, Rev Sir, begs to offer services of Sisters of Mercy to the medical authorities in the Crimea British General Hosp, Kulalee, Sept 2 1855. My dear Revd Sir, Thro’ you I beg to offer the services of "the Sisters of Mercy" to the medical authorities in the Crimea to attend the sick and wounded soldiers under their direction.

As we have left our convent homes for this work of mercy, I am anxious to extend the sphere of our usefulness as far as possible, esp now that so few other illeg convalescents are sent down the Bosphorous. Indeed it seems as if we are hardly doing the work for which we came so far. If Dr Hall accepts our services I shall be happy to conduct our sisters to the Crimea and work with them under his directions. I shall hope to get from home any number he may consider necessary.

It may be well to add that I would not undertake again to work with Miss Nightingale, as I learned while I was at the Barrack Hosp Scutari how very different from ours are Miss Nightingale’s views of nursing, hospital arrangements, &c &c.

But if the authorities wish to appoint a secular lady supt I have not the least objection to work illeg the C illeg as here with the Prot lady supt with whom I now act.

May I beg dear Revd Sir that you will ascertain soon as convenient whether more sisters are likely to be reqd as in that case their travelling shd not be deferred to the illeg weather.
My dear Sir

I accede immediately to your desire & opinion that the female Element should be withdrawn from the General Hospital of Balaclava -

I believe that my opinion entirely coincides with yours.

I have written to Miss Wear conveying your Orders, & wishing our party to be withdrawn by the beginning of October -

I thank you for your kind words about the use which the Nurses have been of -

I am glad to break up the establishment at Balaclava for more reasons than one -

I am intending to come up to the Crimea myself very shortly, when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you -

I hope, with you, that there will be peace, more than I expect it.

Still the having Sebastopol
is great gain.
I thank you most
sincerely for your kind
letter & remain
  My dear Sir
    most truly yours
    Florence Nightingale
Will you inform Dr. Hadley,
who has always been
most kind to me & mine,
of the conclusion which
you have come to about
the General Hospital
& that it will be
immediately carried into
effect? May I ask you,

should Miss Wear request
you to appoint her to some
other position in the
Camp not to give her any
answer till you have
heard from me, as I have
very particular reasons
for making this request
which is, of course, in
the strictest confidence to
you only. I have no reason
to suppose, however, that
Miss Wear is about to
make any such request —
Nor would I put such
an idea into her head —
as being possible.

env {in another hand: 21 Sept 1856
Miss Nightingale
about removal of nurses
from Balaclava
Rec’d 26 Sept 1855
Ans’d 27 Sept 1855}

John Hall Esq MD
  Inspector=General of Hospitals
    Head Qr Camp
      Sebastopol

Wear letter to Hall 24 Sept 1855, surprised to get letter from FN, only
desire to obey her orders
f36 27 Sept 1855 J. Hall letter to FN from Sebastopol, must have expressed himself unfortunately and with great injustice to Miss Wear and nurses, they have been useful, his note to her written under impression that it was her desire to withdraw her nurses altogether from the Gen Hosp at Balaclava, trust she does not think him ungrateful to wish for removal of Miss Wear, who remains anxious to remain. He has requested her to communicate with FN on subject; “you will be glad I am sure to hear that our sick list is considerably diminished and that the wounded are nearly all progressing favourably

f37 1 Oct 1855 Wear to Hall thanks for his note of Friday re proceeding to Monastery; FN wishes to get herself from this day entirely released from all obligation to her and her orders, so will obey only him and recognize him as only superior

f39 2 Oct Bridgeman to J Hall re his favour of 27 Sept, obliged, hope to leave for Crimea early next week; one sister can’t travel, bilious attack, trusts will find useful, takes 10 sisters with her, and 2 lay sisters, so 13 in all knows Wear and Stewart

f41 undated Wear to Hall

f42 8 Oct 1855 Storks to Hall re sisters of Mercy, re irregularity taken place having med application to him to receive her and sisters at Balaclava, he knew nothing of the arrangement until an applic was made to him for passage for them, and as much inconvenience may arise on future occasions if this irregularity to let pass unnoticed; Mrs B and sisters have been of great use at Koulali and have discharged duties in a zealous and praiseworthy way; they go up in the Ottawa with Nightingale whom he will see
signed letter, ff44-46v, pen

f44

PRIVATE  {in another hand: Rec’d 15-10-55  [14:241-43]}

J.H.}
Castle Hospital
Balaclava
October 15/55

My dear Sir

Will you allow me to recapitulate to you the statement which has this day been made by me the subject of a communication with to the War Office - & which I fear is likely to assume a (somewhat perhaps undue) importance in the eyes of our perhaps bigoted brethren of England?

After referring

(1) to my Instructions from the War Office, dated October 19, 1854, by which the duties of “selection”, of “distribution”, & the “power of discharge or dismissal” of the “female Nursing Establishments for the Hospitals of the British Army serving in the East” were imposed upon me.

(2) to the Dispatch dated 155656/193 War Office, September 8, 1855 of which the following is an Extract -

Madam

x x x

I am to add that Lord Panmure requests that you will consider what steps should be taken to make the services of those already attached to the Hospitals in the East most available at such points & for such situations as may happen to require further aid at any particular time or
under unforeseen circumstances”

(Signed) B. Hawes

Miss Nightingale
Scutari

(3) to the Certificate of appointment of all those who came out “to act as Nurses under my orders” including the R. Catholic Sisters of Mercy

(4) to the Dispatch dated
155656/138 War Office
July 14 1855

“that Lord Panmure considers that the proper course regarding the superintendence & control of the Nurses & Sisters would be for Miss Nightingale to select a Superintendent at each of the Stations of Balaclava & Scutari, who, in her absence from such station, whether from illness or any other cause, should assume the control & direction of the Nurses & Sisters, under the orders of the Principal Medical Officer on the Station.

“This arrangement, while vesting in Miss Nightingale full authority over the Nurses at either Station, while she is residing there, will relieve her from the responsibility of controlling parties at a distance, over whom she is thereby prevented from exercising an immediate supervision”

(Signed) B Hawes
to my Instructions from the War Office
given verbally (in an Interview between the Duke of
Newcastle, Mr. Herbert, & Dr. Andrew Smith & myself)
in London, October 20, 1854, the day before I left
England & repeated in January, 1855 - by which
I was enjoined to fix the proportion of R. Catholics
in the “female Nursing Establishments in the
British Military Hospitals in the East at one-third/not more
than one-third -
I have stated that,
In September, 1855, Mrs. Bridgeman, the
Superior of the R. Catholic Sisters of Mercy who
came out to serve under my orders in December,
1854, & were stationed - partly at the General
Hospital of Scutari which is immediately
under my care, partly at that of Koulali,
(which was, at my request, placed by the War
Office more immediately under the orders of
the General Officer commanding in the Bosphorus,
by instructions, dated “War Office, April 20, 1855)
offered the services of herself & Sisters, without
the knowledge & consent of this General Officer
or my own, to you which you accepted for
the General Hospital, Balaclava - after
that you had written to me, (referring to a letter
of mine, dated some months previously, proposing
to withdraw the Nurses then there, a proposition
at that time negatived by you) - desiring that this
proposition should now be carried into effect -
which I acceded to.
that Mrs. Bridgeman then wrote to me withdrawing the whole of her Sisters at Scutari & Koulali, & announcing this withdrawal for the beginning of the ensuing week.

that I immediately communicated with our Ambassador, who gave it as his opinion that I should be “fully justified in calling upon Mrs. Bridgeman not to undertake her intended voyage & upon Dr. Hall not to receive her at Balaclava without my “consent & permission” - & that I “should be entitled to the support of Brigadier-General Storks & Rear Admiral Grey in giving effect to my determination” -

that, conceiving it to be injudicious to take such a measure & thus produce a breach between the R. Catholic & Protestant elements, I consulted with Br Genl Storks, the General Officer commanding in the Bosphorus, & came to the determination to bring Mrs. Bridgeman & her Sisters, amounting in number to thirteen, to Balaclava myself -

that, finding you of opinion that it was better for the arrangement to stand - viz. that the General Hospital at Balaclava should be served by R. Catholic Sisters alone, because the Patients in that Hospital at present consist chiefly of R. Catholics, Jews, Turks, infidels & heretics, - & referring to my instructions from the W. Office,
placing me “under the direction of the Chief Army Medical Officer in Turkey or elsewhere in the East” - I considered it to be my duty to acquiesce in your arrangement -

but that, finding this arrangement to be at variance both with my Instructions from the War Office relative to placing one-third only/at most of R. Catholic Nurses in any Military Hospital & with my own judgment - & finding also that it was your desire to follow the wishes of the R. Catholic Superior, Mrs. Bridgeman, which, being taken by you, were found to be, the as was most natural, that her authority should be independent of my control, - I have now prayed to be relieved by the War Office of my responsibility relative to the female Nursing in the General Hospital, Balaclava, under the existing arrangements -

I have added that you have engaged/stated in a verbal conference with me that it is your intention

(1) that no Nurses or Sisters shall be admitted into any of the other British Military Hospitals in the East, without my knowledge & consent.

(2) that - seeing that all the Sisters, be they R. Catholic or Protestant, who have come out to the Hospitals of the British Army of the East have come out as Nurses only
seeing that the small number of Sisters & Nurses assigned by you to the other Military Hospitals in the Crimea has prevented the due admixture of one-third R. Catholic sisters there - then having always declined to go, when I proposed it to them, to any Hospital in parties of less than five -

the R. Catholic Sisters, now at the General Hospital, Balaclava, shall not be allowed to visit at any of the other Hospitals in the Crimea - such visiting inferring the character of missionaries & not of Nurses, for the reasons above stated - & being more fitly done by their own priests -

I beg to remain, dear Sir,
yours sincerely & faithfully
Florence Nightingale

To
John Hall Esq M.D.
Inspector General of Hospitals
Head Qr Camp Sevastopol

signed letter, ff48-49v, pen black edged paper

Will you allow me to take you at your word, & may I venture to trouble you with a few suggestions which, if they are practicable, & if this Hospital is to be continued through the winter, (so as to make the expense desirable) would contribute to the health=iness & comfort of the Patients?

(1) Water Closets to each ward - with drains - two & portable engines to flush them from the seas - to debouch the refuse into the sea - for which there is a good place - It might have a common flap - & be 3 ft by 1 ½ ft. in dimensions.

A bath for each ward might
be included with no great additional expense, if this experiment were tried.

There is a portable engine at Renkioi to spare & tank which they would let us have - x

(2) To bore for spring-water or to bore the rock. But better geologists than I say that we might go down some one hundred yards without finding water -

If this be the case, the rain-water might be collected - & with half a dozen rum puncheons, half filled with pebbles, charcoal &c, filters would soon be made. But this should be done immediately.

(3) A hut for a Reading Room for convalescents - These sit x

If a well could be sunk, there would be no occasion for the portable engines to flush the water=closets

swearing & smoking outside the huts, whereas, if there were a hut furnished with books, newspapers & stationery, the better kind of men would sit there to read & write - At least so we have found at Scutari - There must be a non-commissioned officer in charge - & chairs, & tables -

Dr. Matthew, the principal medical officer here, empowers me to say that, having now sixty vacant beds, he could give up a hut, holding fifteen beds, for the purpose, if authorized to do so - And, should there be a fresh influx of wounded, there is nothing to do but to move out the tables & move in the beds - I would supply the rest.
(4) to “jump” a hole to drain off the water from the ice in the ice-house in the Castle ruin.

(5) to make all the huts weather-tight for which will be necessary
   I. to roof them with felt or tin
   II. to hold down the roofs with iron hoops
   III. to prop up the walls.

I am no Engineer, as you will perceive - I have only talked with the Principal Surgeon here, Dr. Matthew, who authorizes me to use his name in all these propositions & with a foreman of Mr. B/Dogue’s who appears a practical intelligent man & assures me that they are all feasible. I do not venture to express an opinion, but only to lay them before you, as our Chief. I beg to remain, Sir

To Sir General your obedt servt
Sir Richard Airey Florence Nightingale

John Hall Esq M.D.
Inspector General of Hospitals
Head Qr Camp Sevastopol

J Hall to Madam 19 Oct 1855 Our hospitals are open at all times to our friends and Dr Mouat I am sure will be most happy to show her the est, regrets will not be able to attend her but will write to the dr to whom you are...apologizes to her for not ack her letter of 15th earlier but it refers to orders and regs unknown to him before, re bigotry she alludes to will not sway people of England in matters of pure charity and good work
envelope, f53, pen

**f53**

John Hall Esq M.D.
Inspector General of Hospitals
Head Qr Camp Sevastopol

FN envelope to J. Hall with his note 27 Oct Miss N informing him of her having gone over the ..at the Gen Hosp, of departure of Mrs Davis for England...and requesting him to have nurses to accompan Miss Wear to the Monastery

f54 letter 28 Oct 1855 of J. Hall letter to FN replying to her note of yesterday informing of departure of Mrs Davis for England and Mrs Sheridan to Scutari and Mrs Bracebridge to join her husband in camp and requesting him to rec 1 or 2 women to accompany Wear to Monastery, sorry to say knows no one at present whom he cd rec to for duty signed letter, f55, pen

**f55** {in another hand: Rec’d 30 October}

Castle Hospital
Balaclava [14:255]
Oct 29/55

My dear Sir
   I beg to thank you for your note of yesterday’s date - & to hope that when you can recommend me one or two women of good character for Miss Wear at the Monastery, you will kindly remember to let me know. Meanwhile I must provide her as well as I can.
   I do not wish the women to be paid by other than by me, which would be contrary to my Instructions -

   [end]

   Believe me
   Your obliged & obedt servt
   Florence Nightingale

f56 blank
My dear Sir

As you have appointed Miss Wear’s successor at the General Hospital, Balaclava - as the Patient to whom her kind attention was most necessary, is dead - as her hut is not yet ready, it appears, at the Monastery - nor have I as yet, any one to send with her - Mrs. Sheridan & Mrs. Davis having both departed - & you having no one to recommend - I have communicated to Miss Wear that I think it would be better, for obvious reasons, for her to come to the Castle Hospital during the interim till the Monastery is ready for her.

I remain, dear Sir,
Your obliged
Florence Nightingale

F58 J Hall letter to Madam 7 Nov 1855 re arrs she proposes to Miss Wear appear to me good, on same paper as FN to him: The arr you propose to Miss Wear appears to me to be a good one provided it be agreeable to herself, but I think it would be right to consult her own feelings and convenience in the matter. The alterations at the Monastery go on slowly, but as the greater part of the sick will be removed tomorrow Miss Wear’s ministration will not be so much reqd as it mt have been under other circs so that she need not be hurried or put to inconvenience in going there. I am sorry to hear you are an invalid at present and I fear you must have taken cold in some way. This however is a very favourable climate for rheumatic complaints; fever cases appear in our returns of sick and speaking from personal exp those who are subject to the complaint in other places do not suffer from there here. Wishing that health may soon be restored to you.
Castle Novr 6/55

My dear Miss Wear, as both your followers have alas! deserted you, as your poor patient Captain Nicholls stands no longer in need of your kind care - as neither your hut in the monastery is yet ready, nor have I as yet any one to send there with you, & as I fear it cannot be very comfortable for you to remain at the General Hospital with the "monks"

Would you not think it better to come up her for the inter regnum till the monastery is ready?

We would do our best to make you comfortable -

And knowing as I do the characters of your successor & of many of those with whom you have to do, I think it would be far pleasanter for you, better for your dignity and might answer much that may be & will be said both about our being spies on the "monks", and of our pampering "the monks", for they say both

But your own comfort must be the primary consideration.

Believe me

Ever yours

Florence Nightingale

I have communicated this to Dr. Hall.  

Dr. Hall
Inspector General of Hospitals
Castle Apr 6/55
My dear Miss Wear, as both your followers have alas deserted you, as your poor patient Captain Nicholls stands no longer in need of your kind care—as neither your hut in the Monastery I as yet ready, nor have I as yet anyone to send there with you, & as I fear it cannot be very comfortable for you to remain at the General Hospital with the “monks”
Would you not think it better to come up here for the inter regnum till the Monastery is ready?
We would do our best to make you comfortable.
And knowing as I do the character of your successors and of many of those with whom you have to do I think it would be for pleasanter for you, better for your dignity and might illeg much that may illeg well be said both about our being spies on the “monks” and of our pampering the “monks” for they say both.
But your own comfort must be the primary consideration.
Believe me
ever ours
Florence Nightingale
I have communicated this to Dr Hall.

f62 8 Nov 1855 J. Hall to Wear returns FN letter to you, and mine in reply to her communic of yesterday which I beg you ...The nurses from Smyrna I can give you no information about and as a telegraphic reply was issued yesterday to fill the Smyrna Hosp with sick and give over a portion of the BH at Scutari for the acc of the German Legion, it is poss they may not now be disposed to detach any of them for service n the Crimea.

f63 9 Nov 1855 Wear letter to J. Hall will remain here until I go to the Monastery as I do not wish to accept Miss Nightingale’s inv for many reasons. I do not feel I am in anyone’s way here, the Revd mother and myself the best poss terms at the same time I shall be happy to retire as signed letter, f67, pen

£67

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
Nov 27/55

My dear Sir
I beg to enclose a copy of a Dispatch from the War Office – It cites the whole case – The Cholera brought me back here without having the pleasure of seeing you again – It has now, I am thankful to say, almost entirely subsided.
I remain, dear Sir,
Yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale
f69 Hawes, 171/35 WO to FN 5 Nov 1855 re her corr with Stratford de Redcliffe and control over the nurses; directed by Ld Panmure to state that he entirely approves of the letter addressed to her by Viscount Stratford...as explaining clearly the views and intentions of the dept with regard to her control over the nurses in the East.

“Lord Panmure considers that Mrs Bridgman was not justified in removing, except by your consent, any of the nurses engaged under your control in the Hospital at Scutari, nor in offering the services of herself and the Roman Catholic sisters at Kulali to the Principal Medical Officer in the Crimea without having previously obtained the consent and sanction of the Sec at War.”

f70 J. all to FN 30 Nov 1855

signed letter, ff71-72, pen

f71

B.H. Scutari
Nov 27/55
My dear Miss Wear
You will receive this week Mrs. Brownlow (& baby!) & a household servant Mrs. Nisbett, I hope therefore that all is ready at the Monastery - I will write to you full particulars about them.
Hitherto you have nursed & not superintended - Let me remind you that,
while we must all
admire & respect
your devoted efforts
as a Nurse - & none
appreciate them more
than myself - I must
again allude to the
fact that it was
not as a Nurse
but as a Superinten-
dent that I placed
you, acting for the
Government, at the
General Hospital at
Balaclava - & that
our duties in this
latter office are far
more responsible,
painful & difficult
than in the former
one.

Mrs. Brownlow comes
to you temporarily only.
I trust you will like
Mrs. Nisbett -
Believe me
ever yours truly & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

f73 Wear to Hall from Monastery 21 Dec, encloses letters rec'd from FN; re not sending any more people here unless you wish it as there is not any necessity for them and I almost regret having anyone beyond Mrs Brownlow, re directing extra diet kitchen, happy and comfortable here

f75 copy of FN letter to Wear Dec 11 1855

f76 copy of FN letter to Wear Dec 14 1855 and Dec 15th

f76v note of J Hall 21 Dec 1855 Wear re nurses from Smyrna and purchase of eau de cologne, enclosing 3 notes from FN (copies)
copies of signed notes, f76-76v, pen

f76
Copy
B.H. - Scutari
Dec 14/55

My dear Miss Wear,

I send you the Welsh woman Jane Evans whom you formerly asked me for. I trust she will serve as well as old Davis did - She bears the highest character for trustworthiness & diligence, and obedience - and the breaking up of the Kulalee Hospl has set her at liberty - She is most peculiar - more so I think than old Davis - I send you by her the bird seed - and pray ask me for every thing you want -

Believe me ever yours truly

x In August when old Davis Sd F. Nightingale wished for her former fellow Servant -

I am very anxious to hear how you are going on, and how many patients you have -

I should have preferred waiting for your answer before sending up Jane Evans. But this was impossible - She will sail by the “Andes” on Monday with a Susan McPherson, who is for Mrs. Stewart -

Barrack Hospital, Scutari
Dec 14th 1855

My dear Miss Wear,

I have received with some surprise the news of the arrival of two nurses from Smyrna who came by MC Melbourne without previous notice, and landed here addressed to me-bringing enclosed in a letter to me a note to you of which the following is a copy - May I ask how this mistake has arisen -

Believe me &c &c

F. Nightingale

Smyrna Hospital Dec 1st, 1855

Madam

A request having been made on your account for two nurses from Smyrna, and Mrs. Barker, & Mrs. Edwards
having volunteered on the breaking up of this Hospital
to proceed there - I beg to recommend them strongly to your
kind consideration, as being of a very superior
grade to the common Hospital nurse, and both of them
perfectly sober, honest and respectable, and indeed
quite trustworthy in every respect - I am - madam -
Your obedient Servant
Henrietta Anne LeMesurier
Lady Superintendent
Smyrna Hospital
Dec 1st 1855

letter of congrats to Sir John on his honour conferred. Sir John Hall
KCB Insp Gen of Hosp, from Walter McGrigor 17 Charles St., St James’s Sq 8
Feb 1856

signed letter, ff81-82v, pen

My dear Sir
    I have been solicited
from various quarters
to send 3-4 Nurses
to the Hospitals of the
(so-called) Left Wing
of the Land Transport Corps
at Karani.
    Should this meet
with your permission
& sanction, I will
gladly do so - & send

whatever quantity or
quality you prefer -
    I am told that
there is a Hut ready -
    I read, with much
pleasure, in your
Official Letter to
Lt. Colonel Lefroy
your appreciation of
female Nurses, as
also the fact that you
did not think
thirteen too many for
the General Hospital at Balaclava -

I read also there your appreciation of Nuns - in preference to other Nurses -

If such should still be your opinion in the present instance, you are well aware that I can supply you with whatever kind you prefer -

Permit me to congratulate you upon the recent honor conferred upon you & to remain dear Sir truly yours Florence Nightingale

Sir John hall K.C.B. &c &c
Ins. Gen. of Hospitals

J Hall letter to Madam enclosed letter from Dr Taylor in charge of LTC anxious to have twelve nurses to assist in the 2 hospitals, copy of his letter to Hall 9 March 1856

J. Hall to Codrington, c in chief, re FN and appt of nurses to Monastery

13 March 1856 letter from Wear at Monastery to J. Hall
My dear Miss Wear,

This will be brought you by Mrs. Brownlow (& Baby) & Sarah Nisbett. I hope that you will be able to proceed to the Monastery now immediately with these two women and take possession of your quarters there.

I have talked to Sarah Nisbett, who I think promises well and with whom I have the highest character. I have impressed upon her what she is going to; and the necessity of obedience to you and of turning her hand to everything, and told her of our three conditions, - never to take or accept any drink than the allowance which we have as written in my Rules

never to accept any present from sick or poor
never to go out without your leave or alone.
She has good health, & though she looks old, is of that wiry constitution which lasts long, and is active.
She professes a great desire to be of use -

Mrs. Brownlow you will have no trouble with - But I depend upon you not to keep her beyond the month arranged.

I will then provide you
you with some one else.

If there is any difficulty in disposing
of the little burnt Russian boy, I will
take him here - Will you ascertain
this for me?

Will you read our Rules to Mrs.
Nisbett?

Pray let me hear from you &
believe me
ever yours gratefully
Florence Nightingale

Two boxes, one of Port wine, one of
Books, for Mrs. Stewart, Castle
Hospital, will come with the women.
May I trouble you to forward them
to her? They are directed to me.

Two boxes, one of Port wine, one of
Books, for Mrs. Stewart, Castle
Hospital, will come with the women.
May I trouble you to forward them
to her? They are directed to me.
I have no objection to give her a trial with you, if you like it. and, if on further enquiry, I find her fit for Balaklava - as Mrs. Brownlow is only a temporary visitor with you.

I hope that you have made yourselves comfortable at the Monastery.

I am very anxious to hear what you are doing - how many your Patients, whether you are cooking Extra Diets - I sent you Nisbett, because she had been 16 years a cook - Jane Evans has also the character of an excellent cook.

I hope you sent the White silk to the Sardinians.

Pray make requisitions upon me for what you want, and believe me

Your most truly

Florence Nightingale
COPY Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Jany 7/56

Dear Miss Wear,

I have sent up a gown -piece and a little blue coat sleeves and cape etc., the former for Mrs. Brownlow, the latter for Baby Brownlow, which I hope you will receive at the same time as Jane Evans’ winter clothing, which I have also sent up, as well as her boxes, by the “George Hawkins”? Will you explain to Mrs. Brownlow that hers are a present from my Aunt - to Jane Evans - that I hope there will be no delay in her receiving her property - and that I am much obliged to her for her exertions in the matter of the Cow?

With regard to the Stores entrusted to your charge, I shall be much obliged to you to do, as all my local superintendents have done, - and as I fully understood that it was agreed between you and me that you should do & as I know that you
you began by doing, most correctly and kindly, viz., to issue them only in answer to Medical Requisition, - with the exception of articles issued to men going away, of which an exact, which need not be a long, account is taken, - a record being preserved of the whole of the issues, to be returned to the Supt Genl at the end of each Quarter. -

I am very glad to hear that you like the Monastery - Will you tell me what winter things you want & believe me, dear Miss Wear

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

copy of signed letter, ff95-95v, pen

My dear Miss Wear

The luggage of Mrs. Slow-man, 50 A Regiment was sent up by the “Melbourne” 6 weeks ago - directed to 2nd division Stores at Balaclava with her name upon it. Enquiry must be made there for it.

Please to pay Mrs. Brown-low the 14/- and 1/- as you propose -

You will then, as you say, have 2/- in hand -

I will endeavour to perform your commission as to the cotton stockings in Constantinople - But we ourselves never go to that side the water, having neither time nor opportunity. But I shall not be long executing your commands.

I am glad the cold with you diminishes - We
We have snow -
    Pray believe me
    ever yours
    F. Nightingale
Pray remember me kindly
to Mrs. Brownlow & baby,
to Jane Evans & Mrs. Nesbitt. [end]
signed letter, f97, pen

{in another hand: Scutari [14:354]
Rec’d Barrack Hospital
18 March 56 March 14/56
JH}
My dear Sir
    I beg to acknowledge
your letter of the 10th,
& to inform you that
the twelve Nurses,
(including two cooks,)
therein required, will
leave Scutari tomorrow,
March 15, by the
“Severn” & next succeeding
Steam Transport from
hence - I remain, my [end]
dear Sir, yours truly
    Florence Nightingale
Sir John Hall K.C.B.
    &c &c
signed letter, ff99-100, pen black edged

f99

Balaclava
March 25/56

My dear Sir,

I beg to report to you
1. that I arrived here yesterday per “Severn”, bringing with me the first instalment of the Nurses appointed by you to the two L.T.C. Hospitals, whom I propose settling there tomorrow - The second detachment follows per “Ottawa”.

2. that, in consequence of the “General Order”, replacing matters which regard the “Female Nursing in Military Hospitals” where they were before, I called upon Mrs. Bridgeman today at the General Hospital, Balaclava, to inform her that I purposed making no change there - your satisfaction

f99v

with the arrangement, as at present existing there, having been expressed by yourself - “She referred the case” to you as to her “continuing her work in the Hospital when no longer independent.”

I beg, therefore, to await your decision upon the subject, & to request that you will communicate it to me - I have only to add that Mrs. Bridgeman is but replaced under the same conditions as understood & acknowledged by her in writing (as by all the other Nuns) upon their coming out - to resign upon which account would make but a lame story.

& also that the “General Order” in question is as much an order to me as to any of my Nurses - & being such,
I cannot discharge myself from the responsibility which the War Department saw fit to impose upon me -

3. I would beg the favor of you to inform me whether you wish us to have our Requisitions at the L.T.C. Hospitals upon the Purveyor countersigned by the Principal Medical Officer - an arrangement I should myself prefer.

I beg to remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall, K.C.B.
I.G.H.

signed letter, ff101-02, pen black edged

{in another hand: Rec’d 28 March Nurses to be dieted, Dr. Taylor says at Miss Nightingale’s request, same as the Medical Staff Corps Orderlies.}

Balaclava
March 27/56

My dear Sir
I beg to acknowledge your letter of yesterday, which I have just received.

1. My question with regard to your wishes as to the counter signature of our Requisitions, related solely to Requisitions for Nurses’ consumption, which I was informed by Deputy Purveyor-in-Chief Fitzgerald “must be, & always had been, by” your “desire, countersigned by the Principal Medical Officer” -

With regard to those Extras for the Sick, which we are to cook in the Land Transport Hospitals, we shall receive these direct
from the Steward (for being cooked) according to Extra Diet Rolls (& not according to our Requisition), as in all other Military Hospitals. And therefore demands of that nature will be necessarily made by the Medical Officer in Charge - & not by us. I now fully understand your wishes as to the other Requisitions, viz. those for Nurses’ use - 2. I will acquaint Mrs. Bridgeman with your answer - & I hope that she will give neither you nor myself, the regret of her departure. [end 14:364]

I remain, dear Sir, faithfully yours Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall K.C.B.
I.G.H.

signed letter, ff103-04, pen black edged

{in another hand: [14:365-66]
Rec’d 2 April 1856 Balaclava 31/3/56 J. Hall

My dear Sir
With reference to a passage in your letter of March 26, referring to the “usage in Military Hospitals”, a circumstance which has taken place induces me to offer an observation.
You state that you wish “all demands for the Sick to be made by the Medical Officer in Charge, with the approval of his immediate superior.” It appears to me that this rule, so far as it relates to Nurses and Superintendents is reasonable, and should be complied with, as has been done heretofore.
Personally, however, I have exercised the right of Requisition without such approval ever since I received my Instructions in October, 1854. I am in the habit of doing so at Scutari, & have always hitherto done so in the Crimea - And my Requisitions for the sick have always been attended to.

But, on the 29th inst., I sent a Requisition to the Medical Storekeeper for 2 Graduated Glass Measures and 1 Gill Measure for the "Sisters of Mercy" at the Land Transport Corps And it was refused, unless the counter=signature of yourself or Dr. Taylor were obtained -

It appears to me that the definite position, which I now occupy

with regard to the Hospitals in the Crimea, cannot be considered to have deprived me of the above mentioned right.

And I should therefore feel obliged by your giving the necessary Instructions.

Of course, when I leave the Crimea, the Requisitions will be sent for approval by the Superintendents in the manner pointed out in your letter - [end 14:366]

I beg to remain dear Sir
faithfully your
Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall K.C.B.
&c
I.G.H.
I return the enclosure. It is a graphic delineation of the illeg views of the writer and nothing wd be stronger as an evidence of the interference of her and her supts then the power she claims of disposing of public stores for the sick. Your reply is an admirable reproof—all that cd be desired with dignity and energy. She will make another move but unless it is done with her utmost caution and cunning she will involve herself and the authorities in a discreditable dilemma. They cannot empower her to draw public stores for the use of the sick w/o an abandonment of all principle. Congratulations you on the happy reply you have given. If you wish it I shall send you a copy of the War Office instr referred to me by Mr Wreford. It says nothing of diets, merely of illeg of money and then it shd be thought the PMO

How truly grateful I do feel for your most kind letter of the 5 inst as well as for the inestimable kindnesses we have recd from you. Believe me we feel most sensibly grateful for all. Will you dear Sir allow me, through you, to express our best thanks to Sir Wm Codrington for the approval so graciously expressed by him also and to assure him how fully we appreciated and how gratefully we have recd it.

I have the honor to enclose a comunic from Mrs Bridgeman notifying her departure from the Crimea together with the ten Sisters of Charity under her superintendence. ...Miss Nightingale, Balaclava
My dear Sir

I beg to acknowledge your letter of yesterday’s date, giving cover to one from Mrs. Bridgeman to yourself of April 10, and to report to you that having learnt accidentally in Balaclava, on April 11, that Mrs. Bridgeman & the "Sisters of Mercy" had embarked for England half-an-hour before, I immediately supplied their places (the same afternoon) with Sisters of Mercy & Nurses, whose number will be increased tomorrow by a further arrival of Sisters of Mercy from Scutari, whom I have sent for.

I beg to remain dear Sir

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall K.G.B.

I.G.H.

f111 (in another hand:)
Rec’d 15th April 1856
ans’d -15 APL) General Hospital
Balaclava
April 13/56

f112v note of Hall re letter of FN 13 April that she had expelled the nurses at the Genl Hosp Balaclava [which is not in her letter!]

f113 stylized letter of David FitzGerald Gen Hosp Balaklava 16 Apr 1856 to J. Hall forwarding a copy of a letter addressed to him this eve by FN, submits a copy of his reply to FN ref to paras 1, 2 and 3, to anticipate explanations re notifying, nurses, full diet, etc, [what a dreadful bureaucratic letter]

f115-v copy of signed FN letter to FitzGerald April 16 1856, with a comment
Copy

General Hospital Balaclava

April 16th 1856

Sir

In reply to your letter of yesterday’s date relative to the Nurses being upon
1. “Hospital full diet” - I beg to state that I am happy to accede to any arrangement which tends to the facilitation & accuracy of accounts & to the convenience of the service

{note in left margin: I understood this was Miss Nightingale’s own work-J. Hall}

I consented to it at the Land Transport Corps - I consent to it here -

2. I would however observe that it does not tend to economy, as my Requisitions will shew, which draw for about half the quantity of meat allowed by Hospital Full Diet, when drawn according to the number of Nurses.

3. Also that it does not tend to simplicity of accounts, as it requires one drawing for Diets & another from Extras for Nurses.

4. I would also wish to leave on record the fact that the Nurses at the Left Wing L.T.C. received no rations for four days, and the “Sisters of Mercy” at the Right Wing L.T.C. none for seven days upon this system (save and except 9 loaves of bread after they had been drawn for) during which time they subsisted upon my own private stores.

{note in left margin: This should be inquired into most carefully & minutely. I gave positive orders that all demands from Miss Nightingale, or the superintendents for the personal wants of the nurses should be immediately attended to. Subsequently Dr. Taylor wrote to say it was Miss Nightingale’s wish that they should be dieted like the orderlies - JC.}

5. Having tried both systems I decided I prefer that of Requisitions to Rations for economy, simplicity & regularity - and I would beg the favor of a reply to inform
me why the system of victualing the Nurses is changed from what it continued to be, up to the day of Mrs. Bridgeman’s departure, here -

At the same time I beg to repeat that (note in right margin: I am ready to submit to the temporary no submission is inconvenience if it can be of any advantage required on the part of to the service - especially if it be a means Miss Nightingale in this of clearing up accounts, so that Articles, matter and the only NOT drawn for the consumption of the Nurses, complication that has but drawn according to Medical Officer’s ever existed has been requisitions, for sick Officers - or Patients, be occasioned by the Nurses not charged to the account of Nurses’ drawing items for the consumption. sick as well as the Medl Officers - This has been fully pointed out by me in writing to Miss Nightingale

I have the honor to be Sir
Your obedt Servt

(signed) Florence Nightingale

Miss Nightingale
J. Hall

f116 fair copy David FitzGerald to FN 16 April 1856

f117 stylized letter to FN from FitzGerald, now signed as Deputy Purveyor in Chief Gen Hosp Balaclava, ack her letter of this date and to inform her that hosp full diet has been issued to the nurses by her desire....not having recd instructions to change the system of req for dieting pursued by Mrs Bridgeman did not interfere but on her departure...opportune she has given us an opportunity of refuting the charge of starving nurses.
My dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of April 15, “regretting” that you “were not previously made acquainted with” your/my “intention of drawing Nurses from Scutari” & condemning it as “an unnecessary move without any adequate advantage from the arrangement,” permit me to remind you of the circumstances under which we were summoned here by you - & occupy now three Hospitals with “Nurses from Scutari.”

Your letter of March 10, enclosing one from Dr. Taylor, the Medical Officer in charge of the Land Transport Corps, recommended my bringing Nurses to the two Land Transport Corps Hospitals - As, however, it was found on our arrival that fewer Nurses could efficiently serve the L.T.C. Hospitals than Dr. Taylor had, at first, contemplated, the number of Nurses at the L.T.C. Hospitals is 8 instead of 12, which last No Dr.
Taylor required and you authorized.

The third Hospital is the General Hospital, Balaclava (viz. of the three recently occupied by me with Nurses from Scutari & which I imagine to be included in your census)

I would mention that the No of Patients in this exceeds that of either of the L.T.C. Hospitals, & is by no means diminished from what it has been for several months - You have, also, stated to the War Department that

[pencil in margin] This is a mistake. No specific number was sanctioned by me.

dthis is a mistake. The Patients have decreased one half.

Was this the case - the Hospital was 335, the average 236, the lowest 175.

It receives a greater proportion of acute cases than any other Hospital.

8 Nurses were required here in Jan/55, whom I immediately sent from Scutari - The Hospital then contained 400 Patients -

13 arrived in October/55 with your sanction, a number which you in Dec/55 considered in an official letter to the War Department, not to be excessive for the No of Patients in the Hospital, then about 200 -
In March/56, upon the publication of the “General Order” concerning the “Female Nursing Establishment” I made, as I have reported to you, sincere exertions, upon your recommendation, to induce Mrs. Bridgeman to remain here with her the Sisters. On their refusing, the circumstances of this Hospital being in no wise materially altered, I replaced them, at the request of the Govt order you quote but the Principal Medical Officer of Balaclava, the PMO & ye Matron by 3 Sisters & 3 Nurses including myself - (1 Sister from the L.T.C. Hospitals I have kept here, unavoidably, she being sick.) 3 women wash for the Nurses of the 5 General Hospitals, in the wash house attached to the Nurses’ quarters at this Hospital, as that arrangement effects economy of hands & material -

May I remind you that, in your letter of 26 March, you mentioned that you should much regret the loss of Mrs. Bridgeman & her Sisters’
services in this Hospital - & that you made no mention either of impending abandonment of the Crimea General Hospitals or of any recommendation on your part that the No of Nurses should be diminished in this one?

May I also mention that you made Requisition for twelve Nurses, for the Hospitals, & that, notwithstanding the departure of 11 from hence, I have only exceeded your Requisition (for Nurses from Scutari) by 3 for all the Hospitals - myself not being included, who am very vibratory?

2. I would, further, ask to consult you in the following matter.

I consented to the Nurses at the two L.T.C. Hospitals being placed upon Hospital Full Diets instead of their Supt drawing upon Requisition.

I consented to the same system being pursued here, after my arrival ten days ago, although up to that time
it never had been adopted at this Hospital

The Hospital Full Diet consists of
12 oz. Meat
16 oz. Bread
16 oz. Potatoes
1-1/2 oz. Barley
½ oz. Salt
4 Drs. Tea
1-1/2 oz. Sugar
6 oz. Milk

Of this allowance, we have received the three former Articles only. Upon the five latter articles being claimed for us, a message was sent to me that I “had made Requisition for enough to last me a long while & that I might weigh them out as Rations.”

Upon this, I would observe that either my Requisition should have been returned to me, or it should have been stated that Hospital Full Diets for Nurses consist only of Bread, Meat & Potatoes, in order that the Purveyor’s accounts should not falsely represent
the Nurses as drawing both Rations & Requisitions -

Should this remark appear frivolous, I will mention that the “Confidential Report” by the Deputy Purveyor in Chief, sent to the War Department in Dec/55, animadverting upon our “immorality, insubordination, & extravagance”, did, in support of this latter assertion, place the Extras, drawn, according to Medical Officers’ Diet Rolls for sick Officers & Patients, to the account of Nurses’ consumption, together with their own.

I beg to remain dear Sir yours faithfully Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall K.C.B.
&c &c
I.G.H.

f121 J. Hall to FN 27 April 1856 replies to hers of 19th re complaint of nurses at Gen Hosp Balaclava not having certain articles of full diet ration

f122 G. Taylor, LTC letter to J. Hall 21 April 1856, that on eve of 18th recd his with copy of FN letter to dy purveyor gen of 16 Ap, long letter re supplies, FN,

f124 Doherty SS 2nd class 20 Apr 1856 letter to G. Taylor re FN’s letter

f126 19 April 1856 letter of McArthur [?] staff surg to G. Taylor re FN’s letter

f127 copy of J. Hall letter to FN 23 Apr 1856 to FN, surprised and shocked to find by a copy of her letter of 16th to dy purveyor in chief, forwarded to him, leaving on record so unexpected an occurrence as that of nurses being left for 4 days w/o rations and of sisters of Mercy receiving none for 7 days, encloses copies of explanations. [a lot of paper to explain]

f128 copy of letter of 23 Apr 1856 of Henry Powell to FitzGerald re FN’s letter

f130 copy of letter of John McGuire asst steward Med Staff Corps to Henry Powell re FN and letter and morning of 18th
f132 23 Apr 1856 statement of H. Wright, acting wardmaster MSC to Powell re in store and heard McGuire tell FN’s servant

f134 23 April 1856, copy of statement of Edward Bond re stores for nurses 39867 f134 with another person certifying it
docs of amounts of food!
signed letter & envelope, ff139-41, pen [14:395-96]

f139
{in another hand: General Hospital
Rec’d 28 April 1856 Balaclava
J. Hall} April 26/56

My dear Sir

I beg to acknowledge your letter of April 24, with its enclosures from Drs. Taylor, MacArthur & Doherty - & I hasten to state that these gentlemen did every thing which could be done by them (& a great deal more than I had any right to expect) for the comfort & convenience of the Nurses even to drawing stores upon their own Requisition for the Nurses, in the absence of the promised Rations.

The rest of the case, it appears to me, remains where it was - viz. that the Rations did not come and the Requisitions did.

