

British Library Transcriptions, for Collected Works of Florence Nightingale, by Lynn McDonald, Add Mss 39867 to 43395; breaks in volumes indicated by double hard pages; folios as transcribed, with line and page endings kept as in the MS, unless indicated "etext" or edited text; volume numbers in bold indicate volume and page number published in the Collected Works

Add Mss 39867 microfilm

ff3-4 mock letter in FN hand, found in box of old linen opened this day in the apothecary's store, Gen Hosp Scutari June 26 1855 (f4v)

11 Upper Brook St.  
 Portman Sq  
 Oct 19th 1854

Miss Brotherton presents her compliments to Mr Hall and begs 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 undertaking that every thing shd be sent out in a state completely ready for use, each thing being sorted

f3v  
 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

f4

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

signed letter, ff17-19v, pen

**f17**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
July 14 1855

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

**f17v**

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

**f18**

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.

**f18v**

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

**f19**

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 Mo=

**f19v**

nastery - 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.

f20 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 arrangement 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

**f23**

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

**f24**

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~~ 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]

**f24v**

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

**f25**

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

**f26** {in another hand: Miss Nightingale

26 July 1855 No I  
Rec'd 31 1855}

J. Hall Esq M.D.  
Inspector = General  
Before Sevastopol  
Crimea

f27 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.

2 Sept 1855 letter to Woollett from Bridgeman  
signed letter & envelope, ff31-33, pen

**f31**

*PRIVATE* Barrack Hospital  
{in another hand: Scutari  
Rec'd 26 Sept 1855 September 21/55  
Ans'd 27 Sept}

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 -

**f31v**

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

**f32**

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,

**f32v**

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.

**f33** 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

f34 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

**f44v**

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

f45

(5) 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.

**f46v**

that Mrs. Bridgeman *then* wrote to me withdrawing the whole of ~~the~~/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 Storcks & 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 Storcks, 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,

**f46**

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

**f46v**

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 - **[end 14:243]**

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 **[14:243-44]**

**f48**

PRIVATE Castle Hospital  
Balaklava  
Oct 18/55

Sir

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 healthiness & comfort of the Patients?

(1) Water Closets to each ward - with drains - two & portable engines to flush them from the seas - ~~illeg~~/shoot 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

**f48v**

be included with no great addition expence, 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

**f49**

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.

**f49v**

(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

[end 14:244]

To Sir General        your obedt servt  
Sir Richard Airey     Florence Nightingale

envelope, f51, pen

**f51**

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

f52 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                   **[14:255]**  
 Balaclava  
 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

signed letter, ff57-57v, pen

**f57**

{in another hand:       Castle Hospital               **[14:255-56]**  
 Rec'd 7 Novr                Balaclava  
 ans'd 7 Novr 1855}               Nov 7/55  
 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

**f57v**

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.                       **[end 14:256]**

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.

f59 8 Nov letter of Wear to J. Hall apologizes 8 Nov [1855] Balaclava

FN signed letter & envelope, ff60v-61, pen not in FN's hand, dictated or copy?  
**[14:260]**

**f60v**

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.

**[end 14:260]**

**f61**

{in another hand: 7 Novr 1855  
 letters from Miss Nightingale  
 and Miss Wear}

Dr. Hall

Inspector General of Hospitals

f60v copy by Hall of FN letter to Wear? of 6 April 1855

Castle April 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 yours

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

**f67**

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,

**f71v**

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

**f72**

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 recd 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 Welch woman Jane Evans whom you formerly asked me for. x 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 wished for her former fellow Servant - Sd F. Nightingale

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

**f76v**

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

f77 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

**f81** {in another hand: Rec'd Feb 8/56  
ansd March} Scutari  
1/3/56 Barrack Hospital

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

**f81v**

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

**f82**

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

**f82v**

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

f83 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 f84

f85 J. Hall to Codrington, c in chief, re FN and appt of nurses to  
Monastery

ff87-88 13 March 1856 letter from Wear at Monastery to J. Hall



**f89v**

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 [end 14:272]

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.

f91 copy of FN letter to Wear Dec 14 1855

copy of signed letter, ff91-91v, pen [14:277]

**f91**

COPY Barrack Hospital  
Scutari  
December 6/55

My dear Miss Wear

The female establishments at Koulale and Smyrna Hospitals as well as that at Haidar Pacha are about to be broken up and the nurses and the sick concentrated upon Scutari. There will now be no other female nursing Corps in the Bosphorus but this.

I am desired to take what I think right of those who would otherwise go home.

I have enquired closely into the characters of three Ladies & Nurses at Koulale whom you mentioned to me as being desirous to have in consequence of Mrs. Whitterin's recommendation -

Two are - according to their own superintendent's shewing - absolutely inefficient - one, Jane Evans, tho' strikingly peculiar, she finds no fault with - but declares to be trustworthy, diligent and obedient

**f91v**

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

**[end 14:277]**

Your most truly  
Florence Nightingale

copy of signed letter, ff93-93v, pen RP 7984

**f93**

COPY            Scutari                            [14:299]  
                 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 Brown-  
-low, 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 en-  
-trusted 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

**f93v**

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

[end 14:299]

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

copy of signed letter, ff95-95v, pen

**f95**

COPY

Scutari

[14:327]

Bk Hospital

Feby 1/56

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 pro=  
pose -

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

**f95v**

We have snow -

Pray believe me

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Pray remember me kindly

to Mrs. Brownlow &amp; baby,

to Jane Evans &amp; Mrs. Nesbitt.