It is obviously not the duty of the Medical Officer to be running about, ascertaining whether his Nurses have bread & meat - As well might I send in Requisitions to Sir John Hall -
It was obviously the regular course that I should go to the Purveyor about rationing the Nurses, which I did, the day previous to their going to the L.T.C. Hospitals the day subsequent & many succeeding days -

It was obviously my duty not to acquiesce in the make-shifts so kindly resorted to by the Medical Officers, in default of the Rations - but to persevere in claiming the regular Diets upon which we had been placed -

Otherwise, the transaction would have been as irregular as if the Patients' Diets had stopped, & we had supplied them with bread & meat from our table -

Dr. Taylor was of the same opinion. I received a message, purporting to be from him, thro' the Sisters at Karanyi, to the effect that he did not approve of the Sisters receiving stores in bulk or otherwise than upon their own requisition - & that these stores were to be returned - in which I so fully concurred that I had expressed it the previous day in the same terms to the Sisters.

My reason for this I have fully stated viz. that to be responsible for an expenditure, it is necessary to have cognizance of what it is -

The question was not at all as to the Sisters “starving” but as to their living upon Requisitions or upon Rations, being supposed to have the latter -

I see that Dr. Taylor has slightly misapprehended the transaction in some respects - the Sisters having repeated to me the statement made by me to the Purveyor - It is not, however, worth wasting with farther explanation either your time, Dr. Taylor’s or my own.

I have only to express my regret to & even to entreat the forgiveness of the three Medical Officers, whose time has been so unwarrantably occupied
in both purveying for us & in answering for a failure in purveying, obviously not their business (& which they gave so much trouble to remedy) & tending, I fear, to depopularize the Nurses with them.

I wish the subject to be now dropped - only repeating that my sole reason for ever taking it up was that which I have already stated, viz that no ground should be left for any farther “Reports” as to extravagance of Nurses, repudiated, it is true, by the War Department, but which might be revived & founded upon a false idea that Rations, which never had come, had been drawn, besides Requisitions

I beg to remain dear Sir
your faithfully

(f141) (in another hand: 26 April 1856 Miss Nightingale about Nurses Rations at the Land transport Corps hospitals Rec’d 28 April 1856 no answer req’d)

Sir John Hall K.C.B. &c &c
Inspector General of Hospitals
Head Quarters
Camps Crimea

ff142-53 stylized letter 28 Apr 1856 of FitzGerald to J. Hall re Beatson and other copies
f151 Beatson 20 April 1856 medical memo
My dear Sir
   I beg to acknowledge your letter of April 27, & to return the enclosures contained in it, which I have carefully read.
   I beg respectfully to observe that I have not one word to alter of the contents of my letter of April 19.
   I remain, dear Sir, Yours faithfully Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall
I.G.H.
signed letter, ff156-57v, pen black edged

**f156**

General Hospital  
Balaclava  
May 21/56

My dear Sir  
I beg to report to you that  
I invalided home, on May 15,  
two Nurses, Mary Holmes &  
Rebecca Lawfield.  
(one from the Hospital of each Wing  
of the “Land Transport Corps”,) each  
by the advice of the Medical Officer  
in charge - but embark/ed from  
this Hospital (from which you saw  
me putting them in the carriage)  
because I have recently kept my  
sick here -  
Both were respectable women  
& excellent Nurses - And their  
services were much approved by the  
Medical Officers under whom they  
served during the 19 months &  
the  

**f156v**

14 months that they, respectively,  
have been employed in the War Hospitals.  
I should not have troubled you  
with thus individualizing the case of  
each Nurse sent home by me from  
the Crimea, had not the “Confidential  
Report” by the Deputy Purveyor in Chief,  
forwarded to the War Department  
in December/55 - falsely asserted  
that several Nurses who had been  
invalided home had been discharged  
for misconduct.  
Two Nurses from Scutari have  
replaced these two -  
Your female Staff in the Crimea,  
therefore, now stands thus
f157 [shd be aligned]

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<th>Cook</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1 sick)</td>
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</table>

Washerwomen (for all the Nurses) at General Hospital 3

23

This number included myself & my Head Nurse, who, of course, belong to Scutari also -

[end 14:405]

{in another hand:

Monastery No of sick on the 21 Numbers of Hospl Orderlies of May 1856 in attendance on Nurses & Extra kitchen

193 - 1
Land Transport Hosps 173 - 2
Genl Hospital Balaklava 77 } 4 orderlies 2 soldiers & 2 M.S.C. in Extra Castle Hospl 29 } kitchen 2 asst labourers attached to wash house for Nurses

472 }

I beg to remain

dear Sir

Florence Nightingale

f158 FitzGerald letter to Hall 23 May 1856: I return the enclosure. She cannot forget the one point—the "Report." She exaggerates my st under the pressure of her antipathy—I did not say that those who were sent home from the Castle Hosp were dismissed for misconduct, but I wrote "some were sent home from the Castle Hosp and I presume --as illeg" If they were not sent home on account of misconduct I think they shd have been on the very apparent presumption of misconduct; the two to whom she alludes were those...in the affairs between Miss N--Miss Wear and Jephson. Jephson mentioned to me that sergeant was constantly walking with them about the rocks, etc. But Miss N may be left to her chagrin. Your reply was admirable--particularly the not referring to me, for which I am grateful. The Claret wants conveyance.
signed note & envelope, ff159-61, pen

f159

General Hospital [14:409]
Balaclava
June 1/56

My dear Sir

Some months ago, Mr. Cumming asked
me for my copy of the Blue Book of the
Cumming-Maxwell Commission for you -
Should you have it by you, & should you
be able to get at it without trouble,
I should be much obliged to you to
return it to me -

Believe me, dear Sir, [end]
Yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall K.C.B.
&c &c

f160 Hall letter to FN 1 June 1856

f161 {in another hand: 1 June 1856 Miss Nightingale requesting her blue
book of the Medical Commission to be returned
Returned 2 June with an apology -}

Sir John Hall K.C.B.
&c &c
Inspector General of Hospitals
Head Quarters
Camp Sevastopol
My dear Sir

As, in pursuance of my Instructions - which are to send home your female Staff as you dismantle your Hospitals, I am gradually thinning off the Nurses, & as I have now an offer of passages from General Wyndham, I should be grateful if you will kindly give me your Instructions as to which of these Hospital female Establishments you can dispense with first.

I remain, dear Sir.

Yours faithfully,

F. Nightingale

f164 letter to Hall 25 Feb 1857 from Coods? end
Add Mss 39927i

Letters to E.T. Cook, including one from Jowett, Gladstone, George Meredith, Swinburne etc., paper copies, 3 letters

ff10-11 AH Clough letter to FN from Council Office, Wednesday, re railway carriage and her returning Friday, asks if “I ought in obedience to the eternal laws to do more than has been done, viz., to put out Blanche and the baby with strict injunctions not to return? -- If more must be done, tell me. I send a Daily News with HM’s latest on the eternal laws. Farewell, A.H. Clough

Add Mss 39927 ff59-62 this is FN’s draft of her letter to Mill

August 11/67 [5:394]
[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.

Private
Dear Sir
  I can’t tell you how much pleased I was nor how grateful I feel that you should take the trouble to write to me-
  And if I ill natured ly answer yours by asking a question, it is because I have scarcely any one from whom gives me (as my dear friend Mr. Clough, long since dead, said) I can have a “considered opinion.”
  That women should have the suffrage, I think no one can be more deeply convinced than I. It is so important
for a woman to be a ‘person,’
as you say. And I think
I see this most strongly in
married life. If the woman
is not a ‘person’ it does
such almost infinite harm even to her husband.
And the harm is greatest
when the man is a very
clever man & the woman
a very clever woman.
But it will be years before you
obtain the suffrage for
women. And in the mean
time there are evils which
press much more hardly
on women than the want
of the suffrage. And will
not this when obtained rather

put them/women, in opposition to
those who with hold these
rights from them so as to
retard still farther the
legislation which is necessary
to put them in possession
of their rights?
I ask humbly. And I am
afraid you will laugh at me-
Could not the existing
disabilities as to property &
influence of women be
swept away by the legislature
as it stands at present?—
and equal rights & equal
responsibilities be given, as
they ought to be, to both men
& women?
I do not like to take up
your time with giving
instances, redressible by
legislation, in which my experience tells me that women & especially poor & married women appear to me are most hardly pressed upon now. No matron serving on a large scale as I have done, & with the smallest care for her nurses, can be unaware of themse. Till a married woman can be in possession of her own property, there can be no love or justice. But there are many other things/evils, as I need not tell you. Is it possible that, if woman suffrage is agitated as a means of removing these evils, the effect may be to prolong their existence? Is it not the case that at present there is no opposition between the two elements of the nation - but that, if both had equal political powers, there is a probability 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 which, if you were to tell me that it is right politically, I would not do— But I have no time. It is 14 years this very day that I entered upon work
which has never left me
10 minutes’ leisure - not
even to be ill. And I am
obliged never to give my
name where I cannot
give my work-
If you will not think me
egotistical, I will say why
I have kept off the stage of
these things. In the 11 years that I have
passed in Government
offices, tho’ less even since Sidney
Herbert who put me there
died, I have never felt
the want of a vote-
because, if I had been a
Borough returning two
members to Parliament,
I should have had less
administrative influence.
And I have thought that

I could work better for others
off the stage than on it.
Added to which, I am an
incurable invalid, entirely
a prisoner to my room-
But, I entirely agree, if I
may be allowed to agree
with so great an authority,
that women’s “political power”
should be “direct & open”
not indirect:
And I ought to ask your pardon for occupying you
for one single moment
with my own personal
situation.
As you have had the kindness
to let me address you, I
cannot help putting
in one more word on a
subject 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 M.P.

Mill letters:
Add Mss 43393, 266 folios; this volume to 43403 “Presented by the Executors of Miss Nightingale” 1933; most of this volume is published in Sue Goldie, I Have Done My Duty, and Martha Vicinus & Bea Nergaard, Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale; transcriber has indicated where.

ff1-4, War Office, October 19, 1854 from Sidney Herbert giving instructions to FN to follow on her arrival in Turkey, not in SH hand but signed by him

signed letter, ff5-11, pen {extract, f5, Goldie 65

f5

Barrack Hospital
British Sisters' Quarters
Scutari
25 November 1854

Sir

I have the honor to report to you that the party of sisters & nurses under my charge arrived safely at Constantinople in the "Vectis" on the 4th inst. & were received into these quarters the same evening.

We were received by the authorities of the Embassy

f6v

of these Barracks & of the Medical Staff with every attention.

We have received rations from the Purveyor - &, by the assistance of the Engineer, have erected a kitchen in which all that is ordered as an Extra Dietary for this Hospital by the Medical Men is prepared.

The Medical Store-keeper & Purveyor have issued such stores as were in their power to supply.
We are satisfied with these quarters - and the Inspector-General has assigned to us some rooms in the other Hospital, which we are about to occupy, with a subsidiary kitchen.

The whole body of Sisters & nurses (viz - thirty-nine, including myself) is efficient.

I have supplied the place of one whom I was obliged to send back to England by a German Sister, who was offered to me by Pastor Fliedner's Kaiserswerth Institution of Deaconesses from their colony stationed at Constantinople.

After consultation with Dr. Menzies & Dr. MacGrigor, & after affording general assistance in receiving & dressing the Wounded in two disembarkations, including more than 1000 men,
I have distributed my party as follows viz:

10 in the General Hospital which contains about 900 wounded
28 in the Barrack Hospital which contains about 2300 sick & wounded.

The excess in proportion is accounted for by the necessity of keeping a number of nurses in these Quarters for the preparation of Stump Pillows, - Padded Splints, - Slings, - cut Garments, & other Medical appliances.

The Ambassador has been kind enough to put me in direct communication with him through Lady Stratford whose visits & assiduous attention have much contributed to facilitate the performance of our duties.
I have the honor to enclose an Abstract of our Accounts for the Journey - & as your despatch has been received by the Purveyor General, I have no occasion for any additional credit with Sir John Kirkland.

I have the honor to remain, 
Sir,
your obedt servt
Florence Nightingale
Supt Brit. Nurses.

To the Right Honble the Secretary at War

Private
Dear Mr. Herbert,

(1) It appears that in these Hospitals, the Purveyor considers washing both of linen & of the men a "minor detail" - & during the three weeks we have been here, though our remonstrances have been treated with perfect civility, yet no washing whatever has been performed for the men either of body-linen or of bed-linen except by ourselves, & a few wives of the Wounded,
& a story of a Contractor, with which we have been amused, turns out to be a myth. The dirty shirts were collected yesterday for the first time, & on Monday it is said that they are to be washed, - & we are organizing a little Washing Establishment for our own - for the bandages &c. When we came here, there was neither basin, towel nor soap in the Wards, nor any means of personal cleanliness for the Wounded except the following.

Thirty were bathed every night by Dr. MacGrigor's orders in slipper-baths, but this does not do more than include a washing once in two months eighty days for 2300 men.

The consequences of all this are Fever, Cholera, Gangrene, Lice, Bugs, Fleas - & may be Erysipelas - from the using of one sponge among many wounds.

And even this slipper-bathing does not apply to the General Hospital.

(2) The fault here is, not with the Medical Officers, but in the separation of the department which affords every necessary supply, except medicines, to them - & in the insufficient supply of minor officers in the
Purveying Department under Mr. Wreford, the Purv'r Gen'l, - as well as in the inevitable delay in obtaining supplies, occasioned by the existence of one single Interpreter only, who is generally seen booted. 

(3) Your name is also continually used as a bug-bear, - they make a deity of cheapness, - & the Secretary at War stands as synonymous here with Jupiter Tonans whose shafts end only in 'brutum fulmen'. The cheese-paring system, which sounds unmusical in British ears is here identified with you by the Officers who carry it out. It is in vain to

-2-
tell the Purveyors that they will get no 'kudos' with you by this at home. See note A.

(4) The requirements are, unity of action & personal responsibility. It is a sad joke here that a large reward has been offered for any one who is personally responsible, barring the Commandant. 

(5) Another cause is, the imperfection of distinct orders in England as to packing. The unfortunate "Prince" who was lost at
Balaklava had on board a quantity of medical comforts for us which were so packed under shot & shell as that they it was found impossible to disembark them here & they went on to Balaklava & were lost at the same time as your Commissioner Dr. Spence.

(6) In consequence of the Duke of Newcastle's letter to Mr. Cumming, the latter has not taken the command here, & in consequence of Dr. Spence being lost on board the "Prince", the Commission of Enquiry has not yet begun its labours. Mr. Maxwell visits us en amateur.

(7) Two or three hundred Stump Pillows, ditto Arm Slings, ditto Paddings for Splints - besides other Medical Appliances are being weekly manufactured & given out by us - & no provision appeared to have been made for these things before.

All the above is written in obedience to
your PRIVATE instructions.
Do not let me appear
as a Gov't spy here ☹
which would destroy
all my usefulness
& believe me, in greatest haste,
    Yours ever truly
    F. Nightingale

P.S.
    Lord Napier & the Visitors
generally remark that
the Hospital is improved
since we came.

Note A -
    The habits & the honor
of the Purveying Department,
as inferior officers, fix
their attention upon the
correctness of their book-
keeping as the primary
object of life.
Note B -
    Mr. Osborne & Mr.
Macdonald have been
profuse of offers. We
have accepted wine,
shirts, flannel, calico,
sago, &c - delay being
as fatal to us as denial
Entre nous, will you let me state that Lady Stratford, with the utmost kindness & benevolent intentions, is, in consequence of want of practical habits of business, nothing but good & bustling, & a time waster & impediment. As the Commission is not yet doing anything, the Ambassador should send us a man who,

with prompt efficiency, can also defend us from the difficulties & delays of mediating between conflicting orders in the various departments - to which I ascribe most of the signal failures, such as those in washing &c, which have occurred.

FN.
P.S. Mrs. Herbert gave me a fright by telling Mrs. Bracebridge that your private letter to me
had been published. That letter was shewn to no one but my own people & it appears to me impossible that it can have found its way into any other hands.

P.P.S. We are greatly in want of Hair Mattresses or even Flock, as cheaper. There are but 44 Hair Mattresses in store. Our very bad cases suffer terribly from bed-sores on the Paillasse, which is all we have - while the French Hospital is furnished throughout with mattresses having a mixture an elastic couche of Hair between two of Flock in the mattress & a Paillasse underneath. [end 14:70]

f18 1854 [SH] Miss Nightingale 25th November

signed letter, ff19-20, pen, in Goldie 41-42 [14:72-73]

f19

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
5 Dec 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert

I enclose copies of two letters, viz. one from me to the Ambassador, & his reply.

To make the matter clear, I should state that the workmen for repairing the dilapidated wards were put on by Lady Stratford's order - viz. to Mr. Gordon, the Chief Officer of Engineers - at which time she had long conferences with the Commandant & the Purveyor Genl., note-book in hand -
that she distinctly stated to me & others that she was the authorized intermediary between the Ambassador & the authorities of these Hospitals - & that she offered herself as my correspondent in that capacity. Four or five days subsequently, Lord Stratford himself accompanied her here.

The enclosed copies explain what followed - viz. the employing the 125 workmen, & their strike & my putting on 200 workmen - (I may add that we are daily expecting 6 or 700 wounded at least in an already overcrowded Hospital & that Lord Raglan has written to say that we may expect sick from the cold. The dilapidated & now uninhabitable wards are capable of holding 800 patients.

By Lord Stratford's letter to me & in an interview between him & Mr. Gordon, Lord S. virtually denies knowledge of Lady S.'s proceedings.

My own feeling is that the Ambassador would not have done, what he is the only person who has any power to do, & what is a matter of primary importance as regards 800 wounded.

What I have done has been done with the concurrence
of Dr. McGrigor, Senior Medical Officer of the Barrack Hosp. & (as I subsequently found) to the great satisfaction of Mr. Gordon, who expected to be blamed for that which he could not help.

As far as I can reason upon this, it appears to me certain that nothing would have been done if I had not acted in this way.

Mr. Bracebridge will tell you about the Jetty Landing Place & the Washing Est., which was exactly the same story as the interiorly re-building of these wards (one fourth of the whole Hosp.)

Believe me ever yours
F. Nightingale

f21 [SH] Miss Nightingale, 5th Decr 5, 1854

signed letter, ff22-32, pen [Vicinus, 93-96; Goldie, 46-49, copy 8994/124 [14:79-82]

f22
PRIVATE Barrack Hospital Scutari
10 December 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert

With regard to receiving & employing a greater number of Sisters & Nurses in these Hospitals, I went immediately, (on reading Mrs. Herbert’s letter of the 23rd, addressed to Mrs. Bracebridge,) to consult Mr. Menzies
the Principal Medical Officer, under whose orders I am.

He considers that as large a number are now employed in these Hospitals as can be usefully appropriated, & as can be made consistent with morality & discipline. And the discipline of forty women, collected together for the first time, is no trifling matter - under these new & strange circumstances.

He considers that, if we were swamped with a number increased to sixty or seventy, good order would become impossible. And in all these views I so fully concur that I should resign my situation as impossible, were such circumstances forced upon me.

For our quarters are already inadequate
to preserving in health our number. More quarters cannot be assigned us. On the contrary, The sick are laid up to our door - we had even to give up a portion of those quarters which had been assigned us (at the General Hospital) to the Wounded.

With regard to taking a house in Scutari, the Medical Officers considered it as simply impossible. Regularity could not be preserved, where the Sisters & Nurses were living from under our own eye - the difficulties of transport are what no one in England would believe. & the going to & fro between the two Hospitals is becoming daily less easy. That I should not accept a responsibility, which I could not fulfil, is equally the opinion of the Medical Officers & mine.

If, in the course of
the winter, we have
out ten or twenty more,
& send back some of
those we have, the
Medical Officers are
of opinion that that
number will be sufficient,
i.e. forty efficient ones being picked out
eventually for the two Hospitals averaging
3000 sick.

Lastly, I have found
from this last month's
experience that, had
we come out with
twenty instead of
forty, the we should
not only have been
less hampered with
difficulties, but the

work itself would have
been actually better &
more efficiently done.
About ten of us have
done the whole work.
The others have only
run between our feet
& hindered us - & the
difficulty of assigning to them something to do without superintendence has
been
everestious. It is the
difference between the
old plough with the
greatest amount of power
& the greatest loss in
its application - & the
Gee-ho plough with
reins — accomplishing
twice the work with half
the power & much
more efficiently.

We were so alarmed
at the general terms
in which Mrs. Herbert
described the nurses
as instantly to be sent
off — that we held
council & decided on
writing the enclosed to
the Ambassador as the
only means of protecting
them & ourselves. In
other words we could
neither house nor
keep them.

English people look upon
Scutari as a place with
inns & hackney-coaches
& houses to let furnished.
It required yesterday (to
land 25 casks of sugar)
four oxen & three men
for six hours — plus two
passes, two requisitions,
& Mr. Bracebridge's
two interferences, & one
apology from a Quarter
Master for seizing the
Araba, received with
a smile & a kind word,
because he did his duty.
For every Araba is
required on Military-store or Commissariat duty. There are no pack-horses & no asses, except those used by the peasantry to attend the market 1 1/4 miles off. An Araba consists of loose poles & planks extended between two axle-trees, & placed on four small wheels, & drawn by a yoke of weak oxen.

There is not a Turkish house which is not in a fragmentary state — roof & windows pervious

in all directions — there is not a room in our Quarters which does not let in the rain in showers, whenever the weather is bad. We can only buy food through the Commissary & are sometimes without wood or charcoal.

For want of a carpenter & a man to put up a stove, in the absence of all hands (the workmen available being all employed in repairing
the sick Wards, the matter of first importance) we have been unable during the last week to effect the move of some of our nurses into the Genl. Hosp1., or even to get in a few poor soldier's wives into our little Lying-in Hospital, which the pressure of the misery of these poor women had compelled us to begin.

All this will tend to explain the impossibility

-4-
of having more women, & especially ladies, out here at present. -

Mr. Bracebridge has put down some Mem'a. as they occurred to him._

What we may be considered to have effected is

1) the kitchen for extra-diets, now in full action, for this Hospital -
with regular extra-diet tables sent in by the Ward-Surgeons -

2) A great deal more cleaning of wards - mops,
scrubbing-brushes, brooms, & combs, given out by ourselves, where not forced from the Purveyor - 3) 2000 shirts, cotton & flannel, given out. & washing organized - & already carried on for a week. 4) Lying-in Hospital begun 5) widows & soldiers' wives relieved & attended to.

- repair of wards for 6) a great amount of daily dressings & attention to compound fractures by the most competent of us - 7) the supervision and stirring-up of the whole machinery generally, with the full concurrence of the chief medical authorities - & the practical proof which

our presence has given that Govt. were determined to know all they could & do all they could. 8) the repairing of wards for 800 wounded which would otherwise have been left uninhabitable. And this I regard as the most important.

The Government could not do otherwise than send a number of Female Assistants worthy of it - viz 30 or 40. Of these, at most 16 are efficient. The
personal qualities of five or six have effected (under God's blessing) the results already obtained.

I am willing to bear the evil of governing (& preventing from doing mischief) the non-efficient or scheming majority, which is my great difficulty & most wearing-out labor - because I acknowledge the moral effect produced, which could not have been produced by smaller numbers. But I am

not willing to encounter the crowding greater numbers to exhaust our powers & make us useless & incapable. by wasting our time & nervous energy in governing that which cannot be governed.

Lastly, we have dra at the moment we came out, the "Times" commissioner & his fund were prepared immediately to go into opposition - as they have actually done at Balaclava, where the "Times" supplies have been refused - as well
as admission to Mr. Stafford - whereas here, instead of opposition, we have had support. Nothing has been given here except through us & we have had abundant supplies, more than we asked, from Mr. Macdonald & Mr. Osborne - who have held daily consultations with us. Mr. Stafford, who was on the point of going into extreme opposition, has shewn nothing but kindness & zeal.

The great fault here lies in our geography - in our being on this side the water. Four days in the week, we cannot communicate with Constante., except by the other harbour, 1 1/4 mile off, of Scutari proper, to which the road is almost impassable.

I add the Pièces Justificatives -

The grand administrative evil emanates from home - in the existence of a
number of departments here, each with its centrifugal & independent action, un-counteracted by any centripetal attraction - viz. a central authority capable of supervising & compelling combined effort for each object at each particular time.

Excuse confusion
In great haste,
ever yours F. Nightingale

P.S. The remedy which was proposed in making Mr. Cumming Inspector General was distinctly neutralized - 1st by his own caution in not assuming a power not legally his & waiting for Ld. Raglan's orders 2nd by the D. of Newcastle's letter assigning him the post of Head Commissioner, which arrived at the same time as Ld. Raglan's reply. The result has been that Mr. Cumming has not acted as Inspr. Genl. & that the Commissioners were three weeks before they began to sit - having
replaced poor Dr. Spence by the selection of an efficient Medical Officer here.

Mr. Cumming's habit of mind & delicacy towards Mr. Menzies led him to be very chary in giving advice till the arrival of your letter, since which he has given it as advice.

signed letter, ff34-40v, pen, Goldie 50-52

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
15 December 1854

Private

Dear Mr. Herbert

When I came out here as your Supt., it was with the distinct understanding (expressed both in your own hand-writing & in the printed announcement which you put in the Morn. Chron. which is here in every one's hands) that nurses
were to be sent out here at my requisition only, which was to be made only, with the approbation of the Medical Officers here.

You came to me in your distress, & told me that you were unable for the moment to find any other person for the office, & that, if I failed you, the scheme would fail. I sacrificed my own

judgment, & went out with forty females, well knowing that half that number would be both more efficient & less trouble - & that the difficulty of inducing forty untrained women, in so extraordinary a position as this, (turned loose among 3000 men) to observe any order or even any of the directions of the
Medical Men, would be Herculean. Experience has justified my foreboding. But I have toiled my way into the confidence of the Medical Men. I have, by incessant vigilance, day & night, introduced something like system into the disorderly operations of these women. And the plan may be said to have succeeded in some measure, as it stands.

But the Medical Officers, (under whose orders my written instructions & my own judgment equally concur in placing me) have, while expressing themselves satisfied with things as they are, repeatedly given their opinion that more women cannot be usefully employed nor properly governed. And in this opinion I entirely agree.
To have women scampering about the wards of a Military Hosp. all day long, which they would do, did an increased number relax their discipline & increase their leisure, would be as improper as absurd.

At this point of affairs arrives, at no one's requisition, a fresh batch of women, raising our number to eighty-four.

You have sacrificed the cause, so near my heart. You have sacrificed me, a matter of small importance now. You have sacrificed your own written word to a popular cry.

I will not say anything of the cruel injustice to me. The Medical Men are disgusted, & decline absolutely to employ more, or to make any
change in existing arrangements - as far as they are concerned.

Under these circumstances, the only thing I can do is to discharge twelve of those I have, to fill their places with the new ones - to crowd in twelve more into quarters already over-crowded for health (as there is not a square inch of room to be spared in these Hospitals) & to take a house in Scutari for the remaining twenty two - whom it will be impossible to employ in these Hospitals, & who must wait till you can employ them at Therapia or elsewhere - or till you recall them. Of course these unoccupied women will "go to the devil" - to use the expression which was used to me when, in conjunction with my Medical Advisers, I decided
on these expedients. The quartering them here is a physical impossibility - the employing them a moral impossibility. You must feel that I ought to resign, where conditions are imposed upon me which render the object for which I am employed unattainable - & I only remain at my post till I have provided in some measure for these poor wanderers. You will have to consider where the 22 are to be employed - at Malta, Therapia or elsewhere - or whether they are to return to England - & you will appoint a Superintendent in my place, till which time I will continue to discharge its duties as well as I can. Believe me, dear Mr. Herbert, ever yours very truly Florence Nightingale
P.S. Had I had the enormous folly to write, at the end of eleven days' experience, to require more women - would it not seem that you, as a statesman, should have said, "Wait, till you can see your way better." But I made no such request.

The proportion of R. Catholics, which is already making an outcry, you have increased to 25 in 84. Mr. Menzies has declared that he will have two only at

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Written 15th December
Posted 18th "

I must again refer to the deficiency of knives & forks here, the men tear their food like animals. The Medical Officers request me to state
that boxes of Sheffield cutlery, say
1000 knives & forks
1000 spoons
should be sent out immediately - as there are none in store.
I will meanwhile do what I can in Constantinople to stop the gap.

signed letter, ff41-44v, pen, Goldie 52-53 [14:85-86]

Barrack Hospital, Scutari
December 21 1854
Dear Mr. Herbert

The brain is wanting in the Purveyor at home, in the combination of authorities between the purchasing & sending off & shipping & landing. It is not only here. The "Army & Navy" is just come out reported with nothing but Hospital Clothing & bedding on board - not an utensil of any kind. The head or the will is wanting in the Admiral here. Twelve days ago, in obedience to requisitions from Balaklava, stores of Arrow-root, Sago &c were shipped on board the "Medway" for Balaklava, where everything is deficient, with the promise that the
"Medway" was to sail next day. The "Medway" is still here & her hold is filled with things above the Medical Stores. The hospital at Balaklava is still in want.

This morning I foraged in the Purveyor's store - a cruise I make almost daily, as the only way of getting things. No mops, - no plates, no wooden trays (the Engineer is having these made) - no slippers, no shoe brushes, no blacking, no knives & forks, no spoons, no scissors (for cutting the men's hair which is literally alive, nor for the Hospital Serjeants) - no basins, no towelling - no Chloride of Lime.

Will you send us 1000 mops (sticks can be made here)
3000 tin plates (these we are having made here, but they are so expensive that 3000 from England would not be misplaced)
500 tin dishes, deep, to hold soup or meat
2000 yds towelling (very coarse) - canvass or huckaback so that each ward may have its round towels marked with its name.
200 prs common large scissors - two sizes - for the two purposes above mentioned.
50 Quart bottles of
Sir Wm. Burnett's
Disinfecting Chloride
of Lime.
The other articles at mentioned above as
not now in store can be
had at Constantinople.

The Purveyor No.2, Mr.
Stewart, a very accurate man,
says

After consulting with the
Medical Officers, I mean
to send from to Marseilles
for another thousand
yds towelling.
The new wards just
opened by our exertions
& Mr. Gordon's activity
received 500 men on
the 19th from the ships
"Ripon" & "Golden Fleece"

They were received in the
wards by Dr. McGrigor &
myself & were generally
in the last state of exhaustion.
Orderlies were wanting -
utensils were wanting -
even water was wanting.
The first point is the
difficulty of any Medical
Officer getting any man
from the military Authorities
for any service.
I supplied all the utensils,
including knives & forks,
spoons, cans, &c &c &c, towels &c,
clearing our Quarters of
these, we were & was also able
to send on the instant
Arrow Root in huge milk-
pails (with two bottles of
Port Wine in each) for five hundred men.
The Doctors expressed themselves obliged - & the report that night was four only dead, & this morning one more. Tea & bread could not have been issued to the men till a late hour of the evening. Boiling time was over.

You may refer to what Mr. Bracebridge said of Dr. MacGrigor having founded this Hospital. We have increased proofs ever since of his capacity, energy, powers of combination & management of detail. There is reason to fear that these very qualities & the compelling rapid action in his whole department is getting up causing intrigue against him.

As he was the origin, so he is the main spring of the whole thing. We had rather lose all the heads of departments together than him - (these words said advisedly)

Mr. Cumming is with us daily. The Commission is working slowly, we hope effectually.

Mr. Osborne is gone home.
My case is even stronger than before about the matter of the 46 Therapians. The two gentlemen have been here yesterday, thrown all responsibility upon me, today have brought Mary Stanley, with whom I am going to begin business - I am therefore clearly to bear all the blame. I shall not the less continue to act as my discretion dictates for the good of the service alone. All that I said in my last letter to you I say still more strongly. Please to read it & consider that I withdraw nothing.

Believe me, dear Mr. Herbert, in great haste ever yours Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert,

You have not stood by me, but I have stood by you. In this new situation, I have taken your written instructions as my guide, & carrying them out with the best discretion which God has given me, I have endeavoured to establish - in circumstances, however perplexing & anomalous, a consistent action. Had I not done this, we should have been turned out of the Hospitals in a month, & the War Office would have borne the blame of swamping the experiment.

You shall judge for yourself. Such a tempest has been brewed in this little pint-pot as you could had no idea of. But I, like the ass, have put on the lion's skin, & when once I have done that, (poor me, who never affronted any one before), I can bray so loud that I shall be heard, I am afraid, as far as England. However this is no place for lions & as for asses, we have enough.

The ηθος of my instructions appears to me to be this -
(1) Establish no separate action from the Medical Men but be their lieutenant & purveyor to carry out their intentions.
(2) Control among your charge all these different
sects & views so as to prevent
these Hospitals from becoming
a "polemical arena" - I quote
your own words.

The first proposition for the
utilizing of the Therapians which Miss Stanley makes is
that ten of these Protestants
should be appropriated as
Clerical females by the Chap-
lains, ten of the nuns by the
priests, not as nurses but
as female ecclesiastics. With
this of course I have nothing
to do. It being directly at
variance with my instructions,
I cannot of course appropriate
the Govt. money to such a
purpose. Mr. Cumming's answer
you will probably have by
this post.

The second proposition which
the Superior of the new nuns
(who is obviously come out with
a religious view - (not to serve
the sick, but to found a convent)
completely mistaking the
purpose of our mission)
makes is that the whole of
the 15 nuns should come in
or none - they cannot
separate & they cannot
separate from her - Why?
Because it "would be uncanonical".
As, by this word, she has
brought herself within against
the barrier of the War Office
Instructions, & as, for the
good of the service, I consider
two Superiors disadvantageous
(our former Supr. being the one whom I prefer,)
& as, to house fifteen more nuns
is impossible, I have taken the
course to be mentioned hereafter.
The third element in the question is (which bears upon the first part of my Instructions) that the Medical Men fix positively the No. of females for the two Hospitals at fifty as a maximum, in which judgment I entirely concur for reasons which I shall explain hereafter.

Episode 1. The publication of the letter of one of the Sellon Sisters in the Times of the 8th Dec., her Examination & mine by the Commission, which proves her letter to be partly exaggerated, partly untrue, & my determination that she should resign.

Upon these premises, my course is like a proposition in Euclid. And, till I am superseded, I shall carry it out at any expense to me of odium, tho' no human being can stand for two months what I am doing now.

The Candia, the finest vessel in the service, being to sail before night on the 23rd, the day I had all these interviews,—in four hours I sent off ten of my old party, 5 nuns, 2 Sellons, including the offender, & 3 nurses. For each one of these I had to stand a black-guarding (there is no other word in the English language to express it). Of the one from
Father Michael Cuffe for the five nuns, I enclose a Memm. He told me that I was like Herod sending the Blessed Virgin across the desert. We shall hear more of this.

(And, I assure you that, in the midst of my own overwhelming suffering troubles, my heart bleeds for you that, in you, the haste centre of the parliamentary row, you should have to attend to these miseries, tho' you have betrayed me).

My reasons for selecting these nuns to go back (out of the whole number) I have written to Dr. Manning.

I then wrote to the Superior of the new lot that to offer to fill their places with five of the new party, to work under the old Superior whom we brought out with us & who is invaluable, stating that we could neither house fifteen, nor could I have two Superiors in so small a number. My belief is that we shall hear no more about what is "uncanonical". But that they will worm their way in & intrigue with the Priests afterwards. (But I must put in my proviso - viz. that the Bermondsey nuns, who came out with us, are the truest Xtians I ever met with - invaluable in their work - devoted, heart & head, to serve God & mankind - not to intrigue for their Church.)
I cannot tell what will be the issue of all these questions. To send back the fifteen new nuns will be awful. To take them in impossible. But, if they will not separate? - - - - -

I am now going to incorporate what I can of the Sisters & Nurses - in which I must, in conscience, exercise my right of selection.

I am no nearer distributing any of the party elsewhere. Balaklava has virtually fallen through. Merchant Seamen's Hospl. has declined altogether. So have the Medical Men for the Convalescent Hospitals.

Here is where we are.

The Sellons are, as may be expected, furious at the dismissal of their confederate, & charge me with tyranny, who acted only under the advice, though perfectly in unison as to judgment, with the Commission. For such letters cannot be passed unnoticed. The Superior has been invited to read over the evidence & declined.

Pray confirm Father Michael Cuffe in his position here! It is the only agreeable incident I have had!
I believe it may be proved as a logical proposition that it is impossible for me to ride through all these difficulties. My caique is upset -- but I am sticking on the bottom still. But there will be a storm will brush me off. None the less shall I do what I believe to be your first will & that of Common Sense. [end 14:98]

signed letter, ff51-56v, pen, Goldie 57-60 and Stanmore 1:361 [14:94-95]

Xmas Day 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert

Three things I wish to say, after thanking you very much for your Purveying letter.

1st Messrs Wreford, Ward & late Reade, veterans of the Spanish War, come or came to me for a moment's solace trembling under responsibility & afraid of informality. On the last occasion, Wreford said, when I read him part of your letter to me of the 4th "This is the first time I have had it in writing that I was not to spare expense. I never knew that I might not be thrown overboard".

2nd The state of the troops who return here,
particularly those (about 500) who were admitted on the 19th, is frost-bitten, demi-nude, starved, ragged. If the troops, who work in the trenches, are not supplied with warm clothing, the Napoleon's Russian Campaign will be repeated here. It is said that 40,000 sets of winter clothing were lost on board the "Prince". But the 18th is now gone up, as I am told, without warm clothing. Your dates will best tell you by what mistake the naked state of the frost-bitten wretches who came in here between Dec. 19th & 23rd, originated.

The 3rd Mr. Maxwell conducted the examination of that unfortunate Sellon (at which I was present) with the utmost for bearance & courtesy. My own feeling was, - had he pressed her, to what shame & confusion of face might he not have put her? Yet the whole Sellon lot are accusing him of vile forensic habits.

We are so busy that I cannot write a letter for the Queen to see till next post. I am in the Hospitals all day & writing all night - with besides all this business of the Therapians on my hands. The things we want are
(1) Socks 1000 prs
(I got them also by the hundred from Conste)
(2) Flannel 10,000 yds
or Flannel shirts, if you prefer it.
(3) Slippers 2000 prs
Warm Shoes I would suggest for the troops. But that is not my affair as Deputy Inspector of Hospitals.
(4) Drawers & Mits the Drs suggest - you will judge.
(5) Soap ad libitum - the soap here is bad.
(6) Knives & forks & spoons 3000 more besides what we asked for.
(7) Cocoa Nut Matting with the long pile such as is used for mats to clean feet in Workhouses is most necessary here, where our Sick Corridors become by feet of Orderlies like muddy roads.
(8) Air Cushions 100 - fifty being round with hole in middle - for bed sores.

But the Queen ought to give something which the man will feel as a daily extra comfort which he wd. not have had without her. Would some woollen material do to cut up into comforters for the neck when the man begins to get out of bed? This I think would answer the above purpose.
Or a brush & comb for each man? Or a Razor for each man?

As to the Eau de Cologne, a little gin & water would do better.

As the Queen is sending out soap, a most acceptable present, a zinc or tin basin, (say 2000) & towelling, towelling, towelling would be appropriate.
I am having our coarse canvass sheets cut up into round towels.
The men were touched to the heart by the Queen's message - "It is a very feeling letter," they said. "She thinks of us" with tears. "each man of us ought to have a copy which we will keep till our dying day" &c &c &c. I will tell many more things by next post.

I have just written my ultimatum to the new R.C. Superioress. She has offered herself & five others here as a pis aller until she can receive orders from her Superiors whether to come in here with the fifteen, or in case of my refusal,
withdraw altogether. I have replied, (you will remember you did so in the case of Miss Sellon) that I can receive no other Superior, that I consider them as Nurses as regards myself. As Nuns they have every protection in the Revd. Mother already here & the priests. We have not the slightest doubt that this woman not only intends to turn our house out of windows but to trample upon & disperse the ruins, when out. (They are also to have a Chaplain of their own).

Oh!! My War Office! [end]

FN.

Mem. to Purveyor's stores by "Army & Navy" - Correction of last note.

She had 2074 lbs Tea, Sago, Arrow Root, Soap, Tow &c. besides Bedding & Hospital Clothing - which last the Deputy Purveyor stated to be all her lading. But negatively his statement was true, viz. that she did not bring out an utensil of any kind.

As to Medical Department, Mr. Menzies is ill & doing his business with less ease. Mr. Cumming is occupied with the Commission - tho', when interfering occasionally, always interfering efficiently.
Mr. Cruikshanks, now Superior
Officer at Barrack Hospital,
come ten days since, only
overlooks only.
Of Dr. McGrigor, the Founder
of this Hospital, as Mr.
Bracebridge mentioned, I
have been requested (not by McG. himself) & feel bound to make the following statement.

Dr. McGrigor began this
Hospital & was the head of it when we came, 4th Nov.
Dr. McIlree was then placed Junior to him in one third of it. Mr. Cruikshanks was subsequently placed Senior to him. Lastly is to come Dr. Tice (from Genl. Hospl) to take half of what McGrigor has left. And now

It is reported that McGrigor is to be sent to inspect Smyrna, (probably a job)
In this increased state of numbers, it is therefore proposed to take away the practical originator of this Hospl. & he who gives it its momentum. You will say, why not interfere? My reply is, I should do harm by meddling.

I shall carry out the washing, & purveying instructions, given in your last letter & am ever yours,
dear Mr. Herbert

   Florence Nightingale
   T.O.
The reports of store-ships' arrival at Constante, made from today by this mail will lead you to know what of the Articles requested has already been sent. [end 14:96]

initialled letter, ff57-58v, pen, Goldie 60-61

Barrack Hospital [14:98-99]
Scutari
28 December 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert

Your orders shall be obeyed. I have got the Turkish washing-house, belonging to these Barracks, ceded to me, & the Commissariat chopped straw taken out. By the time the washing machines come out, I hope to be ready to furnish every man in Hospital with a clean shirt twice a week. If by that time I am superseded, I trust the Purveyor may be induced to carry it on.
I learn that, while our men come back to us ragged, naked & starved, there is an immense quantity of warm clothing lying at Balaklava, not sent up to camp from difficulty of transport. This is illeg

The French convey all our sick for us down to Balaklava, they carried 1100 in one day. I cannot too strongly reiterate what I said before about the necessity of warm clothing for being actually in use by our troops. Otherwise we shall have an Army in Hospital.

With regard to our own little minor matter of nurses &c for minor it is in this ghastly whole, I only wish to say that every well-judging man out here concurs in the Doctors' verdict of 50 fifty women the maximum in these two Hospitals - & I will point to the experience, 3 centuries old, of the French which allots to their General Mily. Hospl. at Pera (1200 patients) only sixteen Soeurs - tho' they have a depot of Soeurs ad libitum at Galata. Bear in mind too that theirs are
f58v
trained & vowed females, mine untrained & undisciplined. I will say no more on the subject. The fifteen New Nuns are (in conjunction with Mary Stanley) are leading me the devil of a life, trying to get in "vit armis," & will upset the coach, there is little doubt of that.
Farewell - I wait your orders.

ever yours
FN.
I will write Purveying business more fully by next post. [end 14:99]
singed letter, ff60-69, pen, Goldie 61-63

f60

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
4 January 1855 [14:102-05]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I enclose copies of
three curious historical
documents, Mémoires
pour servir to the
history of the largest
Hospital in the world.
There are in this
Hospital 2500 men &
odd. in the Genl. Hospl.
1122 men - in the Sultan's
Serail were today lodged
250 more - chiefly
Convalescents from hence,

f60v

but also some from
the
"Queen of the South",
just arrived from Balaklava.
There were in harbour
the Bosphorus yesterday,
arrived from Balaklava,
1200 sick. additional
of these we have
landed say 300.
(There is in this Hospital
matériel for making
about 800 men
tolerably comfortable).
& in the Genl. Hospl. say 500.
Bear in mind that
these new cases are all
dysenteric & low fever.
In this emergency I went to the Purveyor's stores with the enclosed questions - which have been reiterated nearly every day for the last fortnight -, & I received the next day the following note.

"Dear Miss Nightingale,

I herewith enclose the requisitions for stores you gave me to enquire about yesterday. I have marked opposite to each article whether they are in store or not."

This letter was signed by an excellent active 1st Cl. Staff Surgn., Dr. O'Flaherty, at the Genl. Hospl., but who would not like to have it known by that old smoke-dried Dr. Andrew Smith, who is the God of the officials here, that he had been "interfering."

The next morn' I went to the Purveyor, shewed him the negatives, in
which he acquiesced, -

asked him "Are you
expecting any of these things from
England?" No. "Are
you taking means to
get any from Stamboul?
No. "Are they to be
had at Stamboul?" -
If they are, I don't
know how to get them.
(N.B. I have got all
these things at Stamboul)

I send you a copy
of one of the hundred
requisitions which come

in to me every day -
another today was for 1 1/2
loaves of bread - another
for carrots for poultices,
which the Purveyor said
he could not get. Another
for a curtain 16 ft. by 12 ft. high, a stove
& charcoal

But There is a far
greater question to be
agitated before the
country than that of these
eighty-four miserable
women - eighty-five,
including me. This is
whether the system or no-system which
is found adequate in
time of peace but wholly
inadequate to meet the
exigencies of a time of war
is to be left as it is, -
or patched up temporarily,
as you give a beggar
halfpence, - or made
equal to the wants,
not diminishing but
increasing, of a time
of awful pressure.
There will be three things
to be considered for this
last alternative - (1) the
purveying of Hospitals of
this enormous magnitude
with all Hospital material
which includes 1st Hospital
clothing and bedding - 2nd cooking
including Extra Diets,
3rd washing.
(2) organizing a proper
corps of Orderlies.
(3) rigging out each man
when he goes out of
Hospital by means of
the Quarter Master or his substitute, the Divisional Serjant, of his
Regiment, so that he
should not carry away,
as he does now, all his
Hospital gear, by which
my work of purveying
is continually recurring.
Each one of these points would require a pamphlet. Will you let me write my notes & experiences to you, never mind whether I am superseded or not? You need not take the suggestions of poor me, but consult with somebody, (not an official hoping for promotion) who understands the question.

With regard to the minor question of the women, the Army Medical Board has sent out the dressers to supersede the nurses - the W. Office does not care whether its one remedy neutralizes the other, but tries both to humour the country. Had I received the eighty-four, there is no question that the Medical Men would have made it an excuse to turn the whole out in a week. And Cumming, for which we owe him eternal thanks, really, did his best to favor the scheme females,
when he fixed their No. at fifty.

The Therapians, after expressly setting me aside (vide official letter from Meyer) to by addressing themselves to Cumming & not to me, & getting a Receipt from him, are now throwing the whole responsibility upon me of refusing them & settling them (or not settling them) elsewhere. & Mr. Percy has sneaked home like a commander who has set so many Robinson Crusoes on a desert island & said, "Now you will shift very well for yourselves".

The R.C. question remains unsettled. Brickbat, the Revd. Mother of Kinsale, refusing to let five of her nuns come here without her to be under our Revd. Mother & I refusing thereby shewing that she has some second view besides nursing - & I refusing to let our little Society become a hotbed of R.C. intriguettes. Of course we shall have a R.C. storm. But our Revd. [end] Mother, heart & hand with us is doing her best to stop it
Eno' of this subject, of which, amid these realities of life & death, I am thor'o'ly sick, & you too.

I am desired to mention by the Medical Men that the vacancy made last night by poor old Ward's death of Cholera (he was a Purveyor, & his widow is dying, & died this night, also of Cholera) we nursed them both - might very properly be filled by a very active young man of the name of Rogers, who was, at the beginning of this Hospital, sole Purveyor to it - & is now here.

I am afraid to get back today to my immense first question how this Hospl. is to be purveyed. how, instead of living from hand to mouth, - we pouring in stores which are to be renewed again every 4 or 5 weeks, the men having left with all the stores on their backs. We ought to know (1) exactly how many beds there are in Hospital, purveyed ready for use.
(2) how many vacant, (3) how many patients to come in, the how each ward ought to have its own complement of shirts, socks, bedding, utensils &c &c &c - the new sick succeeding to the old sick's things - instead of keeping a Caravanserai, as we do, how the kitchen ought to be inspected - the washing do., clean shirts twice a week - instead of my cooking all the Extra Diets, getting all the vegetables thought necessary for Scurvy. - in fact, I am a kind of General Dealer - in socks, shirts, knives & forks, wooden spoons, tin baths, tables & forms, cabbage & carrots, operating tables, towels & soap, small tooth combs, Precipitate for destroying lice, scissors, bedpans & stump pillows.

There is a new Medical Head today, a new Commandant expected next week, & a new Admiral, we hope, on Saturday. And to help us out of all
this scrape you send
us - a Dragoman for
the Commandt., who I hope
will turn him over to
me to be my Purveyor
in vegetables & lemon juice,
the two desiderata of the
Doctors at this moment.

I will send you a
picture of my Caravanserai,
into which beasts come
in & out. Indeed the
vermin might, if they
had but "unity of purpose",
carry off the four miles
of beds on their backs, &
march with them into the

War Office, Horse Guards.
This last catastrophe is
occasioned by the sick
from the ships bringing
in their dirty blankets
with them, instead of
leaving all at the gate,
& finding the clean
Hosp. bed prepared for
them.

Dr. Forrest, the new
Medical head, has called,
but I shall not probably
see him before post time,
to know whether he confirms
the dictum of Menzies.

Believe me, dear Mr.
Herbert, ever yours
Florence Nightingale.
stock order, f70, pencil {archivist's date: ? End Dec 1854}

f70
No.____                  _____________185__

REQUIRED for_________________________Hospital. {printed}
   Bolsters. none                    Socks/   none
   Night caps. a few x               Drawers. none
   Slippers. none
   Knives & forks. none x             some tea pots [?] &
   Spoons. none x                    Coffee pots. [pen]
   Flannel shirts none x
Mr.__________________________ {printed}
stock order, f71, typed copy

**f71r** Copy
No. 174 31 December 1854.

REQUIRED for Barrack Hospital.
Flannel shirts? Answer none in store
Socks? " None " "
Drawers? " none " "

N.B. There are some teapots and coffeepots!!

F. Nightingale
Mr. Purveyor Gen.l

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Copy. (sic)
No. 175 31 December 1854.

REQUIRED for Barrack Hospital.
Answer
Plates? none in store
Tin drinking-cups? none in store
Earthenware Urine Pots? metal plenty
Bedpans? some
Close Stools? plenty, but frames wanting
Tin Pails for Tea? none at present.

F. Nightingale
Mr. Purv. General
stock order, f72, penci l & pen

f72
No.____ ___________________________185__

REQUIRED for___Barrack______________ Hospital. {printed}

Plates none  {pen}   Candlesticks
Drinking Cups/tin none  {pen}
Earthenware Urine Pots metal plenty  {pen}
Bedpans.  a few plenty some  {pen}
Close Stools.  plenty but frames wanting  {pen}
Tin Pails for Tea.  none at present  {pen}

Mr.____________________ {printed}
stock list, f73, pen

f73
Copy. (Sic)

No. 175 31 December 1854

REQUIRED for Barrack Hospital [printed] Answers.
Plates? None in store
Tin drinking-cups? none in store
Earthenware Urine Pots? metal plenty
Bedpans? a few plenty some
Close Stools? plenty, but frames wanting
Tin Pails for Tea? none at present.
Mr.___________________ F. Nightingale
Purv. General

f74, typed list of supplies, from Edward Menzies to FN, January 3, 1855

signed letter, ff75-86, pen, Goldie 70-77 [14:106-14]

f75
Private

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
8 January 1855

Dear Mr. Herbert
As the larger proportion of the Army (in which we are told that there are not two thousand sound men) is coming into Hospital as there are therefore thousands of lives at stake - as, in a service where the future of the official servants is dependent upon the personal interest of one man, these cannot be expected to peril that future by getting themselves shelved as innovators, I feel that this is no time for compliments or false shame - & that you will never hear the whole truth, troublesome as it is, except from
f75v
me independent of promotion.
  I will just add that this letter
I have been asked to write by the
best men here. It is no result of
an indefinite feeling of feminine
compassion. But it is the well-
weighed conclusion of men of experience
here, who see no provision made
for the horrible emergency at this
moment standing over us, yet who,
if they represented it themselves,
would obtain nothing but their own
ruin.
  I beseech you to keep this letter
to yourself, while making the
enquiries to which it may lead you.

f76
  The Commission has done nothing -
probably its powers were limited
to enquiry - Cumming has done nothing.
Lord Wm. Paulet has done nothing.
  Lord Stratford, absorbed in politics,
does not know the circumstances.
Lord Wm. Paulet does not know them,
accept responsibility but partially. Menzies knows
them & will not tell them. Wreford
knows them & is stupefied. The
Medical Officers, if they were to betray
them, would have it "reported
personally & professionally to their
disadvantage."
  Lord Wm. Paulet, & Dr. Forrest the
new Medical Head, I see, are desperate.
  As your official servant, you will
say that I ought to have reported these
things before. But I did not wish
to be made a spy. I thought it
better if the remedy could be brought
quietly - & I thought the Commission was to bring it. But matters are worse than they were two months ago & will be worse two months hence than they are now.

The Medical Men are pulled up by the Senior Medl. Authorities for receiving ward-furniture & food from & being purveyed by me - & therefore, like naughty children, pretend to ignore that their Requisitions go in to me instead of to the Purveyor & leave me to be rebuked for over-facility.

I subjoin (A) a rough estimate of what has been given out by me during one month - the whole at the "requisitions" of the Medical Men all of which I have by me. I do this merely in order to substantiate the facts of the destitution of these Hospitals.

Since the 17th December, we have received 3400 sick, & I have made no addition sum total as yet of what has been done for these new-comers by us. excepting for one Corridor which I enclose (B)
I then The Purveying is nil. that is the whole truth. beyond bedding, bread, meat, cold water, fuel. The Beyond the boiling en masse in the great coppers of Genl. kitchen, the meat is not cooked, the water is not boiled except what is done in my subsidiary kitchens. My schedule will shew what I have purveyed. I have refused to go on purveying for the third Hospital, the Sultan's Serail - the demands upon me there having been begun with twelve hundred articles, including shirts, the first night of our occupying it. I refer you to a List of what was not in store & to a copy of one requisition upon me - sent last letter.

II The extraordinary circumstance of a whole army having been ordered to abandon its kits, as was done when we landed our men before Alma, has been overlooked entirely in all our system. The fact is
that I am now clothing the British Army. The men sick were re-em-barked at Balaclava for these Hospitals, without resuming their kits, also half-naked besides. And when discharged from here, they carry off, small blame to them! even my knives & forks - shirts, of course, & Hospital clothing also. The men who were sent to Abydos as Convalescents, were sent in their Hospital dresses, or they must have gone naked. The consequence is that not one single Hospital dress is now left in Store - & I have substituted Turkish dressing gowns from Stamboul.* 3 bales in the passage are marked Hospital Gowns, but have not yet been "sat upon."

* 3 bales in the passage are marked Hospital Gowns, but have not yet been "sat upon."
England enough to clothe the naked & re-fill the kit.

I have requisitions for Uniform trowsers, for each & all of the articles of a kit sent in to me.

We have not yet heard of boots being sent out - the men come into Hospital half shod.

In a time of such calamity, unparalleled in the history, I believe, of calamity, I have a little compassion left even for the wretched Purveyor, swamped amid demands he never expected.

But I have no compassion for the men who would rather see hundreds of lives lost than waive one official scruple of the official conscience.

III The Hospital & Army stores come out in the same vessels - & up

IV The total inefficiency of the Hospital Orderly System as now is. 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 if the Convalescents, being good Orderlies, were not sent away to the Krimea as soon as they have learnt their work - if the Commander-in-Chief would call upon the Commanding Officer of each Regiment to select ten men from each as Hospital Orderlies to form a depot here (not young soldiers but men of good character) this would give some hope of organizing an efficient corps. Above all, that the class of Ward Masters I shall mention should be sent out from England.
We require
(I) An effective staff of Purveyors out from England - but, beyond this,
(II) a head - some one with authority to mash up the departments into uniform & rapid action. He may as well stay at home unless he have power to modify the arrangements of departments, made expressly by Sir C. Trevelyan with Mr. Wreford before he came away in May.

III  we want Medical Officers
IV  three Deputy Inspectors-General, (whereas we have only one)
  viz. one for Barrack Hospital, hulk & Turkish Ship
  one for General Hospital, Sultan's Serail & Koulalee, if we send sick there
  one for Smyrna.

N.B. Smyrna must not be purveyed or Medical-Officered from here - or we shall be swamped at once.
It is obvious from what has been said in former letters who, if there are two Dy. Insp. Genls. made to these Hospitals, should be made Dy., Inspr. Genl. of this Barrack Hospl., past & present efficiency being considered.

V. We want Discharged Non-Commissioned Officers - not past the meridian of life - not the Ambulance Corps who all died of delirium tremens or Cholera - but the class of men employed as Ward-Masters of Military Prisons, or as Barrack Serjeants - or Hospital Serjeants of the Guards who can be highly recommended. We want these men as Ward-Masters & Assistant Ward Masters, as Stewards. They must be under the orders of the Senior Medical Officer, removable by him, - they must be well paid so as to make it worth their while, say 5/- per day, 1st Class - 2/6 per day 2nd Class - for they must be superior men, not the rabble we have now.

N.B. There are three Ward Masters to each Division of this Hospital - of which there are three containing 800 & odd sick in each.
The book of Hospitals regulations, admirable in time of peace, contains nothing for a time of war, much less a time of war like this, unexampled for calamity.

The Hospital Serjeants are, of course, up in the Crimea with their Regiments, & we have nothing but such raw Corporals & Serjeants as can be spared, new to their work to place in charge of the Divisions & Wards. And these Lord Raglan complains of our keeping.

We must have Hospital Serjeants, if there is to be the remotest hope of efficiency among the Orderlies here.

VI  The Orderlies ought to be well paid - well fed - well housed. They are now over-worked, ill fed & under paid. The sickness & mortality among them is extraordinary - ten took sick in one Division tonight.

They have only 4d a day as Orderlies additional to their pay.

If the Patriotic Fund would give them 1/- per day additional, - query would not such money be much better employed than among the widows, some of which ladies marry within 6 weeks of their husbands' deaths?

I reserve my other suggestions to next page -

& also all about the Commissariat & Purveying jealousies till next letter, barring this that we want a strong hand to mingle the Commissary & Purveyor departments, where absurdly disunited.
I had written a plan for the systematic organization of these Hospitals upon a principle of centralization - under which the component parts might be worked in unison. But, on re-consideration, deeming so great a change impracticable during the present heavy pressure of calamities here, I refrain from forwarding it, & substitute a sketch of a plan, by which great improvement might be made from within, without abandoning the forms under which the service is carried on -

I That the Purveyor should be - not a shop-keeper dealing in articles for requisitions instead of for money but a paterfamilias who owns the Hospital furniture for the time being in the name of the Queen - that he should provide these Hospitals at once with the number of beds which they will contain (say 2500 Barrack Hospital) 1000 General Hospital) & with the amount of bedding, linen,
Hospital clothing, utensils &c &c necessary for each bed.

E.g. let each bed have
  3 shirts (1 on, 1 at the wash & 1 for an emergency)
  5 sheets (2 on, 2 at the wash & 1 for an emergency)
  2 towels
  2 prs. socks
  1 pr. slippers
  2 night caps
  2 neck-handkerchiefs
  1 Hospital suit
  1 knife, fork, spoon
  4 tin vessels of different sizes to hold the drink
    medicine
    soup
    wine
  1 tin plate
  1 wooden tray 18 inch by 12 to hang up behind the bed
  1 urine pot
  &c &c

Let each ward have
  24 tin pails for tea
  2 wooden buckets
  4 zinc wash hand basins
  1 soup ladle
  2 round towels
  Coarse cloths for cleaning & rubbing utensils
  Aprons for the Orderlies
That the non-commissioned Officer in charge of the wards should be made responsible for the linen - every evening giving up that which was dirty to the person appointed by the Purveyor, & receiving every morning sufficient clean linen to replace what had been used the day before.

That what the Patients break or spoil be stopped out of their pay - a Memorandum being sent to the Divisional Pay-Serjeant to that effect.

That a printed form should be filled up by the Ward-Master of each Division each day, containing besides the usual entries No. Names Names Patients Patients Vacant Beds of Ward of Orderlies of Orderlies admitted Discharged for the Day or Died so that every day the Medical Officers should know how many vacant beds they have at their disposal.

II That the Patient cease to be a soldier & become a patient from the moment he cross the Hospital doors.

that he leaves his clothes, blanket & kit behind in a store-room for the purpose - whence it is taken away to the Pack-store
an inventory being given him of such Articles & of any money &c which he may also leave if he choose.

that, unless in exceptional or moribund cases, he have a warm bath

after which he has a clean shirt & Hospital suit given him & goes up to his bed or is carried upon a stretcher with clean blankets.

That, when the Patient leaves the Hospital, he leaves every article used in the Hospital behind & becomes a soldier again.

That, for this purpose, if from losing his kit or other cause, he came in without sufficient clothing or baggage, there should be depots for each Regiment & stores sent out from England & that the Quarter Master or Divisional Serjeant of the Regiment should provide each man with the necessary kit & clothing - such articles to be stopped out of his pay as are usually accounted against him.

N.B. When a man has abandoned his kit by order of his Commanding Officer, the replacing such kit is not to be placed to his charge - but made against the Public.
f83

III  That the Orderlies should have an Orderly's ward-room in each Division, where they sleep - one Orderly for each ward being on duty for the day & one for the night - the Orderlies taking it in rotation. That no orderly should eat or sleep in the wards.

that the Orderlies of each Division should have a mess-table, a kitchen & an orderly to cook.

that the Orderlies on duty have their meals together half an hour before the other Orderlies, who then leave the wards for their meals -

that the Orderlies have each a pint of porter per day

that Orderlies be appointed by the Purveyor (with Arabas) to supply as often as is required coal, charcoal, wood & water the Purveyor taking receipts from the cooks.

IV  That the personal washing, whether it be done by contract or by the servants of the Hospital, be done according to a given principle, with machines & in the same place.
that the washing (1) of bedding
(2) of personal linen (3) of surgical
appendages, such as bandages &c
& of cleaning cloths be done in three
different places - the former by a
contractor
V  that the cooking be done not
by drunken soldiers but by cooks.
♂ that the kitchens be multiplied
or added to & the cooked food inspected
daily. It is inspected now, but not really.
VI  That the Ward Masters should
report to the Purveyor any destruction
or wearing out of ward-furniture
with a view of having such article
replaced.
  that the Purveyor should appoint
a sub-purveyor to investigate any
requisition from the ward masters which
appears inordinate or suspicious.
VII  That the Inspector General should
decide the model & number of each
Hospital piece of furniture for each ward,
sub division or Corridor. And inventories
should be hung up in each Ward of the No. to be found there.

The Inspector General having determined the amount of utensils he thinks proper for the whole Hospital. & the proportional quantity for each ward - and inventories being made of that which exists in each ward - the deficit gives the total of stores to be procured from England or this country.

It appears that the above would relieve both the Purveyor & the Divisional Staff Surgeons - & leave each to the discharge of his more legitimate & important duties, while the checks & counter checks would be sufficient.

Believe me, dear Mr. Herbert
ever yours
Florence Nightingale
P.S. I would put the Orderlies in a kind
of uniform, red flannel shirts, aprons of brown strong coarse stuff & slippers. You must send us out these things from England.

There has been some attempt at organization made with regard to the Transports to & fro Balaklava. You will be pleased to know that *Floating Hospitals* (four) have been arranged, which are appointed each with its Surgeon & Assistant Surgeon—*not to be dismantled* to bring our sick from Balaklava. This will work well. McGrigor is appointed the Inspector.

I re-open this letter to acknowledge yours of Xmas Eve just received—I deeply feel the kindness of it. I will act up to its directions & report to you a fuller answer on Thursday.
A List of articles supplied by F.N. on the Requisitions of the Medical Officers to the Genl. & Bk. Hospitals during November & part of December.

- Flannel shirts: 2274
- Cotton ": 3216
- Socks: 1074
- Drawers: 472
- Nightcaps
- Slippers
- Plates: in proportion
- Tin cups
- Knives, forks & spoons: 250
- Wooden trays: 86
- Tables: 24
- Forms: 48
- Clocks: 6
- Operating Tables: 2

For all other Articles, see proportion in (B)
List of Articles supplies by F.N. on the requisitions of the medical officers.

For Corridor D & Wards containing 519 sick between 19th Dec. (when they came in) & 31st Dec.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flannel Shirts</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton &quot;</td>
<td>1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawers</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socks</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urinals</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking cups</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knives &amp; forks</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoons</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towels</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slippers</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedpans</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washhand basins</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night caps</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair brooms</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mops</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stump pillows</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand scrubbers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cans for tea</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chloride of lime</td>
<td>1 sack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flannel Shirts</td>
<td>438</td>
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<td>1 sack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

142

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B

f87 is not oâhe film, Jan 8 1855 Miss Nightingale Scutari not FN hand
PRIVATE  Barrack Hospital  Scutari  14 January 1855

Dear Mr. Herbert

A certain amount of stupidity is necessary to make a good soldier
"et surtout, point de zèle,"
(vide Talleyrand's Instructions)

In both these requisites, Lord Wm Paulet, who really is a good soldier, is eminent. Farther, he really is a feeling man, & is appalled at the view of evils which he has no idea what to do with.

"I had rather go to the front & be shot" he says. "I am not a Purveyor & I am not an Inspector-General." And then he shuts his eyes & hopes, when he opens them, he shall see something else. And sometimes he denies the state of things to relieve his feelings. & believes what Wreford & Cruickshanks tell him.

In short, he says himself,
the place is not mendable & he is not the person to mend it. It is impossible not to admire the man's candour.

Lord Stratford sends his wife over here as his man-of-business - with what object it is impossible to conceive, unless in order than she may say one thins & he may do another. There is Lord Napier, of whom he is jealous, who is just the

man to put his dignity in his pocket & get to the bottom of a place like this in four days. But he does not send him - he sends his wife. with what result I will tell you. She asked me whether we wanted any thing - & among other things I mentioned that, if we wanted to bring up a stone from the beach, we has to make requisition for an "Araba", which Araba was sure to be
confiscated to carry the arms & munitions - or the dead to the grave. that I always answer, "I am happy to serve Her Majesty" - & allow the goods to be turned out on the road. Well, said she, how many Arabas do you want? - Mr. Bracebridge, thinking she meant for the service of the Hospital, said, Oh! about twelve - Well, she said, you shall have them tomorrow morning.
She said sends her Cawass to the Pasha himself perhaps. Heaven knows. But the next morning arrived five gilt coaches, (Talikas) before the Hospital gate, & seven other vehicles, & halted before the gate. What was to be done? Mr. Bracebridge went out & paid them off with Miss Nightingale's money - & this lark of the Ambassadress's cost Miss Nightingale 500 piasters. And so ended the Ambassador's first & last interference in our affairs. But, when this Stratfordian policy concerns the lives of between four & five thousand of H.M's subjects, it becomes a very serious joke.

At the twelfth hour, it has occurred to the Ambassador that it would be as well if the British uniform were seem in Pera - the French having secured every available inch of ground. & now he is
trying for a piece of ground - on which he means to build huts for our Depot, which will not be ready for a month or then - which Depot is cramming us up here - & Ld Wm Paulett says we must "close up" more. (I refer to Mr. Bracebridge's note about huts).

Thirdly, Lord S. is still vacillating about Smyrna. And let me repeat, if we are to have Smyrna, it may be purveyed far better from Smyrna than from Constantinople & it must not be Medical Officered from here.

Here is a time of urgency. we must suspend all ordinary rules - make a dictator - who shall have power to make definite rules for the interworking of departments, - consistent or non-consistent with present regulations. If Director-General himself cannot be made to come out, Director General's powers must be deputed to another.

But, above all, we must not have the change of Medical Officer which we now have
here. That is worse than
the change of Orderlies.
The moment a man Surgeon is
sick in the Crimea, he
is sent down to us for
light duty!! the moment
an efficient man Surgeon here
gets accustomed to his
duty, & acquainted with
his men, he is walked
off to the Krimea. This is
fatal to us - fatal to
any improvement here.

From several long
business conversations with
Dr. MacGrigor & others,
we are the more
convinced that he is

the man to reform this
Hospital & make it
a model for others -
if he were made Dy
Inspector-General with
this Hospital for his
sphere.

But a warrant
requires 2 years service
in any step before a
man Surgeon can be promoted.
An absurd warrant
at such a time as this.
But this might be
suspended (like many
others) under the
urgency
Dr. MacGrigor has only been
a First Class Staff Surgeon since August. Yet he is the only one man equal to the emergency. The only men we have found here have been McGrigor, Lord Napier, & the Engineer Lieutenant Gordon. And the rest are Officials -

except poor Cumming, who is a cross between an official & a conscience.

I must tell you a story, so characteristic of this system that, tho' as you will see, it must be strictly private, yet it is due to you.

If Hospital, as Hospital, were under a Director, the Commandant, quoad [as far as] Hospital, would be the executive force of the Dir.t, as far as safe custody & police - just as, in a Gaol, the Governor does not interfere with the Surgeon's duty in Gaol Hosp.1. This is the theory here now, but the practice is that a man carries on his Hospital wants, after he joins the troops in barrack. If they can't reproduce Regimental
Stores under Divisional Serjeants - let them have a Quarter Master's stores to be served by him to the convalescent soldier, who thus could leave his Hospital clothing behind him.

The re-organising Purveyor's department is of the first importance. Mr. Black (from Athens) has already begun. he has discovered sources of supply not known to Mr. Wreford in Stamboul. The folly (to save book-keeping, if for no worse reason,) of employing one Contractor, Parry, (as we do), of moderate character, to contract for most things & get what he does not contract for, as the only go-between between the Purveyor & this country is obvious. Smith, the Commissary, bears a good character, but he complains of the Purveyors not going to him.

No warm clothing is yet arrived from England. We are still well with MacDonald, the "Times" Commissioner.
Up in the Crimea, Lord Raglan, the Commissary Filder, & Dr. Hall are three great sinners, tho' in very different ways. Lord Raglan cannot be informed of the confusion & inadequacy of all arrangements there. Filder is an unfeeling fool. I say it advisedly - no other adjective & substantive express his doings. As for Dr. Hall, who, it is said, is coming down here, instead of Cumming,

-5-
if he does, we may as well pack up our goods & be off.

Finally, with regard to our own affairs, which in this gigantic desolation, appear to one as a little quag in the ocean of mud - I have incorporated 17 of the Therapians here 3 will be send home 8 will go to Balaklava? 12 to Koulalee or Smyrna? 6 to attend on the officers at the Serail? In different ways, proper & improper, we hope to absorb them all.
tho' these arrangements are by no means decided upon. I take no responsibility for any of these things - which are against my judgement. The French authorities will suffer no Sisters of Charity in the Krimea & quite right too. Your letters, of the 24th & Mrs. Herbert's are most generous - & I deeply feel it. At the same time, I do not regret what I have said. For I could not say less & be distinct.

With regard to the permanent introduction of women into Mily Hosplts, I shall not leave it to wait for the Mily authorities to say, Now you are no longer wanted. I consider us but temporary - though temporary may be a long word - as long as the war lasts. I consider us not as an inexpedient principle but as an unprincipled expedient. & I shall tell the hostile authorities so - though, without that unprincipled expedient, I believe
these Hospitals would have come to a stand-still during these last two months (you see I am not shirking) But you will have seen long 'eno this that nursing has been the least important of the functions into which I have been forced.  
P.S. I enclose the daily issue from my kitchen.
   Believe me, dear Sir Herbert, ever yours
   Florence Nightingale
I have not time to send you my "story" till next post.

**Daily Issue**
from F.N.’s subsidiary kitchens
Beef Tea 25 Gallons
Chicken Broth 15 “
Arrow Root 40 “
Sago 12 “
Barley Water 120 Quarts
Rice 10 “
Lemonade 8 “
Milk 20 “
40 Chickens
4 doz. Eggs
Jelly 15 lbs
Rice Puddings 250 portions
Port Wine 5 bottles
Marsala 3 “
Average daily Issue - from
Dec 15----Jan 15
1854 1855

{f99 is blank}

f99v, January 14, 1855, Miss Nightingale, Scutari not FN hand

f100, Immediate, Right Hon Sidney Herbert, GM not FN hand
PRIVATE  Barrack Hospital  
Scutari  
22 January 1855  
Dear Mr Herbert  
   Dr. Forrest, our new  
Medical Head, in despair,  
has requested to be "sat  
on upon", & is going home.  
He is succeeded as Dy  
Inspector Genl & Medical  
Head over all these  
Hospitals by Dr. Lawson,  
the man who has just  
been reprimanded for  
"apathy & indifference"  
in General Orders by
Lord Raglan, who included Dr. Hall in the censure.
for the infamous state
in which the "Avon" was despatched here with sick on board. Ld Raglan recommended Dr. Hall
to "relieve" Dr. Lawson "of his duties charge "in General Orders.
& Dr. Hall, obliged to get rid of him there, sends him down here to command us. This really would be a burlesque,
if it were not a very serious joke for us when, to try every experiment upon these unfortunate Hospitals, the ass begins to caress us with his paws.

Cumming is said to be come back coming back from the Crimea next week this morning. which we are very glad of, as, take him for all in all, he is by far the most efficient man we have had. though timid & cautious.
Dr. Andrew Smith will tell you that he has sent us out the best & most efficient men. He has just swept the Colonies to send out four old worn-out men, 1st Class Staff Surgeons, who are to inspect our stores. These men swear are said to be taken on purpose because they are become indifferent to human life. That whole System of Medical Staff is rotten at the core.

We are delighted at our change of Admirals. In this all parties agree.

-2-

- delight in seeing Adml Boxer go, Adml Grey, as I believe he is now, come - the very man for us, active, energetic, systematic, ill-tempered. Adml Stewart, who was too good for us, is gone on to the Black Sea.

The Orderly System, already introduced into one Division, viz that of allowing the Orderlies to sleep & eat out of their Wards, except those on duty, is working well. I would suggest that
1 doz. Hopsheads Porter should be sent from England for the Orderlies, to be kept by the Ward-Masters & paid for by the Orderlies at the usual price. In this the Medical Men concur.

The "Army & Navy" is come but not yet unladen. The Hereford & Niagara are also arrived on their way up to the Krimea, & were discharged of their stores for the Purveyor with great difficulty, by dint of my going to the Commandant.

One half of the things directed to me never reach me. One half of the Purveyor's stores are suffered to go on to the Krimea & make sometimes three voyages to & fro.

It is of the utmost importance that The Custom Ho. is a bottomless pit, whence nothing ever issues of all that is thrown in. I had three boat-loads yesterday ready laden to come out. The boat was seized & all
my things chucked back again into Custom Ho.

It is absolutely necessary for this place that there should be a Govt. Storehouse, in the shape of a hulk where stores fro the British, from whatever ships, could be received at once from them, & be delivered on the ship-store keeper's receipt. There are no storehouses to be had by the water's edge. & porterage is very expensive & slow.

Private

It was impossible (morally) to send the Nurses home. Balaklava having, in consequence of a representation (that there were Nurses to be had) from the Senior Chaplain, unexpectedly offered, with Lord Raglan's consent, to receive first three, & then eight women, I have allowed eight, who volunteered, to go,- against my advice, & that of the Inspector-General,- though with my consent. & his. Seven of these were from the new party.
Koulalee having been, within the last eleven days only, also unexpectedly, erected from a Convalescent Asylum into a Hospital, & there being now 380 Patients there, & likely to be more - 15 Nurses will be quartered there on Wednesday - the undue proportion of these to the Patients being thus explained. The Nuns have refused to separate in parties of less than ten & five. The Priest has assigned five to the

Genl Hospital, as soon as a room can be had for them there, & 10 to Koulalee. It is necessary that a proportion of Protestants should be assigned there to keep a balance. & the quarters will not hold more than 15. therefore I have sent 6 Protestants & 9 nuns. taking in 1 more nun here, whose allegiance has been given to the Revd. Mother here, for reasons Dr. Manning will explain.

The numbers therefore will stand thus of the new set
x 16. I have already taken some time
I have taken no respon-
sibility, with regard to
Balaklava, which I
consider an improper
place for women.

The officers I understand
are to be nursed by a
new expedition, sent
out by a private
enterprise - to be paid
by the officers & kept
distinct from the Govt
nurses, which is much
better.

About Money
As we understand it,
I shall draw on Sir J.
Kirkland, not only, as
you say, for money for
the nurses to go home
but for the nurses to
stay. I shall receive
accounts of expenditure
from the head of the
Koulalee party, Miss
Stanley, for the time being,
(she states herself to be
temporary)- & from the head
of the Balaklava party,
Mrs. Mother Eldress -
& shall supply them
with money on their demand. If they get money from the Ambassador, Purveyor at Balaklava, or otherwise - it will be their own affair, not from any necessity to do so.

Mr. Wreford, Purveyor, will consider his orders as to F.N. to extend to the party under Miss Stanley at Koulalee, a dependency of this place. He will write a copy of his instructions to the Purveyor or Commissary at Balaklava.

Your private letter, authorising F.N. to draw, should be repeated in official form, should it not?

I have no official communication as to the second party. Cumming has distinctly refused to supply them with money.

Florence Nightingale
On there were three cotton shirts in the Purveyor's store & not one flannel three days ago. Upon a written statement that articles of clothing could not be supplied from Purveyor - I have now supplied the Palace Hospital (Haidee Pasha) which I had before declined doing - & the Stable Hospital with clothing.

The Purveyor has now, by superhuman efforts, obtained 100 flannel shirts from Stamboul. I obtained 700 & distributed yesterday on written requisition between 500 & 600 - besides socks, night-caps, drawers, cotton shirts, comforters &c. I am also purveying still utensils of every kind. tin plates, cups, pails. baths. Poor old Wreford seems actually stupefied. It is absolutely necessary that some system should be come to. The men
come down from Balaklava
more & more naked,
filthy skeletons. We
send off between 400 &
500 men to Corfu today,
but the Commandant
cannot clothe them partially only.
The Stable Hospital was
lying in bed for want of
clothing, till I consented
to purvey them. I am
getting shirts from Malta.
But it is all only a stop-
gap - as, the Corfu draught
carrying off its Hospital
clothing on its & back,
the new 500 to be today

admitted will have to be
today purveyed.
The Embassy promises
but does not perform.
Ld. Raglan has written
me two most kind letters.
relative to the comforts of the men &c
On him personally I
am sure no kind of blame
can light. Or, if it falls,
must glance off & leave
his head uninjured. But
he is so under-officered
that he is obliged to write
& do every thing himself.
But the disorganization of
the Army you will hear from
other sources. I was much
pleased at Ld Raglan's
mention of Dr. McGrigor.
The system of concealment here pursued is beyond conception. It is true that Menzies was the only man who could, from his position, make representations at home, & he would not. The inferior Medl Officers could not, from their position, make representations to Dr. Menzies Andrew Smith, except thro' Mr. Menzies, which was impossible. Had it not been for our
f111v
coming out, "nothing would have been wanted," nothing would have been had, except "Kudos" for the Purveyor.

Ld Raglan states that he has given orders that every man in the camp should have two warm suits of clothing - & that every man is well supplied. that no man leaves Balaklava without
these two suits. He must be thoroughly uninformed of the executive result - as I can testify to the state of the men who come down here & are now arriving. half naked. I understand that part of the Camp is now supplied, but not the front. But we do not see the result here. [end 14:125]

signed letter, ff113-26, pen, Goldie 77-81 [14:126-30]

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
28 January 1855
Dear Mr. Herbert
As the Purveying seems likely to come to an end of itself, perhaps I shall not be guilty of the Murder of the Innocents, if I venture to suggest what may take the place of the venerable Wreford.
Cornelius Agrippa had a broomstick, which used to fetch water for
his use. When the broom-stick was cut in two by the axe of an unwary student, each end of the severed broom, catching up a pitcher, began fetching water with all its might.

Were the Purveyor here cut in three, we might conceive some hope of having not only water but food also & clothing fetched for us.

Let there be three distinct offices instead of one indistinct one -
1. to provide us with food
2. with hospital furniture & clothing
3. to keep the daily routine going

These are now the three offices of the unfortunate Purveyor - & none of them are performed. But the Purveyor is supposed to be only the channel thro' which the
Commissariat stores pass.
Theoretically but not practically it is so. (For practically Wreford gets nothing thro' the Commissary, but employs a rascally contractor, Parry - whose accts. or no accounts will soon be found out).

Now, why should not the Commissariat purvey the Hospital with food? - perform the whole of Purveyor's office, No.1? The practice of drawing raw rations, as here seen, seems invented on purpose to waste the time of as many Orderlies as possible, who stand at the Purveyor's Office from 4 to 9 A.M. drawing the patients' breakfasts, from 10 to 12, drawing their dinners - & to make the Patients' meals as late as possible - because it is impossible to get the rations, thus drawn, cooked before 3 or 4 o'clock. The scene of confusion, delay & disappointment, where all these raw diets are being weighed out, by twos & threes & fours, is impossible to conceive, unless one
has seen it, as I have, day after day. And one
must have been as I have, at all hours of the
day & night, in this Hospital, to conceive the
abuses of this want of system! raw meat, drawn too
late to be cooked, standing all night in the
wards &c &c &c.

Why should not the Commissariat send at
once the amount of beef & mutton &c &c required,
into the kitchens, without passing through this
intermediate stage of drawing by Orderlies?
Let a Commissariat Officer reside here. Let the

Wardmasters make a
total from the Diet Rolls
of the Medical Men.
So many hundred full
diets. So many hundred
half diets. So many
hundred spoon diets.
& give it over to the
Commissariats Officer the
day before. The nåå
day the whole quantity,
the total of all the Ward-
Masters' totals, is given
into the kitchens direct.
It should be all carved in the
kitchens on hot plates.
& at meal-times the Order-
lies come to fetch it for
the Patients - carry it thro' the wards, where an Officer tells it off to very bed,
according to the Bed-tickets, on which he reads the Diet, hung up at every bed. The time & confusion thus saved wd. be incalculable. Punctuality is now impossible - the food is half raw - & often many hours after time. Some of the portions are all bone - whereas the meat should be boned in the kitchen, accords to the plan

now proposed, & the portions there carved contain meat only. Pray consider this. There might be, besides, an Extra Diet Kitchen to each Division - a teapot, issue of tea, sugar &c to every mess, for which stores make the Ward-master responsible - arrow-root, beef tea &c to be issued from the Extra Diet Kitchens.
But into these details it is needless to enter to you.
(2) The second office of the Purveyor now is to furnish, upon requisition, the
Hospital with utensils & clothing. But let the Hospital be furnished at once, as has been already described in former letters.
If 2000 beds exist, let these 2000 beds have their appropriate complement of furniture & clothing, stationary & fixed. Whether these be originally provided by a Commissary or a store-keeper, let those who are competent decide. The French appear to give as much too much power to their Commissariat, who are the real chiefs of their Hospitals, while the Medical Men are only their slaves, as we give too little.
But the Hospital being once furnished, & a store-keeper appointed to each division to supply wear & tear, let the Ward-masters be responsible. Let an inventory hang on the door of each ward of what ought to be found there. Let the
Ward master give up the dirty linen every night & receive the same quantity in clean linen every morning. Let the Patient shed his Hospital clothing like a snake when he goes out of Hospital, be inspected by the Quarter-Master, & receive, if necessary, from Quarter Master's store, what is requisite for his becoming a soldier again. While the next patient succeeds to his bed & its furniture.