**[end]**

signed letter, f97, pen

**f97** {in another hand: Scutari  
 Rec'd Barrack Hospital  
 18 March 56 March 14/56  
 JH}

**[14:354]**

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  
 dear Sir, yours truly

**[end]**

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

signed letter, ff99-100, pen black edged

[14:363-64]

**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 to day 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,

**f100**

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.

[end 14:364]

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

**f101** {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.} [14:364]

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

**f102**

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

**f103**

{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.

**f103v**

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 Store-keeper 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

**f104**

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.

f104v J Hall letter to FN 2 April 1856

f105 Printed form, Memo of Agreement FN and (blank)

f107 letter to Hall from D. FitzGerald 3 April 1856 from Gen Hosp Balaclava  
 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. Congratulating 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

f109 Bridgeman to Hall April 10th re his kind letter of 5th. Gen Hosp Balacl. 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.

f110v 12 April 1856, in small on back of Mrs Bridgeman's

My dear Madam

I have the honor to enclose a communic from Mrs Bridgeman notifying her departure from the Crimea together with the ten Sisters of Charity under her superintendence. ...Miss Nightingale, Balaclava signed letter, f111, pen

**f111**

(in another hand:

Rec'd 15th April 1856

ans'd -15 APL}

General Hospital

**[14:380]**

Balaclava

April 13/56

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 & 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.

**[end]**

I beg to remain

dear Sir

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Sir John Hall K.G.B.

I.G.H.

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

**f115** Rec'd 17 April '56 sent to D Taylor for inquiry & explanation J Hall  
IG}, blue paper **[14:382]**

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. 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. 3. Also that it does not tend to simplicity of accounts, as it requires one drawing for Diets & another from Extras for Nurses.
4. 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. 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

**f115v**

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 - [end 14:382]

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.

signed letter, ff118-20v, pen

**f118** {in another hand: General Hospital  
Rec'd 21 April 1856} Balaclava  
April 19/56

**[14:384-86]**

My dear Sir

In reply to your letter of April 15, "regretting" that you "were not previously made acquainted with" ~~you~~/my "intention of with 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.

**f118v**

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.

this 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 -

**f119**

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,

{The P.M.O. of Balaclava is not the person alluded to in

I replaced them, at the request of the Principal Medical Officer of Balaclava, 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'

{very true}

**f119v**

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

**f120**

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

**f120v**

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.

[end 14:386]

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 -

**f139v**

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

**f140**

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

**f140v**

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

**[end 14:396]**

I beg to remain

dear Sir

yours faithfully

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

**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.

&amp;c &amp;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

signed letter, f154, pen, black-edged

**f154**

General Hospital           **[14:399]**  
Balaclava  
May 1/56

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.

**[end 14:399]**

I remain, dear Sir,  
Yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale  
Sir John Hall  
I.G.H.

signed letter, ff156-57v, pen black edged

**f156**

General Hospital           **[14:405]**  
 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 embarking/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]

	Superintendt	Cook	Nurse	Nuns	Total
Castle Hospital	1	1	1	3	
General "	1	2	3 (1 sick)	6	
Monastery "	1	1	1	3	
Right Wing L.T.C.	1 (a Nun)		1	2	
Left Wing "	1	1	1	3	
Washerwomen (for all the Nurses) at General Hospital					<u>3</u>

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 of May 1856	193 - 1	Numbers of Hospl Orderlies in attendance on Nurses & Extra kitchen
Land Transport Hospls	173 - 2	
Genl Hospital Balaklava	77	} 4 orderlies 2 soldiers & 2 M.S.C. in Extra kitchen 2 asst labourers attached to wash house for Nurses
Castle Hospl	29	
	472	

I beg to remain  
Yours faithfully

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

signed note, f162, pen

**f162** General Hospital  
Balaclava  
June 12/56

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  
 [printed address] 35 South Street  
 Park Lane  
 London, W.

**[5:394]**

*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

**f59v**

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 ~~so~~ much more hardly  
 on women than the want  
 of the suffrage. And will  
 not this when obtained rather

**f60**

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

**f60v**

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

**f61**

2

between the two elements of  
the nation - but that, if  
both had equal political  
powers, there is a proba-  
bility that the social  
reforms required might  
become matter of political  
partizanship. & so the  
weaker go to the wall?  
I can scarcely expect that you  
will have time to answer my  
humble questions.

As to my being on the Society  
you mention, you know  
there is scarcely anything  
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

**f61v**

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

**f62**

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

**f62v**

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                    **[14:67-68]**  
 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.

**f7**

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

**f8**

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,

**f9**

-2-

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.

**10v**

- & for the giving out of such Medical comforts & Extra Diets. upon ~~arrang~~ the requisitions of the Medical Officers, as are arranged between them & me.

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.

**f11**

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.

**[end 14:68]**

To the Right Honble  
 the Secretary at War

f12, title, Miss Nightingale's report from Scutari, November 5, 1854

signed letter, ff13-17, pen, Vicinus 88-90; Goldie 39-41

**f13**

British Sisters' Quarters

**[14:68-70]**

Barrack Hospital

Scutari

25 November 1854

*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,

**f13v**

& 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~~ of 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

**f14**

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

**f14v**

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

**f15**

-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

**f15v**

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

**f16**

"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

**f16v**

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.