(3) The daily routine of the Hospital. This is now performed, or rather not performed by the Purveyor. I am really cook, housekeeper, scavenger, (I go about making the Orderlies empty huge tubs,) washerwoman, general dealer, storekeeper. The Purveyor is supposed to do all this, but it is physically impossible. And the filth, & the disorder, & the neglect let those describe who saw it when we first came.
This is no time to palliate things. Poor Lord Wm. Paulet hides his head under his wing. Ly. Stratford plays the game of popularity. & Ld. Stratford, angry that his negotiations for peace are carried on at Vienna & not by him, hardens his heart & shuts up his despatches. While, of 54000 men, 11,000 are fit for duty. And the rest, where are they? While you are straining every nerve to know the truth, & bring the remedy, at the expense of knowing that which must break the heart, these dreadful people are refusing, some to tell you the truth, some to know it themselves.

I am not "playing a game to ruin poor Wreford", as I hear said every day - "Miss Nightingale is bent upon ruining that poor man." I could easily do that by simply stopping when my present stores
are exhausted - & letting us it then be seen what the Purveyor will do. But these poor soldiers must be thought of first - & as long as I can do them any good, I shall stay, & shall go on collecting & issuing as long as I can get money & have your licence to do so.

I have had much talk with Mr. Maxwell since the Commission came back. He entirely agrees with all this. He is doing his work well & energetically.

He will tell all this much better than I can tell it myself. And I will leave it to him to right these miserable Hospitals, & to do you justice by telling you the facts you are so generously anxious to hear, & all here are so ungenerously anxious to conceal. The Commission have written a letters to Lord Wm. Paulet, of suggestions, since they came back. But of this man nothing will come. We are expecting your clerks with anxiety.
I go on to no (3)
Let us have a Hotel-keeper,
a House-Steward, who
shall take the daily
routine in charge - the
cooking, washing &
cleaning up - the superin-
tending the house-keeping,
in short - be responsible
for the cleanliness of the
wards, now done by one
Medical Officer, Dr. McGrigor, by me
or by no one, - inspect
for the servants - inspect
the kitchens - the wash-
houses - be what a
housekeeper ought to be.
in a private Asylum.

With the French the
"chef d'administration," the
Commissary, as we should call
him, is the master of the
Orderlies. And the Medical
Men just come in & prescribe,
as London physicians do, &
go away again. With us
the Medical Officers are
everything & have to do
every thing, however hetero-
geneous. The French system
is bad, because, tho' there
may be 20 things down
on the Carte for the
Medical Man to choose
his Patient's diet from,
nominally, - the Chef d'Ad-
administration may have provided only two - & the Patient has no redress. Whether, in any new plan, the House Steward have the command of the Orderlies, or the Medical Man, which I am incompetent to determine, whichever it be, let us have a Governor of the Hospital. As it is a Military Hospital, a Mily. Head is probably necessary, as Governor.

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I could give you pages full of illustrations, if I had time, or you - of Lord Wm. Paulet, of the Embassy, the Medical Men. But I have none - except for two, one of Lord Wm. Paulet, one of how the Medical Army Education, acting on the Scotch temperament, tells.

(1) I furnished 450 men, going on board the Dunbar, Convalescents for Corfou, with shirts, socks &c &c. Ld. W. Paulet having been called upon
in vain by me through the Medical Officers to furnish them from his stores—After they were on board, he sent two bales of shirts on board, - his theory therefore being that they should go naked from the Hosp. to the ship. Of my 450 suits, which were of course intended to become permanent Hosp. clothing, I got back 43 shirts - & these only by the energetic interference of Dr. McGregor, who sent his Serjeant on board for them. This I mention for the sake of the principle, not for the sake of the 43 shirts. It is manifest that all system thus becomes impossible. & all those duplicates will be thrown overboard

(2) I made Cruickshanks put into words his principle about the Nurses. (He is my our Senior Medical Officer here) He volunteered to say that my best nurse, Mrs. Roberts, dressed wounds & fractures more
skilfully than any of the Dressers or Assistant Surgeons. But that it was not a question of efficiency nor of the comfort of the Patients- but of the "regulations of the service", "that officially he should think it his duty to interfere, if he saw a woman nurse dressing sores, because it was contrary to the regulations of the service - tho' privately he might wink at it, for the sake of a Patient's life." What could I say?

But we are only the symptom of what is going on in the Krimea. We are only the pulse which marks the state of the army. But that this is not hardly my business-

If you promote Dr. McGrigor, you will shew that you recognise a principle that of preferring the Patient's man's life to the "regulations of the service"

I have been examined by the Commission & sent in my Returns by their
desire.
The Sisters & Nurses are all placed
19 have, at different times, gone home
8 to Balaklava, who I hope will come back,
For it is a mistake,
16 to Koualee
41 here

84 independently of Miss Stanley who always said from the first she did not mean to stay.
above a limited time. of me illeg Mrs. Bracebridge & of me.

Could Mrs. Herbert think I was "jealous of Miss Stanley"? - But that is, oh! such a minor matter here.
I never look at the Times, but tâtel me there is a religious war about poor me there, & that Mrs. Herbert has generously defended me- I do not know what I have done to be so dragged before the Public. But I am so glad that my God
is not the God of the High
Church or of the Low - that
He is not a Romanist
or an Anglican or an Unitarian
  I don't believe He is even
a Russian - tho' His events
go strangely against us.
N.B. A Greek once said
to me on Salamis, I do
believe God Almighty is
an Englishman.
  Ever yours, dear Mr
Herbert,
    F. Nightingale
We have not yet succeeded in
getting rid of the depot, an
essential measure for the good of this
Hospital.  

[end 14:130]
PRIVATE Scutari Hospital
1 February 1855

Dear Mr. Herbert

I know not how to express my thanks & those of these Hospitals for your letters - of the 19th.

I ventured to write fully to you about the pressing question of the Commissariat & Purveying last post. I have not a moment now except to say

what I cannot say how much I feel your generous truth & how much I am ever yours

Florence Nightingale

I enclose a letter to Dr. Manning, which please read, if you have time. I will write an answer, if you will allow me, to your letters of the 19th, next post.
The accounts from Camp of the health of the Army were rather better yesterday. But the cargo of frost-bitten wretches we had in the day before yesterday was the worst we have had, & the mortality among them frightful - higher than it has been at all. 12 o'clock
Your orders have been
received here (as I have just ascertained) that the stoppages for Sick & Wounded are to be uniform — & that the soldier's account is to be rectified from Alma — Is it not curious that the Govt. of the Army shd be such that they should have allowed this to go on from Alma without definitely knowing your intentions? the difference being between 4½d & 9d— [end]

Miss Nightingale, February 1, 1855 not FN hand

signed letter, ff131-40v, pen, in Goldie 82-86 [14:133-37]

PRIVATE
Scutari Hospital
5 February 1855
Dear Mr. Herbert
Your orders have produced an essential difference — & all hands are called to work.
Mr. Milton arrived on Saturday. Mr. Cumming was inducted into office yesterday. Lord William Paulet, tho' not exactly knowing how to begin, is quite alive to the necessity of beginning (to reform). &
we are all looking up
& hoping that something
will be done.

The Commission had fully
intended to say & to do
nothing but Mr. Maxwell
is now determined to be
honest- & very proud he
is of himself for being so.
The thing having been
partially laid open, he
sees that it is best for
him to go on, that the
War Office is really anxious
to know the truth, & having
set out on the cruise of
Honesty, he is now pro-
ceeding with full sails.

But alas? among
all the men here, is
there one really anxious
for the good of these
Hospitals, one who is
not an insincere animal
at the bottom, who is not
thinking of going in with
the winning side, whichever
that is? I do believe that,
of all those who have been
concerned in the fate of
these miserable sick, you
& I are the only ones who
really cared for them.

It was Genl. Jones sailed
yesterday for the Crimea.
It was rather a blow to
us his not taking the
command here - fååhe is
a man with a head on
his shoulders, while Lord
Wm. Paulet has none-
Some news-paper has said of
me that I am the fourth
women (query old woman) that has had to do with the war - Who are the other three? Wreford is the first, Lord Wm. Paulet the second, & I must not say Lord Raglan the third old woman, altho' the acts in the Crimea have been the same as if he had been one old woman. We will substitute Dr. A. Smith. I must not go out of my "spezerià" - but the Hospitals of Scutari are only the result of the want of transport in the Crimea, as consequence follows cause.

Had there been any body to draw the novel inference that after autumn comes winter, - that roads would be wanted to bring the provisions &c from Balaklava to the camp, the sick from the camp at Balaklava - that forage is necessary to keep horses alive as well as men, & that where the forage is, there should the horses be also, Scutari would never have existed on the gigantic scale of calamity
it does now. But we have kept our horses in camp, our forage at Balaklava - & the horses have died in bringing up their own food. Better have kept them at Balaklava. The French lend their mules, 100 at a time, which are sleek & well fed, once or twice a week, to bring down our sick from camp. And this brings me back to my "shop". Yesterday, & the day before, the frost-bitten men, landed from the "Golden Fleece", exceeded in misery anything we have seen - they were all "stretcher cases" - & the mortality amongst them is frightful - thirty in the last night, twenty-four hours in this Hospital alone. One day last week it was forty - & the number of burials from the Scutari Hosps. 72. We bury every twenty hour hours.

But it is easy to criticize. The thing is to suggest a remedy - & that, neither the Times nor any one else here, seems to do.
I have before me now
"Return of Articles in the
Purveyor's Stores at the
General and Barrack
Hospitals, Scutari.
31st January 1855"
I take a few items at
random.
Cotton Shirts 474
Bolster Cases 98
Bedpans 55
Hand Lamps 6
Tin Plates 285
Water Cans 37
Drinking Cups 200

Hand Brooms 1
Hair " 5
Mops 1
Flannel Shirts 3
Candlesticks 5
Scavengers' Baskets 6
Broken Lamps (sic) 4
Door Mats 1
Table Knives 2
Packages of Nails 6
" Needles 1

Signed "Purveyor to the Forces."
In these Hospitals are
3600 men, exclusive
of Orderlies & Depot.
f136
There is nothing like figures to be impressive.
On Thursday we filled up C. Corridor with Patients - one half-side of this enormous building.
(We have received 4000 sick from the Crimea in the last fortnight)
I left off purveying for a single day - by advice.
The next day all the patients of C. Corridor were tipsy, having drunk all their wine at a draught, because they had no vessels to

f136v
put keep it in. There was literally nothing in the Corridor but the beds the men lay upon - & the rations. I went to the Purveyor & asked him in presence of Cumming & another Staff Surgeon whether he had purveyed that Corridor or meant to do so. He said "he had neither purveyed it or meant to do so - he could not" - this before these two witnesses. Before night I purveyed it from Stamboul. The Staff Surgeon of that division being sick,
the duty of receiving &c the patients devolved upon me.

Ld. Wm. Paulet has, after many refusals, consented to remove the depot & to build huts on the Esplanade for this purpose. The best thing he could do for us would be to take himself off - the next best thing is this. That 3 words illeg the two "Mrs. Partingtons",

That Dr. Andrew Smith & Mr. Wreford must go is, I suppose, essential.

The "Times" is playing a most unfortunate game. I am told it is always writing to prove that it has done everything - the Govt. nothing. (N.B. I have never told McDonald anything) It never suggests any remedy, but simply says it supplies me with money. Even this is not true - as not above one half of the things supplied by me come from the "Times" fund. I am told it appropriates all.
But to the remedies. This Hospital, being the largest, might be made the best in the world — because, on the principles of Poll. Ecoy., there might be division of labor — instead of one man, as in a Regimental Hospital, doing every thing. I had infinitely rather be steward of this Hospl. than of a Harley St. were the offices properly subdivided. I hope Mr. Milton will do this. Perhaps he has received instructions from home to do so.

Next to the great reforms wanted in the officering Crimea, in the officering our army, in the Horse Guards, proved by this great catastrophe to be needful. & in the Army Medical Board — what is most needed is system in purveying these Hospl. — viz. the appointing three or more departments, call them what you will. One to feed us — let the Commissariat send the meat
in bulk to the kitchens, being supplied the evening before with a Relevé of the Medl. Officers' Diet Rolls. & let 9 oz. of cooked & boned meat be issued from the kitchens by through the Orderlies to the Patients - at a fixed hour - instead of 1 lb of uncooked meat with bone & gristle thro' the Purveyor's stores,- occupying the whole day of hundreds of Orderlies to draw these raw diets which have afterwards to be taken to the kitchens - one patient getting all bone, another all gristle, a third all meat - & a sheep

sometimes lying in the infected wards all night skinned-cut up or not, as the case may be!!!

Let the second department furnish at once & clothe the Hospls. & a House Steward or Store-keeper be appointed to supply the wear & tear merely-

Let the third department inspect the cooking, the washing, the cleaning us, i.e. the daily routine & the servants- And these should be a sub-department for each of these three things.

I am now fitting up some of the wards with cupboards and lock & key
with the approval of Mr. Cumming, for the purpose of holding the material of the wards.

Mr. Cumming has given his adhesion, in a series of Propositions, which he has accepted, to most of these things. He is most kind & amenable.

ALL THIS IS, OF COURSE, SACRED TO YOU. F.N.

I have no time for more. I really hope that your Orders are going to be carried out. You are very kind & generous & I am ever yours

Florence Nightingale

The arrival of proper ward-masters, of the "Eagle", which is daily expected, will be every thing to us.

Forty stationary Orderlies have already arrived.

Thank you very much. It would seem unnecessary to trouble you with the kitchen details on the other side- But Cumming &c tell me it requires a new "regulation of the service" "to bone the meat" etc.!!

[f141, Miss Nightingale, February 5, 1855 not FN hand]
Scutari Hospital
12 February 1855

Dear Mr. Herbert,

I have difficulty in
at all meeting the attack
made upon us (in Mrs.
Herbert's letters of the
29th) in Mrs. Stanley's
handwriting, I think -
the more as I have
not time for these
miserable squabbles.
The facts of the case
are these:
I supplied Miss Stanley

on her first arrival
with £90 out of my
private funds. I told
her that she might
continue to draw upon
me. Dr. Meyer told me
that his credit for
£1500 was exhausted.
You know that I have
not a line to shew
(should a new Govt.
come in) for authority
to draw upon the
public funds for Miss
Stanley's party—And it is obvious from your letter to me of the 1st Jany that, had the nurses been sent back, you meant it to be at your own private expense. You know that one cannot draw upon the public funds without authority—I might have told a polite lie, & said that I had authority I was half inclined to do so, but was advised not.

Miss Stanley was never "sent from one authority to another in vain to advance money." In my own room Cumming was asked whether he would advance money to her, & said "No, except from his own private funds". I did this from mine, & would have continued doing so, when I was taken by surprise one day.
by Lord Napier telling me that Miss Stanley had applied to the Ambassador - or rather, as I heard afterwards, that he had applied in her name, she having sent him a cheque on her own account. He asked me whether I had authority to advance money officially - I told him I had not - But that I had no difficulty in advancing it privately - & had offered done so. & wished to continue doing so

In this sink of misery, in this tussle of life & death, it is difficult to imagine a person making a grievance of such a matter as this. Miss Stanley said to me, that in explanation, that she thought money might as well come from her own private sources as from mine. And Lady Stratford said
to me that the Ambassador would prefer
that it should come
from public sources,
viz from his.

I was quite willing to
run the risk of Govt.
going out, & my Accts
perhaps not being settled. I
have sent Miss Stanley
a credit upon Hanson's
at Conse for £300 [Constantinople]
out of my private
funds. But I am
unwilling to have my
time taken up in such
a fearful emergency as
this with endless
explanations & self-
justifications which
lead to nothing. ✗

(Mr. Bracebridge wrote
to the Ambassador when
he gave lent me his I asked for the houses,
which he eventually gave at Therapia, for the
second party†, that "we
would not, in asking
this favor, trouble his
Lordships to find any
funds for the expenses
of the party, unless he
preferred it," or words
to that effect)
Barrack Hospital
February 12/56 [55]

Dear Mr Herbert
You are probably out of this turmoil by this time, as would I were - (no, I don't, while these 5000 poor fellows are at stake).
I am very sorry for our sakes, no one will do the work as you have done, very glad for yours.

Hundreds of things

I have to write about these Hospitals, & am half indignant at myself for writing about anything else. But, as I do not know whether you are "in" or "out", & as something must be said about the Nurses, I will give a few words of explanation.
Kulleli is not head-quarters. The Barrack Hosp. is.

I have, (while incurring
the increased difficulty & the increased usefulness of living at Head Quarters), by strict subordination to the Authorities, & by avoiding all individual action, introduced a number of arrangements within the "regulations of the service," useful on a large scale but not interesting to individual ladies.

  e.g. four Extra Diet kitchens - of which the two which I administer,

feed above 700 of the worst cases.

  furniture & clothing on the scale which I gave in my evidence before the Commission.

  washing bath-house lock-up cupboards &c &c

This is not so amusing as pottering about & messing about with little cookeries of individual Beef Teas for the poor sufferers personally. And my
Ladies do not at all like it. I acknowledge it. At the same time, it is obvious that what I have done could not have been done, had I not worked with the Medl. authorities & not in rivalry of them- The consequence is that Cumming & I work hand in hand, & I have carried, thro' him, almost all that was possible under these awful difficulties. And he comes to me every evening.

Miss Stanley has taken the exactly opposite tack. She may be able to work it at Koulalee. if so, God speed her, say I more heartily than any one. I have done every thing in my power to speed her, so help me God - tho' she does not think so. She writes me word
that she wishes to have 
=all ladies. & 12 or 14 more than
she has now.

I sent Cumming over
to Koulalee on purpose
to investigate & hear
her own story.

He reports as follows,
(1) that, as this fearful
rush cannot last, he
thinks it unwise to
have out more women,
who will not arrive
till it is over

(2) that, as he is
to have a body of 900

Orderlies, he thinks more
women not desirable
(3) that the ladies
at Koulalee walk
about doing little
but carrying note books
in their hands.

I offer no opinion.
If the Balaklava party
does not come back,
I may myself perhaps
desire six more nurses,
so many of mine having
fever.

But the first word
Mary Stanley said to me
was that she did not mean to stay - she has repeated this in every letter I have from her. Her own party understood it when they came out.

If she staid, I think she might be safely trusted with any party she may wish to have. And I am sure I wish Koulaalee to be managed as she, & she only, can manage it. But, if she does not stay, not one of the ladies whom she brought out, with all of whom I am now acquainted, (excepting those two at Balaklava & one at Koulaalee, whom she herself considers incapable as heads) is capable of manaâ it as Superintendent, still less of being trusted with an increased band.

I am about to urge them to establish an Extra Diet Kitchen at Koulaalee. I consider that, Miss Stanley gone, the ladies will quarrel, as they
f151
have already done & Koulalee will break up. in all probability.

   Thanks for your letter of the 29th. I hail the plan of the Civil Hospital. You cannot think that I should have any thing to say against a civil band of nurses accompanying them surgeons. Thanks for the Marseilles plan.

   You will hear from Miss Kinnaird of her plan of furnishing the Officers with nurses whom they can hire. Lord Napier has asked me about it. Cumming does not think it feasible. I do. But I cannot undertake it. My hands are full & I think it desirable to keep it quite separate for many reasons.

   The Drs of the General Hospl. have remonstrated with me in writing in temperate but too true language about the second party of nuns.
I fear they will have to go. I have said done nothing as yet. They say the Nuns are inefficient, sombre, disliked - very unlike the Bermondsey Nuns. I know it is but too true. What is to be done? ever yours Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff154-63, pen, Vicinus 90-92

PRIVATE
Barrack Hospital
Scutari
15 February 1855
Dear Mr. Herbert,
I think it better to make a formal Memorandum of the causes of future discord here, which I anticipate & cannot prevent. You will do what you like with it.

The ship has gone to sea without finding whether the shot fitted the guns. I. These were causes of discord were carefully
anticipated & prevented with the first party of R.C.s. With the greatest prudence & entire success, a treaty was made with the high contracting parties, their own Bishops. This was slurred over in the second case.

You know the difficulties which have already arisen. More recently, a charge of converting & rebaptizing before death has been made, reported by me to the Senior Chaplain, by

him to the Commandant, by him to the Commander-in-Chief. I have exchanged the suspected nun.

So sure am I that, give them rope & they will hang themselves, - that I would, had I not been sincerely anxious for the R.C. cause, have let this matter drop, & not put them on their guard.

A further enquiry has been dropped at my request.
II. There are other inherent defects, which will bring about evil.

want of speciality in the heads - those of Kulleli & Balaklava,
want of brains in the latter her of Balaklava,

obstinate refusal to recognise the official status here, in Miss Stanley - & also that she is going back.

I could not persuade her to ask the leave of the Inspector General on her first going to Kulleli, & did so myself in her presence. It was not till after repeated urging

that she would write him a formal letter about more nurses at Kulleli - & then, not through me, as he requested - & not till after she had written to England for them.

Mrs. Herbert will see that it is not the question whether I am "offended" or not, but it is a matter of business - who is the Colonel whom they are to obey? Miss Stanley states in writing to me "I do not believe they (the ladies) "considered themselves
under your authority till they were actually employed by you. The consignment to Dr. Cumming they thought decided this point. I told her (one of the ladies) on her asking the question that you had asked me whether the ladies considered themselves as still under your jurisdiction - I told her I had answered you that they did not.

You know I clearly understand that you have, in Lord Wm. Paulet's presence, given up all jurisdiction over any other Hospitals but those at Scutari - & as I told you, my party have not considered themselves as subject to you till they actually went to Scutari.

Now, the party cannot be consigned to no one - it must be either to Cumming the Inspector General, or to the Superintendent of Nurses, or to Miss Stanley, who is going home.

But III - here follows the perverse imbroglio they are "consigned to Cumming" & not to me. But I am to supply them
with money & not Cumming. And they ride off upon Cumming to avoid submitting to me. & they ride off upon me to avoid writing an official letter to Cumming, who is expressly designated as the person to fix the No. of Nurses by my written instructions.

Having tried a third party, the Embassy, for money, they are forced to come back upon me, & claim the orders of the War Office, which don't exist.

This is the present web of cross-purposes.

It is absolutely necessary that you should put the thing at once in an official & a definite form, if it is to continue to exist.

In my past instructions, the principles were laid down, as also in your letter, & were accepted by the Medical Staff. The extra work was also accepted by them, viz. my extra diets, purveying of utensils &c. ditto, purveying of clothing ditto. This was not acceptable to the Purveyor - but this
is in course of regulation. by the establishment of other extra diet kitchens, & by stores coming in to Purveyor. The purveying of extra comforts by us remains, & is accepted by Government, viz. by the principle of acceptance laid down by you in sending private goods & practised from Queen downwards. This must continue. & in proportion as the Purveyor is made to do his duty, may be defined & reduced.

There remains the Nursing. This must be at Scutari as defined & practised. viz. let there be an augmentation of Nurses - not of ladies, Sisters or Nuns. As to Balaklava & Kulleli, I claim to nominate the personnel only, & to leave the detail to them, under the Medical Men, say the first & second in command. And to decide in the last resort as to sending away.

As to the future, I
f159v

claim 1st to officer & work these Scutari Hospitals on my plan - the only one which experience teaches can be worked here.

2nd that Haida Pasha should be considered a Convalescent Hospital & not have Nurses.

3rd that Officers should have Nurses upon their own paying only. and that these Nurses should be organised by other sources than me.

But, if any other Orders come out, I, of course shall obey them - provided
I am not responsible for details beyond the two hospitals of Scutari. Balaklava may be considered for Nurses alone - under two Superintendents whom they have. As to Kulleli & Smyrna, if ladies & Nuns are to be sent, I have nothing to say to it - I can only do as above - & they will have to work with the Medical Officers as they can. Dr. Cumming being against it in the General & future - Dr. Tice, the present Staff Surgeon of Kulleli, a R.C., being for it in the particular & present. The question should be decided after sufficient examination. If you will interest yourself for Nurses versus Ladies, good. If not, will you defend me at Scutari & let me work my own plan? I cannot be responsible for any other. If you have changed your opinion about
my judgment, please say so openly. Every man has a right to change his opinion if he fairly declares that he has done so. (Only do not leave me between 'hawk & buzzard'.)

But the thing must be put at once in an official & a definite form. if we are to remain here during the War—see P.S.

Privately & to you, I protest emphatically, now before it is too late, against the Kulleli plan & i.e. the lady plan. It ends in nothing but

spiritual flirtations between the ladies & the soldiers. I saw enough of that here — it pets the particular man — it gets nothing done in the General. Try & work a Civil Hospital with ladies & nuns & you will soon find what I mean. The ladies all quarrel among themselves. The Medical Men all laugh at their helplessness — but like to have them about for the sake of a little female society, which is natural, but not our object.
Half the Nurses whom you have sent me in the last lot are admirable, good plain homely useful bodies.

Miss Stanley has written to Cummings at last - & he considers me bound to send his answer to you which is as follows.

"Dear Miss Stanley,
"From my own observation & after due enquiry, I regret that I am obliged to decline acceding to your request respecting any addition to the number of Lady Nurses, & I am inclined to think that, were your experience a little more lengthened, it would bring you to the same conclusion."

(Signed) A Cumming"

Believe me, dear Mr. Herbert, ever yours Florence Nightingale

P.S.
You must write me, please, about the General Question (I am not now referring to the particular one of Nurses) a letter which I can shew to Lord Wm. Paulet &c. besides the official one. The reason of this is that we find unwilling listeners while you have willing ones. because what we have to say is troublesome. [end 14:144]
PRIVATE Barrack Hospital
Scutari
19 February 1855

Dear Mr. Herbert,

The last few days have made a marked improvement in the health of the patients whereas, in the first 8 days of February, we buried 506 from the Hospitals of Scutari alone on the 9th day 72 during the last twenty four hours we have lost only ten (out of twenty one hundred in this

Hospital) - only thirty (out of the whole of the Hospitals of the Bosphorus). It is not much more than 1/2 per cent. But fever among the Medical Men & Women is increasing. I shall have to send several home.

The Presbyterians in Scotland are anxious to send out Nurses. They tell me they have communicated with the W. Office- I object to the principle of sending out
any one, qua sectarian, not qua nurse. But
this having already been
done in the case of the
R.C.s etc., I do not see
how the Presbyterians can
be refused. And therefore
let six trained Nurses
be sent out, if you think
fit - of whom let two-
thirds be Presbyterians.
But I must bar these
fat drunken old dames.
Above 14 stone we will
not have - the provision

of bed-stead is not strong
enough. Three were nearly
swamped in a caique
whom Mr. Bracebridge was
conducting to the ship for
Balaclava. And, had he
not walked with the
fear of the police before
his eyes, he might easily
have swamped them whole.
A Board must be
appointed in London to
enquire into their qualifi-
cations, of the new six, with a Sub-
Commission of Enquiry in
Edinburgh - & they must
come up to London to be looked at.
I hope & trust some plan will be carried out as to establishing a system in purveying, tho' nothing has been done as yet, & our position remains as urgent as before.

E.g. I received a Requisition from the Medical Officers at Balaklava for shirts, barley &c. - I went to the Purveyor, as I always do, to give him a chance (Dr. Reid, the Physician to the Rail-road, was going up to Balaklava by the "Candidate" & had called with an offer to take any thing). The Purveyor answered 1st that he had no shirts. "Yes," I said, "you have received 27000 by the Eagle, landed four days ago." 2nd that he could not unpack them without a Board - to which I answered that on every bale I had seen the No. within marked. & he could send them one or two bales making a Memm. for the Board.
3rd that they were at the Genl. Hospl. & he could not get an order in time. It ended by his accepting my offer to send a bale of my shirts, which he might replace to me afterwards. They have no cotton shirts & no means of washing at Balaklava.

By the same "Candidate" from England arrived an invaluable re-enforcement of twenty-four carpenters. These men I had to find with knives, forks & spoons, in default of the Purveyor, who had in his possession 7,500 knives & forks from the "Eagle", & who besides, would not provide them with rations, unless the Officer of Engineers wrote "urgent" & asked it "as a favor".

It seems as it these people, Ambassador, Purveyor, Commandant, Directors-General were struck with blindness.

The carpenters brought out "monkeys" with them (for driving in the piles of the our piers) & these have, as usual, gone on to Balaklava, being packed in hold of ship.
I think it matters little whether a vain, silly, swearing old man, like Wreford, is kept "in" or "out". But it matters much whether the principle of necessitated concealment is consecrated by keeping "in" Dr. Andrew Smith - it matters much whether our Embassy at Constantinople is to continue to be the laughing-stock of Europe, & the principle consecrated (in the person of Lord Stratford) of making diplomacy.

- not the protection of his country men, not correlative assistance to the war the business of his Ambassador-ship. Here has that old man been four months with the British Army perishing within sight of his windows. He has been over once for 1 1/2 hours during those four months, when I forced him into the Wards.

(excuse me for speaking plainly) x the phrase of a competent judge
And he is dissipated in business which does not exist & intriguing in politics which are no longer at Constantinople. What have the French been doing? They have now seven ten Hospitals in Constantinople, while the British position is nothing. Within the last week they, the French, have taken the last available building, (a large building in the
neighbourhood of St. Sophia) for 3000,000 fr. and the Russian Embassy. We have nothing. I will send you a plan of their position on the other side. What is an Ambassador for? Is not this trifling with the sufferings of the British Army?

The French have received 6000 sick within the last 17 days. They are preparing for 5000 more.

I think the tendency of things here will be, as the season gets on, to keep our Sick & Wounded at Balaklava, where we are erecting huts now for 800 men, & therefore, as soon as some system has been established here, - some plan of cooking, washing & purveying, & clothing, - & as soon as the pressure here is a little diminished, I shall go up to Balaklava with washing machines, made by the carpenters
just sent out from those here, with cooking stoves &c. and try & do the same thing there I have done here- & establish some Hospital system. if you approve.

Finally, the "Times" man, McDonald, goes home today. Would it not be a wise & a politic thing if you were to send for him & see him? He is on the whole a fair, but an incautious man. But you are one who wish to know the truth & I believe he would tell you the truth.

Believe me dear Mr. Herbert ever yours
Florence Nightingale

The Ambassador is "en grand" exactly what Wreford is "en petit". The latter refuses blankets at 19/, which the French buy up at 20/. The Ambassador - refuses to obtain buildings for the British,
which the French instantly
lay hold of. I regret now
that I did not lay down
£12,000, (which we
might easily have
raised in the City),
for the building near
Sta. Sophia. Ecole
de la Médicine. A
grand structure, still
unfinished.

Please don't let the
"Times"s' injudicious interference
counterbalance what we have
said about McGrigor, the
only Dr. who has attempted
reform here. Of course, he must
be in Dr. A. Smith's black books, as one
of the disturbing forces.

Barrack Hospital,
Scutari.
22 February 1855
My dear Mr. Herbert
Very many thanks
for your kindness to these
Hospitals, - for your kindness
in allowing me to go on
worrying you about them
even after you have
exchanged these worries
for others - for your
promise of still standing
our protector in this terrible
great work, & of allowing
me to write unreservedly
to you.
I do not see that our position decreases, alas! in urgency. You have done all you could, but the Personnel is wanting here to carry out your intentions. Ld. William Paulet is not Mr. Herbert nor even his child George. & the heads once flattened in the savage boards (much worse than those of Indian women but of the Army & Army Medical Staff discipline) become for life old children.

One thing which we much require might be easily done. This is the formation of a Medical School at Scutari. We have lost the finest opportunity for advancing the cause of Medicine & erecting it into a science which will probably ever be afforded. There is here no operating room, no dissecting room, post mortem examinations are seldom made & then in the dead-house -(the ablest Staff Surgeon here told me that he considered that he had killed hundreds of men
owing to the absence of these) no statistics are kept as to between what ages most deaths occur, as to modes of treatment, appearances of the body after death &c. &c. &c. & all the innumerable & most important points which contribute to making Therapeutics a means of saving life & not, as it is here, a formal duty. Our registration generally is so lamentably defective that often the only record kept is - a man (sic) died - on such a day.

There is a Kiosk on the Esplanade before the Barrack Hospital, rejected by the Quarter Master for his stores, which I have asked for & obtained as a School of Medicine. It is not used now for any purpose - £300 or £400 (which I would willingly give) would put it in a state of repair.

The young Surgeons here are first-rate Anatomists, as good, I dare say, as any in London, but miserable Pathologists - morbid Anatomy is almost unknown & the
science of healing unpractised.  
At the request & according to the plan of the First Class Staff Surgeons, I gave them some expensive operating & dissecting tables, & I learn from these that they have pulled off the legs & burnt them as fire-wood. 

The Kiosk is not over looked & is in every way calculated for the purpose I have named. The Medical teaching duties could not be carried on efficiently with a less staff than two lecturers on Physiology & Pathology, &

one lecturer on Anatomy, who will be employed in preparing the subject for demonstration, & performing operations for the information of the Juniors. If they could thus be interested in their profession (let alone in humanity) much vice would be checked, besides saving, in future, many hundreds of lives.

II. The French have now all the available buildings on the other side, viz. eleven, including one on Prince's Island. They can now hold Constantinople. We have
lost the opportunity of forming
a Hospital on that side.

Let us at least get a footing
on the Seraglio Point, & make
a convalescent institution there.

there is every advantage on
that side (of market, landing &c.)

none of this. On the Seraglio

Point the French have now,

besides the Ecole de Médicine above, the

Tunisian Barracks, which they occupied on Sunday 19th, & huts

which accommodate 1080 men.

I enclose a copy of a note
to our Ambassador - which

I have ventured (with

some misgivings) to write to him.

I send your our Statistics of

accommodation.

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<th>Barrack Hospital</th>
<th>1913</th>
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<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>1018</td>
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<td>Haida Pasha</td>
<td>500</td>
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<td>Koulalee</td>
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<td>'Turkish Hulk'</td>
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<td>'Bombay'</td>
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We pick up the ships, as they
go through the Bosphorus, & relieve them

of their worst cases, sending

the best on to Smyrna -

Barracks for 2000

are about to be erected

which during the Summer Convalescents

will accommodate . . . . 1000

Stables at Koulalee 600

Riding-School 200

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8497
f177v

I will only add about the Medical Lecturers, if they are sent out by Govt., that they must bring with them all their microscopic & scientific apparatus.

We have heard of Mr. Stafford's foolish speeches to you, & also of his foolish speech in the House about Dr. McGrigor, which would have put us in a still more awkward position. His promotion will put down the extensive jealousy (from Ld. W. Paulet downwards) against a man who has disturbed the repose of this old system & its secrecy.

f178

Miss Stanley is going home at the end of this month - leaving Koulalee without a head. She says that none of her, the second, party will do for a head there. No one of the first party would either. The head of the Sellons is gone to Balaklava - nor would she do, were Balaklava given up.

I will send you Miss Stanley's letter, in which she does not recommend Miss Emily Anderson, nor any one else, for Koulalee.

Under these circumstances, the lesser evil is to have out a head from England - to accompany the Presbyterian nurses.
We have drawn on Sir John Kirkland for £1500 & spent, as by account sent last post, £1243. This includes £400 for Miss Stanley, payment & credit, before receiving your letter empowering us to draw on the Purveyor for the second Party, which we will do in future.

Mr. Maxwell is going home this week. I hope you will see him & hear more of our true state from him.

Believe me, dear Mr. Herbert, ever yours
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff180-82v, pen, Goldie 99-100

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
26 February 1855
Dear Mr. Herbert
Mr. Maxwell, your Commissioner, returned home today. I hope you will see him. He will give you a very fair account of things. He has taken the "Sick & Wounded" as he would a brief, but he will do it honestly & efficiently. & then he will forget it & think no more about it, except as talk for a dinner-party.
However he is an effective organ. & therefore I leave to him the exposé of our situation, & will not write this post.

What the Commission was about for two months, I cannot conceive. but latterly they have done their work well- & made many valuable suggestions, which it remains for Cumming to carry out.

Mr. Milton has done nothing. but recommend a Band of Music for the

X we suppose that it was obtained from the D. of Newcastle by Dr. A. Smith to plaster over the medical men. & finding that in-practicable, in the third month it did its duty. as far as you will see. Dr. Spence went up to the Krimea to make an apology to Dr. Hall for the existence of the Commission

The French are making enormous preparations for sick. preparing 13000 beds. I send you an extract from "La Presse d'Orient." I went over their new huts on Saturday, on the Seraglio Point, containing 1080 men. & with Lévi, their Inspector General, a man of immense power & intellect, I am to go over their Hospitals on Tuesday. The French send back no convalescents to the Crimea, whence
they only return (sick).

I seem to be always complaining. But all our arrangements continue to be of the Elizabethan era. The summer will soon be here & then we shall cry, as we did when winter came, Who'd have thought it? Here is the hot weather.

Cumming, with all his slowness, official narrow-mindedness, & timidity, may do something - responsibility & improvement being forced upon him. But Ld. Wm. Paulet, though highly estimable as a gentleman & a soldier, is an utterly unimproveable character quoad his official duties here.

He feels himself like a fish out of water, shrinks from every new difficulty. & those who may chance to bring it before him. If he does anything, it is at the suggestion of A or B, overcoming for the moment his vis inertiae. In despair of he puts aside the difficulties of the Purveying &c & of the Medical Staff & restricts himself to trifling Military details & to gossiping with the Embassy. Even the roads round this building, the Barrack-yard & soldiers' barracks are in as miserable
a state as ever.

Very many thanks for all
your letters, which are
more than kind.

Believe me ever yours
F. Nightingale

incomplete letter, ff183-87, pen {Mrs. Herbert's annotation: First part about Monument gone to the Queen, in Goldie 100-02

The chapel might be done by Private subscription,
the monument ought to come out of Public Funds.

And now I must bother you about a "row" at the
Embassy, which you can read
or not read, as you like.
but which I am desired
to inform you of.

Lady Stratford sent for Mr. Sabin, the Senior Chaplain here,
over to the Embassy last week
on other business. She then
exposed Miss Stanley's grievances
to him "au long et au large".
Mr Sabin was led on (little
by little) to tell Lady Stratford
that Miss Stanley had "grossly
imposed upon her." & farther
that he had reason to believe,
from putting two & two
together, & from accounts
which he received from home,
that Miss Stanley was only
waiting to become a R. Catholic
& was playing the game of 
the R. Catholics at Koulalee. 
that Dr. Tice who never 
shewed any great love for 
the nurses at the General 
Hospital was encouraging the 
Nuns at Koulalee, being himself 
a R. Catholic - &c &c. 
Lady Stratford was greatly 
armed - "why did you not 
tell me this before?" & 
"don't tell Lord Stratford" 
being her chief ideas - to which 
Mr. Sabin replied "he was 
very sorry, but he had 
already told Lord Stratford." 

Now, observe, dear Mr. Herbert, 
this bother is none of my 
making. I have kept strict 
honor with Lady Stratford, 
as also with Mr. Cumming, 
about Mary Stanley's religious 

opinions. Now I could easily 
have defeated her represen-
tations by "telling of her", as 
the children say - & Mrs. 
Herbert will think that 
I have. But people out here 
do not require us at home 
to tell them "things" - & 
Koulalee has excited suspicions, 
without me or in spite of me. 
Cumming asked the question 
one day in my room whether 
Miss Stanley were not a 
R.C. & put it off, in order 
that he might not say he 
heard it from me. Thus it 
stands now, & much harm 
will it do us. But let us 
bide our time. In the summer, 
we shall, alas! have plenty 
of fighting, & then they will 
find out they must have
more nurses. In the mean
time, I am sorry to bother
you with these miseries. &
do not wish you to do any
thing. I have merely put you
"au fait".

The whole Medical World
is furious at the promotion
of Dr. MacGrigor - as they know
he is junior, & don't admit
that he is better than others
in their ranks, they consider
it an injustice to the fair
hopes of all in the service.
As they do not take a
distinction between reform
& no reform, (nursing element
included), it is no wonder
they think so. As the Doctors
have enlisted Lord William
Paulet in this belief, he, looking
at nothing but military etiquette,
of course

Dr. Cumming will state the same opinion.
He too sees no difference
between reform & non-reform
& will not go into the detail
of the facts. The end will be
that Cumming will give in
to the wish & as I anticipate,
plan of punishing McGrigor
for his promotion by sending
him either to Mitylene or the
Crimea. This I gather from
a conversation with Ld. William
& others. Dr. Cumming From
the same sources & my own
observation, for I see Cumming
daily, I find that he does
nothing without the instigation
of Dr. Lawson, who has been second
in command ever since
Forrest took sick. Lawson
then, altho' under the ban of
Ld. Raglan, has reigned supreme
here for more than five weeks.
I shall make no further remark about him than that he is a fossil of the pure old Red Sandstone. We shall get no reform out of him at all events. This is only one instance, as Mr. Milton will prove to be another, that the people here will try the strength of the old system with the smallest apparent emendations against Government reforms & rapidity in action. & this with a tenacity of purpose & a cohesion of individuals which you are not likely to give them credit for. Dr. McGrigor, as a Divisional Staff Surgeon, has carried out in his Division, all the reforms as detailed in the Commission - in the other Divisions they are not carried out - though the old system may be well administered. These narrow-minded individuals would only consider my interference as that of a partisan - & therefore, as they can't value my argument, I don't like to exert what they would call an impertinent & un-called-for interference. If Dr. McGrigor is sent to the Krimea, the authorities will plume themselves upon putting the thing into a more recent form upon the old system - & upon arresting the course of a hazardous reformer - leaving the orders of the War Office to be acted upon another time by those who choose to run the RISK.
As we stand, Cumming will evidently not carry out the views of his own Commission. If it is thought well to press them, it must evidently be done by stringent orders to Commandant, as a supermedical power. As for Dr. Andrew Smith & his injunctions, diluted as they come by his own opinions, I place no reliance on them. I have reckoned up all the Staff Surgeons here, & weighed them each in my mind, & I see nobody that will aid in carrying out the recommendations of the Commission but two, Dr. McGrigor, & Dr. Laing, (a 2nd class Staff Surgeon, & Junior Commissioner).

Only let us have some system & force somebody to act upon it, whatever it is.

I say all this savagery, because of the non-success of your unwearied efforts for the good of these poor Hospitals. Believe me dear Mr. Herbert ever yours Florence Nightingale

We look to your protection, the same as if you were still at the War Office, & only hope that you may not get half the torment which at the Colonies which you have had among the Osmanlis. [end 14:155]
Scutari
March 12/55

Dear Mr. Herbert

Mrs. Herbert appears to wish that I should give up Koulalee altogether. I can only say that, should such be your view of the expediency of the case, it will give me no umbrage, nor should I think it any ungrateful return for my services, your taking away Koulalee from me.

I fear that you will have difficulty with the Catholics, if you do so - that is all - as no one will stand by them as I have done. & they are all alive to make a "bobbery" - two conversion-difficulties we have already had, which I have smoothed over.

I am shortly going up to Balaklava - as there seems a prospect of more wounded there & of their being kept there. & Mother Eldress, who is superintendent there, besides being sick, cannot manage the business.

Yrs ever

F. Nightingale
P.S. We have examined
the Washing Machines &
find they can be imitated
for Koulaee, except the
wringing machine, (Nottingham
patent). Pray have one
of these sent for Koulaee.
where there is a wash-house
(in which to place it)
in the Barracks-

We are very sorry that
the Country is to lose your
services - especially in these,
our colossal calamities.
glad for your sake that
you are out of it. I trust
you will still do what you
only
can for us. I go on
writing to you, as you
have permitted me.

Cumming has just
refused to McGrigor, the your
new Deputy Inspector, the
permission to carry out
the equipment of the
wards, with clothes & utensils, to which he,
Cumming, had put his
own hand in the Commission,
& which McGrigor had
already established.
Cumming has ordered it to
be discontinued. We are
without redress.
This is all Mr. Lawson, whom
the Commandt jokingly calls Cumming's Secy.
Cumming is becoming a second Menzies, now his Commission is gone. & that which he has signed with his right-hand, he does away with his left. It would be incredible, & you must say, like Tertullian, "Credo quia impossibile" - that a man could so stultify himself as to refuse to carry out the written advice of himself to himself. of himself as Head of the Commission to himself as Inspector Genl. We have not advanced one step towards a system - though greatly advanced in individual comforts. Dr. McGrigor was only put in orders as Deputy Inspector Gen.l.

the day before yesterday. owing to the childish jealousies of this place. But he has already begun to put in force the views of Cumming, the Head of the Commission in contradistinction to those views of Cumming, the Inspector General. Your other reformer (promoted by you) Dr. Taylor, from Chatham, has been sent away to the Crimea, lest he should be troublesome here. He told me that Cumming went on precisely in the same way at Chatham - always saying the men were pampered & overfed. Dr. Taylor was to have had Koulalee, & wished for it.
The remedy (often repeated) to all this is stringent orders from home that the views of the Commission are to be carried out - that the wards are to be equipped according to the inventory given in the report. That Ld Wm Paulet is to have Regimental stores, & equip the men going out with every thing belonging to a soldier. &c &c Dr. McGrigor is quite prepared to be the man to carry out the whole system here - including the reform of the Orderlies. And Dr. Laing, the Junior Commissioner, would do it at the General Hospital, but as he is only a Second Class Staff Surgeon, he has no power, while Lawson & O'Flaherty, as his Seniors, are polishing & re-polishing the old system daily. [end 14:165]
initialled letter, ff192-203v, pen, Goldie 105-09, 18 March 1855 from Scutari

signed letter, ff192-203v, pen

f192

Barrack Hospital

[14:166-71]

Scutari

18 March 1855

Very many thanks, my dear Mr. Herbert, for your very [illeg]/kind interest in our grievous misfortunes & difficulties - 1st to purveying - It is very well to say “leave off purveying”, while they leave Wreford in office - while Lord W. Paulet, & Mr. Milton make it their business to bolster up that poor little old man - When I tell you that Lord W. Paulet & the Principal Medical Officer of

f192v

the General Hospital each proposed to me to purvey the Purveyor privately - that I asked Mr. Maxwell’s legal opinion what I should do in this matter, & that he answered, “make them put that proposal in writing” - which they never would do. I think I have said enough to prove that saying “leave off purveying” to F. Nightingale & making Mr. Wreford purvey are two distinct things. What I have done I shall continue doing which is, when I see things deficient – to make the Medical
Officer make requisition upon
the Purveyor - if said requisition
is uncomplied with, never till
then, to send it in to me - You
will see by my evidence before
the Commn that I have, in no
single instance but that of
Arrow Root, complied with a
requisition without first
ascertaining this point - viz whether
the Purveyor intended to comply with it.

But all this does not
touch the main point - The
Purveyor has now plenty of stores
by the Eagle - Is he, or is he
not to equip the wards with
the complement of clothing &
utensils necessary for each
bed, as recommended by your
Commission & approved, long
since at home? Is Ld W. Paulet
or is he not to equip each man,
as he goes out of Hospital,
from Regimental stores? All
this is talked of & promised
twice a week - but never done.
Ld W. Paulet partially equips/clothes
his men - Dr. McGrigor did
equip one whole Division with the
complement of necessary stores in each ward.
And Cumming, urged by Wreford,
ordered them/it to be taken out
again - I am weary of
this hopeless work - Sir John
McNeill & Col. Tulloch added,
in vain, their potent recommendations
to that of your Commission - & both
have left me notes in writing to that effect
Private

2nd. As to the nuns, I have got over the case at Koulalee by a little letter-writing and objurgation & apologetic denial from the priest -

3rd. As to Koulalee, I rejoice at your decision about the separation -

My arrangement has been to fix the stations of all the second party, & to leave the internal management of Koulalee to Miss Stanley - Though she & the Nuns have tormented me with changes as to Sisters & Nurses, we have had no dispute - She has managed as she pleased, & in the great pressure of fever of course wanted more. I know they have very loose rules among themselves. But I shall not interfere more than absolutely necessary till the new Supt comes - It will save me a world of trouble and fruitless anxiety to leave her to manage them, going to the Purveyor for supplies - I hope it will not be found more troublesome at home. I should be relieved of the arrangements of sending home & housing here previous to sending home (a terrible incubus & corrupter of my nurses) the sick and incompetent, which Miss Stanley has left to me to do, merely saying what she wished without justifying reasons
That ladies, nuns & nurses may be made to work together, if faithful to their duties, we have proved. But I have found the ladies as wanting as the Nurses & more ignorant in professional matters - It is only by perseverance that they can be made efficient.

Koulali has had 10 nuns
6 ladies
6 nurses

The present state when Miss Stanley leaves will be
10 nuns
1 or 2 ladies
1 or 2 nurses

As to Balaklava, you say nothing - If you see no radical objection, I should like to keep it for the present.

& if the war continues, to give it up to another Head, when I have arranged it. I shall not fight for the dependence of my Colonies, as England did for America - Balaklava shall be independent as soon as she is arranged - My reasons for this are, 1st I look upon it as of the first importance to arrange the washing & the an extra diet kitchen - & I do not think this will be done without me. I should like to go up & do this - 2nd /The Superior of the Sellenites, who was Supt up there, has lost her head & her health, & returned yesterday with Harriet Erskine, the other
Sellon Sister there - They are going back to England, by their own desire. Miss Shaw Stewart remains in charge - Miss Clough has gone, without making it known to any one, & absconded to the Hospital of the Highland Brigade on the Balaklava Heights, in conjunction with Sir Colin Campbell, & means to manage it - She must be a funny fellow, illeg/she, of the Highland Heights -

If Mrs. Herbert sends out Mrs. Sawtell Mr. Sabin’s sister, to whom I have written & who will apply to her, (Mr. Sabin is our Senr Chaplain) as Supt, she might take my place here for a time, while I go to Balaklava. I would then enfranchise it, when arranged/ready.

Mr. Sabin is very anxious to have his Sister out, & I wish much to have her - at all events, she might find employment at the General Hospital here, where Miss Tebbutt, now Superintendent, is quite incompetent - & has besides fallen under the Chaplain’s displeasure for Socinianism - of which genus we have two -

With regard to higher matters, the French say “Nous n’avons pas pris Sévastopol, il est vrai; mais nous avons pris Constantinople: nous avons
Lord Stratford never shews at all now. Lady Stratford has sent her Manufacturer of Beds &c to Wreford with an unexamined Account of £8500 for Koulalee - which after swearing a good deal, he has finished by paying, by Ld W. Paulet’s order. The accounts will never be examined, as far as we know, but Koulalee has been amply supplied. Mr. Wreford’s boy=Purveyor there fell sick of a fever without apparent injury to his business - As Miss Stanley says, Lady Stratford has “the care of the place” - this does not seem to include the care of the money - I rejoice at the success in purveying, whether it be done by an Ambassadress, a Purveyor, a Major Powell, or a simple poor persecuted individual - But “one man may steal a horse while” &c the proverb is somewhat musty.

A great deal has been said of our “self-sacrifice,” “heroism,” & so forth - The real humiliation, the real hardship of this place, dear Mr. Herbert, is that we have to do with men who are neither gentlemen, nor men of education, nor even men of business, nor men of feeling, whose only object is to keep themselves out of blame, who will neither make use
of others, nor can be made use of - the sole idea of the Purveyor being to make a waste book into a ledger (Mr. Milton included) of the Military Authorities that the soldier is a rascal & (too often true) & must be kept down (Lord W. Paulet inclusive) of the Surgeons that "not to contribute in any manner by any regulations to justify any statements which have been promulgated" This candid confession I copy verbatim from a letter to me/yself of one of the Principal Medical Officers here - dated 14 March 1855

I am so glad you are out

of office, though very sorry for our country, because I can now have no shame in telling you illeg/sincerely, provided you still keep up your interest in us, of the dirt of this nest of official vice - And, of course, you will be listened to at home as much as if you were in Office.

(1) The Eagle has now been arrived three weeks. And no use whatever has been made of her stores - Cumming says they have "not yet been "sat upon" (2) the Sanitary Commission is really doing something, & has set to work burying dead dogs & whitewashing infected walls.
two prolific causes of fever -
Ld W. Paulet looks out of his
window & sends word to us
to remove four pieces of white
paper (sic) at the corner of
our store, while five dead dogs
lay all of a heap/row in the principal
thoroughfare from the Hospital
to the wharf. An Liverpool
Inspector of Nuisances has been
left us to do what we should
have done long ago, (3) Twice/Three times
a week Lord W. Paulet tells us
that he is going to remove the
Depot. And this is made a
reason for the incredible state
of the Barrack here - The men
lie on the ground with a
single blanket - not undressed.

In the Crimea they have a rum
ration. In India an arrack
ration. Here they have nothing
but water, pronounced unhealthy
by the Sanitarians - In fact, it
looks like barley water what
we drink - The consequence is
they go into the town & buy all
sorts of Greek abominations.
Yet we have nowhere else to
discharge our Convalescents to -
& they generally return to us
into Hospital in 24 hours -
Farewell, dear Mr. Herbert
Yours ever
F. Nightingale
P.S.

On re-reading your letter, I see you say “that I have attached too much importance to the second party being consigned to Cumming” It is they who have done this, not I. In fact, I have it in Miss Stanley’s handwriting “that they considered their consignment to Cumming decided this point” viz of their “not being under my authority” & “that she had told them that she had told me that they considered it so” –

One thing more - The Eagle’s stores, if not dispensed according to the system indicated, viz so much to each bed, will & thus made

stationary Hospital furniture, will just go as all the other stores have gone, like water thro’ a sieve.

No one has felt more strongly than I have done all that you say about the Purveying. I have represented it twice as sharply as you have – I have stated myself to be only an unprincipled expedient - When I see the wards equipped with the quantum of furniture & clothing approved & signed by your Commission, (with the Inspector General at its head) approved by
the second Commission, Sir John McNeill & Col. Tulloch, who both wrote their opinion to me to this effect, approved by most of the Staff Surgeons & Deputy Inspectors here, then & not till then I will leave off purveying - It is a matter very easily settled. The test has been approved by every competent & official judge here - And when Mr. Wreford has complied with it, be sure I will not purvey a moment longer - In the mean time, the Surgeons, FN if they do their duty, will make requisitions

And if Mr. Wreford will not answer them, why should not I?

It would rejoice you to see the decrease of sickness in Hospital - (Medical Men, Nurses & Civilians are suffering more than before) - But the Morning State of Sick today in all the Hospitals of Scutari the Bosphorus (including Kulleli, Scutari & ships) was 2 under 4000 On the 15th we buried none 3 16th 17th 22 18th 12 we have never been so low since Inkermann
P.P.S

There are now twenty-six women & twenty-six babies (all under three months old) whom, on the principle of the Gauls, who took their women with them to encourage them to the combat, see Caesar, we have taken with us here to encourage us to the fight. But the women of the Gauls shouted & howled, I suppose on the field - whereas these shout & howl in Corridor A. to the disgrace of my decent door - around which they cluster to receive Mr. Bracebridge’s teas & flannel petticoats - Mr. Bracebridge’s twenty-six wives are the curse of the Hospital. Please send out the passage about the Allobroges or Allobrogi, I don’t remember which, as a reason for Ld. W. Paulet to allege for their stay here - where they “deal destruction” not round the world but round the Barrack

The “Times” has gone throughout upon a fallacy. It has always supposed itself to supply all that I have distributed in these Hospitals - whereas it has not supplied more than half - I have had private funds at my disposal - from which I have drawn, but in all & every case, as you know, only according to Requisition from medical officers.
I am very much obliged to the War Office for passing our second Account of £1200 & odd -

F.N.

You speak about transferring my "agent" to Wreford, if a good one - The fact is, Mr. Wreford has the very best of agents in Black - But he has only been stirred up to use him by my ordering things via Black, which I have always instructed Black to offer Mr. Wreford, (in order to give the Purveyor fair play) when they were landed on this side, not even saying that they were for me - And Wreford has almost invariably taken them, shewing thus that they were needed, tho' taking them out of jealousy, as he generally divined whom they were for - If Wreford were judicious, he might make a great deal more use of Black than he does - But the same petty jealousy prevents his employing him as he might do.

[end 14:171]
Dear Mr. Herbert,

They are inspecting Mitylene, as you know, they have taken Smyrna at an enormous expense, & are now thinking of transferring it to Mitylene, they are also inspecting Princes Island close to us i.e. Lord W. Paulet & Lady Stratford go out pleasuring there. Lt. W's Aide de Camps & Major Burke of all the stupid dandies of aide de Camps the most inane. & old Dr. Cruickshanks the most melancholy specimen of a staff surgeon here, were sent down to Mitylene to perform this inspection.

In England you go upon a fallacy, you think we want to save the men's lives - we don't - we don't care whether the men die or no that is the reason we pitched upon Smyrna. where even now, the mortality is twice as great as it is here tho' we pick all the ships. as they go through the Bosphorus of their worst cases. & send on only Convalescents. here the mortality is little more than 1/4 per cent at Smyrna 1/2 per cent. There is Rhodes

for position, for harbour, for climate, for produce, the best of all the Islands. key to Aliqandia, & Candia most important to us, which we once had, & could have an excuse for keeping as a sanatorium for Malta & Corfu. It is 40 miles along the Gulf of Smyrna & forty miles back, put those 80 miles on south instead of East & West & we are within 100 miles of Rhodes.

Princes Island is better than this, because this is alluvial & Prince's Island is pure Limestone but the Bosphorus is like Gibraltar, all the fogs & winds of the Black Sea come blowing down here, & Princes Island are not out of them.

Rhodes is the Montpellier of the Mediterranean Princes Island may be the Richmond of Constantinople but people only go to Richmond, when they can't go further than London -

In a month Smyrna will be untenable so will the Palace Hospital here. so will, in all probability Koulale, when the hot weather comes so will Balaclava, at least the Bay - Myselene has fever from May to November -
II. I sent you a curious specimen of the Milton genius last post. I pass over the unparalleled impertinence of our hearing of this from a Purveyor's clerk. But I am sure they do not know what they are about. It would be enough to turn out a Ministry - to turn the balance of a general election. They have not the least idea of the real state of the case, they look upon it as Purveyors' clerks - There is not a small town, nor a Parish in England from which we have not received contributions, There is not hardly a parish in England from which we have not received contributions is worth its freight. but the smaller the value of course, the more importance the contributors attach to it. a "good" parcel contains perhaps 14 lbs of arrowroot 3 pr. muffetees old rag, a few flannel bands 3 dry comforters & some welsh wigs. if I had all the money which the freights has cost, I could build a Hospital with it. but do you think these good people would be satisfied if they received back 4d from the Purveyor. These people here think that it is a pleasure to me to dispense these things, if you knew the trouble of landing, of unpacking, of acknowledging! the good that has been done here has been by money, money purchasing articles at Constantinople, the contributions till within these last few days, have been nothing to make any use of, but that will make no difference in the eyes of the people of England, who have taken a pleasure in sending all these things. I could easily clear myself. I should just put a line in the newspapers to say that I have been ordered to sell these things - or I should fall back on my Constituents including Victoria, including you, two bales from whom are now standing at the door of our store & ask do you choose your free gifts to be sold? But the absolute impossibility of the thing never seems to have struck these people here. We might pay the Queen, we might pay you, but how could we pay a parish where every housewife has contributed a child's old Pinafore, every grandmother has knit up her wools into muffetees. It has been the one pleasure of the small towns this winter, two thirds of these contributions have been anonymous - at least 2 thirds utterly valueless - how are we to return the money, they have been contributed through the Clergymen - or the Mayor. of a Committee.
£207
It is as if the whole of England had thought of nothing but Scutari
In 5 years, who will know the name of Wreford, or Cumming, or Ld. W. Paulet? dressed in a little brief authority, they think they can settle the matter with the people of England by a few pence.
They do not know in Belgravia what they feeling of the City, what the feeling of the small towns.
I have said my say, I am certain they do not know what a storm they would raise in England by returning the old Pinafores.
You will do, I am sure, what you think right, I should be glad to be rid of the trouble.

£207v
of these frightful contributions but I have thought it right to make a statement of magnitude of wh. I believe few people are aware III. you would be pleased to see the difference wh. Dr. Mcgregor's brief administration as D.y Inspector Gen.1 has already made here.
Soyer is come, wh. I hope will make some difference in our cooking.
In regard to the distribution of food, to the sending it in bulk to the kitchen, instead of that horrible drawing of raw rations to the dining & sleeping of the Orderlies & making a comfortable mess for them Dr. MacGrigor
has already introduced great reforms

We rec'd 100 sick yesterday from the Severn, & for the first time since I have been here they were all bathed, their hair cut, their dirty blankets, kits, clothes, taken away inventoried & stored, & their clean Hospital clothing put on them before they were brought into Hospital

We have appropriated in one of the towns, four rooms & 12 baths for this purpose - & now we shall have some cleanliness, & some order.

We have been getting off 0160 [?] men to England this week the very best thing that can be done with the Convalescents - giving them a trip to England & back.

The Adelaide & Indiana are gone. The Tynemouth going
The Bombay convalescent ship horrid place. is emptied - the Turkish Hulk entirely so
My dear Mr. Herbert,

I have written a letter as you desired, in order to relieve you from Trouble & responsibility which are a bad reward for all your kindness & confidence in this matter. But I would far rather leave the naming of the Council in your Hands - & should you see anything injudicious in what I have said, I shall be grateful to you to make any alterations, which I sanction beforehand.

I confess that I do not see what a Council has to do till I return, die, break up, (so as to leave a conviction of my never being able to act) or else begin to act in London. It seem rather a case for Trustees now as I see specified by you - & I hope that you will take the trouble always great but not ungrateful of acting as my Trustee.

Believe me to be ever most gratefully yours,

Florence Nightingale.

P.S. The confidence which you & the Subscribers to this Fund have shewn me has been so generous & extraordinary that it is perhaps hardly necessary for me to allude to a very natural letter which I am told has appeared in the "Times", to the effect that I must furnish a Prospectus of what I am going to do before I can expect to have money subscribed to do it. I think this perfectly reasonable, if I, originally had asked for the money, which, of course I did not. But to furnish a cut & dried Prospectus of my Plans, when I cannot look forward a month, much less a year, is what I would not if I could, & I could not if I would! I would not if I could, because everything which succeeds is not the production of a Scheme, of Rules & Regulations made beforehand, but of a mind observing & adapting itself to wants & events. - I could not if I would, because it is simply impossible to find Time in the midst of one overpowering work to digest & concoct another - and if it could be done, it would be simply bad & to be hereafter altered or destroyed - St. Vincent de Paul, who, I am told is quoted in this letter, began with one Lady & four Peasant girls - & no scheme at all. That was made afterwards.

F.N.
Dear Mr. Herbert
I cannot thank you sufficiently for your kind letter.
But I am now about (not to acknowledge your interest for our future work but) to ask it for our present one.
The enclosed I wrote to Mrs. Herbert some months ago. But I did not send it, partly because I did not like troubling you, partly because the "anything-for-a-quiet-life principle" seemed the pervading War Office rule of action.
I am now, however, fighting for the very existence of our work. and whether Peace is to come or not, I desire, for the sake of that work, that it should be placed in "General Orders", so to speak, before the next move, whatever it is, takes place.
(1) Col. Lefroy, who has kindly allowed me to refer you to him, will inform you of the attempts which are being made to root us out of the Crimea.
of Dr. Hall's official letter to him.
of a Purveyor's "Confidential Report" against me.
Some other facts are known, perhaps, more to you than to any one else viz. that the second Edition of Nuns who came out in December /54, came (as the first did) with the express stipulation that they were to have no peculiar Chaplain to themselves, without which condition I would never have received them - that, in direct violation of the treaty, they had, first, the Revd. Mr. Ronan, & secondly the Revd. Mr. Wollett - as their own [Woollett]
Director. which latter gentleman managed the affair of their taking possession of the General Hospital at Balaklava for them. Dr. Hall states this affair in the following manner - "that he had been placed in a painful position about the General Hospital at Balaklava - that, when Miss Nightingale's Nurses were to be removed, a gentleman (the priest above alluded to) called & offered the services of the Nuns, & that he, Dr. Hall, was induced to accept of them & that without any intention of offending any one."

(2.) The Hospitals of the Land Transport Corps in the Crimea have been & are still the worst in the Camp. The Commanding Officer of the Left Wing was desirous that I should send them Nurses - the

Medical Officer of the Right Wing was equally desirous. I had Nurses and Nuns able, ready and willing to go, & was prepared to go up with them myself. Now arose this question, which is so much better stated by Dr. Sutherland in a letter to me, which he has allowed me to make use of, than I could do that I beg leave to quote it.

"Balaclava  Feb. 4/56
"My dear Miss Nightingale
"I have seem Dr. Hall & made the necessary enquiries of him & also of others.
"The main question, as it appears to me respecting the Nurses in Hospitals in the Crimea, is one of "responsibility". The jurisdiction in the matter, inferred in the letter received from the War Department, is not, I conceive, sufficient of itself to enable you to
claim the support of the Authorities here, for I am told that no official intimation as to your having any charge of the Hospital Nursing in the Crimea has been sent to Dr. Hall, a circumstance which I was not before aware of. And the responsibility hence rests officially with him.

"I cannot conceal from myself that, such being the case, there is a disinclination to give you any further facilities than those you already have.

"Under these circumstances, then, it appears to me that it would be advisable to state the case fully to the War Department, & ask them to place you on a proper footing with the Authorities here. Until this be done, I would advise you not to press for the transference of any Nurses to the Land Transport Hospital at Karani.

"In the event of a campaign in Asia & your desiring to go to any Hospital that may be formed at Trebizond or elsewhere, I would still advise you to have yourself placed in an official relation with the Military & Medical Authorities in the Army.

"If this be done, everything will go smoothly, but I fear not otherwise.

"In regard to the charges brought against your Nurses at the General Hospital by Mr. Fitzgerald (the Purveyor formerly alluded to) Dr. Hall stated that Mr. Fitzgerald* must be held personally responsible for the statements he had made.

I am yours ever faithfully
John Sutherland."

* That Dr. Hall would throw overboard Mr. Fitzgerald in this matter I am not at all surprised to learn. I always expected it.
It is obvious that Dr. Hall's statement is only a subterfuge. But it is true viz. "that he had no official intimation from the War Office of the circumstance inferred in the W.O. letter to" me.

It is obvious that my usefulness is destroyed, my work prevented or hindered & precious time wasted by the uncertainty of the relations in which I am left with the Crimean Authorities.

To have the "jurisdiction", as Dr. Sutherland calls it, of all the Hospitals in & north of the Bosphorus, i.e. the power of placing Nurses in any of the present or future Hospitals with the sanction of the Military & Medical Authorities & the power of preventing that these latter should engage any Nurses or Ladies dismissed by or withdrawing from me in other Hospitals is essential to my usefulness - as also to
& to have this signified, (not by myself but) by the War Department to the Military & Medical Authorities. And I would submit that, without this, the responsibilities conferred upon me & the work expected from me by the W. Office are rendered impossible.

If I have served my country well, this is the reward I should wish - the power of continuing that service - of continuing it in Asia, Minor should the war take us there - or of resuming it in any future war - which seems, alas! but too likely, if peace comes now.

Might I ask you, dear Mr. Herbert, to crown your enduring kindness to me by, if you see it desirable, conferring with Col. Lefroy in this matter & urging upon the War Department to TELEGRAPH my powers to the Military & Medical authorities in the Crimea & to myself? The Hospitals wait. [end 14:338]

Believe me ever yours faithfully & gratefully
Florence Nightingale
signed letter, ff215-17, pen, Goldie 213-14

f215
Private
& Confidential

Scutari
Barrack Hospital
21/2/56

Dear Mr. Herbert,

It has been very strongly recommended to me to ask you, unless you see very cogent reasons to the contrary, to move at once in the House for the papers containing

1. my original Instructions & Agreement
2. the Dispatches which, subsequently, from time to time, entrusted to me certain duties & responsibilities.
3. the Official Letter & "Confidential Report", recently received by Lt. Colonel Lefroy from Dr. Hall, & my Official Answer.

It has been represented to me that, did the House know how I am fettered & trampled upon by Red Tape, by Dr. Hall, & by insidious attacks of the above nature, it would require that the powers necessary to carry out the work entrusted to me by the War Office itself, necessary to give me effective means of usefulness, be signified to the
Military & Medical Authorities in the Crimea.

Instead of this, the War Office gives me tinsel & plenty of empty praise which I do not want. And does not give me the real business-like efficient standing which I do want. It is doubtless difficult to define my jurisdiction. But the War Office sent me here. And surely it should not leave me to fight my own battle. I have given time, mind, health. Surely they should give me the footing which alone can effect their own objects. If they think I have not done my work well, let them recall me. But, if otherwise, let them not leave me to shift for myself, in an ever-recurring & exhausting struggle for every inch of that ground, secured to me by original agreement, but which agreement was never officially made known to the authorities.

I am sure that this is not the species of fighting which the country requires
f216

from us, nor which you required, in sending me out.

In a few weeks, there will be either War, when business will be all too pressing to attend to me, or peace when it will be said, "We would have done what Miss Nightingale rightfully requires, but it is not now necessary." In either case, however, I desire to bring it to a point, before the advent of either - in the former, it being clear that I should be paralyzed without it - in the latter, I should stand better for whatever may betide in the future. This is the eleventh hour & it is now or never.

You could, if you think as we do here, see the papers I allude to, relative to the "Confidential Report", at Lord Cranworth's, to whom I have sent them-

For this is essentially, however unintentionally so, nevertheless bad treatment. And I am assured that the people of England would not suffer this with me nor with any one who has served them with love and judgment.
Especially, as all this is contrary to the Original Agreement, by which the Nursing in the then existing and future "present or any future Hospitals that may be appointed for the accommodation of the Sick & Wounded of the British Army serving in the East" was definitely committed to me.

For these I have (and gladly) perilled life & home, & from these I am now, by an Official quibble, shut out as to effective usefulness.

I am certain that this is not what my country & you intended. And I am certain that, in this, you & my country would bear me out viz., in requiring definite powers & these immediately, (& these signified not only to me, which they have been, but to the Military & Medical Authorities) relative to the Hospitals of the Crimea or any future Hospitals in Asia.

To your judgment I leave all this - it being by so far better than mine as to how the thing is to be done, though
we alone can judge of how much it requires to be done.
I scarcely apologise for troubling you, knowing that, in this, you are the father & I but the child of the work.
Supposing you think that the measure I propose savours too much of the servant complaining against her masters, may I hope that you will think for me as to what step should be taken to effect the same object in a more private manner?
Believe me to be
dear Mr. Herbert
ever yours faithfully & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

Supposing, also, you think it better not to recur to original Instructions and Agreements, which are sometimes intentionally left vague or contradictory, lest the "jurisdiction" I at present desire be put as a reward for past service. This lets the War Office off easy.

F.N.

ff218-23v, 49 Belgrave Square, March 1856 from SH re the re-issue of FN's orders in order to clarify her position (or copy?) no signature, no printed address [probably 6 March, acc to FN reply f224] After receiving your two letters I saw Col Lefroy and read Dr Hall’s and Mr Fitzgerald’s papers and your statement in answer to them. I was much pleased with Col Lefroy who talked very sensibly and appears to have succeeded in effecting at the War Dept ...
Dear Mr Herbert

I received your letter of March 6 yesterday.

It is written from Belgrave Square. I write from a Crimean Hut. The point of sight is different.

I arrived here March 24 with Nurses for two Land Transport Hospitals "required" by Dr. Hall in writing on March 10, but owing to the severe gales of wind, the Transport could not get up the Bosphorus, & our arrival was therefore delayed - tho' announced by return of mail.

We have now been ten days without rations.

Lord Cardigan was surprised to find his horses die at the end of a fortnight because they were without rations & said that they chose "to do without it, obstinate brutes!"

The Inspector General & Purveyor wish to see whether women can live as long as horses without rations.

I thank God. My charge has felt neither cold nor hunger, & is in efficient working order- having cooked & administered in both Hospitals the whole of the Extras for 260 bad cases ever since the first day of their arrival.

I have, however, felt both. I do not wish to make a martyr of myself; within sight of the graves of the Crimean Army of last winter (too soon forgotten in England) it would be difficult to do so. I am glad to have had the experience. For cold & hunger wonderfully sharpen the wits. But I believe that it
is difficult to those who never, by any possibility, can have imagined either, (except by the side of a good fire & a good dinner which they will have every day of their lives) to imagine what is the anxiety of being responsible for the lives & healths *and the efficiency* (for the sake of the lives & healths of those we are come to nurse) of those placed under one's charge when the means to feed & warm them have all to be obtained by irregular & private channels. During these ten days, I have fed & warmed these women at my own private expense, by my own private exertions— I have never been off my horse till 9 or 10 at night, except when it was too dark to walk him over these crags even with a lantern when I have gone on foot. During the greater part of the day, I have been without food necessarily, except a little brandy & water (you see I am taking to drinking like my comrades of the Army). The snow is deep on the ground. But the object of my coming has been attained, & my women have neither starved nor suffered.

I might have written to the Commander of the Forces, who came to see me the day after my arrival— But this would only have marred our work by making a quarrel—

I might have accepted presents which were poured in upon us, — for all, Military, Medical, Clerical in the Land Transport
are our sworn friends. But this would be against a rule which I have been obliged to make so strict that nothing but sheer necessity would induce me to break it.

I might have drawn upon the Extras for the Patients. But then the whole would have gone into the Account of Nurses' Expenditure as their extravagance.

I believed it, on the whole, best for our work to do as I have done, notwithstanding the urgent pressure upon me from others to adopt one of these courses. But I do not think that that work can be said, pursued thus, to have been pursued in a "vehement or irritable spirit."

I received your letter at 10 o'clock P.M. on my return to our hut upon a pitch-dark snowy night after having been 15 hours on foot or on horse back & almost without food.

I confess it cost me a sleepless night thinking over within myself, Have I injured the work by shewing "vehemence or irritation", by not bearing persecution, moral & physical, rather than not complain, except when the very existence of the work itself was perilled?

I thought & considered. And I determined that I had not. I think I can prove my assertion.

About this matter of the rations, foreseen to a certain extent by me, so that I had brought up with me from Scutari, every article
for cooking, furnishing, warming
the huts, even stoves, & every article
of food that would keep -
every formality not only of
routine but of politeness had been
observed by me - within 24 hours
of my arrival, the rations had been
settled by me in person (after having
been "required" in writing from Scutari)
with the P.M.O. of the Land Transport
in the office of the Deputy Purveyor
in Chief Fitzgerald - had received
the approval of Inspector General of
Hospitals - & by a curious coincidence
of the Commander of the Forces from
his calling upon me while in the
Purveyor's office. Every form was
observed there & then. Both the
Purveyor's Clerks, both the Medical
Officers in charge at the two
Land Transport Hospitals were visited
by me, distant some miles from
Balacalava & not together, in
company with Dr. Taylor, the P.M.O.
Every form was there strictly observed.
The rations were to begin from the
day before. Every day since,
I have ridden some miles, or
walked, in the severest weather,
with driving storms of sleet &
snow, and see the Purveyor in his
office on these businesses. I have
never brought him a yard out of
his office on my business. I have
never "prévaloir"d myself, even on
my quality of woman, to avoid
hardship or fatigue, or allow him
to say that I had entailed either
on him. Never, by word or look,
can he have detected that I knew
how he had slandered us.
Why do I give you this long
detail, you will ask, which can be of no use.
   It is not because I ask you to do anything. It is merely because I wish to leave on record some detail instance of that which nobody in England will believe or can even imagine. But we in the Crimea know it. And we know, & knew at the time, what filled the Crimean graves last winter. K.C.B., I believe, now means Knight of the Crimean Burying-Grounds.
   As I stood yesterday on the Heights of Balaclava, & saw our Ships in the Harbour, so gaily dressed with flags, while we fired the salute in honor of peace, (it was a beautiful sight), I said to myself, more Aireys, more Filders, more Cardigans, more Halls - we are in for them all now - & no hope of reform.

Believe me when I say that everything in the Army (in point of routine versus system) is just where it was eighteen months ago. The only difference is that we are now rolling in stores. But indeed we were so then. only most of them were at Varna.
   "Nous n'avons rien oublié ni rien appris."

2. Those who say that there is a "Popish Plot" are quite mistaken. It is not a Popish plot, but a split of the R. Catholics against themselves-
   Of all the Oriental mysteries
which I have been made acquainted
with since I have been in the East,
this has been not the least curious.
The seculars are divided against
the regulars. This we have often seen
before but never so much as now.
But, as the Old Whig families
are said always to have a Tory
heir apparent, in order to be "in"
both ways, so the R. Catholics have
one set of priests & nuns with the
Govt. & one against the it.
Mrs. Bridgeman & the Jesuits
are against, the secular priests
& Bermondsey Nuns for.
Mrs. Bridgeman & her 11 Irish
Nuns have been instructed to resign
& go home & make themselves Martyrs,
which they will do, I am afraid,
on Saturday - tho' I have piped
to her & done the Circe in vain.

The Revd. Mr. Duffy, Jesuit, has been
instructed to refuse Confession & therefore
Holy Communion to, or even to visit
those Bermondsey Nuns, whom I
brought up with me from Scutari
to one of the Land Transport Hospitals,
& he calls them, among other epithets, in a note to themselves,
a "disgrace to their Church." For
none can be so coarse as a R.C.
priest. This note we have forwarded
to Dr. Grant, Bp. of Southwark, for
approval.
Cardinal Wiseman has recalled
the Revd. Mr. Unsworth, Senior R.C.
Chaplain here, who always took
part against the Jesuits & Irish
Nuns "under these circumstances".
On the other hand, the secular
priests repudiate the Irish Nuns,
& do the civil by the Govt. & me
& the Bermondsey Nuns - with principle
& interest - & even Father Cuffe, who
used to call me "Herod", now licks
my hand, as the Provost Marshal
says, "like a good 'un".

Irish "Regulars" are little else
than "Rebels" as has truly been said here.

Such are a few of the premises.

You say that the English like to draw
their own inferences. Here they have
done it already. And here Deputy
Purveyor in Chief Fitzgerald is supposed
to be in the tool of the Jesuits & the
Irish Nuns.

The "Confidential Report" is
not a secret to any one here.

3. You say this is but one
bud of the bed of roses upon which
Secretaries of State are wont to lie.
I have just seen enough of Govt.
to know what that bed must be.

But, till Secretaries of State have

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But, till Secretaries of State have

known what it is to have the
reputations of their wives &
daughters slandered, for party
purposes, till you have known
what it is to be uncertain for
many days where you should get
food or warmth for those *beautiful
children who are standing round
your table, & to feel that grinding
anxiety for the responsibility of
the lives and healths of those
under your charge, & to doubt
whether you are not sacrificing
them, in your turn, to considerations
for the good of the work, I deny
that you can cull one bud from
my bed of roses, or even imagine
its fragrance afar off- Had I
told but half the truth in my
answer to Mr. Fitzgerald, you would

* My poor nurses are not "beautiful". Bien s'en faut. But
they are not less my charge.
have said, What a fool she was not to make her complaint before!

But no one in England has yet realized the graves of Scutari or the Crimea - or their causes.

4. I deprecate most earnestly your judgment that "the highest proof of success is when a mission is carried thro' without producing attack" as being against all experience & all history from the sacred history down to the fable of the "wolf & the lamb," which was the incarnation of a pretty wise experience too. I beseech you to re-consider your opinion.

I am not a lamb - far from it. But I have been a lambkin in many instances, & principally in one, & yet have not "avoided attack."

I know that yours is the
principle of most government now, & that to steer clear of "attack" & to promote & praise both sides, if possible is its theory. But I do not see that it succeeds even in averting attack. A "quarrel" always, it is true, vulgarizes both sides. (witness Sir J. Graham & Napier). But I don't see that the lamb could help the attack. If Joan of Arc had been said to have had a "quarrel" with the D. of Bedford, or the lamb with the wolf, it would have been a misapplication of the word.

I will give you my one "instance". In all the Hospitals of our Army which I have seen where women have not been, the Doctors go round so late* that the Diet Rolls cannot be made out in time for the men to have their dinners before 3 or 4, & their Extras before 5 or 6 o'clock. It was (partly) on this account that I have insisted so strenuously on our Extra Diet Kitchens. The Drs do not like * not withstanding the Queen's Regulation
sending their Diet Rolls in to us
late - & the men always get consequently
their Extras at 12 & their dinners
at 1 from our Kitchens - making
the difference for a weakly man
between waiting for his Beef Tea
from 8 A.M. till 4 or 5 P.M. - &
waiting till 12 or 1 P.M. I have
never, in one single instance, got
in my Diet Rolls except as a "lamb",
ever reported a Medical Officer for being late,
but I know the Medical Officers
have opposed our Extra Diet Kitchens
in many instances like "wolves",
on this account, tho' no single case can be found
against us of having given any
thing but upon Diet Roll - to Patients.
Yet this is the ground alleged against us.

5. You may well say that Sir
John McNeill's Report is the model
of a Report. It is indeed - accurate,
lucid, cool & conscientious. But had
Sir J. McNeill made nothing but a Report, he would have done little. But he put his hand to the plough & did much out here. So did Col. Tulloch.

It still remains to be seen whether his Report will do anything. Hitherto nothing has been done but to promote those reported on - to make Ld. Panmure say "I am very sorry, but I did not know that these men had been promoted" - to make Ld. Harding say, "I am very sorry. I did hear that the Army had suffered. But I did not know that their sufferings had been at all attributed to these men."

In 6 months, all these sufferings will be forgotten. And I indeed agree with you that, in the presence of that colossal calamity & of the national disgrace of promoting the author of it, the promotion of that petty offender, Mr. Fitzgerald, tho' in some respects, his offenses are not petty, (for none dare offend him, because he can starve any Hospital in the Crimea, & leave, as he recently did, 130 typhus fever cases for 24 hours without wine,) but compared with our other disgraces, his promotion sinks into the shade. and I feel more shame than will ever crimson his face at having but mentioned it.

Oh! Lord Stratford - oh! Kars. And now, what do I want? Not that you should do any thing, not, ten thousand times not, that you should alter your opinion about the Ho. of Commons, still less that you should alter your opinion of me - (though I own
I am anxious that you should not pre-judge a work because it has been "attacked" - anxious too to believe that I have not judged injured the work).

But all I wish is to leave some record of what will not be believed in the homes of London a twelve month hence - of what, tho' a trifling instance, is a true one example of what ruined our Army.

Believe me, dear Mr. Herbert, (and if I have used some strong expressions, let me say that there is no more comparison between Sir J. McNeill's case & mine than between the calm review of a historian after of the causes of a war, & the officer in the heat of battle providing for his men safely,) believe me very truly yours

Florence Nightingale

ff234-36v, August 16, 1856, discussing a plan for hospitals to follow European examples and expressing anxiety about FN’s health, SH to FN from Belgrave Sq

ff237-8v, Wilton House, Salisbury, August 31, 1856, re funds raised in New Zealand for the benefit of sick and wounded SH to FN

ff239-41, from Arrington, September 9, 1856, re the advancement of FN’s plans while she is in Scotland; heard from Panmure. I hope your Highland foray will do you good. I am sure it will if you find help and encouragement for your plans. I hope you will talk fully & illustrate by facts and details. They explain but men & women require picture books just as much as children when they are to learn something of what they know nothing previously.....God give you health and strength. Write to me. The Bison’s heart is in the Highlands...I hope his interview with you

ff242-43 Muchcross [?] Killarney, September 18, 1856, re a letter from the duke of Cambridge with the official position about reform Sh to FN. Marked answered.
ff244-45v, SH to FN Wilton, October 3, 1856, re his hope that FN’s discussions with Panmure will be as successful as those she had with the Queen and Prince Albert tho’ not sanguine, for tho’ he has plenty of shrewd sense in him there is a vis inertia in his insistence? which is very difficulty to overcome, found the enclosed when arrived, copy on hand, will be in London on Sunday next till Thursday, but can always return when she thinks it desirable for the report, anxious to forward in any way he can

ff246-48, November 2, 1856, re the Nightingale Fund SH to FN from Wilton

As regards the “pledge” alluded to by a number of your council, I have never heard the point carried. To my mind on all occasions and under any circumstances, the public illegs you were wanted I should say “No” but that would be the arrangements to apply your plan & whether permanent or temporary would of course depend agood deal onyourself & must depend on fifty things which cannot now be foreseen or provided for. That is the way in which the Lathan started me looking at it for the first time. I will however put the opinon of the council upon it as you wish it. I do not share your apprehension of war. No nation in Europe wants to go to war, for not one can afford either the men or the money. Palmerston clearly thinks so, or he would not be worrying & “aggravating” everyrbdy all round as he is doing for he likes bullying f247 better than fighting. He is like the little boys in the street who ring the bull

ff249-50, November 20, 1856, re a proposed visit to FN, from Wilton

ff251-51v, I.O., November 17, 1856 from Lord Clarendon to SH re the appointment of Dr. Pincoffs as Physician to the Embassy

ff252-53v, SH to FN Wilton House, Salisbury, November 25, 1856, re Dr Farr, the possible establishment of a Commission of enquiry

ff254-57, Wilton November 27, 1856 from SH to the Council for the Nightingale Fund re FN’s freedom to act in event of war, list for passing on info; Miss Nightingale wishes to consult her council on a subject of some importance as regards her obligations to the proposed inst to be founded under her direction with the pr oceeds of the Nightingale Fund.