**f17, right hand page.**

-3-

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

**f17v**, left hand page  
in our requisitions.

*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,

**f17v**, right hand page  
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

**f17r, left hand page.**

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 -

**f19v**

that she distinctly stated to me & others that she was the authorized intermediary between ~~for~~ 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

**f20**

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

**f20v**

of Dr. McGrigor, Senior Medical Officer of the Barrack Hospl., & (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 Hospl.)

**[end 14:73]**

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

**f22v**

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.

**f23**

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

**f23v**

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

**f24**

-2-

our own eye - the  
difficulties of transport  
are what no one in  
England would believe.  
& the going to & fro  
between the two Hospi-  
tals is becoming daily  
less easy. That I should  
not accept a responsi-  
bility, which I could  
not fulfil, is equally  
the opinion of the  
Medical Officers &  
mine.

If, in the course of

**f24v**

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

**f25**

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  
 enormous. 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

**f25v**

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.

**f26**

-3-

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

**f26v**

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

**f27**

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

**f27v**

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. Hospl., 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

**f28**

-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,

**f28v**

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

**f29**

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

**f29v**

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

**f30**

-5-

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

**f30v**

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.

**f31**

The great fault here lies in our geography - in our being on this side the water. Four days ~~a~~ 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 ~~is~~ emanates from home - in the existence of a

**f31v**

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

**f32**

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

**f32v**

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.

[end 14:82]

{f33, 1854 Miss Nightingale December 10}

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

[14:82-84]

**f34**

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

**f34v**

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

**f35r**

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

**f35v**

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.*

**f36**

-2-

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.

**f36v**

To have women scampering  
 about the wards of a  
 Military Hospl. 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.

**f37**

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 any-  
 thing of the cruel  
 injustice to me. The  
 Medical Men are  
 disgusted, & decline  
 absolutely to employ  
 more, or to make any

**f37v**

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

**f38**

-3-

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

**f38v**

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

**f39**

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

**f39v**

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

**f40**

-4-

the Genl. Hospl. - & I cannot place them here in a greater proportion than I have done, without exciting the suspicion of the Medical Men & others.

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

**f40v**

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. [end 14:84]

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

**f41**, right hand page

Barrack Hospital,

Scutari

December 21 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert

The brain is wanting ~~in the Purveyor at home~~ 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

**f41v, left hand page**

"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

**f41v, right hand page.**

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.

**f41, left hand page.**

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"

**f42**

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

**f42v**

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

**f43**

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.

**f44**

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

**f44v**

that I withdraw nothing.

[end 14:86]

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

unsigned letter, ff45-50, pen {Goldie 55-57; Vicinus 98-100}

**f45**

Barrack Hospital, [14:96-98]  
Scutari  
Xmas Day 1854

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.

**f45v**

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 ἡθος 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.

**f46**

(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 Chaplains, 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.

**f46v**

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.

**f47**

-2-

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.

**f47v**

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

**f48**

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

**f48v**

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.

**f49**

-3-

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.

**f49v**

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!

**f50**

~~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]

**f51**

-4-

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,

**f51v**

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.

**f52**

~~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.

4th

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

**f52v**

(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

**f53**

-5-

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.

**[end 14:95]**

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.

**f53v**

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

**f54**

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.

12 o'clock

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,

[14:95-96]

**f54v**

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.

**f55**

-6-

Memm. 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.

**f55v**

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

**f56r**

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.

**f56v**

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

**f57**

Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

[14:98-99]

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.

**f57v**

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

**f58**

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 "vi  
et 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]**

{f59, blue paper, handwr, not FN Miss Nightingale December 28, 1854}

signed 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.

**f61**

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

**f61v**

"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

**f62**

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

**f62v**

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

**f63**

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

**f63v**

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.

**f64**

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

**f64v**

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,

**f65**

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

**f65v**

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

**f66**

Eno' of this subject,  
of which, amid these  
realities of life & death,  
I am thoro'ly sick, & you  
too.

I am desired to mention [14:104]  
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 to  
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

**f66v**

beginning of this Hospital,  
sole Purveyor to it - & is  
now here.

I am afraid to get back [14:104]  
*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

**f67**

(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

**f67v**

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

**f68**

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

**f68v**

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  
 Hospl. 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.

[end 14:105]

**f69**

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

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~~ knows 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

**f76v**

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)

£77

-2-

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

**f77v**

that I am now clothing the British Army. The ~~men~~ sick were re-embarked 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 pas~~ To purvey this Hospital is like pouring water into a sieve - & will be, till Regimental stores have been sent out from

\* 3 bales in the passage are marked Hospital Gowns, but have not yet been "sat upon."

**f78**

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

**f78v**

go our stores to Balaklava & down they never come again - or have not yet.

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.

f79

-3-

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.

**f79v**

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.

**f80**

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 Krimea 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.

**f80v**

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.

**f81**

-4-

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,

**f81v**

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

**f82**

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. of Ward	Names of Orderlies	Names of Orderlies for the Day	Patients admitted	Patients Discharged or Died	Vacant Beds
-------------	--------------------	--------------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------------	-------------

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

**f82v**

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 ag ain.

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**

-5-

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.

**f83v**

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

**f84**

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

**f84v**

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 Balaclava.  
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.

**f85**

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)

**f86**

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.

Flannel Shirts	438	Shoebrushes	36
Cotton "	1052	Blacking	18
Drawers	231	Candlesticks	36
Socks	520	Mits	36
Urinals	170	Boiler	1
Drinking cups	306	Coats & Trowsers	250
Knives & forks	480	Jackets	66
Spoons	480	Soup pails	14
Towels	138	Gallipots for } taking medicine}	24
Slippers	170	Wooden buckets	24
Bedpans	24	Wooden dishes	2
Tables	12	Hospital clothing}	148
Forms	24	sets }	
Washhand basins	54	Bottles Port Wine}	108
Night caps	76	in Pailfuls Arrow Root}	
Plates	498	Extra Diets	daily
Hair brooms	13		
Mops	24		
Stump pillows	50		
Hand scrubbers	24		
Cans for tea	17		
Chloride of lime	1 sack		

**[end 14:114]**

f87 is not oãhe film, Jan 8 1855 Miss Nightingale Scutari not FN hand

signed letter, ff88-98, pen, extract, ff89-91, Vicinus, letter 33, p 102

**f88**

PRIVATE Barrack Hospital  
Scutari  
14 January 1855

[14:117-21]

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

**f88v**

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,

**f89**

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

**f89v**

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

**f90**

-2-

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.

**f90v**

She ~~said~~ sends her  
 Cawass to the Pasha himself  
 perhaps. Heaven knows.  
 But the next morning  
 arrived ~~ed~~ five gilt  
 coaches, (Talikas) before  
 the Hospital gate, &  
 seven other vehicles,  
 & halted ~~ed~~ before the gate.  
 What was to be done?  
 Mr. Bracebridge went  
 out & paid them off  
 with Miss Nightingale's  
 money - & this lark  
 of the Ambassadors's  
 cost Miss Nightingale  
 500 piasters. And so

**f91**

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  
 seen in Pera - the  
 French having secured  
 every available inch of  
 ground. & now he is

**f91v**

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.

**f92**

-3-

Now for the Hospitals.

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

**f92v**

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

**f93**

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

**f93v**

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.

**f94**

-4-

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.l. 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

**f94v**

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

**f95**

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.

**f95v**

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,

**f96**

-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.



**f97v**

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.

**f98**

*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

**[end 14:121]**

{f99 is blank}

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

f100, *Immediate*, Right Hon Sidney Herbert, GM not FN hand

signed letter, ff101-12, pen

[14:122-25]

**f101**

PRIVATE Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

22 January 1855

Dear Mr Herbert

Dr. Forrest, our new  
Medical Head, in despair,  
has requested to be "sat  
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

**f101v**

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

**f102**

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  
 Krimea ~~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.

**f102v**

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

**f103**

-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

**f103v**

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

**f104**

difficuly, 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 impor-~~  
~~tance 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

**f104v**

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. & portorage  
is very expensive & slow.

**f105**

*Private*

It was impossible  
(morally) to send the  
Nurses home.

Balaklava having, in  
consequence of a repre-  
sentation (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*.

**f105v**

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

**f106**

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

**f106v**

Balaklava	7
Koulalee	15
I take x	21
Gone home	3
	-----
	46

x 16. I have already taken some time I have taken no responsibility, 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.

**f107**

-2-

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

**f107v**

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

**f108**

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

**f109**

-3-

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, he tells me, obtained

**f109v**

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

**f110**

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  $\sigma$  back,  
 the new 500 to be today

**f110v**

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.

**f111**

PRIVATE      -4-

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

**f112**

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]

**f113**

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

**f113v**

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.

**f114**

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 unfor-  
tunate Purveyor - & none  
of them are performed.

But the Purveyor is  
*supposed* to be only the  
channel thro' which the

**f114v**

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

**f115**

-2-

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 ~~raw~~ diets, 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

**f115v**

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 Hos-  
 pital, 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

**f116**

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 ~~is~~ should be all carved in the  
 kitchens on hot plates.  
 & at meal-times the Order-

**f116v**

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, ~~as~~ 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

**f117**

-3-

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

**f117v**

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 comple-  
ment 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

**f118**

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 respon-  
sible. Let an inventory  
hang on the door of each  
ward of what *ought* to  
be found there. Let the

**f118v**

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

**f119**

-4-

(3) The daily routine  
 of the Hospital. This is  
 now performed, or rather  
 not performed by the  
 Purveyor. I am really  
 cook, housekeeper, scaven-  
 ger, (I go about making  
 the Orderlies empty huge  
 tubs,) washerwoman,  
 general dealer, store-  
 keeper. 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.

**f119v**

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

**f120**

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

**f120v**

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.

**f121**

-5-

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 unge-  
 nerously 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.

**f121v**

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.

**f122**

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-

**f122v**

ministration 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.

**f123**

-6-

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. Paulett,  
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. Paulett  
having been called upon

**f123v**

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 Hospl.  
 to the ship. Of my 450  
 suits, which were of  
 course intended to become  
 permanent Hospl. clothing,  
 I got back 43 shirts -  
 & these only by the  
 energetic interference of Dr.

**f124**

McGrigor, 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

**f124v**

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?

**f125**

-7-

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

**f125v**

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 Koulalee  
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.

**f126**

*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 tâtell 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

**f126v**

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]**

f127 Miss Nightingale, January 20, 1855 not FN hand

signed letter, ff128-29v, pen

[14:132]

**f128**

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

**f128v**

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.

**f129**

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

**f129v**

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]

f130 Miss Nightingale, February 1, 1855 not FN hand

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

**f131**

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). &

**f131v**

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

**132**

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,

**f132r**

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 - fãåhe 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

**f133**

-2-

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.