As it is difficult not to say impossible to get the council together at this season and as Miss Nightingale is anxious for a decision on the point she raises I propose to circulate this paper among the members of the council asking each to give his opinion & pass it on to the next named ember on the accompanying list, having previously passed his pen thro’ his own name. The last on the list to return it to me to Wilton House Salisbury. I have taken the liberty of offering my own opinion to the question. Sidney Herbert

Sh
Professor Bowman
CHB
Sir Jas Clark
Col Jebb
Bence Jones
earl of Ellesmere (not crossed out)
dean of Hereford
John McNeill
Miss Nightingale asks whether it is the intention to exact from her any pledge to refuse service under the govt shd war unhappily break out again, or if no pledge be exacted whether she may consider herself free to engage in such service, she being most anxious to retain such freedom in the event of war breaking out and feeling bound to state in the outset to the council that in such an event she shd feel it her duty, if required to do so, to revert to the post she held during the late war.

I hold that the public service must under the circs stated be held paramount over any other. The objects contemplated by the com of the Nightingale Fund were two, 1st to make the public appreciation of great public service rendered & 2nd to create an inst under the authority and direction of the one person most eminently fitted by character and experience to undertake the task, through which a great improvement mt be effected in the treatment of the sick.

The last work, I trust that Miss Nightingale will soon be sufficiently returned to health and sufficiently free from business connected with her past labours to commence.

With regard to the first, I doubt whether the council cd lay down in the illeg any cond the effect of which wd be to preclude Miss Nightingale from earning that claim to public gratitude by a resumption in a supposed emergency of the labours which have won her the very honours we are conferring upon her. We cd not let the interest of any inst however useful against the interests of the state. But it wd be for the council to consider together with Miss what arrs shd be made for the temporary mgt of the inst during her absence with a proper provision for its permanent govt in case of her death.

She can ...

concurrence of Bowman, Clark

ff258-59v SH to FN Wilton House, Salisbury, November 20, 1856, re the instructions for the Commission

f260 November 29, 1856 from Lord Panmure to SH expressing his view that they will not differ on the main points for the Commission; from ?? I have got the post in both my hands and therefore cannot answer your letter. I will do so as soon as I can & I do not think we shall differ upon any of the main points of it.

ff261-66v SH Wilton House, Salisbury, December 17, 1856 re the composition of the Commission

I was in town all Monday and returned here yesterday. By some fatality I had taken into my head that you were at or near Kingston, and so never called in Burlington St wh I shd have done, or would have found time for tho’ I spent the day in rushing from Lincoln’s Inn at one end to Queen’s Gate at the other, where a nephew of mine is laid up with an eye destroyed by a shot.

I have never heard a word from Panmure but I met A Smith in the street who innocently expressed his ardent hopes that I shd not before I illegs

I do not know Headlam except to bow to.

F263 I saw in the papers that Panmure is just gone to Scotland, but by your letter that cannot be. I wish I knew whether or not he has sent for
Alexander. Ilegs
  signed.... ilegs
  I hope you are not over working yourself -
  I learn this thro’ (unkown to him) Lefroy’s plan for army Instruction. It requires a deal of attention. [fin]
Add Mss 43394, 310 folios, letters by SH signed Sidney Herbert, to My dear Miss Nightingale

f1 SH letter to FN printed Wilton House Salisbury. marked answered. re commission, Panmure, incorrect date Jan 6 1856, shd be 1857,
I am beginning to wonder what is to become of our commission - but a line that I had from Panmure. Do you think or hear that he has sent for Alexander?
Gleig writes to me strongly recommending Malcolm as a man strongly conversant with the whole army medical details illeg

ff3-8 Jan 16 [1857] incorrect 1856 SH letter to FN printed Wilton House Salisbury. marked answered. I have read through your papers today with great interest. Nothing can be more inadmissible than the case and I must say the illegs. Why do you all this copying of extracts with your own hands? And if you have no one to copy for you or even if you have you wd .. At the paper office. I shd like to look at again (tomorrow though is no good_ and prob you did not ... I perceive a fight with Panmure about Alexander. I am satisfied that McL wd not do. In his subst. I hope you are not overworking your brain. Did you read the Spectator’s homily on mental intemperance apropos of poor Miller’s (?) death?

unfinished letter draft, ff9-10, pen {archivist:: before 19 Jan. 1857}

f9
Dear Mr. Herbert [14:475-76]
I have been waiting for the issue of the McNeill & Tulloch affair in order to be able to estimate by experience the results of that Commission of which Lord Panmure proposes to you to be the Head which the experience of a similar Commission would enable us to do.
I find that the issue has been what will probably be considered by the country as a deliberate insult to those Commissioners.
Having been myself with the Army in the East during the whole period of disaster & of success, having
seen what that Army was, what it afterwards became, what the exertions of those two gentlemen were, what were their effects in the Crimea & what the consequent results in England, I cannot but earnestly depurate & as far as I am myself concerned resolve entirely to withdraw from the carrying out of that Commission which, I believe, Lord Panmure supposes himself to have granted to my request.

If the report of that Commission is a faithful one, it will draw upon it the enmity of the present Government, upon whom several of the members of that Commission & almost all those who will be called as in evidence are dependent. The prospect of their either sacrificing their truth & independence or of their suffering for such truth & independence is, I confess to me, an equally appalling one.

The other alternative would be that of an unfaithful Report, which would, of course, do the cause we have at heart not good but harm.

Under these circumstances [ends abruptly]

f9v

f10 who will be called as in evidence are dependent. The prospect of their either sacrificing their truth & independence or of their suffering for such truth & independence is, I confess to me, an equally appalling one.

The other alternative would be that of an unfaithful Report, which would, of course, do the cause we have at heart not good but harm. [end 14:476]

f11 SH letter to FN 20 Jan 1857 Wilton, re her letter of 16th, will think I have forgotten

ff13-18 SH letter to FN printed Wilton House Salisbury, thin black-edged. Jan 25 1857 re her letter of 16th, re Liddell’s proposal, the army and navy doing the; hard to read, ref to Liddell, but most not on Liddell, re civil society.

f19 SH letter to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square. thin black-edged Feb 12 1857, I return you your paper with many thanks. I also enclose a note from Panmure in answer to a remonstrance. hard to read

f20 Panmure letter to SH Feb 12/57 hard to read
f21 SH to FN 2 March 1857 from H of C summoned to Trustees and Council of N Fund for Wednesday, suggests embody in a full letter. hard to read I am to see Williams today. I am very loathe to give up work & to consume illegs without the payment of sweat & toil. I will let you know the result as soon as I can.

f23 SH to FN March 2 (again) 1857 Williams won’t give a final opinion till Thursday, He found me pressing for China & wants to see me in a state of collapse after. So I will write to you at Malvern.

I still think that with help I shall be able to manage the commission. It is not labour that tries people, it is excitement. Believe me yr.... Sidy Herbert

unfinished letter or draft, ff25-26, pen {arch: ca. 4 Mar 1857}

f25

Dear Mr. Herbert

I send back your papers. Lord Panmure can hardly intend to do anything now

I am too ignorant to look forward. But I suppose that there will be a Dissolution & that you will hardly go abroad, if you go, till after the Election?

I shall come up to town to see if anything can be done about the Estimates, which I
f25v
suppose must be passed first?

But John Bull only wants to know what has been done with his money, not what has been done with his men. And next time a similar disaster occurs, he will give his money as freely, poor old man! & never ask a more troublesome question than to have the account.

Ministers going to the country about such

f26
a matter as the Chinese does appear to us a burlesque, when they could not go to the country about a matter which, in God's view of the case, involved 16,000 lives & does involve 1100 lives every year. But I suppose the tea & opium touches us sore.

I know too little to know guess what the new H. of C. will be - but suppose that any
Ministers will be unable now to do anything but keep to the aristocracy their honors & to the people their money, & to themselves office. I hope you saw Sir John McNeill's answer to Lord P. £1000 is £35 per ann - the pension you would give your old nurse - hardly that you would give your housekeeper. I send you some Sanitary figures.
f27 SH to FN from Tamworth March 13 1857. My dear Miss Nightingale, Panmure promised me that I shd have the draft of the Instructions before they are finally decided on and that all we had specified in my letter shd be included in them. I will keep him to that non obstante Andrew Smith. I have got a illeg. I hope Malvern did you good, why do you not return there now?.... Sidy Herbert

I hear that the govt have been warned as to the unhealthiness of the climate and the precautions necessary in China and Palmerston promised that the warnings should be attended to. I trust it will be done.

f29 SH to FN April 26 1857, printed Wilton House Salisbury. Private. I have been in corr with Panmure as to the Lancet [?] and Instructions. I wrote directly I heard from you the expectation of Dr Andrew Smith that he was to draw up the instructions and Panmure at once promised that I wd have them for revision and they accordingly arrived this morning with an assurance from Panmure A Smith had not yet seen them. As worded they did not even cover the conditions included in my letter. I send for a copy illeg had made of them with my alterations and additions made in red ink. I think all the ground is covered now. I have renumbered the alterations make an obvious explanation.

1. I think under “adding to” will come medical statistical.
2. includes prevention and sanitary precautions which the draft instructions altogether omitted.
3 & 4 wd include the commissariat in hospitals.
5 the degree of comfort afforded and the question as to supply of bedding utensils basins illeg to any patient as a matter of regulation.
6 General Engineers PMO Purveyor etc most important;
7 a general illeg. I hope these additions will serve us. I tried to get P to have the whole thing signed by the M before she took to her bed but she is more rapid than he. On the board, myself, LT Phillips, Stafford, A Smith, Alexander, Martin, Sutherland & J Clark, Genl Storks sec Balfour. I think it ought to make a good working committee.

I am very much pleased to hear what you say of Alexander. I shall want very much to talk matters over with him. illeg and you with a view to particular illeg.

F33 Sh to FN 28 April 1857 from printed Wilton House Salisbury. I am coming up to town on Thursday, by the 8.10 train, reaching London at dawn. I go form the station to Lincoln then (I am engaged in an Irish law suit) and shall then wend my way westward and will call in Burlington Street.

I think yr additions are all good. I am not sure however that it ... advantaged to deal with soldiers’ wives which the govt ought to do illeg can form an opinion on ....

Panmure writes me in a illeg saying that he has adopted all my alterations.

Why can’t he send for HM signature before Friday next? I come back here on Friday night and then to...him

f35 SH to FN May 2 1857 from printed Wilton House Salisbury.

I had a long talk with Panmure on Friday, He has never got through the Instructions with Andrew Smith but had them signed by the queen lest he
A.S. “shd make a bother with objections” so he burnt his ships and cut off his own retreat. ... re “prevention of disease”

The instructions will have to be copied and be devilled in some way after HM’s signature, so P told me and I doubt our getting them officially for a day or two.

It is important however to press on on course. I wd come up tomorrow but we have an annual cattle fair at Wilton one of the largest in England it takes place tomorrow. &x &c

Sir John Ramsden is young, intelligent and ambitious, speaks well. I shd prefer Baring but I dare say the other will do as well....

F39 SH to FN May 6 1857 from printed 49 Belgrave St,
  I have just received in lieu of Philipps a note from him accounting for his non-appearance, illeg private letter

f40 SH to FN Monday. printed 49 Belgrave Square. I am afraid of overlaying our subject with our non-arithmetical readers, but I read in the documents as I think the results may be useful for other or further purposes.

We got through the hospital paper today except the general hospitals, postponed for Stafford and Sir J Clark who were absent. Otherwise I am well pleased, Wednesday we began the last printed paper. Poor Andrew Smith swallowed some bitter pills today including Sanitary illeg...
f42 SH to FN May 19 1857 printed 49 Belgrave Square. I am just returned from Chatham; what a contrast between military and naval hosps! One dirty stuffy cramped unwholesome in every sense, inadequate kitchens with lavatories and the famous porringer. illeg coffee soup

It was a pleasure to go over the Melville Hosp after it. Old Mr Pratt your friend for, purveyor’s instructions illegs

draft, ff44-46, pencil. [JS hand], original in Wilt66

f44 JS pencil note to FN May 20 1857? Or?

May 20 57.  [14:508-09]

I have read through the enclosed & made no marks (which if I had they would have been strong ones)
For once the medical & Purveying Dept are "d’accord". The ideas of the former on Army Medical Reform are

more pay
more relative rank
more general 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 ominous how these Purveyors entirely ignore, at least in these notes, the interests 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 Jersey [?] lifting up his head again & graciously bestowing his approbation. While Purvy Jenner the man who best did his duty in the war is not there at all. But what is really distressing & not a joke at all is this.

Most of these men I have served with in the war.
f45
I know that they know the toils from which followed the loss of an Army as well as I do. Yet there is not one who has habits of business or organising power of awareness or perception or of feeling enough to see other than what is noted in this Paper. The only sensible suggestion in it is that against contracts & that is registered by Purv in Chief. This paper is in itself the strongest condemnation of the whole Depart. I am very glad you have seen it before examining.

f45v
I am sorry but not surprised that my Pratt was not confidential. However 4 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 & I am quite satisfied with his evidence. I am much more afraid of Robertson (who is a clever fellow & so plausible,) for making the worse appear the better cause.

3. I am glad you have seen the naval [2 words illeg] Upon them I must remark that the naval are entirely
f46
furnished & supplied by this Asst
without Barrack Ordnance or
Comm Dep I think however
these might be improved in the two
Dep correspond to our Comm &
Engineer. In the E. India service
the steward does every thing which I
propose he should do excepting that
he is the servant of the Comm & not
of the Govern. Were our Cm
on the same model & with the same
military [?] organs as them it might
do but never as ours is now constituted

letter of SH to FN 43394 ff47-50, printed 49 Belgrave Square. Saturday.
Dr Balfour is coming to me between 10 & 11 and I will come on to you
afterwards.

It is very little use examining people without first seeing them, you do
not know what they can tell you & they do not know what you want to get
out. And in this internal purveying business no one who had not been
conversant with it can examine upon it for he does not know in which
portion of detail the defects are and what the defects are.

It is very important to examine the civil Hospital authorities, but
unless I see them first with you I shall not be able to bring out what is
so necessary to establish the contrast Dr Sutherland’s case depends. I will
come and discuss this with you. We have left the selection ...with org of
genl hosps. Our results in education are.

To require general medical surgical education, but no military specialty
before admission and to add some test of general education and of ?? hard
to read.

To have an independent board of examiners, prob those now examining and
for the EI Co. The exam is to be practical. To have a year’s course of mil
hygiene after admission in a mil genl hosp where permanent instructors will
teach clinical and ? And pathology etc. With a view to give a stimulus to
the young men. To give ? for description of cases. To promote the selection
to have a second exam before promotion and? hard to read
If I do not hear from you I shall take it for granted that you are to be
found between 11 and 12.
Dear Mr. Herbert

Mr. Rawlinson comes to you tomorrow, as directed. Meanwhile, I send you his own Precis of what he himself thinks he had better be examined upon. But 5 minutes' conversation with you will clear up much better what he can speak to. And, if that does not do it, I would meet him at your house.

He ought to be examined on the Engineering Sanitary defects of Scutari Balaclava Camp Sutherland on the Medical Sanitary defects of ditto ditto ditto

The same as to Barracks & Military Hospitals at home, respectively Engineering & Medical defects. If possible, these two should be examined on Friday
As Barrack-Master & Engineer, I would examine
Capt. Laffan
Col. Gordon, Ordnance Storekeeper at Balaclava.
As Commanding Officer, on Rations, Stoppages, & Canteens,
General Storks.
As to Invaliding
McLachlan
Tulloch
Balfour
But Farr should point out defects in our mode of registering wear & tear of Army.
I understand Alexander, burning for the fray, gratified his longing for a shindy today.

Ever faithfully yrs
F. Nightingale.

signed letter, ff53-57, pen

May 25/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I cannot conceive what the Army Medical Officers mean by representing to you that there is no need of a reform in their nomenclature

I enclose
1. a page by Dr. Aitken & Dr. Farr, ill-written but true
2. a General Return for 7 months of the War.

Now, if our reason for keeping statistics of disease at all is to determine its causes & prevent those which are preventible, these are valueless -

For Diarrhoea
  Dysentery
  Cholera

- in our Civil Registration, ranked with Zymotic (& preventible) Disease - are here ranked with Diseases of Stomach &c, of which some are preventible & some not.
You will observe that the loss at Scutari from this class of Disease is 1/4 (or 25 per cent.) More than in the Crimea. And I could tell you the reason.

viz want of ventilation of drainage of cleanliness of room

But the returns do not.

Again, v. the atrocity of the heading "All other Diseases," which, in this Table, gives a larger number than any other heading.

except Fever & Diseases of Stomach, & which I have seen to occupy 50 per cent of a given Register -

Again (3. & 4.)

3. being a detailed Army Return

4. a detailed Civil Return, you will see, in both, the abominable Delirium Tremens under Disease of Brain. But Farr has revised his, v. Alcoholism. Not so the Army.

The eternal Fevers C.C. figures in the one & not in the other.
II. I think the correspondence between Stratford & Menzies is of sufficient importance to our point for you to glance your eye over it. in re Governors & P.M.O.s.

This was what a P.M.O., unselected, appointed by Commander of Forces by seniority, did, when acting as Governor of Hospital. When a Major was found ineffective (from want of rank) to command so large a Depot as poor

Scutari became, it was because a question who was to succeed. and to become the (de facto) Governor. Lord Stratford represented to Lord Raglan that a man of rank, (not of military rank, but of blood,) was necessary. The man of rank was determined after this wise. The D. of Cambridge was impertinent to Lord Raglan, & therefore
had to go home (sick,)
stipulating that his
staff should be provided
for. This was the provision
made for Lord W. Paulet,
incapable of commanding
a Brigade.
This is the unfortunate
history of the Governors
of Scutari. And, until
they are selected for
fitness by War D.t, so it
will remain. Genl. Storks
was so selected.
I do not think the
mistake consisted in

giving authority to Lord
Stratford. But, in
the combination of
Stratford
Menzies
Paulet.
The three elements of
money
time
& intellect
in bringing about our
efficiency were utterly
disregarded - two were
squandered - and one was
not.
Yours ever faithfully
F. Nightingale
Required

Continuation of Dr. Farr's
Return in "Vital Statistics
of Brit. Empire" (concerning
the Metropolitan Police Force)
gives strength
deads
average nos absent
on account of sickness
attacks of sickness
for each year separately
to be had from Sir R.
Mayne
up to present time

Required
strength, mortality &
sickness, from Dr. Childs
for every year, as far
back as he can go.
in City Police

---

f57

f58 SH to FN Friday [29 May 1857] Farr comes tomorrow at 10, and A. Smith
at 11. The latter comes to speak to me as to the course he evidence is
taking. He is alarmed I think at some opinions expressed by Alexander and
the witnesses as to the over-surveillance and inspection exercised by the
inspectors over the reg surgeons Alexander thinks school boyish and
irritating. Airey gave very useful evidence today and Rawlinson some which
showed want of tact but on the whole he did better than I expected and
recovered himself towards the end. Would you kindly drop in about 10 o’cl.

F60 letter to SH of Dr Borlase Child, Military Medical Comm to SH from
Finsbury Pl

f62 Sh to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square June 5 1857 wants her to meet
Sir Thos Phillips, and “talk him over” with me on 2 or 3 points, and for
that purpose I have asked him to dine here on Wednes or Sat next, whichever
day suits him best. Will you have the charity to keep yourself disengaged
for those 2 days till we get his answer?

F63 Borlase Childs to SH June 16 1857. Finsbury Place South
Dear Mr. Herbert

I return Mr. Neison's paper, which is most valuable. He must be cross-examined upon it, when you take his Evidence.

With regard to the Police, it is desirable to get more ample evidence upon it. Distinguishing between City & Metropolitan Police, which cannot give correct information about each upon one other.

I have marked one paper of Dr. Child's as "of no value". The other is good, but appears to be only for one year.

Two questions which will obtain the information we want I enclose, the first to be answered by Sir. R. Mayne or Dr. Fisher concerning the Metropolitan Police - the second by Dr. Childs concerning the City Police.
2. Sir John Hall seems to have made a lamentable exhibition yesterday. There can be no fear now that he will damage the case. The question asked him by Mr. Stafford about the "cabal" was supplied to Mr. Stafford by Hall & Mouat themselves. Stafford is credulous & Hall unscrupulous.

3. Dr. Balfour hangs back from giving the information you want & must have. He says he will consult Tulloch about it. But
this information is necessary for the Enquiry. I sent in three questions to Dr. Balfour, of which I have no copy, & which he is shy about answering. He says "we do not possess the information". I did this, in order that he might have the grace of originating the enquiry before the Commission. I think, however, it would now be better if you were to write some put these questions for you to put to Col Tulloch on Wednesday.

I hope you are better. Most faithfully yrs 
F. Nightingale

Note on reverse of Dr R. Childs' paper, enclosed with previous letter 9 June 20/57). Pen.

of little use as the Return can be had from Sir R. Mayne direct

We finished with Sir John Hall yesterday. He promised all the documents we asked for. He said he did not say that he was only told by Ld Raglan of the Crimean Expedition the day before. That refers to illeg

We examined Col Ludy? as to barracks and night duty; among the chief causes of evil he puts idleness; I had a satisfactory hour’s work with Neison afterwards tho’ his determination to believe that non-ventilation produces no bad effects on human health or life is a nuisance and it seems to me from very insufficient data. Tulloch tomorrow...

I am just going for a little while to the illeg...

Do you know anything of a civil Dr Rawden who writes the enclosed in the Medl Times.....

At P 31 in the army statistical report the first division of age is under 20. Now this included drummer boys and all sorts of non-descripts who are
not soldiers nor even adults. But the Guardsman generally enlists at around 19 yr old. He is then sent to Croydon to learn his drill and he is probably 20 before he is put on regular duty including night duty.

Now the age of 20 to 25 in the statistical report is only one year more than the ... illeg

I have written to Tulloch to give him the first form of ....

An even if he can’t give it we will have approximations enough for the purpose of comparison with the police. Don’t you think so?

I am quite well again and ready and willing to return to work. illegs

I can get Neison Nd Dr Farr to give evidence on Friday .... I go up train tomorrow morning.
I shall be charmed to see you. But could you come at 4: as I want to be at Neison’s at 5 on my way to the House; Tulloch gave excellent evidence yesterday, and Sutherland was very rational and ? Liz very flourishing, thank God.

Signed letter, ff80-80v, pen

Dear Mr. Herbert

Will you give to Bearer all the Evidence you can spare me after p.176? & any Appendix papers already printed?

I have had a long letter from Lord Grey on Army Hygiene matters. which I want to show you. He is wrong in some matters. And
the distinction between
personal Hygiene &
that of building is
not seen by him,
nor indeed by your
Commission. These will
require two separate Sanitary
organisations, being
quite distinct in
themselves
faithfully yours
F. Nightingale
July 1/57

signed letter, ff82-84, pen

Dear Mr. Herbert

The gist of the
following questions for
Capt. Laffan is as follows:
Lord Panmure wrote
to him yesterday an
abusive letter, to which
Capt. Laffan made
the best possible answer.
I don't like Laffan,
but I am bound to say
that, in this business,
he is the victim of two
ignorant Doctors - &
has made the best of
the impossible problem
given him to solve. He is burning with indignation & wishes to tell the whole case before you. You will judge whether it will have a practical result to bring out all the steps.

The fact is that, instead of government having acted without the Doctors, the Doctors have brought government into this scrape. Dr. Smith is asked, who knows nothing at all about it. and a Cavalry doctor!!! Now, Mapleton is one of the best of our men - But you might as well ask a Regimental doctor his opinion about large buildings as about the best way of spinning cotton. He has never had any experience.

And this is what I want to bring out. The Army Doctors are the proper men to conduct the whole Army Hygiene, when educated. But the
question of large buildings, of Barracks & Hospitals, is a speciality. It belongs to the Q.M.G, the Engineers' & Barrack Dept., & they must have a special man to advise them upon it. Don't you think so? & not a Regimental Doctor, even when educated. Poor Laffan is excessively annoyed. & I think with justice. He has done his best.

He gave up yesterday his plan of artificial ventilation - & contents himself with five air-shafts - a fire-place, fed from without with air all to itself, which is the best he could do. He also "sleeps" the Orderlies in an out-building, which is right - gives Extra Diet Kitchens, and a good laundry at a distance from the Hospital.
I write to Lord Panmure this morning, suggesting, not recommending, that Brunel should see the Patient, viz. the Hospital, if Lord Pan. chooses to ask it, as from himself.

faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

July 1/57

Many thanks. The questions will I think bring out the whole case. I agree with you that Laffan has been ill used. He is told to build and he sends his plans to A Smith who has illeg... and Smith says the plans have been altered... so they have a illeg re sanitary improvements.

Dr Borlase Child appeared and gave his evidence very clearly. The percentage of invaliding and ? I am sorry to say is larger among the night duty than any day. Beatson. I am getting up the exams today. Does anything occur to you?

I have suggested Friday the 17th to Sir J McNeill for his exam. Wd you return me Neison’s paper this evening.

Lastly would you like some tea at six. I have some new appendices for you.

Dear Mr. Herbert
I am sorry you are shut up again. I will send or come tonight at 6. The enclosed suggestions occur to me on "Pay". But I don't know much about the subject. And all that the Medl. Dept. says about it, is so silly.

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

July 5/57 I will try &
come myself, because I am to meet the Commander in Chief on Tuesday. And I want to ask you, if he asks me any question, what I had better say & what leave unsaid. One often does more harm than good by insisting on subjects already "up".

draft note, f90, pen

Medical Officers' Pay & Allowances.

Expediency of giving consolidated rates of pay, instead of miscellaneous allowances - which cost more to the Public in administration & delay & obstruction than they confer benefit upon the officer. These allowances consist of

1. Rations issued in time of peace to Medical officers & their servants - & in the Tropics to their wives & children

2. Allowance in lieu of a soldier servant.

On the other hand, the allowances which are necessary are

1. Lodging allowance as an equivalent when
quarters cannot be provided

2. Forage which must be supplied when a Horse has to be kept for the public service

3. Rations which must be issued in the field

4. Money allowance which all officers receive on taking the field.

Farther than these, I am told but do not know much about the subject, allowances should be commuted into pay.

Ff91-92 SH letter to FN from Belgrave July 7 1857 I have just got Sir John’ Halls corr and recs. I have not looked at them having been too busy with report in prep for Taylor tomorrow. I think (and I rather hope) that you will like to look at them

signed letter, ff93-94, pen

Sanitary

Dear Mr. Herbert

As you have taken Sanitary evidence about the Army at home & in the Colonies - will it not be necessary now to have it about the Army in the field?

You have only taken Hall's, or rather he has forced it - Now must you not have Sutherland's. I send you what he says.
f93v
RANKS - A.M.D.
I shall send you tomorrow morning, by Alexander's desire, a mem.m of his upon this subject, upon which he wishes to be examined - if you think proper.

HALL
I will look over his memoranda & return them to you as soon as I can.

f94
VITAL STATISTICS
It will be of great importance, don't you think, to take Sutherland's evidence on these after Neison's. The latter's crotchet on the subject is well known. (His facts are invaluable). Sutherland knows more on the subject than any man living, except Farr. I would come to you on Thursday, [end 14:508]

f94v
if you will allow me, & talk over the Sanitary matter, which I suppose will come on on Friday yours faithfully F. Nightingale

July 7/57
signed letter, ff95-98, pen

**f95**

July 7/57

[14:524-25]

WILL KEEP

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have really tried to write questions for my own Examination, as you directed. And I cannot.

I feel thus -

1. I am quite as well aware as you can be that it is inexpedient & even unprincipled to go back into past delinquencies.

2. What is more, I feel for you who were victimized by a system, which you could not possibly understand, till you saw its results.

   It is very easy for me (who lived through them) to be wise after the fact.

3. But - it would be equally untrue & unconscientious for me
to give evidence upon an indifferent matter like that of Hospital Construction - & leave untouched the great matters which will affect the mortality of our sick (& have affected them) far more than any architectural plan could do.

People, Government & Sovereign all think that these matters have been remedied. While I think that nothing has been done but a violent expenditure & the relaxation of all rule & discipline.

The simple case of the "Purveyor's Instructions," which I looked over with you, & which embodies most of the evils from which we have suffered in that line, (and perpetuates them,) illustrates what I say -

It would be treachery to the memory of my dead, if I were to allow myself to be examined upon a mere scheme of Hospital construction.
I really have no line to point out for my Examination.

I wrote to Sir J. McNeill for his advice & he writes what I enclose, which does not solve the question. Please return it to me.

My only object in proposing to give in my Report (as my Examination) was that nobody would read it, or, if any did, he might take or leave what he liked.

None of your witnesses stand in the position I do. For none saw so much.

I cannot suggest any other plan. But I see more evil in the plan of examining me so as to make me say nothing.

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

The only question is What can be done to prevent a recurrence of the evils from which we have suffered? And I ought not to consent to be examined on anything less. Though I would much rather not be examined at all. [end 14:525]

F.N.
Dr. Beatson has put into my hands some papers, regarding Half Pay, Promotion, Superseding &c in the Crimea, facts to which I am a personal witness.

I do not think he can put these in as evidence. They are too personal - But I think you should see them;

Dr Smith has succeeded in completely demoralizing his Department by the most effectual means. viz. professing one thing, while th doing another & known to be doing another - & talking about his conscience & his rules,

his subordinates knowing that he is acting upon quite a different set of rules.

Do you think you could by extracts from your book or otherwise in writing strengthen the main points. That it then would show what is called the system failed why and how it shd be remedied. I mean of course illeg as a witness wd give it viva voce and in answer to written questions. Will you think this over. I fully enter into the objections to giving opinions on leading questions alone. I saw Bowden yesterday. He is conceited and opinionated and has formed opinions without half enough thought. Dr Sutherland’s question will keep as illeg he says. We illegs

I go down to Marlboro’ this afternoon after he com. & return tomorrow evening. Iam going to a illeg meeting & I shall not be at the illeg today.
ff103-04 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square. I shd like to have a cabinet council with you today. Shall I come to you at 5 O’cl. Or would you come here or wd any other hour at either place suit you better?

Sir J McNeill arrives on Saturday to be examined on Monday.

Lord Grey makes a mistake about barracks when he compares their expenditure to cottages. signs

This Indian news sits like lead upon me.

f105 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave square July 13 1857 Dr Gibson has failed us and I have sent Balfour in a cab to try and catch Bowden. Can you send me illeg his further papers?

f106 SH to FN July 14 1857 from printed 49 Belgrave Square This is all I have, more is promised today illegs

f107 July 14 [1857] Grey to SH

ff108-11 SH to FN July 18 1857 printed 49 Belgrave Square I think I have illeg out of the election committee but I shall not know for certain till Monday.

Here is a new inq wh we ought to make.

illegs ?? Leads a soldier’s life as shown .. Do the navy stats show any difference in mortality in the marine under the two conditions.

Or if they cannot be shown is there any difference between is rates and that of the seaman. If there be the difference must be owing to the shore intervals illegs illegs

I am now gone to the printer as regards Ramden’s changes, food, clothing & sanitary ???

note, f111v, written on reverse of letter from Herbert above, pen

f111v
Organisation of Army Medl Dept.
System of Promotion
" Confidential Reports
Sanitary Department
Ration & Stoppage
Malingering
Comparison of Regimental &
General Hospitals.
Government of General Hospitals
Purveyor & Commissariat

ff112 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square July 20 1857 Cd you send me this morning the list of questions (without the answers) which I am to put to you. I think it cannot illegs

If you like to send the question-answers bodily by the bearer, Liz will copy out the questions for you and send you back the papers or if you want to go over the papers with Sir J McNeill and would send them afterwards they could be sent to him to Whitehall and in turn for my purpose.
I have consulted the commission about the questions. They quite approve and leave to you and to myself a carte blanche as to addition or subtraction, provided.

So I return you the questions and would ask you & Sir J McNeill to deal with them either by addition, illeg or subtraction as you think best.

Sir John’s evidence was admirable, clear, able and well reasoned. It made a great impression on the commission.

I have thought a good deal of what you told me yesterday and my concern is to make you a confidential report great as is my objection to that system. If I were you I wd say to Dr Mouat & Co that you must have documentary ev of what they state their object is (not to give this but) that you shd make a general st in the H of C. I know as a fact that none of those men know what the others were doing. Therefore Mouat s st can only be taken for himself. Nor wd I take it even for himself w/o documentary evidence. But if Sir J M and Dr T can prove that they did during the winter of 54 55 make all the san recs subsequently made by the san com you will have done immense good by bringing this out, more even than by the other. For you will then have fired the scopo? in the rt quarter for the ... I trust that you will not let it drop. For I look upon the san qu as even more essential to the life of our army if poss than that of supplies. I look upon what you told me yesterday as the most important thing I have heard. Remember that the D of W destroyed the army of Massena at [Torres Y illeg] by no other means. Had the RE [?] not 60,000 men before we left Bulgaria by no other means and [illeg] 208,000 men even before the loss of his army in the [sun?].

I know that M as Principal Medical Officer of B is very much annoyed that Sutherland has not been able to mention him, which he would gladly have done as having organized sanitary [illeg] there, although he has mentioned men of very inferior rank, Matheu Lephan [?] and Taylor, the best of them, [illeg] of the [illeg] L.T.. Please observe that none of these have been promoted or decorated.

Sutherland’s report is purposely made as colourless as possible. Practical deductions even have been purposely avoided. Yet even not is it our Secretary of State would not have it distributed. It is not even to go to the foreign ministers.

You could not do us a greater service, by which I mean our men, than by bringing out such attacks and contradictions as will necessitate a clear explanation of all the conclusions we wish to see drawn.

draft note, ff116-18, pencil. not FN, JS hand EH? {archivist: 20 July 1857}
that you should make a general statement
in the H of C.
   I know as a fact that none of
these men knew what the others were
doing. Therefore Mouats statement can

\textit{f116v}
only be taken for himself. nor would
I take it ever for himself without
documentary evidence.
   But if Sir J.M. \& Dr T [McNeill and Tulloch]
can prove that they did during the
winter of 54 55 make all the Sanitary
recommendations subsequently made by
the Sanitary Commiss - you will have
done immense good by bringing this up
more even than by the other -
for you will then have fixed the
responsibility in the right quarter
for the operative causes which occasioned
the loss of an Army. You will have proved
that if the M O's had the knowledge
they had not the power.
   I trust that you will not let it
drop. For I look upon the San
question as even more essential to
the life of our Army if possible than
that of supplies. I look upon what
you told me yesterday as the most
important thing I have heard.
Remember that the D of W
destroyed the army of Massena (?) at
Torres V by no other means - had
the R not 60,000 men before [Raglan]

we left Bulgaria by no other means
& hope / 288,000 men even before
the loss of his army in the sun
   I know that M as P.M.O of
B is very much annoyed that
Suther has not been able to mention
him which he would gladly have done
as having organised Sanit impr
there altho he has mentioned men
of very inferior rank Matthew Jephson
& Taylor, the best of them - all of the
L T C (please observe that none
of these have been promoted or decorated)
   Sutherland's report is purposely
made
as colourless as possible. Practical
deductions even have been purposely
avoided. Yet even not is it our
S of S would not have it distributed
It is not even to go to the Foreign
Ministers.
You could not do us a greater
service by which I mean our men
than by missing out such attacks
& contradictions as will necessitate
a clear explanation of all the
conclusions we wish to see drawn.

Ff119 SH to FN July 20 1857 embossed H of C I return your stolen goods.
Pray keep them carefully. If illegs. A.M. Dept as Lancaster firm called to
him from illegs
We made wonderful progress yesterday and I hope we shall finish the
exciting point tomorrow. The commission worked admirably.
I sent off Statutory promotion relative rank pay and retirement to the
printers this morning, all illeg or left unfinished, but open to additions
when I correct the proofs.
I leave a place open for Scutari and yellow fever in the existing print.
We finished illeg today.....signs
I hear you have undermined Netley. Shall I see you tomorrow?

f121 SH to FN Aug 9 1857 from printed 49 Belgrave Square. Balfour shows me
that his comparisons of the mortality of Navy and Army include many
accidents in both cases but his returns are for 1830-36.
Can you tell me the date of the return of illegs
I am to take the amended copy of the two printed papers wh have passed
the commission today to Balfour on my way to the House in order to be
illeg
and I must take the “conclusion” also to be printed. Could you call here
at 3? Or will that be too soon for you?

F123 SH to FN printed 49 Belgrave Square, no date. Dr Balfour to send san
papers to Miss N. Balfour has undertaken to do this.

F124 SH to FN Aug 5 1857 printed 49 Belgrave Square. A thousand thanks. The
list of recommendations and defects is very clear and good. I can illeg
one or two additions. But when we get the reprint up I trust we shall
One or 2 additions. But when we get the reprint which I trust we shall
today see the whole illeg as there are some misprints in paper.
today. I am not quite sure whether the recapitulation of defects can be
Also I am afraid of the model lodging houses. The Guards officers illegs
If I find that the paper of recommendations would take too long to print,
I will keep it in the illegs.
Tomorrow I must devote to the recasting.
Tonight and the new promotion warrant.
F126 SH to FN Aug 7 1857 from printed Wilton House Salisbury, I have written to Panmure offering myself for sub-commissions and ..I have written to Dr Far for the diagram which is to effect thro the eyes... fail to carry to the brains of the public through their word-proof ears. I have also asked him to get in the Austrian ?? I have also written to Jebb re engineers. Balfour ..I don’t know whether you want Alexander ...I have written to ask him down here if you can  ? If you can’t will you lay an embargo on him.  I have intended to tell you how much I owe you for all your help during the last three months, for I shd never have been able to make...helpless ignorance wd have been army the medical philistines???

Ff129- SH to FN Aug 9 1857 from Wilton, many thanks for your letter and enclosures. I have talked over the com with Alexander. He not unnaturally fears that if he be put on one A Smith may take the opp of depriving him of his appt and shelving him on half pay. I have asked him to meet me at the Burl Hotel on Wed at 3 ...if you are willing. Panmure writes fairly enough in answer to me. He is gong to Scotland to shoot grouse.  I rejoice that Burrell is dug up again as we shall want him for the Dir Gen’s council

ff131 SH to FN Aug 12 1857 Belgrave, I only apptd Alexander , arranged with Panmure. Sutherland. I will call on you between 2 and 3 o’cl and will bring the report with me

notes, f132, pencil & pen {archivist: Aug 12 1857}

f132
2. Organisation of A.M.D.
   comprehending the
     Sanitary Organisation Mr. Herbert
     all the Regulations Alexander
     Hospital Organization Sutherland
3. Medical School Stafford
4. Statistical A. Smith

Q.M.G.
Queen’s }
Barrack } Regulations
Hospital)

ff133 Aug 13 1857 SH letter to FN no monthly numbers forthcoming, Balfour says we shall not have them for some days; I shall be here at 6 if you will come then.

Ff135 Aug 14 1857 SH letter to FN encloses batch of papers, have packed up to ruminate over in Scotland. But I do not give up my rights of property. Our engagement not having been broken off. You have no right to have your letters back. I leave town with a lighter heart after seeing Panmure. For I think we have no predisposition against us but the contrary, Now am I going to lead an animal life for a month. Parting sermon, leave your fears.

f138v, written on reverse of letter from Sidney Herbert, pencil
JS: The report may be presented but not be usable because it may not have been ordered to be printed. Should not some one say Lord Stanley move that the Report be printed. Lord Grey in the Lords note,

FF139-42 SH Aug 16 1857 to FN returns chapter for sub commissions from illeg
ff143 SH to FN Delphi Aug 20 1857 I do not think that? I send back QMG’s camping stats and your papers on the. We shall want some good mil help for the necessity of camping as to produce. I shall write to Balfour about the stat passage. We shall have something to amend and amplify in the final report.

Ff145 SH to FN Mount Messiah [?] Sept 18 1857 re holidays and back

ff147 SH Sept 22 1857 Belgrave, letter to FN has seen Alexander today. He has orders to sail the end of this week? Panmure written to to stop; Balfour has returned from Larib converted re windows on opp sides; I am very glad you have got the diagrams Tulloch’s tables are finished and I am promised them immed. Dr Hall has got out a pamphlet on the san com. I am not read it but I suppose Dr Suth has. I am almost sorry to hear that sigma? is with you for I fear that means that for us working hard but I hope he keeps you in sane order. We go to Wilton tomorrow.

ff151-56 SH to FN Sept 29 1857 from Wilton, thanks for your 2 letters. I was just going to contradict your assertion that ...heard from Storks; There are troops available in Canada for ...

f157 SH to FN Sept 30 1857 from Wilton, returns all her papers, most valuable, just learnt from Storks that Panmure expected in town tomorrow; anxious to go to Manchester as Senior Woronozow is there with Lady di Bassi;

f159 SH to FN Oct 4 1857 from Manchester. Panmure tomorrow. I do hope we shall get the authority & the sub-commissions now, but if Panmure has done nothing about them there will be a great delay to get a sanction at the Treasury and the immediate expedition on barracks. Balfour has sent me a curious paper from some Turk Hygienic report, on the subject of French Army knowledge and ?

f162 SH to FN Oct 11 1857 has instructions from WO for 2 of commissions from Wilton, looks forward to great deal of collection of stat material valuable info; other com consists of Andrew Smith, Clark, Sutherland, Martin and myself; If I can get them together I shd like to meet say on Sat; have written to Balfour to say get what is printed of the san com recs, get in M.T.