**f133v**

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 Bala-  
 klava - 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

**f134**

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

**f134v**

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 Hospls. 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.

**f135**

-3-

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

**f135v**

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,

**f137**

-4-

the duty of receiving & 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

**f137v**

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.

**f138**

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

**f138v**

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 Hospls. - viz. the appointing  
 three or more departments, call  
 them what you will.  
 One to feed us - let the  
 Commissariat send the meat

**f139**

-5-

*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

**f139v**

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-depart-  
 ment for each of these  
 three things.

I am now fitting up  
 some of the wards with  
 cupboards and lock & key

**f140**

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

**f140v**

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.!!

[end 14:137]

f141, Miss Nightingale, February 5, 1855 not FN hand

unsigned letter, ff142-45v, pen

[14:139-40]

**f142**

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

**f142v**

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

**f143**

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

**f144v**

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

**f144**

-2-

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

**f144v**

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

**f145**

to me that the Amba-  
sador 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

**f145v**

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)

[end]

signed letter, ff146-52, pen, Goldie 87-89 [14:140-41]

**f146**

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

**f146v**

I have to write about these Hospitals, & am half indignant at myself for writing about any thing 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 Hospl. is.

I have, (while incurring

**f147**

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,

**f147v**

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 cookerries of  
individual Beef Teas  
for the poor sufferers  
personally. And my

**f148**

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

**f148v**

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

**f149**

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

**f149v**

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

**f150**

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 Koulalee to be  
managed as she, &  
she only, can manage  
it. But, if *she* does

**f150v**

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 Koulalee,  
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  
Koulalee.

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

**f151v**

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 ~~pa~~ second party of  
nuns.

**f152**

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

[end 14:141]

{f153 is blank}

signed letter, ff154-63, pen, Vicinus 90-92 [14:141-44]

**f154**

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

**f154v**

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

**f155**

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.

**f155v**

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

**f156**

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

**f156v**

"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

**f157**

"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

**f157v**

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.

**f158**

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 ac-  
 cepted by them, viz. my  
 extra diets, purveying  
 of utensils &c. ditto,  
 purveying of clothing ditto.  
 This was not acceptable  
 to the Purveyor - but this

**f158v**

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.

**f159**

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

**f160**

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

**f160v**

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

**f161**

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

**f161v**

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.

**f162**

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

**f162v**

"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

**f163**

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]

signed letter, ff164-71v, pen, Vicinus 93-96

**f164**

PRIVATE Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

**[14:145-47]**

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

**f164v**

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

**f165**

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  
~~from the Presbyterians~~  
 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

**f165v**

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.

**f166**

-2-

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

**f166v**

~~up~~ on 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.

**f167**

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

**f167v**

besides, would not provide them with rations, unless the Officer of Engineers wrote "urgent" & asked it "as a favor".

It seems as if 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.

**f168**

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

**f168v**

- *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.

~~{Three lines very heavily crossed out.}~~

(excuse me for speaking plainly)  
 x the phrase of a competent judge

**f169r**

{Two lines very heavily crossed out.}

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 ~~nothin~~  
nil. Within the last  
week *they*, the French, have taken  
the last available building,  
(a large building in the

**f169v**

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

**f170**

things here will be, as  
 the season gets on, to keep  
 our Sick & Wounded at  
 Balaklava, where ~~th~~  
 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

**f170v**

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

**f171**

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,

**f171v**

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 Médecine. 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.

[end 14:147]

f172 Miss Nightingale, February 19, 1855 not FN hand

signed letter, ff173-78v, pen, Goldie 96-98 [14:148-50]

**f173**

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.

**f173v**

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.

I. One thing which we much

**f174**

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

**f174v**

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.

**f175**

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

**f175v**

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, &

**f176**

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

**f176v**

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 Médecine 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.

**f177**

I send your our Statistics of  
 accommodation.

Barrack Hospital	1913
General "	1018
Haida Pasha	500
Koulalee	1177
Stable	63
Smyrna	850
Abydos	400
'Turkish Hulk'	520
'Bombay'	<u>256</u>
	6697

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
	----
	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.

**f178v**

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.

[end 14:150]

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

signed letter, ff180-82v, pen, Goldie 99-100 [14:150-51]

**f180**

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 ~~has~~ will  
 do it honestly & efficiently.  
 & then he will forget it &  
 think no more about it,  
 except as talk for a  
 dinner-party.

**f180v**

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, † we cannot conceive. x 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 impracticable, 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

**f181**

Patients, games &c

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

**f181v**

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.

**f182**

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

**f182v**

a state as ever.

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

[end 14:151]

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

**f183**

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.

[14:153-55]

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

**f183v**

& 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 alarmed - "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

**f184**

opinions. Now I could easily have defeated her representations 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

**f184v**

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

**f185**

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.

**f185v**

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

**f186**

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 Crimea, 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.

**f186v**

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 super-medical 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).

**f187**

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]

signed letter, ff188-91v, pen

**f188**

Scutari

March 12/55

[14:163-65]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Mrs. Herbert appears to wish that I should give up Koulalee altogether. ~~A~~ 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

**f188v**

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. ~~up there~~

Yrs ever

F. Nightingale

**f189**

P.S. We have examined the Washing Machines & find they can be imitated for Koulalee, except the *wringing* machine, (Nottingham patent). Pray have one of these sent for Koulalee. 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

**f189v**

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.

**f190**

-2-

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.

**f190v**

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.

**f191**

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

**f191v**

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  
Scutari  
18 March 1855

[14:166-71]

Very many thanks, my dear  
Mr. Herbert, for your very  
~~filleg~~/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

**f193**

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

**f193v**

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

**f194**

*Private*

2nc. 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

**f194v**

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

**f195**

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

---

 22

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

---

 14

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

**f195v**

& 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  
 Sellonites, who was Supt up  
 there, has lost her head & her  
 health, & returned yesterday  
 with Harriet Erskine, the other

**f196**

-2-

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

**f196v**

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

**f197**

toujours gagné quelque chose."

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

**f197v**

money - I rejoice at ~~the~~ success in purveying, whether it be done by an Ambassadors, 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

**f198**

-3-

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/myself of one  
of the Principal Medical  
Officers here - dated 14 March

1855

I am so glad you are out

**f198v**

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.

**f199**

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) ~~Tw~~/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.

**f199v**

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

**f200**

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

**f200v**

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

**f201**

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

**f201v**

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

FN

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        3  
           16th                                none  
           17th                                22  
           18th                                12

we have never been so low since

Inkermann

**f202**

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

**f202v**

curse of the Hospital. Please send out the passage about the Allobroges or ~~gi~~ 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.

**f203**

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

**f203v**

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]**

F204 March 12 & 19, 1855, Miss Nightingale not FN hand

copy of unsigned letter, ff205-08, pen {arch's date: May 1855}

**f205** (Copy) of NAS original [14:171-74]

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 ie Lord W. Paulet & Lady Stratford go out pleasuring there. Ld. 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

**f205v**

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 - Mytelene has fever from May to November -

**f206**

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 rec.d contributions, There is ~~not~~ hardly a parish in England from wh. I have not had letters, not one of these 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

**f206v**

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 muffettees. 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

**f207**

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 cer-  
tain 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

**f207v**

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.l 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

**f208**

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

**f208v**

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

typed copy of signed letter, ff209-10, in Goldie 184, hand copy not in FN  
hand in 8996/3, also FN Mus 0851 [12:117-18]

**f209**

Scutari. Jany. 6 1856

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

**f210**

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.

[end 12:118]

[similar letter, same date, to EH in Mary Cowden Clarke, New York Times]

signed letter, ff211-14v, pen, Goldie 210-12

**f211**

Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
Feb 20/56

[14:336-38]

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

**f211v**

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 [Wollett]

**f212**

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

**f212v**

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 seen 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

**f213**

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.

**f213v**

"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.

**f214**

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

**f214v**

& 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

**[14:338-40]**

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

**f215v**

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 recal 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.

**f216v**

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

**f217**

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.

**[end 14:340]**

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 ...

signed letter, ff224-33v, pen, copy 8996/42, Goldie 244-49

**f224**

Crimea 3/4/56

[14:368-73]

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

**f224v**

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

**f225**

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

**f225v**

craggs 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

**f226**

-2-

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."

**f226v**

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

**f227**

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

**f227v**

Balacava & 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

**f228**

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,

**f228v**

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

**f229**

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.

**f229v**

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

**f230**

& 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

**f230v**

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.

**f231**

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

**f231v**

principle of most government now, [yes, govt.]  
 & 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

**f232**

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", never 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

**f232v**

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

**f233**

& 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 ~~he~~ 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

**f233v**

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,)

**[end 14:373]**

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" evreyrbdy all round as he is doing for he likes bullying f247 better than fighting. He is like the litle 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 Physcian to the Embassy

ff252-53v, SH to FN Wilton House, Salisbry, 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. llegs

signed.... ilegs

I hope you are not over working yourself -

I learn this thro' (unkown to him) Lefroy's plan for army Instrucion. 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

**f9v**

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 deprecate & 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

**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]

Under these circumstances  
[breaks abruptly]

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 illegals 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

[14:484]

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

**f26v**

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

**[end 14:484]**

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 Storcks 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 from 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

f44 JS pencil note to FN May 20 1857? Or?

draft, ff44-46, pencil. [JS hand], original in Wilt66

**f44**

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

**f44v**

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.

signed letter, ff51-52, pen [Goldie has 23 May]

**f51**

May 25/57

[14:510-12]

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.

**f51v**

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

**f52**

As Barrack-Master  
& Engineer, I would  
examine

Capt. Laffan

Col. Gordon, Ordnance  
Storekeeper at Balaclava.

As Commanding Officer,  
on Rations, Stoppages, &  
Canteens,

General Storcks.

As to Invaliding

McLachlan

Tulloch

Balfour

But Farr should point  
out defects in our mode  
of registering wear & tear  
of Army.

**f52v**

I understand Alexander,  
burning for the fray,  
gratified his longing  
for a shindy today.

Ever faithfully yrs  
F. Nightingale.

signed letter, ff53-57, pen

**f53**

May 25/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I. I cannot conceive what  
the Army Medical Officers  
mean by representing  
to you that there is no  
need of a reform in  
their nomenclature

[14:510]

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

**f53v**

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.

**f54**

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

**f54v**

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.

**f55**

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 Commanding Officer 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

**f55v**

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

**f56**

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. Storcks was so selected.

I do not think the mistake consisted in

**f56v**

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

**f57**

Required

Continuation of Dr. Farr's  
Return in "Vital Statistics  
of Brit. Empire" (concerning  
the *Metropolitan* Police Force)  
gives strength

deaths

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*

**[end 14:512]**

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'clock.