Ff168 SH to FN Oct 12 1857 Wilton many thanks for your letter about the invaliding and diagrams, most interesting. That the proportion of deaths to invalids shd be the highest where the invaliding is the lowest and vice versa seems to be natural enough and it ought to follow that when invaliding is ill?? the mortality of soldiers shd be lowered and vice versa. But I do not understand your calculation in the report. Take your calc as to the Foot Guards [figures here] [comparable data check]
ff172- SH to FN from Wilton Oct 15 1857 this morn’s post brought barrack instructions in a very incomplete state; I will come up tomorrow which will give time to settle prelims; Panmure asks which barracks we propose to visit first, I have asked Suth to meet me at your house at 12 and have wr to; written for returns and intros and Farr; if I come up before Monday I will let you know. There is a good deal I wd like to talk over with you; Galton

f174 SH to FN Oct 16 1857 from Wilton this morn’s post brought barrack instructions in a very incomplete state, Dr Burrell ; Dr A Smith is crying out for the proof sheets of his blue book

f176 SH to FN from Wilton Oct 25 1857 re sum commissions all arrive tomorrow and Suth writes for word that; hope you will be able to do a good illeg of work to improve Aldershot; I have put off for sundry reasons going up to town

f178 SH to FN Oct 31 1857 from Wilton I hope to see you n London for some days, getting papers

ff182 SH to FN Nov 10 1857 Belgrave, Alexander has sent enclosed notes and papers; I send yr MS to ? My gratitude for them is seriously alloyed by misgiving as to the effect of that labour on yourself, ..We came to

f184 SH letter Nov 12 [1857] to FN Panmure promise re immediate issue of regs

f186 SH Nov 12 [1857] This paper is excellent. I have added only two verbal corrections to your. Farr . Est of money value of soldiers’ lives. Thanks for McNeill’s letter wh I return. I do not wonder at his indignation and I greatly value what he says about myself.

F188 SH to FN Nov 10 1857 Belgrave Sq
November 26/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. I hope you will not regret the manner of my death.
   I know that you will be kind enough to regret the fact of it.
   You have sometimes said that you were sorry you had employed me--
   I assure you that it has kept me alive.

2. I am sorry not to stay alive to do the "Nurses"--
   But I can't help it.
   "Lord, here I am, send me" has always been religion to me.
   I must be willing to go now as I was to go to the East.
   You know I always thought it the greatest of your kindnesses sending me there.
Perhaps He wants a "Sanitary Officer" now for my Crimeans in some other world where they are gone--

2. I have no fears for the Army now--You have always been our "Cid"--the true chivalrous sort--which is to be the defender of what is weak & ugly & dirty & undefended, rather than

of what is beautiful & artistic--You are so now more than ever for us. "Us" means, in my language, the troops & me--

3. I hope you will have no chivalrous ideas about what is "due" to my "memory"--The only thing that can be "due" to me is justice to what is good for the troops
I always thought thus while I was alive—And I am not likely to think otherwise now that I am dead.

Whatever, your own judgment has accepted from me will come with far greater force from yourself—

Whatever your own judgment has rejected would come with no force at all.

4. What remains to be done has however already been sanctioned by your judgment.

1. As to Army Medical Council
   as to Army Ml. School
General Hospitals scheme
Gymnastics

2. as to what Dr. Sutherland must needs do for the Sanitary branch.
3. as to Colonial Barracks—Canadian Mediterranean W. & E. Indian
5. I am very sorry about the Nursing scheme--
It seems like leaving it in the lurch.

Mrs Shaw Stewart is the only woman I know who will do for Supt.
of Army Nurses.
Believe me ever, while I can say God bless you

Yours gratefully
F. Nightingale

env (but no stamp) to be sent when I am dead
F.N.
Rt. Honble. Sidney Herbert MP
Nov 26/57

f195 SH to FN Nov 30 1857 from Belgrave sends returns, re Farr; I am against running a tilt at the statisticians at present

f199 SH to FN Dec 2 1857 from Belgrave has seen Alexander this morning re reg, he approves

f200 SH to FN Dec 10 1857 from Belgrave Many thanks for diagrams; corrected the proofs from your copy. Re number of copies of the report

f202 SH to FN Dec 20 1857 from Wilton, Ld Panmure is I believe out of town. I wrote to Andrew Smith to get anything for the medical officers of Aldershot and Chatham to fill in our returns;
sorry to hear re Whitfield’s and Greenhow, hygienic returns; re FN not well, re life and recovery; Liz is very much better tho she still looks both pale and yellow, but I cannot say that that? is owing to very careful adherence to our prescription.

I have written to Balfour about the ileg to the diagrams..

I am sorry to hear your report or rather Mr Whifield’s of Dr Greenhouw for the hygienic lecutres and the illegs. Dr Sutherland’s powers of delviery, your idea of appointing him temporarily ...

I fear you have not been so well, and I take your request to illegs

I had some talks with Lord Stanley on our matters and blue book. I think he will take I tup. He could be very useful. He wties mucha nd well and with great care and conscience.

I had a field day yesteday at Salisbury illeg I think ...

f208 SH to FN Dec date not clear Dec 22? 1857 re A Smith memo vs council
Signed letter, ff210-14, pen [14:548-49]

f210
30 Old Burlington St.
Xmas Day/57
Dear Mr. Herbert
I send you one the more recent
of the "cóxcombs"

Private Reprint {There are 300 of these
{ 1700 {of the
{ ___ {vulgar sort
  _____
  2000

I have also a
Proof of the Appendix
Copy of it for your
Report. In this form
printed, Tables & all, in double

f210v
columns, I do not think
any one will read it.
None but Scientific
men ever look into
the Appendix of a
Report. And this is
for the vulgar public.
The only good of having
it in the Appendix at all
is for the sake of the last line on
the cover of the coxcomb
"Reprinted from &c"
Now, who is the vulgar
public who is to have it?

1. The Queen
2. Prince Albert
3. D. of Cambridge
   Lord Derby
4. Lord Palmerston
   General Peel
5. Lord Panmure
6. Dr. A. Smith
7. all the Crowned Heads [not FN hand here to end of folio]
   through the Ambassadors or ministers of each
   in Europe
8. all the Commanding
   officers in the Army
9. all the Regimental
   Surgeons & Medical
   Officers {insert:} Commandants? above them,
   at home & abroad
   & also in India.

10. the Chief Sanitarians
    in both Houses
11. all the Newspapers,
    Reviews & Magazines.
Then, when the change
in the Army Medl. Dept.
is effected, I propose
to frame & glaze
Proofs of all the Diagrams,
& have them hung up
at the
1. Army Med.l Board,
2. Horse Guards
3. War Department.
   For these are the facts
they will have to work
upon - This is what
they do not know & did
ought to - !
(7.) Lord Palmerston would send the "coxcomb" to the
different Crowned Heads in Europe - A similar enquiry, if they made it, would lead to
similar results. &
Austria, especially, is on the qui vive about Sanitary matters for the Army, as is shewn by those papers you sent me - of Farr's.

Our soldiers volunteer to Death in the Barracks. Foreign soldiers are conscribed to it. therefore the more shame, if foreign powers do not follow your example. But it is evident that they are looking to England for a great stride in Army Hygiene. And now they will see what you have done.
(8.) Storks will send it
for you to all the Commanding officers, which is, after all, the important point. (9.) And, if you approve of the scheme, at all, he, and not the Army Medical Dept. at all, ought to send it to all the Army Medical Officers. Melville will send it to all the Indians, according to an Indian Army list.

(10.) Lord Grey, Lord Stanley, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Chadwick, (who is a capital publicist & not much else,) ought to have it. And I would [Harrowby in another hand on side] treat Andrew Smith as one of the public. It is always more gratifying to people to have a thing which they think other people have not got. This would be a reason for sending it out directly.
On the other hand, it would not be desirable that the Newspapers should get hold of it before the Report itself is out, which will not be for a fortnight, I suppose. *They*, at least, must not have their copies of it before then.

It would be very desirable if it were all done in your name.

If you will write to
me at Malvern & tell
me what you think
best, I shall do it
(I am going to
Malvern tomorrow).
The thing is an "ad
captandum", but it is
all the common public will
understand of your
facts which are the most
important army facts ever put on record.
I will write from
Malvern about the
floors - (Hospital.)
ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

ff215 SH to FN Dec 26 1857 printed Wilton House, Salisbury
The coxcomb is
very pretty and will be very useful and I see nothing or no one to add or
detract from your list of recipients. But it is most important that it
should not come out till the report itself is out.
1st because it is separate illegs
as it is for a part of a report of a Royal Commission & can only be
legitimately be printed when the original is published. illegs
2ndly it would be by the illeg stupidity of the public illegs ...
I hope the said report wil be out very soon, and the illegs
Nothing can be sent out and not get into the newspapers. There is no such
thing as a private circulation of a printed document.
I hope therefore you will keep it coxcombs illegs till the moment comes
to slip their leash. I will gladly undertake to circulate them, with a
short lithographed note stating what they are and why they are circulated.
I rejoice to direct this to Malvern and hope to hear not too much fatigue

ff219 SH to FN Dec 27 1857 printed Wilton House, Salisbury.
Lest you shd not have left town yesterday, I send a line to repeat what
I have said in a letter sent yesterday to Malvern, viz, that the coxcombs
must be kept in a bank and not be seen by mortal eyes till the report is
out which I hope will be in a few days, say a fortnight Because the doc can
have no existence till the report from which it proposes to be printed is
published, except the same apparent breach of faith and 2ndly it is still
most important that it not be taken for the report itself and we should
never be able to persuade anyone the other is any other document to be laid
in our illeg or reforms would remain embalmed in a blue coffin to all time.
There is an error in the heading of the diagrams C and D as ought to have
the words "at home and abroad" added after "serving in the army" tho the
diagram illeg being already so headed will illeg I have illeg Balfour to
correct it. The attention to it coxcombs can be illeg
I am hurrying Balfour as much as I can as I want illeg before the public
is beginning to speculate on party politics for next session.
I hear from Hawes that the shadow of the future absorption in
organisation of the India Army is already casting a gloom over the War Office and the bodies illeg confusion and failure for such an accession of work.

We have made all our new nursing arrangements at Salisbury. But I now understand shd all be the difficulties if Netley illeg has got by calculation and design all the defects of ....

ff223 SH to FN Jan 2 1857 [1858] printed Wilton House, Salisbury.
I only came back today from the Grange so I have given illegs the papers in detail upon it how I am in your debt for the paper on illeg vs Paymaster. In the scheme of things yet to be done, and for the notes on the Regulations. illegs

I have got the Medical School reprint for illegs

Did I tell you that Palmerston has referred the Netley plans to our Barrack Commission. What can we do but say it is a bad plan and possibly suggest something shd be sow’s ear into a illeg purse. But at present ... Will he admit that the law wanted £80,000 or shall he throw good money after bad?

I am prepared to by colleagues to begin on the 11th and inspect Aldershot, Winchester, illeg and Netley, which will be a very important illeg to complete.

Capt Grant writes he would tell them... complaint,

Galton is full of some illeg plans but I doubt anything doing better than our hollow illeg

I left Mr Forbes that is afternoon with a pot of boiling oil a turpentine about to e illegs

Did you ever hear of a remedy for neuralgia head ache or tic in the temple or jaw called the “illeg remedy.” It smells and tastes of chloroform and camphor and is applied by saturating a bit of cotton and putting it up the nostril and ill inhaling it so as to draw the liquid well out the cavities above. The effect us usually great tho of course not permanent. And if you take too much of it you may make yourself sick as I found yesterday when I tried it rather illeg. But it is worth knowing.

Are you the better for the change to Malvern? Do not waste apologies for writing or ... bothering....

Liz is better but still has influenza and illeg. God bless you.

Ff229-31 SH to FN Wilton Jan 8 1858 re medical school; I think all your reasoning conclusions as to the pr or what the argument.. Of pay ought to be?? Burrell; sketches

ff232-35 long letter with sketches. SH to FN Wilton Jan 8 1858. The necessity of getting our names ready for the Medical School before the plan is given into Panmure’s hands has occurred to me and I had decided on holding it back for a time when I heard from Sir James Clark that he had made several important changes in his programme of lectures (medical) and also in the Pathological or chemical I forget which, and he is anxious for another meeting to consider them.

illeg Panmure would appoint anyone even if the Angel Gabriel had offered himself illegs

In re the homes. I agree to all the attractions for purpose except one or
1. I think for illeg formed on opinion or a part illegs I hear the limitation of nurses in proportion to patients form original proposal was one nurse to every 25 bad cases. We thought it would be so difficult to define what constituted a bad case that it wd be better to assume that every other cases is a bad case illegs Sir John McNeill evidently agrees on the supposition that the female nurses are to be illegs

Tell me if this is right or whether you contemplate the proportionate reduction in orderlies when female nurses are appointed.

I think all your reasoning conclusion as to the principle on which the augmentations of pay ought to be made, and I incline to the augmentations of pension also, tho it has the disadvantage of novelty in the service.

I expect Burrell tomorrow and possibly Sutherland. If the latter comes I will go over the Regulations with him.

ff236-39 SH letter to FN from wilton Jan 19 1858. I give in. Your arguments are not to be answered. ...

pencil note on above letter. Did I tell you that Palmerston has referred the Netley plans to our barrack com. What can we do but say it is a bad plan and possibly suggest something which ...sow’s ear into a worsted purse. Galton is full of plans but I doubt anything doing better than our ? Beam? Did you hear of a remedy for neuralgia headache and tic in the temple or jaw called the .. Chloroform and camphor; Liz is better but still has influenza; God bless you.

ff236 SH to FN Jan 13 1858 Wilton I give in. Your arguments are not to be answered. illegs I assumed that the number of illeg allowed by regulations could not be so far wrong but that the addition of one sixth to that would give a sufficient number, i.e. that if 50 patients had 5 illegs satisfied me so I take your amendment of not exceeding one nurse for every 25 amendments

I will go thro the Regulations carefully tomorrow with Sutherland.

We want thro the Portsmouth Barrack Hospital illeg

One of the

But through all this and others wh I do not describe there is no attempt at ventilation whatever, except in back to back wards, there are small openings from one to the other, otherwise not illegs

The hospital is very poor. It had 3 stories each very low in homage to the fiction that Portsmouth is defensible by its fortifications illeg the military buildings must not over top the rampart. The wards are very close. The ventilation all stopped with illeg. The DIG Dr Moore struck me as a man blessed with a contended spirit. [long letter]

Liz has written to Mrs Smith at 6 Whitehall but she fears this is no longer her address and asks if you wd kindly let her know if it is changed. We went to Charmouth on Monday in company with 7 patients and established them there. She is most pleased with illeg. All all Flourishing.

ff236

I think you must judge

I have given you the data.
Yes, but you know I totally object on sanitary grounds to the opening of the wards into one another & keeping 18 beds. We have no Civil Hospital as bad as that, 18 Patients end-ways.

ff240-43 SH to FN Jan 16 1858 from printed Wilton House Salisbury. I made a stupid blunder the other day as regards the Netley plans. The large wards in the wings are meant for patients that illegs stumbled on a function the Duke of Cambridge illeg inspecting the militia but we escaped and saw what we wanted to see in peace.

Genl Knollys seems to be taking pains with illeg officers.

I must end by illeg for I am going to bed for an hour being knocked up. It is a illeg God bless you.

note, f243v, written on back of above letter from Herbert, pencil. SH letter dated Jan 16. 1858

f243v
I have written to Mr. H for the pay - Did not you see the Estimate
I sent Mr. H
3 Orderlies 1/2 nurse will do for 25
for 30
in one ward.

I will fetch my Estimate

f244 SH to FN Jan 21 1858 49 Belgrave Sq. I got your letters this evening after coming home from Whitehall, illeg more dissatisfied than ever about Netley.

But I am illeg by the slow process by which I arrive at an opinion, to a distinct understanding as to what ought to be done with it and what can be done with it, which is quite another thing.

It is the plan of a magnificent barrack or rather of 2 magnificent barracks with kitchens and offices for each and a centre to contain the officers quartered for both. It has been converted into a hospital by the appropriation of the sergeant’s quarters to a nurse’s room, better lavatories and such like conveniences. It I believe that wd be the course to take under a despotism, but with a House of Commons furious at having been made fools of, and determined to risk no more money for hospital proposes with the govt who has led them into the swamp I doubt Palmerston venturing to try it.

But it seems to me the right course to propose and we must suggest it. Nevertheless we are not asked to make any suggestion tending to abandonment or alteration of destination, but only to say how, given the site and the foundations, it can be improved.

Well I think we can improve it tho it can be show and we must try to show that by illegs a far better bargain can be made for the public by carrying the hospital illeg.

Illegs. I agree with you that the projection of an individual ward in
accordance with the sketch I sent to you will be beyond ....This is a good barrack and a villainous hospital. Make it a barrack and you have a magnificent public work adequate and adapted to its purpose. Make it a hospital and you will for your largest mil hosp the worst planned and most inconvenient and expensive and least healthy hosp that can be had if you choose to face this you can by such and such alterations mitigate a portion of is defects. Can I get a unanimous vote for such a report? NB I am not convinced that the site is unhealthy but it is preoccupied by the foundations of a barrack and it susceptible of being converted into a good hosp [lots more]

ff248-56 SH to FN Jan 22 1858 printed 49 Belgrave Square encloses plan drawn after his fashion seems to be the most feasible for Netley if it is to be a hospital; re salaries

f257 SH to FN ca 25 Jan 1858 from printed 49 Belgrave Square I beg a thousand pardons for this late answer

f258 SH to FN Jan 30 1858 Belgrave Square I have had a long conversation with my Netley colleagues. I think we are all of one mind and are ready to say Netley can be altered so as in some degree to diminish the cost of administration tho’ it must always remain two hospitals illeg remedy the sanitary defects illeg proportioned healthy wards. ..... We contemplate going to Paris on Wednesday next at least I have so proposed it, instead of Tuesday night, as my head is occasionally very shaky in the neuralgic way. illegs I hear that Panmure growls much at the reference to us. Palmerston on the other hand expects from what I told him a condemnatory report so I hope he will overbear the other.
   We go to Wilton tonight after the drawing room. yrs in haste SH

signed letter, ff260-61, pen

[f260]
Gt. Malvern Jan 31/58
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 privately hoping that they will adopt your suggestion of a Barrack.
Sir Harry Verney's
alarm about large wards, because French prison wards are small, reminds me of the argument used by the first Netley projectors against light, because Col. Jebb found small high windows desirable for solitary confinement!! I have heard that Panmure is very mad about the thing. I suppose it does not much signify.

I really have nothing to say except that I am very sorry to hear you still have Neuralgia & glad that you are going to Paris and not by night. I hope that you will not overdo it.

ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

If you can lay your hand upon my Nurse paper, let me have it here, please. But it does not signify.

F.N.
note, f261v, pencil. {Written on back of previous letter, but bears no relation to it.}

Whatever it was once, Christianity is now in all the great concerns of nations a mere ecclesiasticism, powerful for mischief, but helpless & useless for good.

It represents that God is certainly present wherever there is miracle, but that where miracle is not, no one can be sure of the presence of God.

The foundation of the Prot. theory is, the miraculous - the exceptional.

A theory which places the strength of religion in the miraculous is naturally of Atheistic tendency.

F262 SH to FN Feb 2 1858 printed Wilton House Salisbury. I am sorry to say I am not going to Paris, but I trust that my other colleagues will do so. I have written to urge them to go & I think they will.

I am fairly broken down but I shall be up again illeg.

If I can I shall go to London tomorrow so as to be in a new atmosphere. illeg at Malvern a specialty for nervous diseases? I have neuralgic affections.

You shall have your paper when I get back to town.

I got a request this morning from Panmure that I should see him before going to Paris. He is much annoyed at the reopening of the inquiry and that I believe illeg

I will not believe in his yielding till I see it illegs

I have been reading a document from Calcutta wh has greatly interested me, the arrangements made by Canning and in the teeth of much opposition for carrying it away up from Calcutta to the scene of action illeg

f266 SH to FN Feb 5 1858 printed 49 Belgrave Square. I send you back your paper on nurses. But mind it is a loan and not a gift and when we have get rid of Netley we will want this paper very much in order to correct our Regulations and insert the rates. I have set Balfour to work on the rates of pay for med officers. It is a subject wh requires. Andrew Smith who thought that the position of the AMD rested in the difference between 7.6d and 10d a day is advertising in van for 25 cands at the ... I suppose our Parisians will be finished their inspections tomorrow

I will write tomorrow about the illeg recommendations God bless you.

ff272-83 SH to FN Feb 6 1858 printed 49 Belgrave Square. I have read over your paper carefully. Before saying anything in your plan of pub I want to
call yr attention to one or two passages. 

In the final plan I think it is important to approve the three recommendations and correspondence on the illeg documents of the kind. My suspicion is that the paper gives us only a selection. Publishing your case might be strong if indeed the others because they wd show a larger amount of illeg, than for the sanitary state of the troops and the percentage of illeg [lots more] [details here] Now will you again consider what is the most adviseable to publish the whole of these papers in a second vol or an appendix in which case I have only to ask Andrew Smith if he still wishes the pub of the docs and if he as head of dept and representing the govt on our com claims it I can do so (unless Panmure interposes a veto). Then the pub will be immediate and instead of wanting means I can at once call yr attention to the published docs and you can give your criticism. Against this is to be set the renewal of the controversy of which the public are getting very sick. The fight you will have to sustain with some partial defeats &c. My only fear is that the controversy will tend to set the AM Dept. I don’t know the illeg .... 

Pray think well over this.

illeg articles in the Daily News 
I enclose a note to you which I hope promises well.

ff284-87 13 Feb 1858 EH letter to FN (Dearest) printed 49 Belgrave Square. 
Galton is out of town, & does not return till Monday or Tuesday. Burrell has changed his lodgings and it is too late to send to the War Office to find him. So Sidney is reading through your Netley versus French Report; 
Feb 14. To save time I read them Sutherland’s paper. It will require a good deal of illeg and one or two things cut two ways but it is a very useful paper. 
Burrell & Sutherland having both changed their lodgings I am at a loss where to send it, and as it must go by rather a round about way. Sutherland I think knows where Burrell now lives and you know where Sutherland lives. Would you direct the parcel for me to Sutherland and send it on by my messenger. Then I hope it will get redirected in a similar manner by Sutherland. 
I have written to Farr to get from him 
[letter contd by SH]

f288 SH to FN Feb 13 [1858] printed 49 Belgrave Square 

sends report. Can you arrange the exchange between Suth Smith and ... Balfour.... 
I am well but careful.

F290 letter to SH from John T Delane, July 6 [1858] re report, 
I have devoted all my scanty leisure for the last two days to the Report of your Commission, which I think one of the most important and interesting documents ever published in a blue cover. 
Who can wonder at Scutari after your description of Fort Pitt? 
You know how hard it is to find room for any non-Parliamentary subject during the Session, but I will omit no opportunity of doing what justice I can to your Report. I will try to call tomorrow, but if not open ...
How can a man like you get ill? If I could lend you life I would have 1000 years and never have a headache.

f292 SH letter to FN from Belgrave Feb 17 1858 I return your draft, read the first para seriously and wondered why we make such admissions as any man in his own Ironical
The Medical school wants one meeting
I went carefully over the promotion warrant last night at the House and [lots more] ...

note, f294v, on end of letter to FN from Herbert, pencil FN

f294v
They don't like it at all
They don't like the Sister's attention being distracted between 4 X 12. nor
the minuscule cost of attendance - nor the ventilation - nor the inconvenience of the centre space

Guy's & London new wards are irreparable

f295 W Farr letter to SH Feb 14 1858 will look carefully into matter and will write
Certainly. But those are for 2 bed
wards or 1 bed - more does NOT
provide for such cases

I should lay down broadly

1. Diffusion necessary for good ventilation
2. With opposite windows
   ward twice the size has
   better ventilation than ward
   half the size - within
   certain limits
3. With the Netley construction
   wards half the size
   Undoubtedly have a better
   chance than wards double
   the size.
I would not put size of wards
upon facility of administration.
I don't mind having to
fight it.

They are in a fix &
we will keep them
there.
Prove that the mortality 9 per
1000 of the last 18 mo.
is the result of
(1.) The process of
selection which, by
recruiting, filled the
Guards with fresh
lives, 2 - 3 years ago
(2.) The process of
reduction which, by
discharging, relieved the
Guards of one fourth, viz, all sick &
sickly lives, 1 - 2 years ago.
(3.) The ages of the Guards, which are now disproportionately young. Compare Civil Mortality of young ages.

(4.) The years of service of the Guards. They are now in their second or third year of service. (In Life Insurances, Mortality reduced to one-half first year, by process of selection).

(5.) 1856 & 1857 were, in London, very low

Mortality years - & there was no Epidemic. (The improvement in water may have been one cause - & other sanitary improvements).

(6.) The Comm.n, out of over-fairness, left off its Statistics at '53, when they ought in reality & in justice to have continued them, & shewn how these Guards who had died in peace had died tenfold during war, so ill were they (from disease),
(7.) But the second year, in the Crimea, by the introduction of Sanitary improvement, shewed the Guards in a high state of health. And this the young lives brought home with them. (8.) Were the rate of Mortality corrected according to ages, the 9 per 1000 might become 14 or 15 per 1000.

(9.) And what have they done to improve the health of the Guards? Have they drained & ventilated the Barracks? Have they varied the diet? Have they improved the clothing? No. They have poached in our healthy preserves - and taken, out of our Country Population, our healthiest lives. And this they call improving the health of the Army.

Reduction in mortality of the Guards
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Town. Districts</th>
<th>Country Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Causes</td>
<td>27,073</td>
<td>19,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respiratory</td>
<td>7,967</td>
<td>5,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>4,463</td>
<td>3,660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Density of country districts to that of towns as 10 to 245.
Mortality as 100:144

Tendency to Consumption increased 24 per cent in towns
to Typhus 55 per cent.

F302 SH letter to FN from Brighton Feb 18 1858 I have been putting together Netley notes and am ready for Sutherland’s paper. Will call at your home tomorrow at 3

f304 SH to FN Friday from Belgrave ca 26 Feb 1858 joint editors?

F305 SH letter to FN Feb 27 1858 on embossed House. I have seen Dr A Smith and have arranged to publish a second vol of appendixes with his and Hall’s san recs.
I have seen Genl Peel who promised to make no appt or to take any step as regards the med dept on san measures till he has conferred with me. He goes to his election next week and on his return we are to go on the whole subject & I promised him illeg.
I am writing to Storks and Dickenson who is illegs. I think Peel may do well if we can put him well in possession of the case.
I go to Wilton tonight and will be back on Monday morning..... Did you not run through in a return of the percentage of its mortality of the Walcheren expedition.

ff307 SH to FN printed 49 Belgrave Square Monday bef Feb 1858 I return you the instrs for the conduct of business which illeg
I think we might use Balfour’s return of the illeg health of the Guards barracks in illeg
I hope you are better today. illegs
I am well again.
I am in hopes Farr will operate in the illeg. if he does not (I however I think he will) he recommends in winter what he says habitually with the best medical articles. I am very much afraid of Chadwick and I find that the Westminster is Ld Stanley’s pet. I think he could be very useful to us. He writes very well and illeg and he ...
Mss 43395i microfilm, Matthew Adam reel 2; includes corr and FN draft of Army Sanitary Admin and its Reform and the late Lord Herbert ff321-41

ff1-2v, printed 49 Belgrave Square, March 1, 1858 from SH Belgrave Sq. Many thanks for your enclosures, I shd like to see you before reading the "Recommendations" today and will call on you on my way to my committee tomorrow morning.

It is illeg as to the form of doing it.

illegs illegs yrs SH

ff3-4, March 7, 1858 from printed 49 Belgrave Square re the Army Medical School paper, I send you to look at Sir J Clark’s proposed alteration in our medical school paper. At p 5 I cannot read the word he proposes to substitute in the third paragraph for the word “illeg”... to take out “accredited Hospital”.... illegs

I shd like Sutherland and yourself to look at it before I send it to Martin and Smith. I have spied the Netley report.

signed letter, ff5-6v, pen, black-edged paper

f5

30 Old Burlington St. [14:979]

March 12/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Please read the two enclosed and return them to me.

I think it is of the utmost importance to retain Howell for the "Edinburgh", & Chadwick for the "Quarterly".

Not because it signifies a farthing

f5v

now. (Army matters are going on too well for that).

Whether you are not "out" in the Edinburgh & Quarterly for the next twelve month or not. but it signifies very much whether the "Quarterly" & "Edinburgh" are retained for your writers or not.

Elwin must be
kept to his bargain
f6
for Chadwick. And
Reeve \textit{mt} for Howell.
Else the latter (Reeve)
might write in the
\textit{qt} "Edinburgh" himself.
Chadwick is the only
public writer who
has a grasp of the
subject. He cannot
be very unfair here.
And he has had a
caution.
Howell writes a
much better & more
forcible Article than

f6v
Chadwick. But he has
not the same grasp
of the subject.
Each must be in
that Review & no
other.
We will manage
some other writer for
the "N. British". It does
not signify now if you
are not in it this
number. But could
you hold Elwin to
his bargain or at
least with you (about
Chadwick) by writing
to him now? in order that
he may not put in some other writer. \textit{[end 14:979]}
Yours ever F. Nightingale

ff7-8v, \{archivist: [circa 15 March 1858]\}, printed 49 Belgrave Square. We
have a strong bill of fare tonight in the H of C.
India, illeg, Mily education, army ests. I must go and listen. illegs
statistical forms could not Farr, Tulloch & I meet illegs
Wednesday the illeg commission.... I go for my illeg for a week but
tomorrow is open and we could have a Barrack meeting in the morning and a
Statistical one if Farr’s paper is ready in the afternoon. I will write to
him according to yr answer.
How are you today? Shall I call at Burlington St.? We can illegs.
Laffan’s & co illeg

ff9-12v, printed Wilton House, Salisbury, March 16, 1858, re various
matters concerning reforms. You will probably have heard of the Guard’s
report, but in case you have not I enclose Balfour’s note & memo. illegs
I have heard from Farr who has finished his report and I have begged him
to get it printed for circulation.
I have also heard from Lord Stanley who ill luck the coxcombs illegs
I have illeg today to print of my warrant. I send for a copy at illeg
also the print of the description of the model hospital which illegs
I have been heartily ashamed of myself these last ten days idling away
my time to lead instead of minding my business in London, but I am I hope
good for tomorrow and now to illeg
I am in despair at Capt J. Did you illeg anything so illogical or so
ignorant as his letter of yesterday and I fear Dr Chapman considers him a
great authority on military matters.

ff13-14v, printed 49, Belgrave Square, March 17, 1858, re a proposed visit
and Barracks reform. Many thanks for your goodly packet which I have just
found on my table and which I shall go thro tonight.
Capt Jarivs [?] comes to me at eleven tomorrow morning but I shall pay
for a visit in the afternoon.
I have been going thro Galton & Burrell on barracks. illegs Dr Chapman
has had Capt Jarvis’s article illegs
I send you the letter press of the model hospital. I illeg

ff15-16v, March 18, 1858 printed Belgrave Sq, Dr Chapman, re a report of
Capt. Jervis, which I think ?? Disappointment. He Capt J has
Nonetheless it will be bad and mischievous and dr Chapman promises to
illegs
I can send the 3 papers to the illeg. about Dr Farr’s forms.
ff17-19v, {archivist: March 18, 1858}, re Jervis and changes to the Regulations. I have just recd the enclosed note from Dr Chapman with Jarvis to Dr S.??

I am sorry it is not in print, it is illegs
He Jarvis has withdrawn page 12 in which he illeg his objections to our proposals with regard to written advice and written illegs
But just see his quotation from the Regulations at p 13? illegs [long]

f20-20v, March 20, 1858, SH to FN printed 49 Belgrave Sq. I had a disagreeable letter from Sir John Hall. I have not yet answered it. But I will call on you tomorrow & talk it over.
I also send two copies of Netley in the shape in which it is finally gone to General Peel.... I also enclose the answer from the India House. It is all right.

ff21-21v, March 22, 1858, SH to FN, embossed H of C. Private.
I have summoned the Trustees & Council of the Nightingale Fund to meet at my house on Wednesday at 2.
John illeg strikes me as a little too illeg for the occasion, and I have made some additions which if you approve I shall be glad if for Wed. illegs

ff22-23 letter from OB to SH re Fund, copy on embossed House of Commons 30 O.B. looks like SH draft of letter for FN, March 1858

March 58
Dear Mr H, 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 judgement, I find my health so much impaired and I am consequently so unequal to commence a work which to be properly performed will require great creative 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 illeg 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 circs ask you and the council to consider in what way the objects contemplated by the contributors may now best be effected. I remain - - -
ff24-26v, March 22, 1858, embossed H of C, SH to FN. Here is Christison’s letter illegs the unavailability of information asked for
   But his letter is curious as showing the vice of illegs
   Please return him the letter when read as I must write to him tomorrow simply explaining our wants.
   , Christison letter to Sir John? on embossed House of Commons

f26 Christison letter to Sir John McNeill, 20 March. I wrote a long letter to Sidney Herbert on 28th Dec about army hosp dietaries for Garrison hospitals and field hospitals, proposing various ideas, esp relative to latter, and suggesting some things to be put in shape by the military authorities themselves. ... 

f27, March 23, 1858, printed 49 Belgrave Square. Here is the pick of nonsense on barracks.

ff28-28v, March 24, 1858, SH from Belgrave Sq re some internal reform from the War Office, Belgrave Sq

ff29-30, March 26, 1858, SH to FN re some letters to be published, Belgrave Sq

f30v, FN pencil notes undated and unsigned, re some statistics

How do you account for the Statistics?
   Those which you shewed me & which now are at your Office
   Mortality per 1000
Tower [?] 17
Portman St. 13
   There are a good many others & Portman St. is the most healthy.
   Why did you admit them?

ff31-32v, March 26, 1858, SH to FN, Belgrave Sq re her proposed resignation from the Nightingale Fund, fair copy
PRIVATE. March 27th, ’58.

Dear Mr. Herbert,

I send an answer. But at the same time I thought your first letter (written for me to yourself) so perfect that if you would write this too, I should be very much obliged to you.

I had no idea, till I saw Mrs. Herbert yesterday that you would think it necessary to put the correspondence in the "Times". I do see the necessity now. But there is a passage in your generous letters to me, received last night, which I should very much dislike to see in the "Times", viz. about what I have done for the Sanitary Reform of the Army.

I had much rather that you had no chivalrous ideas about what is "due" to me. The only good thing that can be "due" to me is what is for the good of the troops.

Whatever of information your own judgment has accepted from me will come with far greater force from yourself. and vice versa - I had much rather therefore that any mention of my late occupations were left out - not from any modesty or candour, but simply from a feeling of what is best for the troops.

Ever yours,
Florence Nightingale.
unsigned letter, ff34-35, pen, not FN hand {archivist: dictated?} [March 27, 1858]} see Wilt/67 March 23, in Times 30 March 1858

f34

Dear Mr. Herbert

It would indeed be im
possible to me to refuse a proposal
which expresses in a manner so gra
tifying the confidence & kind feeling
of the Trustees - & which leaves open
to the opportunity, if unexpectedly
to myself health should leave it
possible, of attempting to forwards
the objects most interesting to me

I believe you will be willing
to assure the Trustees that I
will work if I can & when I
can. It is a great relief to me
to have your assurance that
that they Trustees are aware

f34v

that hitherto it has been im
possible to me to do anything
in this work, & that it will be
so, for some time to come -how
long it is not in my power
to say an The fear that I might
appear illeg negligent of a
trust committed to me
weighed heavily on my mind
& the great uncertainty of as to
my ever being able to fulfil
it induced me to request
it to relinquish it, but I beg to

f35

leave the matter as you
proposed by you - & will only
repeat my thanks to yourself &
the Committee for the heartfelt
gratification of your confidence &
good wishes

f36, undated and unsigned notes re the Trustees

ff37-38v, Dunmore Park, Falkirk, N B March 31, 1858 SH to FN re Hospital Construction and a meeting with J. MacNeill and Dr. Christison
355

f39-40v, SH to FN April 1, 1858, re opposition to the plans for Netley, has written to Peel and begged him to let me see the contr report, re decision on Netley, clay feet of the architectural and medical idols Laffan and Mapleton. I am charmed at the accounts of the results of the announcement. My scepticism is shaking. I read a book coming down here in which a man who has been argued into infidelity is reconverted to Xitianity by the breaking of a cord in a piano forte.

f41 SH letter to FN from Dunmore Park, you will have seen by this time what I sent to Sutherland. re Christison April 4 1858

f45 Christison letter to SH with data on diets 20 April 1858; I have examined with attention Dr Alexander’s proposed hosp dietary for troops which you put into my hands when you were lately in Edinburgh, return. Appears to me well arranged, inasmuch as it allows of moderate variety, is composed of articles easily attainable and supplies sufficient nutriment w/o superfluity or waste. Gives list of nutriments: carboniferous, nitrogenous, total for fever diet, milk diet, low diet, half diet, fowl diet, fish diet, chop diet, steak diet, full diet; asks if evidence re full diet, if so, nothing more to say, if not, observes allowance of meat mt be adv increased to 16 ounces....when milk withdrawn, fresh animal food shd be supplied

f47 SH letter to FN from Wilton, May 25 1858 just recd her letter, will be in town tomorrow, will call at her house on way to Waterloo Station to report progress and discuss two matters that must be settled May 25 158

f53 SH letter to FN from Wilton, will call tomorrow aft, re Burrell ; May 30 1858

f55 SH letter to FN from Belgrave Sq, sends copy of Instructions June 4 1858, Belgrave Sq

f56 SH letter to FN from Wilton, impression .. June 6 1858. My impression is that you have all the papers on meteorology

f58 SH to FN from Belgrave dangerous June 10 1858. It strikes me as being dangerously and unnecessarily expensive. Could not the umber of stations be reduced?

f59 SH to FN from Wilton June 19 1858

f60 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq June 29 1858, letter from Burrell complaining of his position on commission, something mt be done for him, compendium for Pan

f64 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq June 20 1858, read hurriedly through report (or June 30?0

f66 SH letter to FN from Belgrave won’t complain, re Malvern Sept 16 1858
ff70-73 SH to FN from Wilton, long letter wants help and advice on a military matter. I write to you, re inf Sept 19? 1859; I find that in our inf all has been progressing well and those who ...opposed the introduction of a sister from Devonshire Sq are not reconciled to it [hard to read]...

f74 SH letter to FN Sept 26 1858, re report, pencilled suggestions Sept 26 1858, black-edged, from Dunmore Park. I know I shall have your sympathy in a heavy sorrow. My dear sister the eldest lady Clanwilliam died at a little wayside inn on Loch Etive. Has written to Sutherland. Returns her article

f76 SH letter to FN from Wilton has received her letter and will.. Limits of Parl boroughs Oct 5 1858, black-edged

f78 SH letter to FN from Wilton re error Oct 7 1858, Wilton, black-edged

f80 SH letter to FN from Wilton Oct 13 1858, shall be in town tomorrow and will call, black-edged,

f82 SH letter to FN will be in town Wednesday, had appt with Storks, where she can reach him Oct 18 1858, Wilton, black-edged

f84 SH letter to FN from Wilton re pamphlet, black-edged

f86 SH letter to FN from Wilton another same date, black-edged

f88 SH letter to FN from Wilton Oct 29 1858 black-edged

f90 SH letter to FN from Dunmore Park, wants help and advice re an inf Nov 9 1858, black-edged

f94 SH letter to FN from Tamworth re Medical Council Nov 14 1858, black-edged

f98 SH letter to FN Nov 19 1858, black-edged Belgrave Sq

f99 SH letter to FN from Wilton Nov 21 1858, black-edged

f101 SH letter to FN from Exeter Nov 29 1858, black-edged

f104 SH letter to FN from Belgrave Sq Dec 7 1958, black-edged

f106 SH letter to FN from Wilton has recd from WO plans of Gosport Hospital, re Burrell Dec 23 1858, black-edged

f110 SH letter to FN from Wilton re blue book Dec 26 1858, black-edged

f112 SH letter to FN from Wilton re Peel sent re salary for director Jan 2 1859, black-edged

f118 SH letter to FN from Wilton encloses letter Jan 6 1859, black-edged
Wilton House
Salisbury.
Jan 10. 1859
Dear Miss Nightingale
I am very glad you have got into communication with Dr. Eli. Blackwell, as all her schemes are issuing without [issuing? Arising?]
a corporeal entity ready to work them. I enclose the paper on which I have entered what you indicated more or less in conversation the

other day. - I delayed because I wanted to know the exact amount of the fund & its income. This however Mr. S C Hall let [4 words illeg.] I think it is in round numbers about £45000 which would yield an income of about £1600.- Taking £25000 for the nursing then & leaving £25,000 for the superannuation &c. I assume that you could nurse a Hospital requiring 15 nurses with average wages of £30 of which the fund wd pay one third. & maintain say 12 Probationers at £20 [numbers not clear] cash including illeg &c.