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

signed letter, ff65-66, pen

**f65**

Private

June 20/57

[14:514-15]

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

**f65v**

~~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.

**f66**

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

**f66v**

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

[end 14:515]

ff67-68 data from Borlase Childs  
69-70

**f69** 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

ff71-76 SH to FN from 49 B S black-edged Tuesday [23 June 1857] 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.....

ff77 SH to FN from Dover June 28 1857 blue paper. re Army stat report; he  
went over barracks here yesterday, re drummer boys

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-descript 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.

f79 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square June 30 1857 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

**f80**

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

**f80v**

the distinction between  
 personal Hygiene &  
 that of building is  
 not seen by him,  
 nor indeed by your  
 Commission. ~~They~~ These will  
 require two separate Sanitary  
 organisations, being  
 quite distinct in  
 themselves

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

July 1/57

signed letter, ff82-84, pen

**f82**

Dear Mr. Herbert

**[14:516-17]**

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

**f82v**

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 governm.t into this scrape. Dr. Smith is asked, who knows nothing at all

**f83**

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

**f83v**

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

**f84**

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.

**f84v**

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

**[end 14:517]**

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

July 1/57

f85 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square July 1 [1857] 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

f87 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square July 5 1857. I have been shut up in the House the last two days. Today. I send you Neison's paper for Sunday reading. Dr Farr did very well but Dr Smith loudly proclaimed that this is Tulloch's form illegs...

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.

signed letter, f89

, pen

**[14:523-24]****f89**

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 &

**f89v**

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

**f90**

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

**f90v**

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.

[end 14:524]

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

[14:524]

**f93**

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

**f95v**

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

**f96**

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 archi-  
 tectural plan could do.

People, Government  
 & Sovereign all think  
 that these matters have  
 been remedied. While  
 I think that nothing

**f96v**

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.

**f97**

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.

**f97v**

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

**f98**

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.

F.N.

[end 14:525]

Draft note, f99, pen {archivist: [6 - 8 July 1857]} [14:525]

**f99**

Dr. Beatson

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

**f99v**

conscience & his rules, his subordinates knowing that he is acting upon quite a different set of rules. [end 14:525]

ff100-02 SH to FN from printed 49 Belgrave Square July 8 1857. I return Sir J McNeill's letter. I share his "repugnance" to your being examined viva voce. I know that your evidence would fortify our proceedings and hasten the adoption of our recommendations.

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. I am 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.

illeg ?? 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.

f114 SH note 1 Whitehall Yard [July 25 1857] 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.

ff116-18 faint pencil note. unsigned. EH hand. [after 20 July 1857] 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}

### **f116**

I have thought a good deal of what you told me yesterday & my conclusion is to make you a Confidential Report great as is my objection to that system.

If I were you I would say to Dr Mouat & Co that you must have documentary evidence of what they state their object is (not to give this but)

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

**f116v**

only be taken for himself. nor would I take it ever for himself without *documentary evidence*.

But if Sir J.M. & Dr T  
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

[McNeill and Tulloch]

**f117**

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]

**f117v**

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

**f118**

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 illegs

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

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Barrack Comm.                               |             |
| 2. Organisation of A.M.D.<br>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

f147 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

Letter, ff190-94, pen, published in Vicinus & Nergaard, *Ever Yours*

**f190**

30 Old Burlington St.

[14:545-46]

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

**f190v**

it has kept me alive.

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.

**f191**

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 & unde=  
 fended, rather than

**f191v**

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

**f192**

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

**f192v**

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

**f193**

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

[end 14:546]

Yours gratefully  
F. Nightingale

**f194** 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 illeg to the diagrams..

I am sorry to hear your report or rather Mr Whifield's of Dr Greenhow  
for the hygienic lectures and the illegs. Dr Sutherland's powers of  
delivery, 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 it up. He could be very useful. He writes much and well and  
with great care and conscience.

I had a field day yesterday 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

**f211r**

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]  
in Europe  
through the Ambassadors or ministers of each
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.

**f211v**

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

**f212**

-2-

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.

**f212v**

Our soldiers volunteers  
to Death in the Barracks.  
Foreign soldiers are  
conscripted 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

**f213**

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.

**f213v**

(10.) Lord Grey, Lord Stanley,  
 Lord Shaftesbury, Mr.  
 Chadwick, (who is a  
 capital publicist & not  
 much else,) ought to have  
 it. And I would  
 treat Andrew Smith  
 as one of the public.

[Harrowby in another hand on side]

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.

**f214**

-3-

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

**f214v**

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.)

**[end 14:549]**

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 will 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.

### f236

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.

Illeg. 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 its 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

[16:259]

Dear Mr. Herbert

I do not see that you could say less - or more than what you propose about Netley. For it is the exact truth.

I cannot help privately hoping that they will adopt your suggestion of a Barrack.

Sir Harry Verney's

**f260v**

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 confine-  
ment!!

I have heard that  
Panmure is very mad  
about the thing. I suppose

**f261**

~~he~~ 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.

[end]

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,  
Xtianity 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 candd 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

note, f296v, on reverse of letter from William Farr, pencil {Farr's letter dated Feb 14 1858}

**f296v**

Certainly. But those are for 2 bed wards or 1 bed - more does NOT

provide for such cases

I should lay down broadly

[16:260]

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.