Then would be the need of a Home illeg illeg just light & sundries
& I suppose some one
person to keep the House.
one third of the salary
of the Matron or
Superintendent also to
be paid of the fund.
thus. Matron. £40
15 nurses at £10 £150
10 Probationers at 30.£300
House Rent rates
taxes. fuel. light
a Housekeeper £40

I don't know what the
cost of the House &c &c
wd be, but one shd
leave for the whole about
£850
Nothing can be more
{illeg.} or more ignorant
than my success.
But other considerations
arise. Would you take
nuns who wd receive no

pay if they intend to
work gratis illeg some
little property of their
own?
Would you {illeg.} not
name on payment to
the House, at St. John's
& Osnaburg Square
also?
Would it not be well
to get from King's Coll
the terms of agreement
between their Hospital
& St John's House wh
their nuns there?
   I quite agree with
you that unless the W.O
will take the spirit
of our Intentions to
the Council it will

be best to wait [?] only
hands of the concern.
   As regards Burrell
if they give him a salary
instead of pay then
is on (illeg.) of their
difficulty about the
warrant altogether.
   I think I shall

run up to town
& see Sutherland &
Galton about the medical
school. Sir J Clarke is
gone to Berlin to
explain to the Emperor
accoucheurs how that
sort of thing is done.
But Sutherland has
prepared a report & I

have sent it back to
him with alterations.
   Believe me y.
   Sidney Herbert

I got a ileg from Hawes full of the grossest ignorance, darkness beyond all
hope and showing that he had not the remotest ideal ileg
   I went up to town yesterday. I find that Balfour is willing to accept ileg a rank of deput inspector but which to try and bargain for ileg
   Alexander is at his ileg wants the Council ileges but is so short handed ilegs
   Sir J Clark has left behind him an argument for 5 Professors which is ileg and for ileg
   I am to leave the ileg
f132 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury black-edged Jan 21 1859, I send you a copy of our medical school report illegs

ff136-39 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square. We meet for barrack puropes this morning and I illeg some connection with Sutherland on the medical school. We must I think omit from our report the recommendation of particular illeges I have a letter from Sir J Clark from Berlin. The Army medical School there illeg upwards of £5000 for 35 pupils. being about £150 per pupil. illegs\ I go back to Wilton tonight and shall return here Tuesday unless there is appearance of a still further illeg in which case I think I shall add another day or two illeges I hear Lugard is a good officer very gentlemanlike but illeges

ff140-45 Feb 12 1859 SH to FN, black-edged, embossed House of Commons. I did not leave Peel long in peace for the morning after I arrived I saw him and this is how we stand. illrhd re regs, const of dir gen office remains unsettled, re Storks, Wellington barracks The constitution of the Director General’s office remains unsettled. OIt is their plan still before th Treasury. but illeges Peel has greatly

f146 SH letter to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square. 20 Feb 1859, black-edged I will call tomorrow at 3 o’clock. I am glad I did illeg this morning or illeges

f148 SH letter to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square, Mar 25 1859, black-edged. I enclose the letter I have received about Shorncliffe. Will you give it to to Sutherland when he returns. Whatever it does either in way of reducing the assertions or making them open & shut at the illeg

f150 note, ink, large, black-edged from printed 49 Belgrave Square [ca end March 1859] The last Edition “vero ultissimo” cf cf the Suggestions & Sanitary Works. S.H.

f151 SH letter to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury, black-edged. I do not think that Peel will direct an inquiry into the W Indian barracks, but there can be no harm in asking him and with a view to urge it the most effectually I will illeges I had a talk with Evatt read him the extracts of the letter from which he says illeg. Muir ref

f155 SH letter to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury April 10 1859, re chaplain from Crimea, Miss Wear black-edged

f157 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury. April 12 1859, black-edged I left in Dr Sutherland’ds hand the reports of the Chathams medical
school plan. I propose to send up to you the letter to Genl Peel recommending it.

Professors illeg

But will you leave me one copy down here that I may illeg I speak of the document by its proper title.

I return Sir J Richardson’s letter of which I have sent “extracts” to Genl Peel and asked him to illeg and draw up ... illegs

Letter to FN from John S. Richardson, ff159-60, pen, Nat Lib Scotland letter 10997 ff223-24, or copy or draft, similar

f159r

Lanacrigg, Grasmere
5 April 1859

Dear Miss Nightingale

You were so kind as to ask for further information respecting the Barracks of St. James' at Trinidad and I now repeat to you what I have heard. The buildings are large, commodious and well ventilated and drained being altogether the best in the West Indies. But they are erected on the east side of the cocarite swampy jungle, and it is currently reported that Government purchased the ground from a planter who finding his negroes dying there has withdrawn them. The
Barracks are designated the charnel house by medical officers on the station. The Late Epidemic was almost wholly confined to the Barracks, the attacks in Camp being confined to those who were considered to have the latent seeds of the disease at the time of leaving the Barracks or who subsequently mounted guard there. After the troops had been a fortnight without a case in camp, motives of economy prompted their removal to the Barracks, and in less than a month afterwards the fever returned with more than its first
violence, the civil community still remaining healthy. of ten officers including two commissariat clerks who were present at the commencement of the epidemic six died. The fever was very fatal to the women and very many children died of it. Only three men supposed to be well seasoned died, and it is remarkable that of the men who were left to take care of the Barracks when the others were moved out none died though all of them without exception had the fever.

I rejoiced to learn from the newspapers that the attention of the Secretary of War has been directed to the St. James' Barracks
and hope that at whatever
cost they will be abandoned.
Major Bush of the 41st excelled
himself greatly in providing
cheerful amusement for the
men and in providing such
sanitary precaution as the
situation admitted of. From
him doubtless the Secretary of
War might obtain much
useful information if he
wishes for it.

My son I am thankful to
be able to say has returned in
tolerable health having had the
fever slightly. He has still aguish
attacks in damp weather.

Your own health I was sorry to
hear lately from Sir John McNeil
continues delicate. but I trust to
hear better accounts of you soon -
in the mean time, I request that
you will not take the trouble of
replying to my note unless you think
that I can procure further information

I remain faithfully yours
John S Richardson

Sir John McNeill’s memo is excellent and I think it might be well worth
while when our committee meet again to call him, if not inconvenient to
him. I feel certain that the change ought to be made in all cases of
arrival in the field, and I cd not anticipate much difficulty in getting
this effected for the Treasury like power and they are fairly entitled to
it in this instance.

I send the letter to Peel together with the Recommendations of each
Commission and the testimonials of the candidates.

Plan to read over the letter in case anything should strike you.

Will you illeg to Peel plus 2 copies of it

Touching the Radcliffe Observatory, we have written to Herschel, Airy and Ld Rosse
asking their opinion, first as to what is the kind of work wh in the
interests of science the observatory ought to do.

2nd who is the head illeg to do it.

We shall thus get the opinions of the three most eminent in their illeg
both as to the objects to be carried out and illeg I am against illeg or a
mere scientific illeg

I had a note from Peel this morning about Trinidad saying what is
apparently true, he believes it is not the barrack but the site which is so
fatal and a illeg power has been sent to the genl at Barbadoes and to the governor at Trinidad to move the Troops from the island.

He says nothing about the army medical school illegs

I shd like the Italians to thrash the Austrians and the Austrians to thrash the French, but I fear it will be altogether the other way.

The poor bishop of Salisbury is in great trouble, Their eldest da is dying of hair fever which had been treated as low fever till too late; she is 14 years old and one of their good pious children illeg

f169 Apr 22 1859 black-edged, SH to FN printed Wilton House Salisbury, Thank God my dear wife is safe thro’ her trial. She was uneasy all last night, but still not sure that the creature really coming and she was dressed and at breakfast illeg

a fine, fat dark-haired baby girl came into the world; we cannot be thankful enough for this short labour. She is now as strong and well as is possible and I illeges God bless her.

illeges, business, seeing Stanley

f171 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury April 29 1859 black-edged, I am very glad to see your hand again tho it is by no means a certain indice of your being better or fit to write as regards the Queen’s officer. Old Gryl I know well. He is a fine old fellow but would I think be useless on a commission and might be very much the contrary if he took the “all damned humbug” line, whi is not entirely impossible.

There is an advantage in a name which would be in illeg Greathead and the illeg of a member of Parliament is

f179 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury, black-edged May 5 1859, Lord Stanley greatly prefers Sir E. Lugard ad as we had separately all then come to the same conclusion I at once closed with him.

The Queen has approved.

The Instructions are being put forward and the commission have been written to by Ld S so at any rate we are moving. Ld S has an illeges

f181 SH to FN from Wilton black-edged Lugard
f183 EH letter to FN from Wilton, black-edged, May 11 1859 Sidney all day and nearly all night at his soldiering this week, begs her to answer her note to say he sent a list of the names to Sir Richard Airey asking his opinion on them, must wait; Dearest, signed yrs ever EH, adds “I am so well dearest & very nearly fit for work again....I cannot tell you the joy and comfort your picture was to me when I was ill. No vulgar or unloving hand has ever touched it. Mrs Montgomery framed it for me and did it with her whole heart. asks to send her love.

f185 SH letter to FN from Wilton, black-edged May 12 1859, close with Greathed

f186 SH to FN on blue embossed House of Commons, black-edged, has seen Sutherland June 3 1859

f188 SH to FN Belgrave Sq June 13 1859 etext

[printed address] 49 Belgrave Square
13 June 1859

My dear Miss Nightingale

I must write you a line to tell you that I have undertaken the Ministry of War. I have undertaken it because in certain branches of administration I believe that I can be of use, but I do not disguise from myself the severity of the task nor the probability of my proving unequal to it. But I know that you will be pleased to hear of my being there.

I hope the first sensations on anything are not to be taken as true indications of the satisfaction which the change of life is to give. The prospect of hard and difficult work with an imperfect machinery in the office and a desperate battle to be fought in Parliament against a numerous and keen enemy, a fight [?] with a doubtful and discontented support at one’s back is not exhilarating. I will try to ride down to you tomorrow afternoon. God bless you.

yours faithfully
Sidney Herbert

f190 SH to FN Belgrave Sq, asks her to ask Sutherland to look at papers July 5 1859

f192 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq, has gone through alterations in the Regs July 26 1859

f194 SH to FN Belgrave Sq, Tuesday, has learned from Alexander illegs

f200 SH to FN from WO, Alexander asks re Queen’s Regs Sept 1/59 Alexander asks whether the banquet he culled out of the “Queen’s Regulations” having reference to the Medical officers shd be printed, together with our Regs illegs

I include to it. What do you and Sutherland say?

Do you illeg a Purveyor’s clerk I think) at Scutari named Turner. He says he formed an exalted opinion of him. he illegs

Lord Stanley declines taking charge of the commission and sulks in his
tent. What are we to do? It is not easy to find a man & do not think that any one of the existing members is bright enough. We go to Wilton tonight for two weeks. yrs sincerely S. Herbert

f204 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Sq, schedule Sept 24 1859. Here is the renewed schedule made upon my minute which illeg I cannot not read it. Will you look at it. I have a meeting this afternoon and go to Wilton tomorrow night so I can’t ride down today. At least probably not.
If you approve of the schedule as it has made and can print it with the Medical School.

f206 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury. Sept 26 1859. I got your packet and yr letter after I left Cabinet today to go to the train. Thanks for the “Requirements“ illegs
I have found Mr Wyat illeg... Panmure
illegs I am very sleepy as I write this letter.

f208 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq Oct 8 1859, We went to Wilton this morn and returned tonight and I find yr letters her & plenty W.O. papers.
One is a print of the “Requirements for Candidates“ marked “very pressing“!
In homage to this evidence of unusual excitement in it was .... ought they not to be re-printed with the Regulations?
I think we had ... Alexander
I hope to dine at Montague from on Sunday.
Would it amuse you to bring down with the papers a illegs

f210 SH letter to FN from WO Oct 6 1859, queen’s regs

f212 SH letter to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 1 1859 I have had a letter from illeg (Scinde) one of the ablest men in India, speaking of the R Sanitary Commn saying he would gladly do anything to help it, having given much thought to the subject, written on it, suggesting that he illeg
Had we not better do so. In case you still have the “illeg with you I send a copy of the warrant.... we will be back in town on Thursday.

f214 SH letter to FN from Wilton sends for review? of ?? Oct 12 1859

f215 SH letter to FN from embossed WO, Oct 13 Will you look over these Sanitary Instructions for me and return them tomorrow 43395 f215

f216 SH to FN on embossed War Office. Here is a hosp paper which I think you shd see, illegs re cubic sp, Oct 4 1859

f218 SH to FN from WO Oct 12 [1859], I had just sent off a packet to you when your messenger turned up. illegs
Next week I will see Longmore and Parkes 43395 225

f220 SH to FN on embossed War Office, circular. This is the circular No 464 the existence of wh I had quite forgotten. I sent the Regs yesterday Oct 18
1859

f221 SH to FN from WO embossed Oct 18 59, circular. Here is the original illeg. Please look at p 38 under the sub as it stands the practitioner gets life illegs

f223 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Sq, Oct 24 1859 Here are the qualifications and the Medial School. I have illeg hygiene lecture, cd be turned to surgery lecture.

f225 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 26 1859, One Dr Rutherford is proposed for the sanitary officer in China, SH goes to town tomorrow

f226 SH to FN from embossed WO, C. Wood has given me the enclosed for your info and tells me that Dr Farr is satisfied. What do you think of Dr Rutherford? Do you think him good for the sanitary officers? I enclose a paper about supts of the Hospital corps. Oct 28 1859, C. Wood on f228

f228 note. The info to which Dr Farr referred in the letter of Miss Nightingale is in the India House and will be furnished without delay. The info to which Dr Prinsep illeg?

f229 SH to FN printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 30 1859. I think these papers will interest you.

Burgoyne has put the cost of the Barrack too high because he had included alterations illeg. all barracks illegs

Thanks for yr note about Rutherford. We stay till Wednesday during which time I hope to put a "baby" a paper for the govt as to the force a home and the additions illeg.

f230 SH to FN from Wilton re papers to instruct her Oct 30 1859, thanks for her note re Rutherford

f231 SH to FN from Wilton Nov 2 1859, re purveyor’s regs, goes back to treadmill tomorrow

f233 SH to FN from Belgrave Nov 4 1859 re Newcastle Barrack 43395 f233

f234 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq re Alexander or Rutherford Nov 8 1859

f236 letter to SH in reply to his re Rutherford Nov 8 1859

f238 SH to FN from WO Nov 10 1859 with Balfour’s list, asks to go over it with Sutherland, re Jamaica Barracks, invaliding
f240 EH to FN Dec 14 1859 from Belgrave Sq, Dearest, Sidney wishes me to send you these if you will be so very kind as to look them over. I know it’s wrong but I am so ignorant I can’t resist the temptation of asking you to help us even at the risk of adding to your work. God bless you now ever. EH

f241 SH to FN WO embossed, Monday asks you & Sutherland to look at enclosed and tell if think it right

f242 SH to FN from WO Jan 11 [1860] thanks for new book

ff244-45 letter of SH to Miss Carter pen, etexts 43395 ff244-45

Dear Miss Carter [Hilary Bonham Carter]  
I do not know whether Miss Nightingale has heard the sad news which met me here this morning, and I do not like to write direct to her on the subject. Dr Alexander, our excellent Director-General of the Medical Department, died of gout in the heart this morning. I think she will feel the loss very much. The public loses an excellent administrator in whom his profession had the greatest confidence. The public’s loss is mine also. He was one of the honestest men I ever knew and I had ....Believe me yours faithfully

Sidney Herbert

f246 SH to FN from Wilton April 15 1860, Gibson does not know difference between a governor and a commandant

f249 SH to FN from Belgrave April 23 1860, I think you will like to read enclosed minute of Sir J Outram’s, glad to see he has got it in his head, has some want of appreciation of him 43395 f249

f251 SH to FN from WO 1860 May 9, re Sutherland

f253 SH to FN on embossed House of Commons May 15 [1860] returns papers with MacLean, Wood won’t do what we propose and cannot

f255 SH to FN Belgrave Sq re Malta May 17 1860

f257 letter of W Farr to SH from Gen Reg Office re Congress May 25 1860

f258 SH to FN from embossed WO [4 June 1860]

f260 SH to FN 1 Sept 60 SH letter to FN from Langwell, exposes note from Sir J. Burgoyne, re fittings, dull week at Balmoral, Windsor

f262 Burgoyne letter to SH 30 Aug 1860 re fittings of new medical school at Chatham, has recd report from Genl Williams , to expedite, you must be misinformed if...
f264 SH to FN from Wilton re Genl Maclean Oct 5 7/60; with FN note at top: To be returned to F.N.

f266 SH letter to FN Octr 8 60 on embossed WO, re McLean

f267 copy of SH letter to Sir from WO rather at cross purposes, his letter of 20 June 7 Oct 1860

f269 SH to FN from embossed WO India Council Oct 10 60

f271 SH to FN from Wilton Dec 11 1860 Lord Stanley accepted and is to begin in Feb Dec 11 60; Lord Stanley accepts & is to begin in February. He is complimentary & says he knows of no army reformer but me....I went out hunting yesterday with George. We had a lovely bright day & a good run & I ....Thanks very much for yr kind & most useful letter

f273 SH letter to FN from Belgrave Sq re Balfour and Tulloch. Peel won’t. I hope to see you tomorrow Dec 17 [60]

f274 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq Lady Airlie, re Haslar Hosp, date Saty night

f276 SH printed form To the Electors of the Southern Division of the County of Wilts Jan 1 1861

f276 printed notice
To the Electors of the Southern Division of the County of Wilts
Wilton 1 January 1861
Gentlemen
It is with pain and regret that I find myself compelled to relinquish the seat in the House of Commons which I have so long filled as your representative. The incessant attendance and late hours unavoidable to a Member of Parliament seeking thoroughly to discharge his duty, and aggravated in my case by the labour of representing a heavy department, have proved too much for my strength; and I have, at last, most reluctantly arrived at the conclusion that I must not risk the result of another year of so much fatigue.

I entered Parliament a very young man. Through your favour I have represented the division uninterruptedly for 28 years. I have never had to seek for another constituency.

[This is very nice]

Through the favour of the Crown I hope still to be enabled, though at the cost of less physical exertion, to take a part in the council of the nation; and the interests which you have hitherto committed to my hands will not be less sacred in my eyes when no longer directly confided to me by you.

In bidding you farewell, I must offer to the many and true friends who have given me so generous and constant a support my most warm and heartfelt thanks. I must thank also those who have been opposed to me for a forbearance and courtesy honourable to them, and now most gratifying to me to remember. To you all I offer my best wishes for the future, and I pray for a continuance to you of every blessing.
f277 stylized letter from Clark Kennedy Army Med Dept Whitehall to SH 11 JAN 1861

f279 AMD stylized scheme for the organizaton of the present Garrison Hospital at Woolwich, from Clark Kennedy

f289 stylized letter to SH from Clark Kennedy re AMD 26 Feb 1861

f291 SH to FN, n.d. top removed where date wd be undated to FN re Gibraltar. I think you will like to see the results of the great Gibraltar Porter case. illeg ... FN comment: whatever you have agreed should be the rule. do now

f293 SH to FN from Wilton re Galton’s idea of ventilator, liver Ben Johnson Mar 25 1861, long letter

f297 SH to FN re Capt x, very hard to read, asks for advice

f298 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square April 29 61, black-edged, hard to read, Capt Jackson

f300 SH to FN from Highgate June 7 1861 Re Woolwich Hosp, has written to Clark Kennedy, Balfour and sanitary report, long letter, re making a change in life, country life, “with a complete rest I am hopeful of further [future?] years of activity and usefulness, re Cavour, what a life and what a death, what a glorious career! I don’t know whom to look for anything to compare to it Jun 7 61, black-edged
1. This is taking the business from an obstructive & transferring it to an ineffective.

2. To give Lugard (and Lugard lived with Crofton for a living) all this - because you want "a man conversant with all warrants regulating promotion &c" is: - as if I were to ask you why you made your donkey into your horse - & you were to say, My donkey was a very good donkey & drew my costermonger's cart very well. Lugard, every one knows, to be a thoroughly good man, who will work through any number of papers, because he will give
any number of hours to them.
But why he has so many papers,
& whether he ought to have
so many, will never so much
as occur to him.
Why, Clark Kennedy, if you
want an Officer, is twice the
man Lugard is.

3. If you want not to "hamper
your successor", whom this
scheme is most assuredly
"hampering" - for he would
have to get rid of two Under-
Secretaries instead of one -
would you shew this scheme
to Lord de Grey? You say "he
understands it so much better."
Do shew it him privately. As
you say "he has seen much more of the working of the machine."

4. When I sent you my scheme, of a division of duties, it was on the understanding that Lugard's appointment necessitated a division of duties. It was a great relief to me when you answered that "the alteration of the title does not make a division of the Office imperative."

Lord de Grey's proposal as a basis was much better than this; in as much as it might have led to more direct decision of questions. And it would be much easier for your successor to base build even upon the present construction of the Office than upon this.

5. To discuss the scheme itself: the following points arise

(1) would the branches which have to report to the two Under Secretaries deal only with them? Or would the business necessarily come before the S. of S. for decision?

If the former, has Lugard, though a most industrious and useful man, nous enough?

If the latter, should not the scheme state distinctly what the Under Sec:s should do with the business?

(2) The only two branches, whose right to report directly to the S. of S. is reserved, are the I.G.F., and the Dir. of Ordnance.

The scheme does not say what the Under Sec:s are to do with any papers reported direct from their
minuting by any body & every body.
    There again you made the hands turn round yourself - And you thought the watch was going.
    Such a system must be adopted at the W.O. as will enable every question, where further enquiry is not ordered, to be settled by 3 or 4 minutes.
    The cardinal points of W.O. reform are:-
    (1) direct action from circumference to centre
    (2) only one centre
    (3) direct action from centre to circumference
    (4) all office details of minuting &c curtailed
    (5) a proper registry

8. It would be cruel to your successor not to shew him this scheme.

9. That the greatest statesman of Europe should die by the hands of an ignorant Doctor was an awful blow to Europe. But to my mind that a Sidney Herbert should be beaten on his own ground by a Ben Hawes is far more awful & ominous in reality. It is the triumph of bureaucracy over the great political leaders of England. It is a blow from which there is no recovery.
   "As if a God had been abroad
   "And left his impress on the world"
says Dryden.
You have left no impress of yourself on the War Office. You have not even coloured it. There is nothing of Sidney Herbert left in this scheme. It is as if I could find no way of defeating a refractory Nurse except moving off myself & carrying away with me as much of the furniture & Patients of the ward as I could to put under another Nurse.

No man in my day has thrown away so noble a game as Sidney Herbert with all the winning cards in his hands. Pardon me. I have done. I feel I ought to ask you pardon for speaking to you in such a way. And you will be magnanimous if you grant it.

I once heard a little girl of five years old say to a very clever man, between whom & herself there was one of those curious friendships one sometimes sees, I am disappointed in you. And he forgave her.

Let me just say that I look upon your public life of usefulness, as by no means over. Two years of perfect rest might, if you chose, restore you not to perfect health but to what you were, two years ago.
f310 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq, black-edged, to look at enclosed list of names for genl hosp and tell what you think of them June 21/61

f312 SH to FN from Belgrave Sq, re Clark Kennedy names, good plan June 22/61, black-edged

f314 SH to FN from Wilton, but in EH hand, July [1861] re instructions for Capt Jackson gone, ditto those for Galton and Sutherland, Mrs Shaw Stewart has been written to in our joint sense. I have asked Galton to set down for me exactly what statistics and returns ar needed by them that I may give immediate orders for their preparation.

5. I always said I hoped to be officially dead before any questions of Netley arose and here is (enclosed) a broad hint to me to make haste about it & clear out.

Nevertheless I must give some sort of answer to the question which Gibson ....I have written to Genl Lawrence to announce Capt P. Jackson’s arrival. I am better but going to stop here till Monday or Tuesday for the benefit of quiet & the impostor.

yrs ever sincerely

f316 SH to FN from Spa, black-edged July 16/61, I enclose a letter from Mrs Shaw Stewart. To cut maters short and start the thing, I have begged illeges

I have written illeges

I have a letter from Codrington proposing another site for the inst...I wish I had an confidence that you are as much better as I am. yrs sincerely Herbert

f320 undated SH note, Wilton

The author has declared himself. SH
XIV. Army Sanitary administration & its reform, under the late Lord Herbert. By Florence Nightingale

It has been well & truly said that, in long wars, the real arbiter of the destinies of nations is not the sword but pestilence. It is this destroying angel which, following on the march of Armies, exacts every man to the full whatever penalties follow on the infraction of natural Law.

[1] In times past, was has been conducted in more or less forgetfulness, sometimes in total oblivion, of the fact that the
soldier is a mortal man, subject to all the ills following on wet & cold, want of shelter, bad food, excessive fatigue, bad water, intemperate habits & foul air.

And so the waste of human life & the destruction of human health & happiness have been, in all ages, many times greater from disease than from actual encounters in the field.

If peace has its victories as well as war, it has also its unnecessary losses from disease & death. Only the losses of peace are greater
than those of war. Because they are daily & constant; while war occurs at intervals of time. To endeavour to prevent this destruction of life is by no means to encourage war; no more than to attend on the sick & wounded in a Field Hospital is to encourage war. The object is primarily one of humanity. It is to save life & to diminish suffering. And all who engage in this work are, in the best sense, savers of life men. Highest among such must be ranked Sidney Herbert.
As years pass on, so will the work, which he was a main agent in accomplishing, become better known & followed up. And who can tell how much systematic attempts, made by all nations, to diminish the horrors of this great curse, may not lead the way to its total disappearance from the earth? The faithful records of all wars are records of preventible suffering, disease & death. It is needless to illustrate this truth. For we all know it. It is only needful to say that, from the Crimean catastrophe, dates
Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army, 1857.

The rise of Army Sanitary administration in this country.

The losses then incurred & the experience derived from these induced Her Majesty to issue the now famous Royal Commission on the "Sanitary State of the Army", composed of men qualified to grapple with the whole subject & to suggest the necessary remedies. Sidney Herbert presided over that Commission & embodied its results in a masterly Report, showing, for the first time, the great and unnecessary mortality to which the Army was at all times subject, the diseases occasioning it, their removable causes, & the administrative reforms required to arrest this awful loss of life & efficiency.
At that time the Death rate among soldiers from consumption alone & its cognate diseases, (the monstrous products of breathing foul air) exceeded the total Death rate from all causes among the civil population of the corresponding ages. The total mortality in the Army was nearly double - in the Guards more than double that of the Civil population. It is now actually less than in Civil life.

Sidney Herbert's report laid the foundation of Army Sanitary reform. Lord Panmure, aware of it price, issued, under Sidney Herbert's advice, four Sub-Commissions for giving effect to its recommendations:-

One, the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission, examined the Barracks & Military Hospitals of the United Kingdom

Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission 1857
& found their Sanitary condition as to overcrowding, want of ventilation, want of drainage, imperfect water supply &c, sufficient to account for most of the excessive Death rate from which the troops, occupying them, had suffered. These establishments have, under the direction of the Commission, been provided with combined ventilation & warming, without machinery of any kind. Drainage has been introduced & cesspits abolished. Water supply has been extended, baths introduced, both for Barracks &
Hospitals, & the
Lavatory arrangements,
generally, improved.
The Barrack kitchens
have been completely
remodelled; the wasteful
cooking apparatus,
only fit for boiling,
has been replaced by
improved & economical
cooking ranges, for
roasting &c, so that
the men may now
have the change of
cookery required for
health, instead of the
eternal soup & boiled
beef. Gas has been
introduced into many
Barracks, instead of
the couple of "dips,"
which only made
the Barrack rooms
look darker still
& by which it was
the light of which it was impossible for the men to read or to pursue and occupation except smoking. Many important structural alterations for increasing window light, circulating fresh air by removing useless partitions, - for ventilating stables, abolishing ash-pits, &c, have been carried out. More simple & healthy principles for the construction of future Barracks & Hospitals, for ensuring better drainage, efficient ventilation, more cubic space for both sick & well, & greater facilities
for administration & discipline, have been laid down & are being applied in several new structures;—amongst others, in the great "Herbert Hospital" at Woolwich.

The labours of the same Commission have since been extended to the Mediterranean Stations, where they were greatly required. And it is to be hoped that they will be farther extended to the West Indies and Canada.

The result of the improvements, already made, is that just one half of the Englishmen that enter
the Army die (at Home Stations) as formerly died. The total mortality at Home Stations from all diseases is now actually less (by above 1 per 1000 per annum) than was formerly the mortality from consumption & chest diseases alone. The reduction in deaths from consumption has been remarkable - in some Arms one half, in others two thirds of the mortality from this fatal disease has disappeared.

As a supplement to the improvements in Barrack cook houses, (already referred to,) Lord Herbert directed a school for Practical Cookery to be established at Aldershot for the training of Regimental & Hospital cooks - instead of taking it for granted, as was the practice, that any man could cook just as he could mount
guard. This school is gradually supplying both Regiments & Hospitals with cooks capable of giving men a wholesome meal.

The second Sub: Commission was appointed for re-organising the Army Medical Department, & for framing a code of Regulations for the Hospital & Sanitary service of the Army. This Commission found that, according to existing practice, no provision was made for systematically caring for the soldier's health - but only for his sickness. The chief recognised function of the Army Medical Officer was attending men in Hospital. But in no way was it, to render it unnecessary for men to come into Hospital at all.

New Code of Regulations for Sanitary Service of Army 1857–9
considered his duty to render it unnecessary for men to come into Hospital at all. To supply this great want, the Commission drew up a code for introducing the Sanitary element (for the first time) into the Army, defining the positions of Commanding and Medical Officers, & their relative duties & responsibilities regarding the Soldier's health - constituting the Regimental Surgeon the Sanitary advisor of his Commanding Officer, who is now bound to give effect to all Sanitary recommendations made by his Medical Officer, unless he can assign satisfactory reasons in writing to the superior authority.
for non-compliance

The same code contains Regulations for organising General Hospitals & for improving the administration of Regimental Hospitals, both in peace and during war. Formerly General Hospitals in the field had to be improvised, on no defined principles & on no defined personal responsibility. All this is now changed. And, with The wonder was is, not that they broke down, as they did in all our wars, but that they could be made to stand at all. And the men who did this wonder must have been men of singular ability. In all our wars, our
General Hospitals have been signal failures, fatal examples of how to kill, not to cure. All this is now changed. And, with the most ordinary administrative capacity, the sick during war may now have every necessary care & comfort. This code is the best ever framed. And in practice has been found to succeed in every climate, whether at home, in Garrison or in the field. It has been successfully tested in two Expeditions, since issued by Lord Herbert in 1859. On the day which took him from us, its General Hospital system was realised in the Hospital at Woolwich, including its Governor, Principle Medical Officer, Captain of Orderlies, Female Nurses & their female Superintendent &c which system will be transferred to the magnificent Hospital, now being built there.
of which Lord Herbert was the founder & which will bear his name. He also directed a plan to be drawn up for the organization of a second General Hospital at Devonport on the same principles, which will shortly be carried into effect.

The third Sub-Commission was charged with organising a practical School at Chatham for instructing candidates for Army Medical service in Military Hygiene & other specialities.

Formerly young men were sent to attend sick & wounded soldiers who perhaps had never dressed a serious wound, or never attended a bedside, except in the midst of a crowd of students, following in the wake of some eminent Lecturer - who certainly
had never been instructed in the most ordinary sanitary knowledge: altho' one of their most important functions was hereafter to be the prevention of disease in climates & under circumstances where *prevention* is everything & Medical treatment often little or nothing.

The Sub-Commission drew up an admirable scheme. And the School at Chatham was opened by Sidney Herbert in person in 1860. Already its results have been most satisfactory. A large number of men of high attainments have been sent from it into the Army. And we may confidently expect a lower Sick Rate & Death Rate (especially on foreign stations & on field service) as one of its results - as well as higher Hospital efficiency
The fourth Sub-Commission was charged with the duty of re-organising the Army Medical Statistics which were then in such a condition as to afford very incomplete data, especially during war. These Statistics have been reformed & are now by far the best & most useful in Europe. They can be reduced with much less labour & with much greater promptitude than formerly; because the manner of recording cases is now much more precise, & there is a special division in the Army Medical Department for reducing them to obtain the results - while they enable the exact state of health of every Regiment & Station to be ascertained & any unusual amount
of disease with its removable causes to be brought at once to the cognizance of the authorities.

In the course of years, they will add immensely to our knowledge of Army diseases, as well as of those incident to particular climates & seasons.

Altho' the first Annual Report under the new system, being a first report, does not give all the data, Regimental & Stational, required by the instructions; yet every succeeding year's experience will render these Annual Reports more complete & more valuable.
Of all these Commissions, Sidney Herbert was head & centre. He superintended himself carefully every step of their procedure; & took his share of the work,- as well as the responsibility attaching to it in his public capacity, by identifying himself with the reforms.

Army Medical Officers had felt much & just dissatisfaction with their position in the Army. The Royal Commission advised therefore the preparation of another Warrant, ensuring to these Officers the rank & emolument to which their services entitled them. It was framed by Sidney Herbert & issued by General Peel in 1858.
Another great reform was introduced into the Purveying Department which, like many others, had no well defined position, duties or responsibilities. It was efficient or inefficient, almost by chance. Like other Departments, it broke down, when tried by war. And all its defects were visited on the sick & wounded men, for whose special benefit it professed to exist.

To put an end to this & to introduce method into the service, Lord Herbert issued in 1861 a new Purveyor's code & regulations, re-organizing the Department in accordance with the views expressed
by himself, as Chairman of the Royal Commission. The Regulations now define with precision the duties of each class of Purveyors' Officers - together with their relation to the Army Medical Department. They provide all necessaries & comforts for men in Hospital, (both in the field & at home) on fixed scales - instead of requiring leaving sick & wounded men (even in the field) to bring with them into Hospital articles for their own use & which they had lost before reaching it. These Regulations have been already tried, both for home & field service, & have been found to answer every
pursue.

Shortly after this, Lord Herbert also re-organized the Army Hospital Corps. In former times, there were no proper attendants on the sick. For Regimental Hospitals, a steady man was appointed Hospital Serjeant. And two or three soldiers, fit for nothing else, were sent into the Hospital to be under the orders of the Medical Officer, who, if he were fortunate enough to find one man fit to nurse a Patient, was sure to lose him by his being recalled "to duty" - sometimes indeed men were mounted in rotation over sick in Hospital as they would mount guard over a store. And
this is still done in India, & at Chatham & in some Regiments at home.

No special training was considered necessary. No one, except the Medical Officer, who was helpless, had the least idea that attendance on the sick is as much a special business as Medical treatment.

Unsuccessful attempts had been made to organise a Corps of Orderlies, unconnected with Regiments. The result was most unsatisfactory. Lord Herbert constituted a Corps - the members of which for Regimental purposes are to be carefully selected by the Commanding & Medical Officers - specially trained
Success of all these measures in reducing Death Rate in British Army.

for their duties; & then attached permanently to the Regimental Hospital – from which they cannot be removed to the ranks, except for proved incapacity or breach of discipline. Reasonable prospect of advancement is also secured to the efficient.

The crowning testimony of the great national importance of the new system of Sanitary administration, inaugurated by Lord Herbert, is to be found in the last Chinese Expedition, where his reforms were first practically tested. An Expeditionary force was sent to the opposite side of the globe world, into a hostile enemy's country.
notoriously unhealthy for its epidemic diseases. Every required arrangement for the preservation of health was made - with the result that the mortality of this force, including wounded, was little more than 3 per cent. per annum. While the "Constantly Sick" in Hospital were about the same as at home. Let us contrast with this great success what happened during a former War in China. The 26th Cameroonians, a "total abstinence" Regiment, & one of the finest & most healthy in the British Service, was landed at Chusan, 900 strong, & left to its fate without any Sanitary care. In two
months, only 20 men could be got together.

To take another illustration on a larger scale. During the first months of the Crimean War, from Sept. 1854 to March 1855, the Death Rate among the British troops was 60 per cent. per annum, until means were taken to prevent this fearful sweep of death. During the same months the "Constantly Sick" in the Hospitals were seven fold those in the Hospitals in China.

Impressed with the enormous Death rate & loss of efficiency in the Indian Army, Lord Herbert undertook in 1859 the Presidency
of the Royal Commission
on the "Sanitary State"
of that Army,- called
together to devise means
for reducing these
great losses. He was
obliged to relinquish
this to Lord Stanley
in 1861 on account
of official business &
 alas! of failing health.
But by that time the
evidence received from
Indian Stations had
been sufficient to
convince him that removable
causes - of far greater
importance & intensity
than any which have
been discovered in
our Home Stations -
were destroying the
lives of our soldiers &
the physical efficiency
of the Indian Army
Among other reforms initiated during Lord Herbert's life, but incomplete at his death, were the following:-

He had seen that the sanitary defects in Barracks & Hospitals had arisen from the unsatisfactory manner in which these buildings had been planned & constructed. No one, engaged on them, had had any knowledge of the requirements for health. Hence, however, if they had been made to put guns & stores in, & not men at all or horses, they could not, in fact, have been worse. There was no recognition of the necessity even of space, or of fresh air, or of drainage, either for...
sick or well. To prevent this in future, Lord Herbert called together a Committee to enquire into the present system of executing Barrack works & to suggest administrative improvements.

The Department, charged with spending money on buildings to keep men healthy, knew nothing at all about the principles of healthy construction - such knowledge not having been required of them.

The result of the labours of the Committee, it is expected, will be a better & more economical organisation, a proper training in the principles of Sanitary construction & a total change in
Another very important Commission was also called to consider the question how best to provide Soldiers' Day Rooms & Institutes - in order to struggle with the great moral evil supposed to be inseparable from garrisons and camps.

Lord Herbert saw that, at present, the soldier was hardly thought of as a man at all. The effect of moral agencies upon him was practically ignored. He (Lord Herbert) had taught every one by this time the results of treating the soldier physically, as if he were not a human being, subject to the

the Sanitary state construction of our future Military buildings.
laws of physical health. And in the moral
tone of garrisons &
camps, he recognised
the legitimate results
of treating the soldier
morally, as if he were
not under the laws
of moral health.
Placed, as he is, under
strict restraint, lodged
in a crowded uncom-
fortable Barrack room,
without privacy,
without social inter-
course, except that
afforded by the Canteen
or by some much worse
place - without home
ties - without occupation
or amusement, except
such as is provided
for him by those
(& they are everywhere)
who pander to his
passions - the soldier
has a position most unfavourable to his moral nature. And just as the soldier was formerly accused of dying unnecessarily or because it could not be helped - the real causes being all the while ignored - so now the consequences of overlooking moral causes go by the name of "Camp vices". Not that nothing has been done in the way of direct teaching to counteract the evil. But all the while the immoral agencies or temptations by which the man is surrounded, have been left untouched. While no counteracting agencies of a moral kind have been provided to cope with these
The soldier's case is merely in miniature what Civil life is in the block. It is supposed inconsistent with individual liberty to put down bad places of resort & to prevent open temptations to profligacy. While it is not supposed against liberty or morals, to make prostitution as little disagreeable as possible - viz. by "regulating" it to avert the consequences of this vice, leaving all the temptations just as they were.

Lately, this remedy has been repeatedly urged for Aldershot, in the face of the notorious fact that, while no proper places
of resort or occupation have been created for the men, the remedy would leave the abominations of the town to go on untouched. In dealing with this question, there are obvious principles. Governments can prevent this 'open' infamous trading, as they do other open infamous trading. They can prevent open temptations to vice, as they can prevent open temptations to crime. They can do these things both for the Civilian & the soldiers. But for the soldier they can do more. And it is this which the Committee on Soldiers' Day Rooms was called to consider by Lord Herbert.
They have shewn that the men's Barracks can be made more of a home - can be better provided with Libraries & Reading rooms - that separate rooms can be attached to Barracks where men can meet their comrades, - sit with them, talk with them, - have their newspaper & their coffee, if they want it, - play innocent games & write letters - that every Barrack in short may easily be provided with a kind of soldiers' Club - to which the man can resort when off duty, instead of to the everlasting Barrack room or the demoralizing dram shop - and that, in large camps or garrisons, such as Aldershot & Portsmouth,
the men may easily have a club of their own - out of Barracks. The Committee also recommended increased means of occupation, - in the way of workshops, soldiers' gardens, outdoor games and amusements, & rational recreation by lectures & other means.

The plan had been tried with great success at Gibraltar. There is no reason why it should not succeed here. At all events, let it be tried.

Lord Herbert's latest act was directing an enquiry at Aldershot as to the best means of introducing the system there. The country will support the cherished scheme of its dead Statesman.
This is a short sketch of the labours & successes of Lord Herbert's last brief administration. The lesson which these reforms teach is that the real foundation of War Office efficiency is to be laid in the efficient working of each Department:- in simplifying procedure - abolishing all divided responsibility - clearly defining the duties of each Officer - in giving direct responsibility to each head of a Department - and, lastly, in placing all the Departmental heads in direct communication.
with the Secretary of State. It is by this procedure that the spirit, which was breathed into Lord Herbert's reforms—may be expected to accomplish what he constantly kept before him, viz. as the great object of his official life, viz.—to increase the efficiency, improve the position & preserve the health of the British Soldier.

There were indeed other important reforms made by Lord Herbert, during this his last short tenure of office. But not for these, or so much for these as for the rest, will he be remembered. He will be remembered
chiefly as the first War Minister who ever seriously set himself to the task of saving life - who ever took the trouble to master a difficult subject, so wisely & so well, as to be able himself - & to shew the way to others - to husband the resources of this country, in which human life is of more value than in any other,- than anything else.

To the Army, in the person of Sir John Pringle, is due the credit of first having recognised the real ever-operating effects of physical laws on human health & life. To the Army Sidney Herbert has, a century later, bequeathed the
[21] [right col] administrative means of applying those laws, so as to mitigate or to prevent the very diseases which previous administrators ignorantly supposed inseparable from the soldier's occupations. The results cannot fail to re-act on the whole progress of Sanitary reform in Civil life. Let us hope that the great lesson which has been taught will have its weight with those charged with the duty of protecting the public health.