[end]

draft letter or copy, ff297-300, pen {archivist: [circ. 18 Feb 1858]}

**f297**

They are in a fix & we will keep them there.

[14:477-78]

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.

**f297v**

(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

**f298r**

Mortality years - & there was no Epidemic.

(The improvement in water may have been ~~a~~ 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),

**298v**

prepared for it. v.  
Bulgaria & the Crimea

(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

**f299**

(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.

[end 14:478]

**f300v**

Reduction in  
mortality  
of the Guards

draft, f301, pen

**f301**

	Pop.	
	1841.	
	4 years.	
	Annual Mortality	
	to 1 million living.	
	Town.	Country
	Districts	Districts
All Causes	27,073	19,300
Respiratory	7,967	5,327
organs		
Consumption	4,463	3,660

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.

f309 SH to FN [Feb 1858] Private. printed 49 Belgrave Square Private  
I am in hopes Farr wil 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 ~~mu~~ for Howell.  
 Else the latter (Reeve)  
 might write in the  
~~or~~ "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. **[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]

ff20-20v, 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

typed copy of signed letter, f33, original Wilt67

**f33**

*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 **ENDFIELD**

**f34**

Dear Mr. Herbert

It would indeed be impossible to me to refuse a proposal which expresses in a manner so gratifying 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 impossible 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 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

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 Xtianity 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 Storcks, 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

Letter to FN from Sidney Herbert, ff122-27, pen, black-edged

**f122r**

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?]

**f122v**

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

**f123r**

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

**f123v**

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

**f124r**

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

**f124v**

& 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

**f125r**

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

**f125v**

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

**f126r**

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

**f126v**

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

**f127r**

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

**f127v**

have sent it back to  
him with alterations.

Believe me y.

Sidney Herbert

f128 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury Jan 12 1859, black-edged,  
I got a ileg from Hawes full of the grossest ignorance, darkness beyond all  
hope and showing that he had not the remotest ideal illeges

I went up to town yesterday. I find that Balfour is willing to accept  
illeg a rank of deput inspector but which to try and bargain for illeg

Alexander is at his ileg wants the Council illeges but is so short  
handed illegs

Sir J Clark has left behind him an argument for 5 Professors which is  
illeg and for illeg

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 puoses 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 tongiht and shall reutrn 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 illegs

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 illegs

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 illegs

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 illegs

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 Sutherlan's hand the reports of the Chatham's medical

school plan. I propse 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 mayilleg 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

**f159v**

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

**f160r**

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

**f160v**

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

f161 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury Apr 14 1859, black-edged 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

f164 SH to FN from printed Wilton House Salisbury. Apr 17 1859. 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.

illegs, 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 Wyatt illeg... Panmure  
illeg 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

W O

1 February 1860

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 organization 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

Draft, ff306-09, pen. [Archivist's date: circa 9 June 1861]

**f306r**

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

**f306v**

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

**f307r**

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.

**f307v**

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

**f308r**

[3]

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

**f308v**

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.

**f309r**

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

**f309v**

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 are 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 matters 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

Draft, ff321-41, pen, published as Florence Nightingale, "Army Sanitary Administration and Its Reform Under the Late Lord Herbert," Read at the London Meeting of the "Congres de Bienfaisance" June 1862. London: McCorquodale and Co.

**f321r**

~~Rudledge~~ [blue pencil not  
FN]

Florence Nightingale  
9 Chesterfield St  
London W.

June 12/62

XIV. Army Sanitary  
administration & its  
reform, under the  
late Lord Herbert.  
*By Florence Nightingale*  
It has been well & [war]  
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

**f321v**

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

f322r

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.

[2]

**f322v**

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

**f323r**

*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

[3]

**f323v**

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 its 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~~

f324r

& 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 ~~of the~~ 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 &

[4]

**f324v**

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~~

f325r

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

[5]

**f325v**

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

Percival [blue pencil]  
Mediterranean  
Stations  
1861

f326r

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.

Military School in  
Cooking.

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

**f326v**

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~~

f327r

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

[7]

**f327v**

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

f328r

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,

[8]

**f328v**

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*

~~Army  
Medical School  
at Chatham  
1857—60~~

f329r

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

[9]

**f329v**

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

~~Army Medical~~  
~~Statistics~~  
~~1857—61~~

f330r

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.

[10]

**f330v**

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.

Army Medical Officers'  
Warrant 1858

**f331r**

Per [blue pencil]  
 Purveyor's  
 Warrant & Regulations  
 1860

Sharp [blue pencil]

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

[611]

**f331v**

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

**f332r**

Army Hospital  
Corps  
1860

purpose.

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

[12]

**f332v**

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

f333r

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.

~~Success  
of all these measure  
in reducing Death  
Rate in British Army.~~

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.

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**f333v**

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

f334r

Johnson [pencil]

(sixty)

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.

Indian  
Sanitary  
Commission  
1859

Impressed with  
the enormous Death rate  
& loss of efficiency in  
the Indian Army,  
Lord Herbert undertook  
in 1859 the Presidency

**f334v**

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

f335r

Committee  
on  
Barrack Works  
1861

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

[15

8]

**f335v**

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

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the Sanitary ~~state~~  
 construction of our  
 future Military buildings.

~~Commission  
 for Soldiers' Day Rooms  
 and Institutes  
 1861~~

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

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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

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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

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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

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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 tempta-  
tions 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.

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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,

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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.

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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

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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

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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

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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.